African-American Archaeology: A Missouri Perspective

by
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*U*ntil recently, historical archaeology in Missouri has neglected the African Diaspora. The lack of research concerning African Americans has been caused by past race, gender, and class biases that only highlighted "white, male, and wealthy" aspects of the past. The reality is that African Americans have made substantial contributions to Missouri's settlement, growth, and culture since the 1720s (Figure 1). Unlike European immigrants, who arrived in the New World by their own volition, Africans arrived in Missouri as slaves. Little is known about these early African Americans and their descendants because few written records of them exist. And the records that do exist often are biased, having been written with a white hand. Because of the lack of good documentation, archaeology has the best potential to interpret early African-American life in Missouri and the New World.

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Figure 1. African-American employees of the Huston Tavern in Arrow Rock, Mo., 1916. (Courtesy of the Arrow Rock State Historic Site, Missouri Department of Natural Resources)

African-American archaeology in Missouri is in the beginning stages of development (Baumann 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1998c), but recent archaeological work has shown an increased interest in the African Diaspora. This paper will discuss the role archaeology has played in recording Missouri's black heritage. In this discussion, I outline the development, research strategies, and future goals of African-American archaeology in Missouri, highlighting case studies as examples.

Missouri's African-American Heritage

Missouri's African-American heritage can be divided into five historical periods: the Franco-Spanish period (1700–1803); the Antebellum period (1803–1861); the Civil War and Reconstruction period (1861–1877); the Post Reconstruction and Early 20th-Century period (1877–1914); and the World Wars and Depression period (1914–1950).

Franco-Spanish Period (1700–1803)

The French colonization of Colonial Louisiane was not accomplished alone; French settlers and explorers were assisted through the strength and diligence of imported African slaves and Native Americans. Colonial Louisiane refers to all land drained by the Mississippi River, including the later state of Missouri. The upper Mississippi River drainage was also referred to as the Illinois Country, which included the lands on both sides of the Mississippi between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. Louisiane Territory's first black slaves came from West Indies' sugar cane plantations, but by 1719 slaves came directly from Africa through slave trade routes to Mobile, Biloxi, and New Orleans. Most African slaves remained in the Lower Mississippi River valley, but on occasion a few were sent into the Illinois Country. Between 1718 and 1735, approximately 7,000 Africans reached the Louisiane Territory, but by 1735 only 3,400 had survived the rough voyage and the harsh frontier (Usner 1979:33). The 1726 Illinois Country census recorded 317 whites (including 46 Native Americans), 128 African slaves, and 66 Native-American slaves (Call 1988:108–9). By this time, the majority of black slaves came from the Senegal region of West Africa (Usner 1979).

The first African slaves entered Missouri as miners in the 1720s for the Company of the West's seasonal lead mines in present-day Madison, St. Francois, and Washington counties. Beyond mining activities, French-owned slaves primarily were used as subsistence farm laborers as well as domestic help on riverboats, in salt manufacturing, and as skilled labor.

In 1752, when the first permanent Missouri settlement was established at Ste. Genevieve, the Illinois Country census recorded 786 Europeans, 445 black slaves, and 147 Indian slaves (Ekberg 1985:202). Ste. Genevieve's population then consisted of only 23 people, 2 of which were African slaves. Over

the next 50 years, Ste. Genevieve's population grew to 808 whites, 350 black and mulatto slaves, and 5 free blacks and mulattoes in 1800 (Ekberg 1985:202).

After the French and Indian War (1756–1763), France forfeited all land east of the Mississippi River to England. Some wary French settlers and their slaves in the new British territory migrated to the Missouri side of the Mississippi River. Many of these French immigrants moved to the newly-founded village of St. Louis (ca. 1764). But unbeknownst to the French settlers, France had given the land west of the Mississippi River to Spain in the secret Treaty of Fontainbleau as compensation for Spain's alliance during the war.

"During the ensuing forty years of Spanish rule, Missouri remained predominately French in its appearance, language, customs, and outlook" (Foley 1989:30). A strong Spanish culture did not develop in Missouri because the new Spanish government had little interest in colonizing Missouri. The Spanish adopted the French Black Codes to regulate slavery, but with three major changes. The Spanish allowed slaves to buy their own freedom; allowed interracial relationships between African, Indian, and European peoples; and abolished Native-American slavery. The slave law changes resulted in the development of small free black communities in Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. Free African-American families labored as farmers, miners, rivermen, and as skilled tradespersons (Greene *et al.* 1993:14). In the late 18th century most free blacks lived in St. Louis because of its rising employment opportunities as a trade center. St. Louis' free black population rose steadily between 1787 and 1800, ranging from one-fourth to one-third of the town's population (Troen and Holt 1977:10–15).

During the American Revolution, British forces attacked St. Louis on May 26, 1780, for supplying American forces on the frontier (Fulmer *et al.* 1995). The British attack occurred outside the city limits in the Grande Prairie common fields where French farmers and their slaves were caught off guard. Fourteen Frenchmen and 13 black slaves were killed. After American independence, many French slave owners east of the Mississippi River migrated into Missouri to escape American taxation and the possibility of losing their slaves.

At the end of the 18th century, the Spanish also enticed American immigration into Upper Louisiane with free lands and no taxes. The response was slow at first, but by the mid-1790s a migration of American settlers from the Upper South began. American immigrants settled outside French villages and industrialized French salt manufacturing and lead mining. The 1800 Spanish census of Upper Louisiane recorded 5,630 whites, 1,191 black slaves, and 77 free blacks (Houck 1908).

Antebellum Period (1803–1861)

After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, American migration flooded the new territory. "Americans vastly changed the Louisiane Territory, they would suffocate the French culture and succeed in changing the manners, taste, and even the language" (Foley 1989:78). Over half of the new American immigrants came from the Upper South, especially the Kentucky Bluegrass region, the Tennessee Nashville Basin, the Tidewater and Piedmont areas of Virginia, and the Carolinas (Foley 1989:238). The following census records documented the massive population increase (Table 1).

Table 1. Missouri's African-American Population, 1810–1860*

Year	Slaves	Free	Total Population	% African American
1810	3,011	607	20,845	17.4
1820	9,797	376	66,076	15.4
1830	25,091	569	140,445	18.3
1840	57,891	1,478	383,702	15.5
1850	84,422	2,618	682,044	12.8
1860	114,509	3,572	1,063,489	11.1

*Greene *et al.* 1993:27; Houck 1908; Trexler 1914:10; U.S. Census, 1830, 1840, 1850a, b 1860a, b.

The American population increase transformed Missouri into a United States Territory in 1812 and then into a "slave state" in 1821. Missouri's admission as a slave state was not easy, for Congress was divided equally between free and slave-state representatives. The solution was the Missouri Compromise in 1821, that admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state, maintaining the balance. The compromise also established that outside of Missouri slavery would be permitted only below the 36° 30' parallel—the Mason-Dixon line. Thereafter, Missouri was a peninsula of slavery surrounded by a sea of free territory—Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas (Trexler 1914:173).

The majority of Upper South American immigrants settled in Missouri's "Boon's Lick" region, in the central and western Missouri River valley. Due to

its strong Upper South culture, historians and politicians call portions of the Boon's Lick region Missouri's "Little Dixie." Based on their criteria (e.g., their percentage of black population, hemp and tobacco production, and immigrant origins), what constitutes Little Dixie counties has varied from scholar to scholar. R. Douglas 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 slaves (Figure 2). These counties had a slave population of at least 24% in 1850, and each ranked among the top 10 slave counties by the 1860 census.

The Southeastern Lowlands or "Boot Heel" region in southeastern Missouri also had a high percentage of slaves, particularly in New Madrid County.

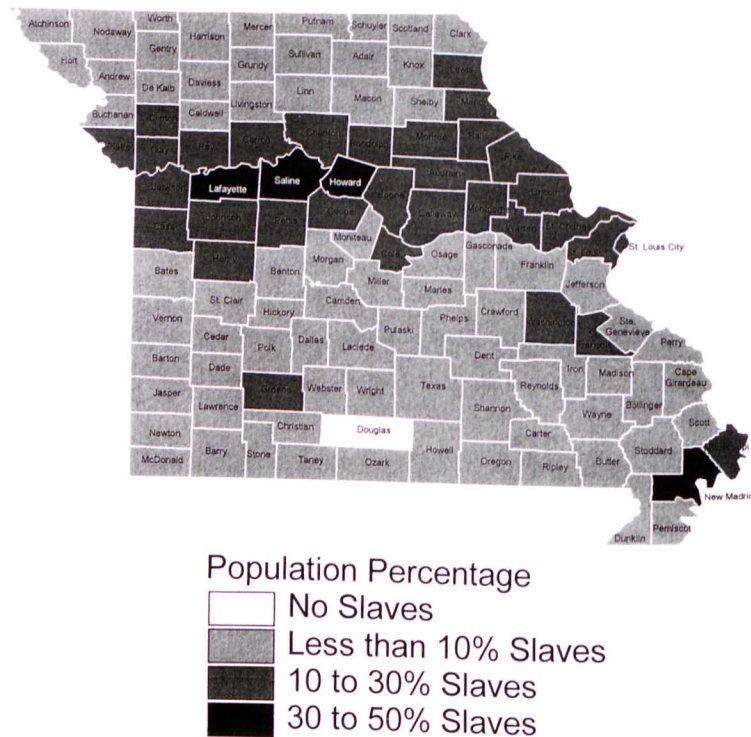

Missouri's Slave Population in 1860

Population Percentage
- [ ] No Slaves
- [▨] Less than 10% Slaves
- [▦] 10 to 30% Slaves
- [■] 30 to 50% Slaves

Figure 2. Missouri's African-American population in 1860.

As a result of environmental conditions, the Bootheel was sparsely populated until the late 19th century. Earlier settlers spent most of their time clearing forests and draining swampland for subsistence farming and limited cash crops. The Bootheel is environmentally unique compared to the rest of Missouri because of its flat alluvial plain, warmer climate, and higher precipitation. Because of a more southern climate, the Bootheel was the only Missouri region that successfully adopted cotton agriculture. The Missouri antebellum cotton farm did not resemble the larger southern cotton plantations, for cotton was grown on smaller farms with fewer slaves.

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 in 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 slaves 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 one to three slaves and the state averaged only four to five slaves per owner (Greene *et al.* 1993; Hurt 1992; Trexler 1914). The holdings of a Missouri slave master were much smaller than that of the Deep South of 12.7 slaves per slaveholder, and that of the Upper South of 7.7 slaves per slaveholder. 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).

Missouri's slave labor can be divided between rural and urban areas. Rural slaves were primarily unskilled laborers working in agriculture, work that included clearing forests, splitting rails, hoeing corn, drying tobacco, breaking hemp, and domestic help. Urban slaves more often worked as skilled labor in carpentry, blacksmithing, and masonry, but they also worked as non-skilled laborers in domestic service, industry, and dockwork. Because of their skills, urban slaves had an easier time adapting to freedom after Emancipation. In both rural and urban environments, slave children were a major component of the work force as servants and field hands.

Many slaves, particularly in urban centers, were used by non-slaveowning 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 (such as mines, ropewalks, 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.

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 (Greene *et al.* 1993:15; Hurt 1992; U.S. Census 1960a, 1860b). In 1850, 50 manumissions were granted out of 87,422, or 1 out of 1,748, and in 1860, 89 out of 114,931, or 1 out 1,291 were freed (Hurt 1992:269). Most Missouri manumissions occurred in St. Louis; very few occurred in rural areas. 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 of them were from Missouri. Some St. Louis free blacks became prosperous businesspersons and respected citizens worth several million dollars, who Cyprian Clamorgan called the "Colored Aristocracy" in 1858 (Christensen 1974).

Free African Americans were the most urban caste of the South. Southern cities were the centers of free black population. In 1860, more 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 1974:174–81). 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. Health care of freedpersons was often worse than that of slaves because they no longer had a master who would call or pay for a doctor or hospitalization (Savit 1978). In St. Louis, free blacks created their own communities with churches and schools. The church was the center of the black community and a refuge from white oppression.

Missouri masters were constantly afraid of slave uprisings, a fear that was enhanced by the Haitian slave revolt of 1803 and the Virginian Nat Turner revolt in 1831. This anxiety led to stricter state laws and regulations of both slave and free blacks. In 1804 new slave codes were enacted, modeled after existing laws in Virginia and Kentucky, but it was less protective of slave rights than the French or Spanish black codes. The code prohibited blacks from testifying against whites in court and from administering medicine of any kind. It omitted provisions concerning food and clothing for slaves, free time on

Sundays and holidays, care of aged slaves, and safeguards designed to prevent excessive physical abuse (Foley 1989:154). Throughout the Antebellum period, laws were passed that increased control over the black population by prohibiting free blacks from traveling and from gathering in meetings, by establishing slave patrols in each city and county to control "misbehaving" blacks, by making it illegal for a free black or mulatto to possess firearms, and by making it illegal to teach blacks to read and write.

The Federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 required both free and slave states to assist in the capture and return of runaway slaves. Even though the treatment of Missouri slaves was considered better than those of the Deep South, Missouri had the highest ratio of runaways to slaves of the slave states. Missouri had 60 slaves out of 87,422 escape in 1850 (1 out of 1,457), and 99 out of 114,931 by 1860 (1 out of 1,161) (Hurt 1992:258). "This exceeded the national average of 1 runaway for every 4,919 slaves" (Hurt 1992:259). The relatively high rate of escapees in Missouri was caused by the state's proximity to free states and easy river transportation. Missouri runaways were also assisted by the Underground Railroad during the 1840s and 1850s, but the level of organized runaway activity is unclear at this time (Merkel 1942:271; National Park Service 1995:33).

The Missouri Antebellum period is marked by a massive "Upper South" American migration, which smothered the earlier French culture. American settlers with their African slaves utilized a diversified agricultural system of livestock, food crops, and cash crops. During the 1850s, the Missouri slave system began to dwindle in cities but remained strong in rural areas until the Civil War.

Civil War & Reconstruction Period (1861–1877)

In April 1861, the Civil War began with 11 southern states seceding from the Union and forming the Confederate States. 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, of which 431,391 were born in the Upper South or Southern slavery states (Greene *et al.* 1993:75). Because of Missouri's border status, men fought on both sides in the war, which included 109,000 for the Union and 30,000 for the Confederate forces (Greene *et al.* 1993:76). Throughout the Civil War, Missouri was controlled by the Union,

but in rural areas southern sympathizers caused havoc using guerilla warfare to kill, steal from, and terrify Union supporters.

Six months after the war began, General John Fremont declared marshal law in Missouri and issued a proclamation freeing all Missouri slaves. Fremont's proclamation, which was soon 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 to Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. Estimates of Missouri's black population indicate 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 futile.

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 comprised 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, Mo. (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, 11 months prior to the ratification of the 13th Amendment and the abolishment of slavery. During the war, many slaves left their masters, some of them 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 post-Civil War period was a time of rebuilding a war-torn country. Though they were free, the lives of African Americans changed little. Some freed slaves moved to urban areas to find employment, but most continued

working in rural areas for former slaveholders. Because of skilled trades, former urban slaves were more successful adapting to freedom than rural slaves. In Missouri the abolishment of slavery had its greatest impact on agriculture, in particular the production of labor-intensive crops (hemp and tobacco). After the war most 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.

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 that furnished black farmers with implements and necessities as an advance on contract wages or in return for part 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 (Greene et al. 1993).

Urban environments were not affected as much by slavery's downfall because, prior to the Civil War, they had already begun to shift to alternative labor sources—German and Irish immigrants. After emancipation a gradual black urban migration led to a shift back to inexpensive black laborers. During Reconstruction, African Americans also worked in the construction of railroads and buildings and had increases in skilled laborers, craftpersons, and professionals (doctors, lawyers, and teachers). Black children were hired out by their families for domestic work.

After the abolishment of slavery, race inequality was maintained through segregation. Segregation was a racist action of whites to distance themselves, but segregation also allowed black citizens to define themselves and establish their independence. "Perhaps the African American's most significant expression of their independence was the organization of their own communities" (Grenz 1979:44). Black communities lived in segregated city blocks or established their own towns. Missouri examples include Pennytown and Arrow Rock, both in Saline County. Pennytown was a small black hamlet founded by Joseph Penny in 1871 (Greene et al. 1993:92; Kremer and Morrow 1989).

Pennytown served as an economic and social center for African Americans with a church, businesses, and fraternal organizations outside Euro-American control. During slavery, Arrow Rock was a major Missouri River port and a starting point on the Santa Fe Trail in Missouri's plantation district. After the Civil War, a segregated African-American community developed on the north side of Arrow Rock (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). Arrow Rock's black community mirrored the white community, including residences, churches, businesses, fraternal organizations, and a school, with a population totaling nearly half of the town's citizens in 1910.

Education became the stepping stone to black self-reliance and was one of the first things created after emancipation. The first black schools were associated with churches, but state-funded black public schools soon were started. James Milton Turner is credited with starting 32 new black schools and building 7 new schools, which included grade schools, high schools, and the Lincoln Institute (now Lincoln University, in Jefferson City), Missouri's first black college. The Freedmen's Bureau and American Missionary Association also assisted in starting black schools. The schools themselves often were old white schools or abandoned buildings.

Post-Reconstruction and the Early 20th Century (1877–1914)

The late 19th and early 20th century is marked by a massive northern migration and urbanization of American blacks. 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 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 local cities, moved into urban areas like St. Louis and Kansas City (Figure 3).

Between 1880 and 1910, "Missouri's black population grew by 8%, from 145,350 to 157,452. By contrast, the white population grew by 55%, from 2,022,826 to 3,134,932" (Greene *et al.* 1993:114) (Table 2). Because of black urbanization, the African-American population in St. Louis in 1880 was 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, almost 3 times the national average (Green *et al.* 1993:107–08).
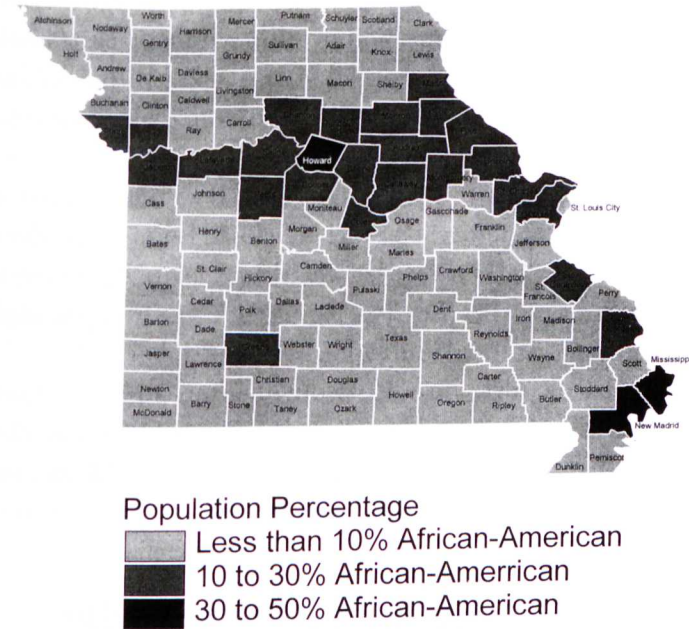

Figure 3. Missouri's African-American population in 1880.

Table 2: Missouri's African-American Population, 1870–1910*

Year	African American	Total Population	% African American
1870	118,071	1,721,295	6.9
1880	145,350	2,168,176	6.7
1890	150,184	2,678,642	5.6
1900	161,234	3,106,077	5.2
1910	157,452	3,293,335	4.8

*U.S. Census 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910.

Segregation persisted, as blacks were confined to small tracts of land or city blocks in overcrowded, unsanitary tenement housing. Tenement houses

were poorly constructed, two- to three-room apartments. In the 1890s, St. Louis blacks lived in areas where the population density averaged 82 persons per acre, as opposed to the overall city average of only 12 per acre (Greene *et al.* 1993:113). Overcrowding and unsanitary conditions were as bad in rural areas, particularly among southeastern Missouri sharecroppers. Rural housing consisted of antebellum slave quarters, farmhouses, and shotgun houses. By the turn of the century, urban overcrowding caused a black movement into white neighborhoods, leading to increased racial conflicts.

Racial violence was growing throughout the state and was most visible by the increase in lynchings. Between 1889 and 1918, Missourians lynched 81 citizens, 51 of whom were black (Greene *et al.* 1993:108–09). These numbers were higher than Virginia and North Carolina, and dramatically higher than in the bordering states of Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas.

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. Though overcrowded, the black community thrived culturally, with its own education, churches, hospitals, and social organizations.

World Wars and Depression Period (1914–1950)

As World War I began, the quality of life for most African Americans continued to be stagnant, though Missouri's black population numbers and percentage grew steadily (Table 3). 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.

Table 3: Missouri's African-American Population, 1920–1950*

Year	African American	Total Population	% African American
1920	178,241	3,404,055	5.2
1930	233,840	3,629,367	6.2
1940	244,386	3,784,664	6.5
1950	297,000	3,954,653	7.5

*U.S. Census 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.

During World War I, 9,219 of the African-American enlisted soldiers were from Missouri (Greene *et al.* 1993:141). The black soldier fought for two things: his country and himself. For his country, he wanted to win the war, and for himself he hoped that upon his return he would receive respect and the full rights of citizenship.

World War I was a blessing for African Americans. The decrease in immigration, increase in U.S. industry, and the reduction of white laborers opened the door for them. The result was a great migration of southern blacks to northern cities for jobs in shipyards, automobile factories, meat packing, mining, and railroads. In 1910, 552,845 African Americans worked as industrial laborers, but in 1920 this number increased to 960,039 (Greene *et al.* 1993:143). When compared to the 1880 population (Figure 2), the distribution of Missouri's black population in 1930 (Figure 4) clearly highlights an urban
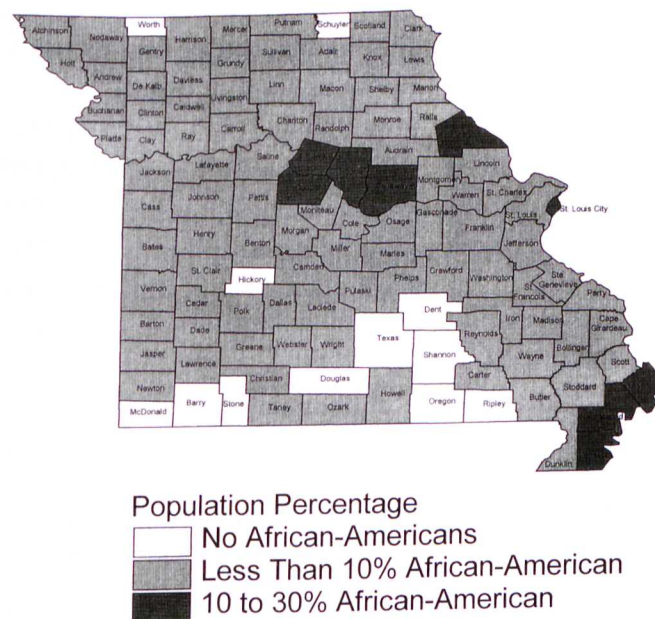

Figure 4. Missouri's African-American population in 1930.

migration into St. Louis and Kansas City. This migration compounded problems of urban overcrowding and unemployment that peaked after WWI during the Depression. Overcrowding caused African Americans to move into adjacent white neighborhoods. Most white families in these areas responded by moving out and opening the neighborhood for more black residents. An example of this is the Ville neighborhood of St. Louis that had a black population of less than 10% in 1890, but by 1930 was greater than 80% African American (Fulmer *et al.* 1995).

In 1929, the stock market crash sent the United States into the Great Depression. The Depression was a time of great unemployment, but it affected African Americans the hardest (Wolters 1970). "Blacks were the last to be hired and the first to be fired" (Greene *et al.* 1993:151). Traditional black jobs as porters, elevator operators, ditch diggers, and domestics were being taken by whites, leaving the blacks with little to nothing. The lack of jobs resulted in increased tensions between the races. 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 (Greene *et al.* 1993:153). Yet, the disadvantages of segregation outweighed the good, as blacks were not allowed better health care, housing, education, and transportation. They 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), though federal programs helped unemployed and elderly Americans. These programs also were racially biased, as whites often were favored for jobs and federal support. When blacks were employed they often worked in menial jobs for less pay. The PWA-WPA (Works Progress Administration) did help many blacks obtain jobs and construct numerous schools, recreation centers, hospitals, and thousands of low-cost rental apartments for African Americans. In Missouri, African-American CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) companies were active at Washington State Park and at Mark Twain State Park, constructing buildings and stonework that remain visible today.

According to the 1930 census, the urban black worker was especially hit by unemployment. In most cities, blacks experienced unemployment from 30 to 60% greater than whites (Wolters 1970:91). Federal relief cases for urban African Americans were almost three times as high as they were for whites. In

St. Louis, blacks accounted for only 11% of the 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. Like WWI, WWII offered the African-American community an opportunity to find jobs and earn respect in service. More than three million blacks registered and one million served (Greene *et al.* 1993:159). Black leaders of this period pushed for equality in the armed forces, opening all four military branches to African Americans.

During the war, blacks again flooded urban centers looking for jobs. President Roosevelt intensified black migration in 1941 with an executive order that prohibited racial discrimination in the hiring of workers in defense industries and in the federal government. Black migration again increased racial tensions in urban areas, tensions that became even greater after the war as the job market was flooded with newly returned soldiers. Blacks found employment as unskilled laborers, in domestic jobs, or in menial tasks. Segregation and discrimination were still prominent, and there was neither quality nor quantity in public facilities and housing. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League helped break down racial barriers through civil rights court rulings, giving greater opportunities in housing and public facilities.

After WWII, the 1950 census of Missouri's population recorded 2,954,653 white residents and 297,000 blacks, totaling 3,954,653 people (U.S. Census 1950). Blacks constituted 7.5% of Missouri's population, but more than 75% of them lived in St. Louis or Kansas City. Most African Americans returning from WWII found employment as unskilled labor. The St. Louis black unemployment rate was more than ⅔ greater than whites at 15%, and the average black income was only 58% of white income (Green *et al.* 1993:160–61).

In 1950, Missouri higher education took a great step forward when the University of Missouri school system opened the doors to black enrollment. All Missouri public schools soon followed suit. The fight for equality and desegregation was only beginning in the early 1950s; it would later peak in the 1960s Civil Rights movements.

African-American Archaeology

African-American archaeology has been defined by Singleton and 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 beyond the big house to include urban slavery, free blacks, post-emancipation settlements, western frontier experiences, black Civil War sites, industrial sites, and postbellum tenant farmers. "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 (Fairbanks 1984; Ferguson 1992; McKee 1998; Orser 1984, 1990a, 1990b; Schuyler 1980; Singleton 1988, 1990, 1991, 1995; Singleton and Bograd 1995). Overall, these scholars have suggested that archaeological strategies for studying African Americans have developed along three lines: (1) the study of everyday life, (2) social inequality studies, and (3) the search for material correlates of ethnicity.

The study of everyday life has included simple questions of subsistence (Rietz et al. 1985), housing (Otto 1975, 1977, 1980, 1984), material objects (Kelso 1986a, 1986b), and health (Gibbs et al. 1980; Rathbun 1987). For example, excavations of slave quarters have shown that a slave's diet was not limited to the planter's rations, but included a more diversified diet including both wild and domestic flora and fauna (Singleton 1991:171–73).

Social inequality studies have addressed issues of class (Otto 1975, 1977, 1980, 1984), race and racism (Babson 1988, 1990), gender (Yentsch 1994), power and resistance (McGuire and Paynter 1991; Orser 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1989, 1991), creolization (Ferguson 1992), and acculturation (Wheaton et al. 1983; Wheaton and Garrow 1985). Archaeologist John Otto (1984) compared the material records from planter, overseer, and slave households 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.

Ethnicity studies have concentrated on African traits or traditions that persisted in the New World through material objects (Stine et al. 1996), artifact patterns (Otto 1975, 1977, 1980, 1984), and ideology that can be extrapolated from material evidence (Brown and Cooper 1990; Ferguson 1992; Handler 1996, 1997). Archaeological examples include colono-ware ceramics (Ferguson 1980, 1991, 1992); wattle-and-daub house construction (Ferguson 1992; Hamer and Trinkley 1997; Wheaton et al. 1983; Wheaton and Garrow 1985); foodways (Otto 1984; Yentsch 1994); the placement of burial goods atop graves (Vlach 1978, 1991); and the use of crystals, pierced coins, and beads, particularly blue beads, to ward off evil spirits (Stine et al. 1996; Young 1995, 1996, 1997a, 1997b).

Future research in African-American archaeology needs to address gender issues, the social development of ethnicity, and increased public involvement, particularly with descendant groups.

African-American Archaeology in Missouri

African-American archaeology in Missouri is in the beginning stages of development (Baumann 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1998c, 1999; Thomas 1998). Such 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 (Figure 5).

Many archaeological projects have had the potential to record Missouri's black heritage but have failed to do so. Examples include the Fort Zumwalt State Historic Site in St. Charles County, Mo. (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). These projects are respected Missouri studies in historical archaeology, and each mentions an enslaved African-American presence in the historical context, but they ignore the potential to record black lifeways in the material remains.

I am encouraged to see that some historians and historic preservationists are recognizing the importance of the archaeological record in understanding Missouri's African-American past (Rogers 1997). At the same time, I implore these non-archaeologists who are interested in the material record to work with archaeologists on these projects. Archaeological research is not brain

Project Locations of Previous African-American Archaeology in Missouri

Figure 5. Locations (black dots) of African-American archaeological projects in Missouri.

surgery, but if you have no formal training in excavation techniques or artifact identification, then your excavations may do more harm than good.

Preservation and Restoration

Missouri's federal, state, and county parks have promoted African-American archeology for the identification and restoration of historical resources. In the summers of 1961 and 1962, Donald Heldman (1961, 1962) of the University of Missouri–Columbia conducted an archaeological excavation at the General Daniel Bissell Historic Museum and Park in north St. Louis County. Heldman was asked to assist the St. Louis County Parks and Recreation Department in its preservation efforts to restore the Bissell Estate to the time of General Bissell's occupation (1810–1833). General Bissell was the commanding officer of Fort Belle Fontaine, which was the first American fort west of the Mississippi River, established in 1805 and located north of his estate overlooking the Missouri River. The Bissell estate was a plantation-style farm that was operated with over 30 enslaved African-Americans during the General's

occupation. Archaeological work was conducted to locate and identify early outbuilding structures associated with the General, including those linked to slave life. Excavations took place on each side of the main house which is still standing today as a historical house museum. These excavations uncovered artifacts and architectural data identified as a cistern, a well, a cinder road, a milkhouse or springhouse, a log barn, a smokehouse, and a cellar. Some of these buildings and artifacts may be related to slave work areas, but no evidence of their homes was found. A sketch map by a Bissell descendant suggests that the slave quarters were located north of the main house, but excavations were not conducted in this area. Heldman (1962:32–33) states that this area was in cultivation and "showed no evidence of habitation" and "that all traces of them [slave quarters] would have been obliterated from farming." The location of these slave quarters was explored again in 1993 by a University of Missouri–St. Louis field school, which is discussed later.

The George Washington Carver National Monument near Neosho, Mo., has initiated archaeological surveys and testing for the restoration and preservation of Carver's birthplace and childhood home (Beaubien 1953; Benn 1982; Garrison and Bray 1976; Weymouth 1976). George Washington Carver was a former slave who became a leading agricultural scientist at Iowa State University and the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama. This monument contains the archaeological remains of two cabins and one frame house built by Moses Carver, George Washington Carver's former master, an array of outbuildings from the Carver period, a house and farm buildings from the 20th century, and a prehistoric occupation.

The St. Louis County Parks and Recreation Department has promoted the excavation of the Thornhill Estate in St. Louis County for a restoration and preservation program. Archaeological testing was conducted between 1972 and 1984 by Washington University's David Browman (1972, 1974, 1979, 1982, 1984) and Roderick McIntosh (1979). The Thornhill Estate was occupied by the Frederick Bates family, a former Missouri Territorial and State Governor, who operated a farm with slave labor. Browman and McIntosh's work was associated with the reconstruction and renovation of the Bates antebellum home, two possible slave cabins, a log barn, a walkway, detached kitchen, ice house, cistern, chicken house, and root cellar. Browman's (1972, 1979, 1982) excavations around the possible slave quarters concluded that they postdated the Civil War and were unclear if they were associated with African-American life.

The Battle of Lexington State Historic Site in Lafayette County has had exploratory testing of the Anderson House near Lexington (Figure 6). Oliver Anderson moved to Lexington in 1851 from Fayette, Ky., to start a hemp factory and ropewalk (a long room or building where rope is manufactured), which was operated by slave labor. During the Civil War, the Anderson home was used as a hospital for Union and Confederate forces. Initial archival work was conducted by Kenneth Coombs (1961a, 1961b) to formulate a master plan for the interpretation and restoration of the Battle of Lexington State Historic Site. Coombs completed a topographic survey of the grounds that noted known building locations and produced drawings of the Anderson farmstead, including a detached kitchen/servants quarters, slave quarters, a carriage house/horse barn, carriage way, root cellar, smokehouse, ice house, privy, hen house, and a garden storage shed. Coombs recommended the restoration of three structures: a detached kitchen/servants quarters, a slave quarters, and a carriage house/horse barn.

Coombs' research initiated archaeological testing by Robert Bray of the University of Missouri–Columbia in 1960 (Bray 1961, 1962). Bray conducted

Figure 6. The Anderson House at the Battle of Lexington State Historic Site near Lexington, Mo. (Photo by Timothy E. Baumann)

excavations of the slave quarters and detached kitchen, but was unable to locate the carriage house. His limited excavations identified two brick pier corners which he interpreted as a frame slave quarters with brick foundation corners. Bray also uncovered a brick floor and foundation associated with the detached kitchen.

In 1988, the Missouri Department of Natural Resources (MDNR) contracted archaeologist Larry Schmits to further evaluate the location and interpretation of the Anderson farmstead structures and to determine whether enough evidence was available for their restoration. His excavations further identified the detached kitchen and a possible slave quarters. Excavation of the detached kitchen identified a brick foundation with an interior wall, apparently separating the structure into two rooms (Schmits 1989:213). The detached kitchen functioned as a storehouse and kitchen with an African-American cook's living quarters on the second floor.

The Anderson House's possible slave quarter location identified by Bray in 1960 (1961, 1962) was further excavated by Larry Schmits, who uncovered 16 features including 3 brick piers and 13 post molds, 1 brick fragment, and 1 linear scatter of bricks. The artifacts all postdated the Civil War and raised serious doubts of the slave quarter interpretation by Coombs and Bray. Based on the temporal and functional aspects of the artifacts, Schmits did not believe that the brick piers and post molds were associated with a slave residence. Instead, he suggested the possible "slave quarters" was a late 19th century farm outbuilding (Schmits 1989).

Larry Grantham, archaeologist for the Division of State Parks of MDNR, disagrees with Schmits' farm outbuilding interpretation (pers. comm., August 9, 1994). Instead, Grantham suggests that the brick piers and post molds do indeed represent slave quarters. Grantham's interpretation is based on photographic evidence; he suggested that the post mold features represent a porch, which outbuildings do not have.

In 1986, Grantham conducted minor excavations at the Scott Joplin House Historic Site in St. Louis. The Joplin House is a state-operated house museum that celebrates (1) Scott Joplin's role as songwriter and musician in the development of American music, specifically "Ragtime," at the turn of the century, and (2) Scott Joplin's home and office, where he worked and wrote music. Grantham's work included seven small units along the house's foundation to determine its age and construction. Few artifacts were collected since no

screening was done, but a mid-19th century date was determined for the house (Grantham 1986).

In summer and fall 1991, Grantham also conducted excavations on Lot 77 in Arrow Rock, Mo., to record cultural remains prior to the construction of a new visitor's center at Arrow Rock State Historic Site. Excavations revealed multiple brick and limestone foundations associated with three major occupations between 1847 and 1958. The last of these structures was occupied by the Lucien Cavil family (1922–1958), an African-American household. Prior to the Cavil residence, Lot 77 was occupied by a Euro-American store and household. A shallow depression and a concentration of limestone and concrete identified the site on the ground surface (Grantham 1991).

Excavations were conducted to determine the function and age of the depression. They revealed a cistern filled with artifacts dating after 1958. Once a mid-20th century date for the cistern was determined, artifacts were recorded and returned to the cistern fill. The limestone and concrete concentration, on the other hand, was determined to be associated with the Cavil household and both of these features were initially cleared for construction. Further digging recorded additional structural deposits predating the Cavil occupation. Twenty-eight features were recorded, but only six were associated with the African-American household. These features included limestone piers and two indeterminate pits. Grantham suggests that the Cavil house was built after 1922 with recycled materials from the previous structures on Lot 77.

The majority of the artifacts consisted of architectural remains (70–80%) and most dated to the 19th century. Only the artifacts from the cistern and a porcelain doll have been 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. Because of the intact archaeological remains on Lot 77, the construction plan for the visitors center at Arrow Rock State Historic Site was modified, preserving the site and leaving a limestone and brick foundation visible on the surface for visitor interpretation.

Between 1992 and 1993, MDNR contracted with the Center for Archaeological Research of Southwest Missouri State University (CAR) to provide archaeological and historical investigations at the Nathan Boone Homestead State Historic Site, located just north of Ash Grove, Mo. (Yelton and Bray 1994a, 1994b). The results of the investigations will be used to interpret the

site for the public. Oral interviews and historical documentation indicate that Nathan Boone, the son of Daniel Boone, owned 11 slaves, some of whom lived on the property after the Civil War. Archaeological investigations recorded a stone-lined storage cellar, a spring house, a smokehouse, a possible summer kitchen, a privy, the Boone family cemetery, and an African-American cemetery but were unable to locate the slave quarters or the African-American postbellum occupation. The black cemetery consisted of seven possible grave depressions marked with natural, unmodified stones. The African-American cemetery is on lower ground than the Boone family cemetery, suggesting a class difference.

In 1995, archaeologist James E. Price directed a joint National Park Service and University of Missouri–Columbia archaeological project to assist in the restoration of Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site in St. Louis County, (Price and Hastings 1998). The site, originally called White Haven, consists of an early- to mid-19th-century farmstead including a main house, smokehouse, springhouse, barn, and ice house. This site originally belonged to the Dent family, who operated a modest antebellum farmstead with slave labor. 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. Historical records suggest that by the 1850s, 18 black slaves lived and worked at White Haven (National Park Service n.d.). Excavations in 1995 were conducted in several areas including in and around the main house, the summer kitchen, and the basement winter kitchen (Figure 7).

Evidence of African-American lifeways was best represented in the basement winter kitchen. The winter kitchen was used by slave cooks to prepare meals for the Dent family and themselves and as a living quarters. Analysis by Price and Hastings (1998) highlighted three artifact concentrations associated with the African-American occupation below the winter-kitchen floor. First, a concentration of large broken ceramics was found beneath the floor, a deposit that appears to have been intentionally placed under the floorboards when the kitchen was in use. These ceramics may have been accidentally broken and hidden from the master's view, but Price and Hastings have also interpreted these broken ceramics as "killed" vessels from a ritual to keep spirits from coming back from the dead (Little 1997:3; Price and Hastings 1998). Second, a cached bundle of artifacts was uncovered along a wall of the winter kitchen (Figure 8). The bundle consisted of two glass drawer knobs, the glass ball from the stem of a compote, two brass doorknobs, a whiteware sugarbowl
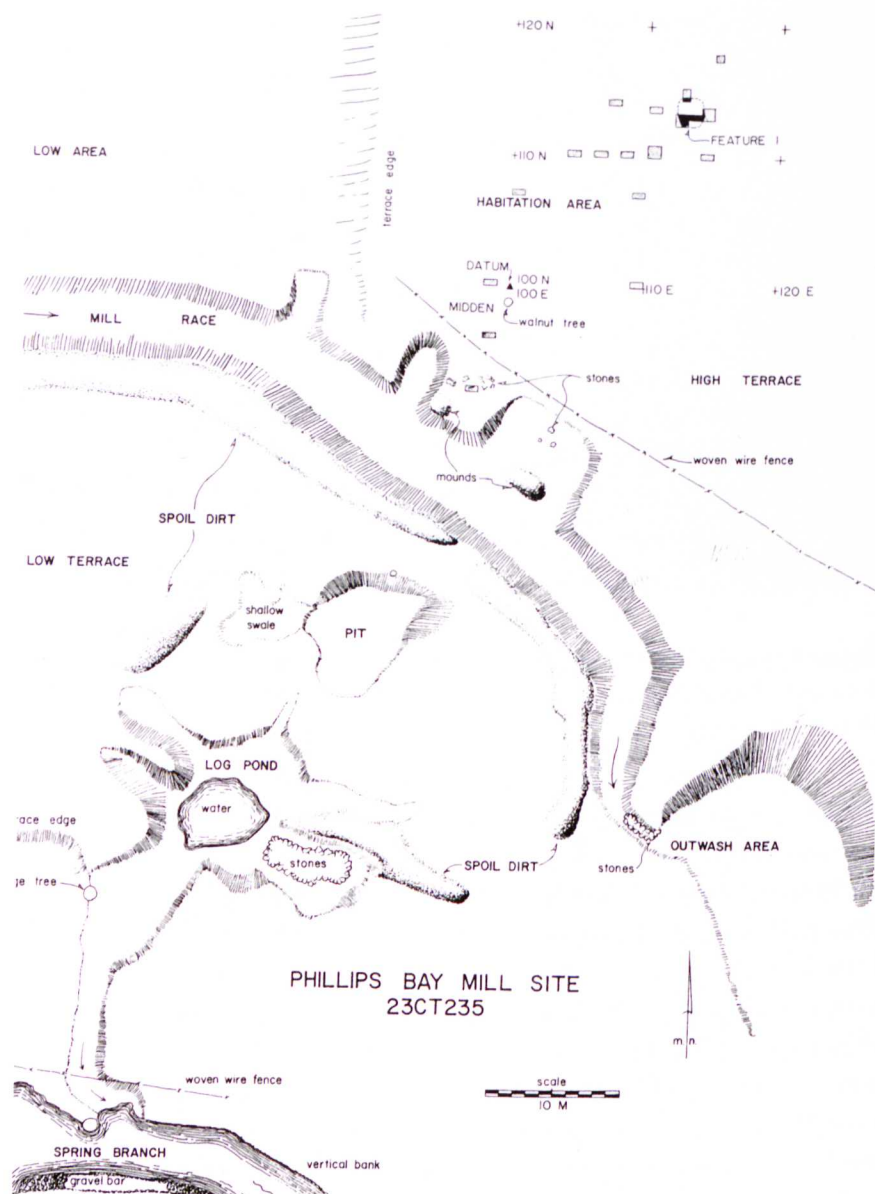
Figure 7. West wing and basement winter kitchen at the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site in St. Louis County, Mo. (Photo by Timothy E. Baumann)

lid, a whetstone for sharpening scythes, a brass spoon bowl, five buttons, a marble, a coil of brass wire, a smooth pebble, a prehistoric projectile point, two prehistoric scrapers, a steel knife blade, a Sheffield dinner fork with a bone handle, a sewing thimble, and a large mammal knuckle bone (Price and Hastings 1998). Similar bundles have been recorded by archaeologist Mark Leone of the University of Maryland–College Park and have been interpreted to bring good luck, protection, and to cure illness (Little 1997:3). Lastly, an intact writing slate and graphite pencils were found below the kitchen floor-boards. Missouri law then prohibited slaves from learning to read and write, so finding these objects in this context is imminently reasonable. The slaves may have been teaching themselves and hiding the writing materials below the floorboards between lessons.

Cultural Resource Management

Since the Historic Preservation Act of 1966, most of Missouri's African-American archaeological research has been a product of cultural resource management projects. Between 1981 and 1983, Southwest Missouri State

Figure 8. Contents of the second cache bundle uncovered below the winter kitchen floor at the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site in St. Louis County, Mo. (Photo by James E. Price)

University's CAR excavated portions of two postbellum African-American neighborhoods for the University Plaza Project in Springfield (Flanders *et al.* 1981; Harris 1981; Harris *et al.* 1986). The first was located along Dollison Avenue and immediately south of St. Louis Street and included both white and black tradesmen. The second neighborhood was a working-class African-American community called "East End" located along McDaniel and McAllister streets. Excavations in the East End neighborhood provided the best information on African-American life after the Civil War. African-American residents in this neighborhood were employed at two tobacco factories located immediately north of this neighborhood or as domestic servants for neighboring white households. Excavations uncovered house foundations, privies, cisterns, and a variety of artifacts dating to the late 19th and early 20th century.

In 1984, James Price led a team that investigated the Phillips Bay Mill Site for the National Park Service's Ozark National Scenic Riverways Project. The site contains the remains of an early to mid-19th century sawmill and habitation area as well as a multi-component prehistoric occupation (Figure 9). The

Figure 9. Map of the Phillips Bay Mill site in Carter County, Mo. (From Price *et al.* 1984:Figure 1-13)

site is located on a spring branch of the Current River. Site interpretations were based on limited testing and surface features of a mill race, mill dam, a large pit, a log pond, and the mill site. Test excavations identified two middens and a feature interpreted as one or two habitation areas associated with the mill. Historical documentation does not clearly define who lived and worked at the mill, but Price *et al.* (1985:134–35) suggested that slave and free black occupants resided and labored at the mill based on census records and ceramic analysis. Census records indicate that the mill owners were slaveholders and likely used slaves. Based on previous African-American studies (Baker 1980; Geismar 1982; Otto 1975, 1977, 1984; Smith 1976), Price and his colleagues concluded that the ceramic content of the mill site reflects an African-American presence based on a higher percentage of annular ware and/or bowls compared to Anglo-American historical sites recorded during the Ozark Scenic Riverways Project and with the Widow Harris Site, also in the Ozarks (Price 1979).

In 1984, the Archaeological Survey of the University of Missouri–St. Louis (UMSL) contracted to conduct a records and literature search and archaeological testing of St. Louis city blocks 3693 and 3694 in the "Ville" neighborhood, a historically black neighborhood since the early 20th century (Nixon *et al.* 1984). Seven trenches were dug by heavy machinery across the development tract. This work revealed foundations and basements associated with the African-American occupation, but they had been heavily damaged by construction and urban renewal activities. Ultimately, the archaeological remains, though present, were not considered to be significant and clearance was given for construction. Archaeological evidence from both blocks was completely destroyed.

Ten years later, the Archaeological Research Center of St. Louis (ARC) was contracted by the Greater Ville Historic Development Corporation to conduct another record and literature search of the Ville neighborhood. The immediate goal of the project was to establish a historical context and determine its archaeological resources for possible future testing (Fulmer *et al.* 1995). The Ville project's long-range goals were to establish a public archaeology program involving archaeologists, historians, and the community. Another long-range goal was to create a museum celebrating the African-American heritage of St. Louis. The first step of the Ville public archaeology program was to be an archaeological field school for high school and middle school students, but since that time funding has disappeared and no work has been

done. The initial field school was to have been held at the former residence of James Milton Turner, a prominent black community, state, and national leader during the postbellum and early 20th-century period. Current status of this project is up in the air—it may never take place.

Between 1987 and 1988, Larry Schmits of Environmental Systems Analysis conducted extensive testing at Quindaro for a proposed Browning-Ferris Industries landfill (McKay and Schmits 1986; Schmits 1988). "The Quindaro site was the location of the mid-19th century town of Quindaro, the later post-Civil War African-American community of Happy Hollow, and in the late 19th century by Western University, the first black school of Kansas" (Schmits 1988:89). The site is located on the bluffs of the Missouri River on the north edge of present-day Kansas City, Kans. Quindaro was founded in 1857 as a "free-state" town in Kansas but was abandoned by the early 1860s because of "the depression of 1857–58, its poor location, its inability to finance a railroad, and internal dissension" (Schmits 1988:89).

During and after the Civil War, African-American freedmen moved into the abandoned Quindaro to form Happy Hollow. Many of them were former Missouri slaves. Schmits' excavations focused on the commercial and residential housing of the Quindaro occupation but also addressed the postbellum black community. For example, the third residence excavated in 1988 at 20 O Street was first occupied before 1860 by an Irish immigrant, Robert Kelly. After the Civil War, the house was occupied by William Meyer, a 50-year-old African-American laborer from Missouri, with his wife and two children (Schmits 1988:120–21) (Figure 10). Schmits (1988:127–35) also discussed Quindaro's role in the underground railroad. The Kansas–Missouri underground railroad was in operation beginning in the 1850s and freed several hundred Missouri slaves. Topeka and Lawrence were the main centers, but most river towns, like Quindaro, also played a role in freeing Missouri slaves.

In 1989 and 1992, UMSL conducted intensive archaeological surveys of the Wildhorse Creek drainage basin in St. Louis County, Mo., (Harl *et al.* 1990) and the Middle Meramec River valley in Jefferson County, Mo., (Harl and Naglich 1992). In both surveys numerous historical sites were recorded, with African-American components including antebellum plantation sites ("big houses," outbuildings, cemeteries, slave quarters, schools) and postbellum freedmen sites (sharecropper/renter homes). Two of these sites, David Green and Tyler Plantation, were excavated later in archaeological field schools and are discussed below.

Figure 10. A general view of Feature 19, a cellar foundation at the Quindaro site, interpreted as the African-American residence of William Meyer and his family after 1872. (Photo by Larry J. Schmits)

In 1990 UMSL was contracted to excavate a portion of the Second Catholic Cemetery, located near Jefferson Avenue in St. Louis (Hamilton and Nixon 1994; Harl *et al.* 1996; Herrmann 1994, 1999). The second Catholic burial ground was used between 1823 and the 1850s. Excavations uncovered 79 single interments and a large burial pit with the commingled remains of at least 38 individuals. Nicholas Herrmann, a doctoral student at the University of Tennessee–Knoxville, has collected the demographic and pathological data from the physical remains. His preliminary demographic analysis suggests that 70% were Euro-American, 23% were African American, and 7% were Native American ranging in age from 7 months to over 65 years old, with a sex ratio of 1.54 males per female (Herrmann 1999:7–9). Burial records of the Second Catholic Church document a mixed parish including part of St. Louis' free and slave community. Examples of African Americans in this cemetery include "Jeaneane Marie, whose age was estimated at 100 at her death in 1831, a female slave of the Soulard in 1835, and Maximan Clamorgan, who died in 1825 and was the son of Jacques Clamorgan, a merchant and fur trader of Welsh, French, and African-American heritage" (Harl *et al.* 1996:8). Herrmann

(1999:10) noted a low frequency of pathological conditions, suggesting that Second Catholic cemetery individuals may have died quickly from acute diseases such as cholera. Historical records substantiate this conclusion, as cholera epidemics were common in St. Louis between 1823 and the 1850s (Harl *et al.* 1996:9–13). The worst cholera epidemic was in 1849, with thousands dying from this quick and deadly illness.

The 1993 Missouri River flood breached the Monarch Levee in the Chesterfield Valley, St. Louis County. In 1994, Sverdrup Civil, Inc., contracted with the ARC to conduct a phase I survey of the proposed Monarch 100-year flood levee reconstruction and improvement and to conduct a record and literature search of the Chesterfield Valley region for the proposed Monarch 500-year flood levee (Harl *et al.* 1994a, 1994b). The survey revisited two known sites (23SL6651 and 23SL698) and recorded two new sites (23SL909 and 23SL910). Site 23SL651 was first recorded during the Wildhorse Creek drainage basin survey as both a prehistoric and historical site (Harl *et al.* 1990). The historical component at 23SL689 may have been an antebellum slave quarters of the Stumpf farmstead. The Stumpf family migrated from Virginia to Missouri prior to 1840 and operated a farm with six slaves.

In fall 1994, the construction of a new Federal Courts building was begun on city blocks 197 and 205 in downtown St. Louis (Naglich and Harl 1995). ARC contracted to record cisterns, privies, and wall foundations. Material collections were made from grab samples of the privy and cistern matrix removed by a backhoe. Historical and archaeological research has identified free African-American residents and associated features dating to the antebellum and postbellum periods. Materials collected include faunal and floral remains, clothing, ceramics, bottles, and other artifacts. Unfortunately, this was a typical urban archaeology project, as the contractors called in the archaeologists only after the bulldozers were running. The result was a poorly documented salvage archaeological project with grab samples and photographs of features.

In 1997 CAR conducted a phase I survey along Highway 412 between Kennett and Hayti, in the Missouri Bootheel (Lopinot 1998). Numerous African-American tenant and sharecropper farm sites were recorded dating to the early 20th century, but many of them were heavily disturbed by subsequent plowing. Additional testing on some of these sites was conducted later in 1998, but with little success (Thomas 1999).

The City of Kansas City, Mo., contracted in 1997 with the Institute for Minnesota Archaeology to prepare a management plan for the development

of an urban archaeological park and interpretive center for the Town of Kansas Archaeological Site (McCarthy and Ward 1997a, 1997b; Rosin 1997; Ward 1998). As the management plan developed, a late 19th-century African-American occupation was identified from historical documents. Archaeological investigations in the African-American area were first conducted through a resistivity survey that identified three possible pit features and one possible structure. Subsequent testing revealed a recent mixed clay and gravel fill and failed to identify any intact cultural remains. Future excavations using mechanical stripping to remove the fill may uncover intact cultural remains.

Mark Latham, an archaeologist with Burns & McDonnell of Kansas City, conducted a phase II testing of a plantation site (23LF138) near Waverly in Lafayette County, Mo., for the Missouri Department of Transportation's U.S. Route 65 Relocation Project. This antebellum farmstead was established in 1829 by the Galbraeth family and was operated with slave labor. At the time of excavation it was still an active farm with an extant I-house dating to the 1870s. The phase II investigation included "informant interviews, surface survey, T-probe testing, test unit excavations, and hand or shovel stripping of stone features" (Latham 1998). The testing identified portions of a slave quarters, a large circular ice house, and several outbuildings. Artifact analysis and archival research are being conducted for a final report.

Archaeological Field Schools

The East Central Community College field school of 1989 conducted excavations at the residence of David Green, a freed slave of either the Tyler or Coleman Plantation in Babler State Park, St. Louis County (Harl and Naglich 1994). After the Civil War, Green worked as a hired laborer for the Coleman family. Archaeological investigations revealed that the remains of Green's residence might have been partially destroyed by the construction of a later 20th-century home. Two historical features were found: Feature 1 was a square post that may be associated with David Green's residence. Feature 2 was a shallow basin-shaped pit with bottle glass fragments, a tumbler glass with a pontil mark, and cut nails. A float sample from this feature recorded nutshell, charcoal, and small fragments of a monocot stem. Harl and Naglich (1994) suggested that the pontil glass dates to pre-1857, which could indicate that this residence was used by Green when he was a slave.

In fall 1989 and summer 1990, archaeological field schools were held by Washington University and East Central Community College at the Tyler Plan-

tation site in Babler State Park, St. Louis County. This field school also excavated part of the Tyler main house, an "L"-shaped residence built in 1836 and the possible earlier slaveowner home of David Green. Tests revealed two limestone foundations and a brick concentration (a chimney remnant?). Artifacts consisted of domestic materials: creamware, blue shell-edge ceramics, ironstone, cut nails, a porcelain doll fragment, brass buttons, a marble, and a lid to a corn cob pipe that dated between 1872 and 1913. Most of the artifacts dated to after the Civil War.

In 1991, Michael Fuller conducted a St. Louis Community College field school in an open lot adjoining the Scott Joplin House Historic Site (Fuller 1992). The goal of his excavation was to explore Scott Joplin's neighborhood. The site excavated was the location of the Hammer Store, a German–American grocery. The Hammer store was in business from 1890 until 1945 in an ethnically diverse neighborhood. Although the Hammer store was operated by whites, Fuller suggested that due to the proximity to Joplin's house, Joplin must have patronized the store. If future archaeology were to be conducted on the Joplin House, these artifacts could be compared to those collected from the store.

In 1993, UMSL conducted a joint college and high school field school at the General Daniel Bissell Historic Museum and Park in north St. Louis County. The Bissell Estate was occupied by the Bissell family for 150 years (1812–1962) and was operated as a plantation-style farm with enslaved African Americans. As stated earlier, Donald Heldman (1961, 1962) of MU conducted two archaeological field seasons in the early 1960s at this site but was unable to find the slave quarters. The 1993 field school objectives were to locate the original stone residence, a gristmill, and the slave quarters. Archaeological testing identified only a possible outbuilding location and was unsuccessful in locating the stone residence or the slave quarters. Based on oral tradition, Heldman (1962) stated that the slave quarters were located north of the main house in a cultivated field, but no evidence of habitation was evident in this area in the 1960s. In 1993, the location of the slave quarters may now be covered by a residential neighborhood and is likely destroyed.

Howard Marshall and Marcus Rautman of MU conducted two archaeological field schools in 1997 and 1998 at the Hickman site in Howard County, Mo. (Rautman 1998). The Hickman site was an antebellum farmstead operated with slave labor. The only structure still standing is a one-and-one-half story, brick Georgian house built by Thomas Hickman in 1819 (Denny 1998).

Excavations have concentrated on a razed detached kitchen behind the main house where slaves cooked and possibly lived. Future work will continue on this detached kitchen and possibly locate the slave quarters. It is planned to turn the Hickman site into a living-history museum (Shopland 1998).

During four consecutive summers, the Missouri Archaeological Society and the University of Tennessee–Knoxville in 1996, 1997, and 1998, and UMSL in 1999, in cooperation with the Friends of Arrow Rock and MDNR, conducted four archaeological field schools on the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery Site in Arrow Rock, Mo. (Baumann 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1997e, 1998a, 1998b, 1998d, 1998e, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 1999e; Baumann and Krause 1997, 1998). The Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery site is located on city Block 30 in Arrow Rock and has five major components: a pottery factory (1854–1874), three African-American residences (1880s–1950s), an African-American restaurant/bar (1880s–1950s), an African-American Odd Fellows lodge (1891–1899), and an African-American Masonic lodge (1881–1931) called the Brown Lodge. Today, only the Brown Lodge is still standing (Figure 11). The lodge is a two-story frame structure that had a Masons hall on the second floor and an African-American restaurant and bar on the first. The Friends of Arrow Rock, the local historical society, plans to restore the Brown Lodge as an interpretive center for African-American heritage.

Archaeological fieldwork has resulted in thirty-eight 3-x-3-ft units and nearly 200 gridded posthole tests across Block 30. Excavations have recorded cultural features and artifacts associated with both the pottery factory and the African-American component, but they have concentrated on the Brown Lodge on Lot 106 and the African-American residence on Lot 121. Excavations around and underneath the Brown Lodge have recorded the lodge's original limestone foundation as well as postholes and limestone piers associated with a razed two-story rear addition. This razed addition contained the kitchen for the restaurant/bar and the stairway and entrance to the second-story Masons hall. A thick midden was also found below the razed addition that included animal bones, buttons, whiskey bottles, shot glasses, personal objects, stove parts, and broken tablewares.

Of the three African-American households, work has concentrated on the Lot 121 house site. Lot 121 is located at the corner of Morgan and Seventh streets and was first purchased in 1883 by James Armstead for $50. In the 1880 census, Armstead is recorded as an African-American "day laborer" who lived with his wife Clarah and 4 children ranging in age from 2 months to 10

Figure 11. The Brown Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons in Arrow Rock, Mo., about 1881. (Photo by Timothy E. Baumann, 1996)

years. In 1889, Armstead borrowed $200 against this property but could not pay the loan, and his property was foreclosed on and the land sold 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. In 1903, African-Americans Franklin and Susie Bush then bought Lot 121. Local oral history and census records document Franklin Bush's occupation as a plasterer and painter. 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 remained empty, but continued to be owned by the descendants until the 1970s.

Excavations on Lot 121 revealed a limestone and cement foundation, two cellars, and a cistern, as well as a wide assortment of artifacts including bottles and canning jars, tools, tablewares, stonewares, faunal remains, and personal objects. The majority of the archaeological evidence related to the Bush family occupation including a "B"-monogrammed plate and a broken cement slab marked with "F. Bu, Aug." standing for Franklin Bush and the date. Material

evidence collected related to Franklin Bush's profession included paint can openers and numerous paint cans, some with dried paint still in them.

Across Block 30, numerous artifact types were found that may be linked to African-American ethnicity including a fossilized coral, a worked piece of galena, a chandelier crystal, and glass beads (Figure 12). Chandelier crystals and quartz crystals have previously been found on African-American sites, particularly in slave quarters. For example, Amy Young, of the University of Southern Mississippi, recovered similar chandelier crystals from slave quarter root cellars on the Locust Grove Plantation in Kentucky (Young 1995, 1996, 1997a, 1997b). Young interpreted these crystals along with perforated coins, beads, and "X"-marked artifacts (marble, spoon) as religious or ideologically significant objects to African Americans. These objects were often worn as pendants for good luck charms or to ward off evil.

Figure 12. Fossil coral, worked piece of galena, chandelier crystal, and glass beads from the Brown Lodge/Caldwell Pottery site, in Arrow Rock, Mo. (Photo by Timothy E. Baumann)

A blue and a yellow bead were also recovered from the Lot 121 house site. Blue beads and the color blue have also been associated with African Americans, and, like crystals, were supposed to ward off evil spirits (Stine *et al.* 1996). Often doorways and windows were outlined in blue to keep spirits from entering the house. Significantly, the existing Brown Lodge's shutters are painted blue.

During the 1998 and 1999 field schools, archaeological investigations were also conducted on north Second Street recording two new archaeological sites: the North Second Street site (23SA505) and the Whitsy's Tavern site (23SA508). The North Second Street site was recorded on the west side of north Second Street and was occupied by African Americans between 1870 and 1950 and included six households and an African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) church. Only two frame outbuildings are still standing on this site, but structural evidence of the households and church are still visible on the surface. Excavations have included posthole testing across 4 of these lots and six 3-x-3-ft units across the A.M.E. church lot and a residential lot that was identified with a razed log cabin. Artifacts collected include a variety of objects: broken ceramic dishes and cups, stoneware crocks, mason jars (some with preserves still in them), animal bones, buttons, a watch, and other objects.

The Whitsy's Tavern site was recorded on the east side of north Second Street. Whitsy's tavern is still standing today and is used as a weekend or summer home. Whitsy's tavern was operated by Rosella "Whitsy" Wood between the late 19th and the mid-20th century and was the only structure on the east side of north Second Street. Preliminary investigations at the tavern site included a surface collection of artifacts behind and down slope of the standing structure. Artifacts collected include broken ceramic dishes and cups, stoneware crocks, whiskey bottles, animal bones, and other objects.

Overall, this project's goal has been to record not just one household or public structure but an entire African-American community archaeologically. Future plans are to conduct another field school on Block 30 and along north Second Street in summer 2000. Excavations on Block 30 will concentrate on the Brown Lodge to better define its architectural integrity for its eventual restoration. Investigations on north Second Street will map surface features and conduct testing around two additional house lots and the African-American schoolhouse.

Independent Research

Craig Sturdevant, of Lincoln University, is recording postbellum black communities in central Missouri (Sturdevant 1993). Sturdevant, with the assistance of Lincoln University students, has used archives, oral history, and archaeological/architectural data to interpret these communities. Thus far, his archaeological data have come from observations and measurements of a few partially extant houses, foundations, cemeteries, and outbuildings (Sturdevant 1993). The next phase will be to map structures that are no longer visible with possible future archaeological testing.

Gina Overshiner, currently with the St. Louis County Medical Examiner's Office, examined 19 African-American burials disturbed by the Missouri River flood of 1993 in Callaway County, Mo. for her master's thesis (Overshiner 1997). The skeletons are from the Cedar Church cemetery (1851–1876). Of the 19 skeletons, 15 are complete and 4 are partial, consisting of 17 subadults and 2 adults. Pathological analysis of the Shiloh sample suggests that individuals experienced acute diseases, high child mortality, hard physical labor, localized infections, trauma, and poor dental hygiene but had a diet that met all basic nutritional requirements and was high in carbohydrates. Overshiner concluded from mortuary census records that African Americans had a higher child and infant morality rate and a lower life expectancy than Euro-Americans. The mortality schedule information also indicates a black population that experienced high levels of infectious disease that killed people quickly, but there is little evidence of chronic disease or nutritional deficiencies.

Timothy Baumann (1996b, 1997a) conducted archaeological work at the Hicklin Hearthstone in 1996. Hicklin Hearthstone was an antebellum plantation settled by James Hicklin in the 1820s and is located about 1½ miles east of Lexington, Mo. James Hicklin operated a diversified plantation growing multiple food crops and raising livestock using over 30 black slaves. In 1988, Hicklin Hearthstone was placed on the National Register of Historic Places for its historical significance and architectural structures (Denny 1988). Extant antebellum buildings on the property include a brick I-house with a brick "L" addition, a six-pen brick slave quarters, and a black driver's house (Figures 13, 14). 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 was carried out around and inside the six-pen slave quarters and the black driver's house. Posthole tests recorded a light artifact

Figure 13. The standing black driver's quarters at the Hicklin Hearthstone site, near Lexington, Mo. (Photo by Timothy E. Baumann, 1996)

density and heavily disturbed soils. Few artifacts were collected around and within the slave quarters and black driver's house, and most of them postdate the Civil War. A light postbellum midden was identified on the west and northwest side of the black driver's house beyond the pig-pen disturbance. The heavy disturbance was caused by the continued use of these structures into the 20th century. Only a small part of the property was tested, so intact archaeological remains may still exist.

Funded by two MDNR grants in 1996 and 1997, archaeologist James Johnson has been working with Boy Scouts to excavate the Miller Plantation site near Kansas City, Mo. (Burnes 1998; Swofford 1994). The Miller Plantation was a diversified farmstead operated with slave labor during the antebellum period. One of these slaves, George Washington, was the great-grandfather of Johnson and, after emancipation, lived in Quindaro, Kans. Archaeological work on this site has included surface mapping of structures and the family cemetery, use of a metal detector, and limited excavations around the main house and slave quarter foundations. Artifact analysis is being conducted and a preliminary report is being written.

Figure 14. A slave quarter's interior with the original slave bed, table, and chair at the Hicklin Hearthstone site, near Lexington, Mo. (Photo by James Denny, 1988, courtesy of the Missouri Department of Natural Resources)

Future Research

The U.S. Forest Service is planning a five-year project to find and test African-American sites in the Mark Twain National Forest. This project will attempt to work with African-American students and scholars to record Missouri's black heritage. Plans are to involve historian Antonio Holland of Lincoln University and archaeologist Timothy Baumann of UMSL.

Future Goals in Missouri

The next step in conducting African-American archaeology in Missouri will be to formulate and test research questions and hypotheses. These research questions must be developed addressing Missouri's physiographic regions, its historical records, and previous archaeological work in and outside of the state.

Missouri is an environmentally diverse state ranging from plains, Ozark Mountains, Southeastern Lowlands, and two major riverways: the Missouri and Mississippi. Each region was settled at different rates, by people of different origins, and for different cultural and economic reasons. Archaeological research must address these environmental regions and their different settlement patterns and determine the location of African-American sites.

Few historical documents exist concerning Missouri's black heritage, and the records that do exist often are prejudicially written with an Anglo-American perspective. Despite these flaws, the historical record—archival records, oral histories, photographs, standing structures, and material culture—cannot be ignored. Instead, the records must be scanned to establish a historical context that can then be compared to the archaeological record.

African-American archaeology outside of Missouri should be reviewed and used as a guide for research questions, methods, and interpretations. The development of African-American archaeology from plantation and slavery studies into a major subdiscipline of historical archaeology has been summarized by numerous scholars, but until now such research in Missouri has been limited to occasional restoration and preservation projects, cultural resource management investigations, archaeological field schools, and independent research. These studies have been descriptive in nature and most lack anthropological questioning of African-American lifeways, so future research must virtually start from square one. Every Missouri temporal period, region, and African-American site type needs to be investigated and interpreted.

African-American archaeology needs to involve the public (Jameson 1997; McDavid and Babson 1997; Potter 1994). Public involvement should be a collaborative effort between archaeologists, historians, and the community, particularly with descendant groups. The public should be welcomed into the research process of formulating questions, excavations, analysis, and publications. Public involvement in archaeology is needed for three reasons: (1) social responsibility, (2) public awareness, and (3) economic development. Archaeologists need to sell archaeology to the public as a useful science to everyday living. African-Americans in particular have been skeptical of "academics" or the large "historical society" for years. They have felt they have nothing in common with them because until now, at least, they have been operated by and for Anglo-American history and concerns. Archaeology can bridge the bias gap through collaborative research efforts.

Public archaeology programs also can produce a healthier social environment. Archaeology's collaborative efforts can help a community rediscover its past and produce a raised social consciousness. In general, African-Americans have been ignored in textbook histories. African-American archaeology can correct this oversight and, through public archaeology, archaeologists can involve blacks in the rediscovery of their past. By this means black communities can define themselves in the present and guide themselves in the future. Those of European heritage can also benefit from such studies. By studying African-American history, Euro-American children and adults can understand their social, ideological, and historical selves and thus understand a more diverse world view. Becoming more socially conscious about racism gives individuals an opportunity to change their world view and can contribute to the abolishment of racism.

The most successful program, socially, can also be economically productive. Public archaeology projects increase economic growth through tourism. As the result of suburban development, most downtown areas or main streets have turned into ghost towns with high levels of unemployment and poverty. Archaeology can revitalize a community or neighborhood by glorifying its historical importance through excavations, site tours, media coverage, publications, and exhibition. The greatest economic development will be achieved through public involvement. If the local community is not a cooperative agent in the archaeology research, then the economic, as well as the social impact, will be limited.

The next step is publication and presentation of results. Sharing research findings should include academic books, public lectures, exhibits, videotapes, and other media. Publications and presentations must strive for a detailed description of the past which includes multiple disciplines and perspectives (ethnic, class, gender). Since African-American archaeology is relatively new, archaeologists must learn and grow from our research.

Conclusion

African Americans have been active participants in Missouri's exploration, settlement, and industrialization since the 1720s. Few written records exist of Missouri's black heritage; thus archaeology holds the key to understanding their past lifeways. Today Missouri's African-American archaeology

is in the early stages of development. Archaeological projects thus far conducted have been limited to recording sites and testing, and most lack any anthropological orientation. Future archaeology needs to develop a framework to establish research strategies and hypotheses for African-Americans. Once a framework has been established, research will result in a greater understanding of Missouri's diverse heritage.

Acknowledgments

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