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ABSTRACT

Since 1912, Arrow Rock, Missouri, has transformed itself from a small river town into a major heritage-tourism center through a grassroots historic preservation movement. The result has been that in 1963 Arrow Rock was recorded as a National Historic Landmark site, in 2006 the National Trust for Historic Preservation listed it as one of its “Dozen Distinctive Destination” sites, and in 2008 it was recognized as a “Preserve America Community.” Like many historic towns, Arrow Rock’s preservation and interpretation focused initially on its “white, male, and rich” heritage, ignoring the majority of its past citizens. Beginning in 1996, Arrow Rock has utilized public history and archaeology to develop new interpretive programs that address its African American heritage and that attempt to engage this previously marginalized descendant community.

Introduction

The town of Arrow Rock, Missouri, a National Historic Landmark site since 1963, was established in 1829 as a port on the Missouri River within Missouri’s plantation district and on the Santa Fe Trail (Van Ravenswaay 1959; Caldwell 1968; Hamilton 1972; Prouse 1981; Fisher et al. 1988; Dickey 2004; Phillips 2005; Pheiffer et al. 2008). Prior to the Civil War, the town had a population of about 1,000 citizens, but since that time it has slowly declined, with only 79 residents in 2008. Despite its small size, Arrow Rock was transformed in the 20th century into a major heritage-tourism center with the creation of the Arrow Rock State Park in 1923, now called the Arrow State Historic Site (ARSHS), and the Friends of Arrow Rock, Inc. (FAR), the local historical society, in 1959. The creation of both was a byproduct of a grassroots historic preservation movement by private residents of Arrow Rock and influential Missouri citizens. Together these entities have preserved many historic structures in town and have provided interpretation

and educational programs to tourist and school groups. An underlying goal of this preservation effort was to save Arrow Rock both economically and culturally. This town was once the economic and political hub of Saline County, but after the Civil War the village was bypassed by the railroad, and in the 1920s the Missouri River shifted away from the Arrow Rock bluff line, so it was no longer a good river port.

Developing at the same time as and utilizing preservation methods similar to those of Colonial Williamsburg, the citizens of Arrow Rock recognized their greatest economic asset was their heritage. The result has been that over the past century, Arrow Rock has been a leader in the preservation and interpretation of Missouri’s heritage. This has also included some of the first historical archaeology investigations in the state. As with Colonial Williamsburg, the initial work focused on the restoration of historic structures associated with the “white, male, and rich” aspects of the past. These included Joseph Huston and his tavern on the Santa Fe Trail; the home of George Caleb Bingham, the famous 19th-century Missouri painter; Dr. John Sappington, a large plantation owner and frontier doctor who popularized quinine to treat malaria; and three Missouri state governors that came from the Arrow Rock vicinity (Sappington 1844; Hall and Hall 1986; Morrow 1995; Dickey 2004:145–154,170–191).

With funding from the State Historical Society of Missouri and the Missouri Humanities Council in 1996, the ARSHS and the FAR began an African American heritage project to correct some of these past interpretation biases. Initial archival and archaeological research was conducted to document how African Americans struggled to establish their own lives and community in post-Civil War Arrow Rock. More recent work has shifted to examine enslaved African American life on nearby plantations. This research project has been and continues to be a collaborative effort between the local historical society, the descendant community, and the Missouri State Parks, resulting in a renewed sense of community identity. This is most visible in the creation of new cultural events and exhibits, inviting back the descendant community.

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Despite having more democratic preservation programs since 1996, Arrow Rock still has not completely embraced its diverse heritage. The legacy of slavery and the social segregation of the Jim Crow Era continue to affect how history is interpreted. Using archaeological research, future exhibit and educational programs plan to address this interpretive inequity.

Nineteenth-Century Arrow Rock, Missouri

Arrow Rock, Missouri was created on the Missouri River bluff with the same name in central Missouri, which was first documented by French cartographer Jean d'Anville (1752) on his 1732 *Carte de la Louisiane* (Map of Louisiana) as "Pierre à Flèche" or Rock of Arrows (Hamilton 1972:3; Dickey 2004:12,109). This name is associated with a major chert source within the limestone bluff that was used by prehistoric Native Americans to make stone tools. On 18 September 1808, William Clark, then the superintendent of Indian affairs in St. Louis, and the brigadier general of the territorial militia passed by the Arrow Rock bluff on their way back from establishing Fort Osage in present-day Jackson County, Missouri. In Clark's diary, he recorded that this limestone bluff was a "handsome" spot for a fort or for a town (Gregg 1937:46). His predictions would come true on both accounts.

During the War of 1812, Native American hostilities increased on the Missouri frontier, which in turn was a factor in the abandonment of Fort Osage near present-day Independence, Missouri (Gregg 1938a, 1938b, 1939a, 1940). With no frontier fortification and trade center, in the fall of 1813 William Clark ordered George C. Sibley, the Indian agent and factor at Fort Osage, to establish a trading post, called Sibley's Fort, in the location of the Arrow Rock bluff to replace Fort Osage (Gregg 1939b). Like Fort Osage, Sibley's Fort was short-lived and abandoned in 1814 due to increased hostilities on the frontier. Archaeological investigations in 2004 were successful in locating the temporary fort's ephemeral remains (Baumann 2005a).

The War of 1812 slowed the American settlement of central Missouri, but by the war's end this area was becoming one of the most heavily populated regions of Missouri. Settlement of the Missouri River valley was accomplished by horseback, wagon train, and steamboat.

The earliest routes were trails used by Native Americans and later French fur traders to traverse the frontier. From 1810 to 1820, the territory of Missouri's population tripled in size from 20,845 to 66,076 (Houck 1908). As a result of 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 by 1815 crossing the Missouri River from Howard County to Saline County at the Arrow Rock bluff (Van Ravenswaay 1959:206). After one crossed the river, a natural spring, the "Big Spring," was available approximately 0.25 mi. from the river and provided water for travelers and their livestock (Hamilton 1972:15). This ferry soon became the main crossing of the Missouri River for western expansion along the Santa Fe Trail.

On 1 September 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, New Mexico (Van Ravenswaay 1959; Beachum 1982). By 1830, the Santa Fe Trail had 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 Northwest Coast along the Oregon Trail. Because of its economic and logistical position, the Arrow Rock ferry crossing became an ideal location to start a new town.

In a public meeting held on 23 May 1829, a county commission was organized to establish a town site at the Arrow Rock bluff and ferry crossing. The town was originally called Philadelphia or New Philadelphia, but its name was officially changed to Arrow Rock in 1833 to correspond to the historic bluff. Mercantile stores, skilled craftspeople, doctors' offices, liverys, restaurants, and hotels soon appeared in this town to serve and supply its citizens and passing travelers.

By the 1850s, the central Missouri River valley was populated primarily by immigrants from the upper South, adapting their Southern cultural patterns of farming, architecture, and slavery (Newton 1974; Mason 1984). Because of these immigrants' Southern origins, this area has also been labeled as the "Little Dixie" region

(Marshall 1981; Hurt 1992). Arrow Rock became a center of commerce for the local plantations to purchase supplies and to ship their farm products. The Missouri River steamboats transported thousands of tons of hemp, bushels of corn, and pounds of tobacco downriver to St. Louis.

At the Civil War's outset, Arrow Rock was a thriving town with approximately 1,000 residents and more than 20 stores and offices open for business (Prouse 1981:12). With Arrow Rock's upper South roots and its location in Missouri's largest plantation district, it was a pro-Confederate town. At a town 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). Slavery was at the center of this political debate because enslaved African Americans provided the primary source of labor for Arrow Rock's economy. Slave owners attempted to control enslaved citizens in Arrow Rock through various legal and social edicts. On 23 December 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" (Town of Arrow Rock 1847; Dickey 2004:101). Despite these behavioral codes for Arrow Rock's enslaved community, many in Saline County still believed that slaves were too free and insubordinate, resulting in several lynchings of African Americans in 1859 (Baumann 2001:51–53).

During the Civil War, Arrow Rock was never a site of a major battle, but both Union and Confederate forces occupied the town resulting in numerous skirmishes. At the end of the Civil War, the local plantation economy had to shift from slave to nonslave labor leading to a change from hemp and tobacco to more grain crops and livestock production. The Civil War severely impacted Arrow Rock's economy and stopped the town's growth. Arrow Rock began to decline both in its population and as a center of commerce and trade in Saline County. Compounding this decline, the railroad bypassed Arrow Rock, and two major fires destroyed most of the business district in 1872 and again in 1901.

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, and in 1927 after 116 years, the Arrow Rock ferry ceased running between Howard County and Arrow Rock (Hamilton 1972:14). As a river town the final dagger in Arrow Rock's heart came in the 1920s, when the federal government channelized the course of the Missouri River away from the Arrow Rock bluff for flood control purposes, ending Arrow Rock's river town status. With the decline in population and economy Arrow Rock looked to be on its deathbed. The Great Depression compounded the issue causing 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 this village that had held over 1,000 citizens a hundred years earlier. If it were not for the historic preservation efforts of its townspeople, Arrow Rock would likely not exist in the 21st century.

Historic Preservation in Arrow Rock

After the devastating 1901 fire that destroyed most of the Arrow Rock business district, few rural communities would have had the energy or funds to rebuild, but rebuild they did. Over the next century, this village utilized historic preservation and heritage tourism to redefine/reinforce its community identity and economy. The local chapters of the National Old Trails Road Association (NOTRA) and the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) provided the leadership for this revitalization movement. The NOTRA worked with the DAR to establish a national highway system that linked Native American and pioneer roads across the United States. Arrow Rock became a logical point of interest with the early ferry crossing and its connection to the Santa Fe Trail. In 1912, NOTRA established a museum room in Arrow Rock's Huston Tavern with historic artifacts and antiques "as a means of teaching Missouri history to the passerby" (Van Ravenswaay 1959:21). The tavern had been opened by Joseph Huston, a founding member of Arrow Rock, as a restaurant, hotel, and mercantile establishment in 1834, serving the local community and western travelers on the Santa Fe Trail. As the population in Arrow Rock

declined after the Civil War, the tavern slowly deteriorated, but never closed to patrons.

The Arrow Rock community supported these historic preservation efforts immediately with a street fair held in 1912 for the dedication of a Santa Fe Trail historic marker. Citizens coming to the fair were encouraged to “fix you up an old time movers outfit, ox-teams, mule teams, or any and come down and camp at the Big Spring,” with prizes awarded “for the best and second best outfit representing the original Santa Fe Trailers” (*Arrow Rock Statesman* 1912:4). At this same time, the DAR encouraged Thomas C. Rainey, who had lived in Arrow Rock from 1865 to 1879 as a storekeeper, “to write a series of reminiscences of pioneer life in Saline County,” which was published in 1914 by the Marshall Chapter of the DAR as *Along the Old Trail, Pioneer Sketches of Arrow Rock and Its Vicinity* (Rainey 1914:2).

In 1923, the DAR convinced the Missouri state legislature to purchase the Huston Tavern, creating the first state-owned historic building to be restored and opened for heritage tourism in

Missouri (Figure 1). The DAR was appointed as the tavern’s caretaker, continuing to offer meals and lodging, with each room furnished by a different Missouri DAR chapter. In 1926, the ARSHS was created from land that surrounds the tavern. The Missouri State Park’s mission was for public recreation (e.g., camping, hiking), leaving the DAR responsible for the historic preservation and interpretation of the ARSHS, which quickly expanded to include the Big Spring, the one-room jail house, the female-academy boarding-house, and the home of George Caleb Bingham, Missouri’s most acclaimed 19th-century artist (Shapiro et al. 1990; Rash 1991; Nagel 2005).

During the 1930s, the Works Progress Administration assisted in developing and expanding the ARSHS for recreational use and helped to restore the George Caleb Bingham home in 1934 (Figure 2). Bingham and his family lived there from 1837 to 1845. The restoration removed the second story and razed a frame ell because both were determined to postdate Bingham’s occupation. In 1963, a second restoration was conducted, which included the first historical

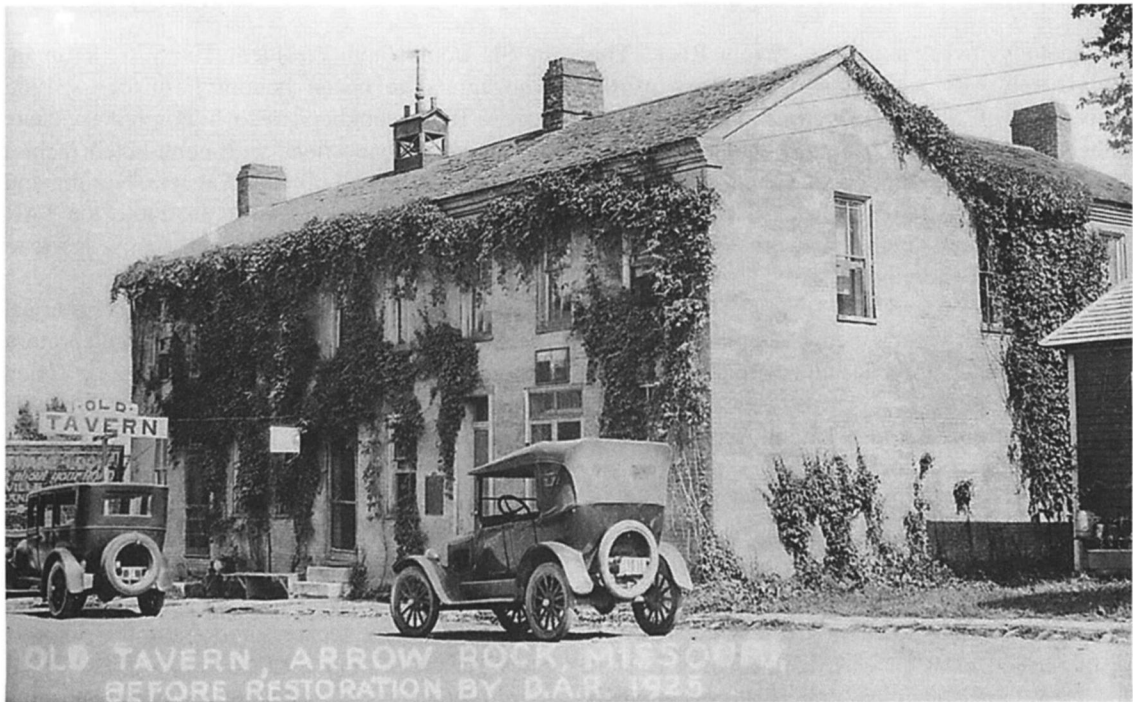


FIGURE 1. Postcard of Huston Tavern prior to its restoration in 1925. (Photo by Lester Jones, Historic American Buildings Survey, 1940.)



FIGURE 2. George Caleb Bingham home in Arrow Rock, Missouri. (Photo by author, 2008.)

archaeology investigations in Arrow Rock. This excavation was led by Robert Bray of the University of Missouri, who is considered the father of historical archaeology in the state, and ironically focused on the detached kitchen that was razed in the 1930s (Rucker 1963; Baumann 2005b; Baumann and Wettstaed 2005). It was concluded that the ell was associated with Bingham's occupation and was rebuilt. The Bingham home was then refurbished with period furnishings and opened for educational tours.

Interpreting Everyday Life in Arrow Rock

In 1959, the FAR was created to preserve and interpret the history and structures of Arrow Rock outside the boundaries of the ARSHS. Amazingly for a town of less than 200 at the time, the original board of trustees consisted of distinguished local citizens, like J. Percy Huston, the great-grandson of Joseph Huston; nationally recognized historians, like Charles van Ravenswaay, director of the Missouri Historical Society

in St. Louis; and President Harry S. Truman, who agreed to be an honorary trustee. A 1965 Arrow Rock cookbook also highlights the state and national connections with contributed recipes from Jacqueline Kennedy, Patricia Nixon, and Bess Truman (Huston 1965). In 2008, the FAR boasted over 550 members, from Arrow Rock to Delaware, California, and even Taiwan.

The FAR is responsible for a shift in historical interpretation that went beyond the celebratory history of the Santa Fe Trail and George Caleb Bingham to recognize historic sites and people associated with "blue-collar" families and activities in Arrow Rock. Since its inception, the FAR has acquired and restored 14 historic sites and has incorporated them into historic walking/tram tours with the Missouri State Parks. The best example of this interpretive shift to "working-class" history is the restoration of the John P. Sites gunsmith shop.

In 1966, the FAR acquired the Sites gunsmith shop with the purpose of restoring this structure for heritage tourism and educational programs. From

1844 to 1900, John P. Sites smithed, repaired, and sold firearms to local townspeople, farmers, and western travelers along the Santa Fe Trail (Hall 1969). His shop is a small two-story brick structure, measuring 15 × 25 ft. At the time of its purchase by the FAR, the gunsmith shop had been transformed into an automobile garage, which had removed a second-story balcony and cut a large door in the front elevation. The initial restoration effort occurred from 1966 to 1970 and was accomplished through many community volunteers. The restoration goal was to reestablish this building as a working 19th-century gunsmith shop.

As part of this restoration, archaeologist Robert Bray was contacted in 1967 to direct excavations within and outside the gunsmith shop (Bray 1967a, 1967b; Baumann 2005b). He was able to accomplish this research with a University of Missouri field school and with volunteers from the local Big Bend Chapter of the Missouri Archaeological Society. Interior excavations revealed the remains of a brick forge, a wooden floor, and an original earthen level with trampled gunsmith artifacts. The exterior excavations documented a 10 × 10 ft. limestone foundation for a razed rear addition, which was interpreted as a powder magazine for the shop. In the inaugural issue of *Historical Archaeology*, Bray provided a short summary of these excavations and stated that no artifacts found outside the shop could be associated with gunsmithing (Bray 1967b:84). A reanalysis of these materials generally supports Bray's conclusion, but a small number of objects may be linked to Sites (Dickey et al. 2008). In particular, four fishing hooks were recovered from the exterior excavation. As early as 1860, Sites expanded his business to include a variety of sporting goods, which included a general stock of guns, pistols, ammunition, and fishing tackle (Stubbs 1990). Based upon Bray's recommendation and the archaeological data collected, the John Sites gunsmith shop was restored and is operated as an historic gunsmith-shop museum by the FAR.

A second restoration of the gunsmith shop was required in 1991 because the original refurbishment did not include a security system or any environmental controls, which led to moisture and mold damage. The first floor was refurbished a second time with tools and cabinets, and the second floor was developed into an exhibit room with eight original Sites guns on display,

including six rifles, a pistol, and an antitheft gun. The Sites gunsmith shop is now open for guided tours and school programs throughout the year. Periodically, special demonstrations of 19th-century gunsmith techniques or living-history actors provide historical programs. For example, in 2002, Wallace Gusler, a master gunsmith at Colonial Williamsburg, visited Arrow Rock and provided a gunsmith presentation. After his visit, Gusler concluded, "that to his knowledge, the Sites shop is the only historic gunsmith shop restoration in the country in the original (not reconstructed) building" (Hall 2002). In 1992, the American Association of State and Local History (AASLH) honored the FAR for its restoration of the Sites gunsmith shop with the Albert B. Corey Award, which recognizes "volunteer-operated historical organizations that best display the qualities of vigor, scholarship, and imagination in their work" (AASLH 2008).

In 1984, the FAR added a new level to their historic preservation efforts by starting K–12 educational programming. In conjunction with the ARSHS, school groups are introduced to 19th-century folk crafts and to Arrow Rock's rich history. These education programs continue into the 21st century, averaging 2,000 children during a six-week period from April to May, and 1,500 children for a biennial Children's Craft Festival in September. Funding for these programs has come from both private and public resources. In 2001, the FAR received a \$100,000 legacy gift from Corinne Jackson, and in 2003 they were awarded a \$100,000 National Endowment for the Humanities Challenge Grant to create a humanities endowment for educational programming. The matching funds were raised within one year, which helped to expand the learning programs to summer schools and to operate an annual teacher workshop on local history. In 2005, the FAR also collaborated with the University of Central Missouri and obtained a \$155,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) to conduct a "Landmarks of American History Teachers Workshop." Upon announcing the 2005 grant recipients, the NEH chairman Bruce Cole stated that "amazing things happen when you bring teachers and students to historic places [like Arrow Rock] ... history becomes more than dates to memorize or pictures on a page ... it takes on the sights, sounds, and images of what really happened" (NEH 2005). Arrow Rock hosted 77

teachers who explored national history through local heritage sites in one of two week-long NEH workshops directed by more than 14 scholars.

The FAR have also used their educational resources to support public lectures, symposia, exhibits, and publications. These have included a Lewis and Clark symposium with the premiere of William Foley's (2006) biography of William Clark, *Wilderness Journey*; an historic-marker program; a George Caleb Bingham symposium and exhibit; and the publication of seven books and reprinting of five others. The most recent publication was *Arrow Rock: Crossroads of the Missouri Frontier*, a comprehensive history of the town written by Michael Dickey (2004), the site administrator of the ARSHS. This publication was produced without the assistance of any major press, but was still honored with two awards. In 2005, Dickey received the Governor's Humanities Award, which is presented annually by the governor of Missouri and the Missouri Humanities Council, and in 2006 he was also given an Award of Merit by the AASLH.

In 2005, the FAR joined forces with the town of Arrow Rock, which received a National Historic Landmark Challenge Grant to produce a publication to establish architectural guidelines for Arrow Rock's cultural resources. These guidelines were required for Arrow Rock's application to become a Certified Local Government with the State Historic Preservation Office, which it became, making it the smallest in the state. Ellen Beasley was hired as an historic preservation consultant to help produce these guidelines. The resulting publication, *Design Guidelines for Historic Arrow Rock, Missouri*, was awarded the 2006 Osmund Overby Award by the Missouri Alliance for Historic Preservation (MAHP), the state's nonprofit historic preservation society (Beasley et al. 2005). The Overby Award recognizes "written works which contribute to the documentation and interpretation of Missouri's architectural history" (MAHP 2006).

Civic Engagement

Civic engagement in Arrow Rock can be defined in two forms. The first is a traditional academic perspective, whereby the professional community engages and collaborates with a descendant community democratically to explore their heritage, often resulting in exhibits,

educational programming, documentaries, and oral histories. The second is the private citizens' engagement and embracing of their collective heritage, with or without the professionals, to support community identity, both culturally and economically. Each form can be found in Arrow Rock; but civic engagement in Arrow Rock first began with its private citizens and ranged from restoring private homes, saving historic buildings, and creating organizations and events that have promoted local heritage and tourism. It has been the local citizens and their community organizations that have initiated contact and collaboration with academia, including archaeologists. Archaeology has been just one resource of many that the community has utilized to address its needs in historic preservation, heritage tourism, and cultural identity.

Some of Arrow Rock's historic preservation pioneers have included Cora Lee and Bill Miller, sisters Buena Stolberg and Corinne Jackson, Fletcher "Red" and Lucia Argubright, and John and Mariana Lawrence. In 1956, Bill and Cora Lee Miller moved to Arrow Rock, Cora Lee's birthplace, and purchased the 1832 Bradford house, an historic home that was in desperate need of repair (Prouse 1981:80–83). The home had no electricity, heat, or running water, but the Millers recognized its potential. Mr. Miller enrolled in a carpentry class and restored as much of the original home as he could. Bill and Cora Lee used the Bradford house as their residence and for an antiques business. Bill and Cora Lee's leadership helped to foster a citywide preservation movement, which led to the FAR's establishment in 1959 and then the Arrow Rock Craft Club in 1960. The latter was created by local women who wanted to promote traditional crafts of "needlework, quilting, baking and food preservation, and handmade and home grown items" (Fisher et al. 1988:15). The driving force behind the craft club is not to make a profit, but sharing a "love for old-time crafts and old friends" (Prouse 1981:37). By the 1970s, the craft club's love for folk traditions helped to attract craftspeople back to Arrow Rock to demonstrate and sell their work, including weavers Jim and Kitty Smith, stoneware potter David King, blacksmith Herb Templeton, and cabinet-maker David Perkins.

Buena Stolberg and Corinne Jackson grew up on a farm near Galt, in northern Missouri, but

moved to central Missouri to teach school in nearby Marshall, and then in St. Louis County. Upon their retirement in 1965, they moved to Arrow Rock because of their affection for George Caleb Bingham and the local community, and purchased a home on Main Street as well as the adjacent Arrow Rock Country Store. They remodeled both buildings, restoring the latter as the country store that they remembered as children. The country store developed into a center of town activity, and the sisters quickly became leaders in the Arrow Rock community, serving on the town board and developing heritage events with the Historic Arrow Rock Council (HARC). One of Buena and Corinne's greatest contributions to Arrow Rock's preservation was spearheading HARC's fundraising efforts to purchase the old schoolhouse, which had closed in 1968. Utilizing the Missouri Neighborhood Assistance Program (MNAP), which provides state tax credits for private donations to designated not-for-profit organizations, HARC transformed the schoolhouse into a community center for seminars, workshops, heritage festivals, and receptions. The school has now been renamed in the sisters' honor as the Stolberg-Jackson Community Center.

The HARC was created in 1974 as an "umbrella organization" to sponsor several heritage events and festivals (Dickey 2004:262; HARC 2008a). Some of these events include the Bluegrass Concert and Ice Cream Freeze-Off, the Spring Garden Show and Taste of Missouri, the Lewis and Clark Picnic, the Christmas Folk Sing, and the Heritage Craft Festival. The largest of these historic celebrations is the annual Heritage Craft Festival, which is held each October and provides demonstrations of 19th-century crafts. The 2008 festival was the 40th and featured "spinning, weaving, blacksmithing, broom- and basket-making, flintknapping, rug-hooking, quilting, candle-dipping, apple butter-making and many other 19th-century arts & crafts" (HARC 2008b). The HARC has worked directly with the ARSHS and the FAR to preserve and promote folk traditions and heritage tourism, activities which have included a 1988 published guide to historic properties entitled *Arrow Rock Places* (Fisher et al. 1988).

In 1960, local citizens Fletcher "Red" and Lucia Argubright and Dr. John and Mariana Lawrence together owned Arrow Rock's old

Baptist church (1871), which had been left empty in the 1950s after a consolidation of congregations due to Arrow Rock's declining population. The Argubrights and Lawrences suggested that the church could be preserved and adaptively reused as a professional theater. "Henry Swanson, a professor at Christian College in Columbia, Missouri, now Columbia College, was engaged as the Artistic Director" in 1961 for the first season of the Lyceum Theatre, producing "three 19th-century plays, opening with *The Importance of Being Earnest*" (Arrow Rock Lyceum Theatre 2008). The beginning of a professional theater was not easy in this rural community. In reflection of that first season, Swanson (1985:5) summarized:

If you visit Arrow Rock today you will find a quaint, serene village with virtually every building restored; restrooms, running water, and an expanded Lyceum with functional air-conditioning. Not so in 1961. Living conditions were terrible, half the town was in shantytown shape, our water came from the Santa-Fe spring (now condemned) in gallon jugs with bugs swimming in the water. Kansas City Power and Light had to re-wire the town from the highway just to get 100 ampere service to the theatre. It was hard, desperate work but still we opened on schedule with twenty-six dollars and change remaining from the initial capitalization [of \$3,500].

In 2008, the Arrow Rock Lyceum Theatre celebrated its 48th season of production as the oldest regional theater in Missouri, with an average annual attendance of 30,000 people to see eight to nine plays and musicals per year. Since that first season, the theater has expanded its auditorium, created a new scene shop, and built new housing for the professional actors that come from across the United States, including New York, to perform in a town of 79 people. Even with professional actors, directors, and crew, the Lyceum would not have been successful without the support of Arrow Rock's citizens, who provide donations and volunteer time on the board of trustees, and as ushers for each performance. Financially, the Lyceum Theatre has also received generous funding from regional businesses, the Missouri Arts Council, and the MNAP.

Since the 1970s, Arrow Rock has welcomed from 150,000 to 200,000 visitors annually to see historic sites, to participate in craft or folk festivals and workshops, to attend a production at the Lyceum Theatre, or to enjoy the peaceful

country living. Many people that visit Arrow Rock come back again and again, with some moving to Arrow Rock permanently. Visitors can stay at a bed and breakfast, or the large campground with hiking trails and a lake for fishing offered by the ARSHS. The results of an audience survey in 2000 documented that 98% of the ARSHS visitors were Caucasian and only 1% were of African descent (Dickey 2008:11). One possible reason for the low number of African American visitors is that their history has simply not been told.

The Untold Story of Arrow Rock

Despite the historic consciousness of Arrow Rock's citizens, previous historic preservation and archaeology efforts have been negligent in telling the town's whole story, particularly that of its African American heritage (Baumann 2001, 2005b). Throughout much of Arrow Rock's history, African Americans have constituted from one-fourth to one-half the town's population. In 1860, Saline County had nearly 5,000 enslaved African Americans, representing 33% of the total county population. Most enslaved African Americans in Saline County were unskilled laborers working in agricultural pursuits or as domestic servants. After the Civil War, newly freed slaves did one of four things: (1) they continued to work for their former masters, (2) they left Missouri for neighboring free states like Kansas, (3) they started freedmen's communities, or (4) they moved into existing towns and cities to find work and community support from other African Americans (Greene et al. 1993). The latter defines Arrow Rock's black community, which lived predominately on the north side of town along High, Morgan, and Second streets, and included homes, two churches, a schoolhouse, fraternal organizations, and businesses. By 1930, 51% of Arrow Rock's population was African American. Since the Depression, both black and white citizens have slowly moved out of Arrow Rock, but this has been particularly true of its African American residents. In 1979, there were 13 African Americans, and in 2008 there was only 1 African American among the town's 79 citizens. Most moved away for economic reasons, but social segregation and racism were also factors.

Efforts to preserve and celebrate Arrow Rock's African American legacy did not occur until the

1990s. These efforts were first initiated by local white citizens Ted and Virginia "Ginny" Fisher, who recognized that many of the African American associated buildings in town were abandoned and/or in disrepair. Some of these vacant homes were selected to be burnt down for training by the local volunteer fire department. In response to their threatened status, Ted and Ginny acquired Brown's Chapel (established in 1871), the oldest African American church and the original school; the Brown Lodge No. 22 of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons (established in 1881), the last remaining African American fraternal lodge (Figure 3); and several house lots of African Americans. They then donated them to the FAR for restoration and to develop African American heritage programs.

Beginning in 1996, the FAR obtained funding from the State Historical Society of Missouri, the Missouri Humanities Council, and the MNAP to preserve these buildings and to begin African American history programs to tell a more complete story of Arrow Rock's past. With only one African American person living in town, the FAR, a predominately white organization, attempted to break down previous racial barriers and sought out collaboration with the African American descendant community that had moved out to larger cities, both in and outside Missouri. African Americans eagerly returned to Arrow Rock to tell their own story, but remained cautious because of the 80-plus years of historical neglect. Did the FAR and the ARSHS just want to appropriate their African American heritage and material culture for the economic benefit of the white community and tourists or did they offer "true acts of inclusion," sharing the empowering knowledge of cultural identity and a sense of place (Edwards-Ingram 1997)?

Addressing inclusivity, the FAR created a Black History Committee (BHC) made up of both black and white descendants and academic professionals. One of the African American descendants that returned as a primary committee member was Teresa Habernal, who grew up in Arrow Rock and whose father and mother operated a restaurant and bar in the village during the 1940s and 1950s. She was interviewed in 1997 and when asked why she came back to Arrow Rock, she simply stated, "because that's where my roots are." (Habernal 1997). Her roots and leadership also encouraged other African Americans to

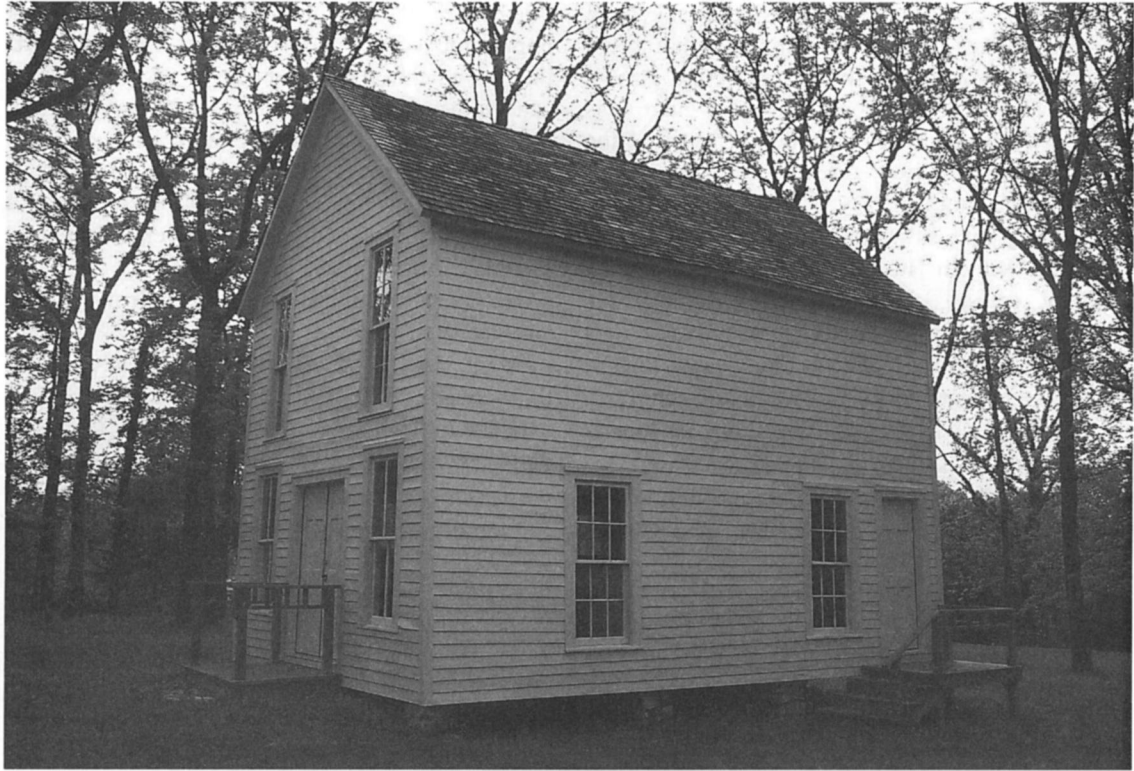


FIGURE 3. Brown Lodge No. 22 of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. (Photo by author, 2008.)

return and celebrate their heritage and to share their forgotten legacy with the white descendants and tourists.

The first effort of the BHC was an 18-month African American history project entitled “The World We Have Lost: The African-American Community in Arrow Rock from 1870 to 1950,” documenting how African Americans struggled to establish their own lives and community in postbellum Arrow Rock. Research was conducted to gather primary records including census data, newspapers, deed and probate records, photographs, and oral histories. Historical documents were then organized into four broad categories and became the focus of four town-hall meetings on education, religion, family and community life, and fraternal organizations, which were attended equally by both black and white descendants (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997).

The BHC then used these historical themes to guide the archaeological excavations, addressing the broad experiences of African Americans in postbellum Arrow Rock with special interest

in quality-of-life questions (e.g., diet, housing) and artifact patterns of social stratification (e.g., ethnicity, class, gender, race) (Baumann 2001, 2005b). Excavations explored multiple households, an African Methodist Episcopal church, a schoolhouse, a speakeasy, an “Emancipation Day” picnic field, a restaurant/bar, and the Brown Lodge.

Post-Civil War African Americans struggled to obtain equal citizenship through property ownership, fair treatment in the legal system, the right to vote, consumer choice to patronize any business they desired, and equal education. The struggle for equal rights and self-governance also led to the formation of African American fraternal lodges in Arrow Rock such as the Brown Lodge (Figure 3). The lodge was established in 1881 on city block No. 30 at the northwest corner of Morgan and Sixth streets. The Brown Lodge was the place where black males congregated to participate in Masonic rituals, to make decisions relating to relief and burial funds, to discuss and decide upon allegations of un-Masonic conduct, and, generally, to socialize away from the scrutiny of

whites (Kremer and Hoaglin 1997). Membership rolls from the early 1880s indicate that there were approximately 27 members of the Brown Lodge. The downstairs portion of the lodge was used as a restaurant and bar during most of the 20th century, but how the first floor was used originally is unclear. By 1940, the restaurant was run by Jim Edwards, and then in the mid-1940s by William Huston Van Buren and Thelma Conway, Teresa Habernal's parents. Overall, the Brown Lodge was a center of social activities including formal Masonic meetings, eating meals, drinking, and dancing with friends and family in the restaurant and bar, and celebrating Emancipation Day on 4 August of each year.

Archaeological work around the lodge was conducted from 1996 to 2002, identifying several features and artifacts associated with the communal activities of this structure. Analysis of the Brown Lodge materials suggests that most artifacts collected are associated with the restaurant and bar on the first floor, and very few artifacts can be linked to the Masonic hall. Architecturally, the Brown Lodge generally conforms to the Masonic building codes and rituals, but material evidence of Masonic activity at the Brown Lodge was very limited, probably due to its secretive and ritualistic nature (Mackey 1914). Two objects, a button with a crescent moon and star, and a pendant with an Egyptian motif were the only artifacts that could be definitively linked to Masonic rituals or symbolism. Social activities at the Brown Lodge were highlighted in the archaeological record through gaming objects, including a homemade game board, possible gaming pieces (e.g., gizzard sherd), marbles, and a doll's leg. Many of these objects and the lodge itself were made partially or completely from recycled or salvaged materials, which highlight the economic and social difficulties of the Jim Crow Era.

Additional artifact patterns were also linked to social stratification. Gender roles were defined by a high frequency of sewing-related items, buttons in particular. The button assemblage amounted to nearly 100 pieces, represented by coat, shirt, fraternal, and military types, and were manufactured from metal, cloth, wood, bone, plastic, and porcelain material. Similar large button concentrations have been identified in other African American contexts and have been associated with gender occupational patterns of black women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Cheek and

Friedlander 1990; Samford 1996). The Arrow Rock population census from 1880 to 1920 supports this statement. At least 80% of African American women with a job listed had sewing-related occupations that included domestic servant, laundress, and seamstress. This gender role of African Americans during the postbellum period was a continuation of racial, class, and ethnic identity established under slavery.

The faunal assemblages from the Brown Lodge and nearby households indicate higher frequencies of pork than beef, and more inexpensive cuts (e.g., head, feet), which have been defined as a characteristic of a "soul food" diet (Franklin 2001; Baumann 2007). The term "soul food" is used today to describe African American cooking traditions that extend back to the days of enslavement and formed through a creolization of African, European, and Native American foodways (Whitehead 1992; Franklin 2001; Bower 2008; Baumann 2010). The "food" of soul food consists of preparation styles and diet with pork and chicken as the most common meats. Pork grease was also essential in cooking the soul-food staples of chicken, fish, potatoes, and collard or turnip greens (Whitehead 1992:98). Domestic resources were often supplemented by wild species of turkey, squirrel, fish, opossum, woodchuck, and freshwater mussels. A 1997 oral interview with Mrs. Conway (1997) supports the archaeological interpretation, as she stated that the restaurant and bar at the Brown Lodge served "hamburgers, hot dogs, rabbit, fish, and chicken," as well as barbecued raccoon on some occasions.

Objects of adornment and spirituality that may relate to ethnic identity have also been collected from African American contexts. Two glass crystals or prisms were recovered from the Brown Lodge and the adjacent household. Both came from deposits that date from about 1900. The first example is a large, clear glass crystal measuring 3×0.5 in. The second glass was a smaller, blue prism measuring 1.25×0.25 in. The original use of these crystals was likely as chandelier crystals in a ceiling or table lamp, but similar quartz and glass crystals have been recovered from enslaved African American settings and have been interpreted as possible amulets or charms (Wilkie 1995, 1997, 2000; Young 1995, 1996, 1997; Samford 1996).

The use of protective charms by African Americans originates from a belief system in west and

central Africa under which 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" and could also be represented by cowrie shells, pierced coins, bone discs, and glass beads (Young 1996:147). Several glass beads were also found in the Arrow Rock assemblages, including blue beads. These beads could easily be interpreted as objects of adornment (e.g., necklace, earring), but previous folklore and archaeological studies have argued that the color blue and blue beads were often preferred by African Americans because of their protective quality from evil spirits (Stine et al. 1996).

More recent archaeological work has also attempted to address enslaved African American life on two nearby plantations (Baumann et al. 2003; Baumann 2005c). The FAR provides guided tours of the Oak Grove and Prairie Park plantations outside Arrow Rock. Both plantations are privately owned, but tourists are permitted to visit these National Historic Register sites with tour fees donated to the FAR. Until recently, these tours focused on the white plantation owners with little discussion of the enslaved African Americans that worked as cooks, domestic servants, and field hands on these farms. The objectives of this plantation research have been to expand the historical interpretation to include the African American experience, to assist in the reconstruction and/or preservation of buildings and rooms associated with enslaved African Americans, and to compare this research with previous work on Arrow Rock's postbellum African American community.

The African American heritage project has resulted in an enriched and diversified historic consciousness that recognizes the contributions that both black and white citizens have made to Arrow Rock's heritage and economic success. This has become visible through new heritage tours, events, exhibits, and educational programming by FAR and ARSHS. For example, Teresa Habernal and the BHC organized biennial June-teenth and homecoming festivals in Arrow Rock during which both black and white descendants, along with heritage tourists, come together to recognize and celebrate Arrow Rock's African American legacy with food, song, and prayer.

In the spring of 1998, the BHC also developed a temporary exhibit from the historical and archaeological research in conjunction with the Missouri Division of State Parks at the Missouri State Museum, which is located in the Missouri state capitol building in Jefferson City. The exhibit was entitled "Arrow Rock's African-American History: Giving Voice to an Unheard Past" and has since been transformed into a traveling exhibit, which can be borrowed for educational purposes by schools, libraries, and museums. The BHC has recently received funds from Robert and Anna Mae Hodge of Arrow Rock to assist in the development and installation of a permanent exhibit on African American history in the Brown Lodge, which has already been restored by the FAR. Until this is completed, the traveling exhibit has been placed in the lodge for educational tours.

The awakening of Arrow Rock to its diverse heritage has also led to collaboration with other organizations, museums, and people. For instance, the Friends of Pennytown and its primary spokesperson, Virginia Huston, have collaborated with the FAR for heritage tours, events, and educational programs. Pennytown was established in 1871 by Joe Penny as a freedmen's community approximately 12 mi. west of Arrow Rock (Kremer and Morrow 1990). The town no longer exists, and all that remains is the community church. The church was threatened through neglect until it was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1988 and then restored in 1996 "as a monument to the incredible will and courageous spirit of the people who established this black sanctuary" (Friends of Pennytown 2009). Former residents and descendants of Pennytown have met for an annual homecoming at this church on the first Sunday of August for nearly 50 years, "to share food, worship, celebrate, and remember" (Friends of Pennytown 2009).

History in Black and White

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.

Historical archaeology has been and continues to be a vital player in Arrow Rock's preservation and heritage tourism efforts. First used to fill in gaps of time and for reconstruction, historical archaeology now serves as a research tool to understand the town's cultural diversity connecting the past to the present community. The prognosis for Arrow Rock's historical and economic survival into the 21st century is excellent. The town's heritage continues to be overseen by the watchful eyes of the ARSHS, the FAR, the HARC, and the DAR to preserve the past for the future. In 2006, the National Trust for Historic Preservation honored Arrow Rock as one of its "Dozen Distinctive Destinations," which recognizes communities that "offer an authentic visitor experience by combining dynamic downtowns, cultural diversity, attractive architecture, cultural landscapes and a strong commitment to historic preservation and revitalization" (National Trust for Historic Preservation 2008). In 2008, First Lady Laura Bush named Arrow Rock a "Preserve America Community," which identifies communities that "protect and celebrate their heritage, use their historic assets for economic development and community revitalization; and encourage people to experience and appreciate local historic resources through education and heritage tourism programs" (Preserve America 2008). The FAR and its officers have also been recognized for their preservation work with numerous awards from the MAHP. In particular, the current director and two past presidents of FAR and their spouses have been honored with the Elizabeth and George Rozier Award, which is the highest award given in Missouri to an individual for historic preservation efforts.

Some of this recognition has come from recent work to expand Arrow Rock's interpretation to address African American heritage, but history continues to be seen in "black and white" in this village. The legacy of slavery and racism still impacts how and where history is interpreted. African Americans are both inclusive and exclusive to Arrow Rock's heritage. As enslaved people, they often worked and lived as domestic servants and laborers in Arrow Rock homes, in industrial pursuits and steamboat commerce, and on neighboring plantations. Spatially, the detached kitchen behind the "big house" visibly represents this juxtaposition as being both in and out at the same time. Economically enslaved African

Americans were part of the plantation as cooks, servants, and field hands, but socially were segregated, both spatially and mentally, from the white planter family.

In Arrow Rock after the Civil War, African Americans continued to be the primary labor force, but they struggled to obtain equal citizenship, which included property ownership (Baumann 2001). In 1880, over half of Arrow Rock's African Americans were still living in white households. It was not until 1900 that all African Americans were living in their own homes outside white control. In the 1870s, African Americans were first sold land on the north end of Second Street and immediately outside the city limits (Northwest Publishing Company 1896:30). Similar to the detached kitchen, this African American neighborhood was part of Arrow Rock, in that its occupants were still needed by the local white community as laborers and domestic servants, but it was segregated outside the official village boundary. As in most parts of the United States, Arrow Rock was a microcosm of segregation where African Americans were not permitted to attend or patronize white congregations, businesses, or institutions. This even included places of African American employment, like the Huston Tavern. In response, African Americans created their own mirroring community, schools, churches, businesses, and fraternal lodges.

As Arrow Rock transformed itself into a heritage-tourism site in the 20th century, African Americans continued to be either ignored or segregated. Three examples of inequity in historical interpretation can be seen in the home of George Caleb Bingham, the Huston Tavern, and the ARSHS museum and visitors center. Guided tours of Bingham's home continue to focus on the celebratory history of George Caleb Bingham as an artist and his connections to this Arrow Rock residence. Interpretations of his wife, family, and everyday life are limited. This is ironic, since Bingham's work is best known for depictions of daily life on the Missouri River, such as *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri* (1845), *The Jolly Flatboatmen* (1846), and *Shooting for the Beef* (1850). Bingham's paintings are rich with social imagery but have been underutilized by the FAR and the ARSHS to explain life in antebellum Arrow Rock and Missouri. Many of the characters in Bingham's pieces are based on

real people and events that he encountered in Arrow Rock. His artwork can also be used as an interpretative tool to address those disenfranchised citizens that are often absent from these paintings. In particular, African Americans and women are rarely seen in Bingham's large genre paintings, even though together they constituted more than half the population in Arrow Rock and the Little Dixie region.

Bingham's political genre paintings provide the best insight into the role of African Americans and women during the antebellum period. Besides being an artist, Bingham was also very active in politics, serving in the 1840s as a Missouri state representative from the Whig Party, as the state treasurer from 1862 to 1865, and he often considered running for Missouri governor after the Civil War (Rash 1991). Bingham's political art pieces depict the entire election process with *Stump Speaking* (1853 to 1854), *The County*

Election (1851 to 1852), and *The Verdict of the People* (1854 to 1855) (Figure 4). The third piece illustrates the announcement of election results to a large crowd of white men. Unlike the first two, *The Verdict of the People* carried specific political messages about temperance and slavery in the 1850s because they were linked by immorality and the repression of freedom (Humphrey 1828). Bingham has been described as a "teetotaler" and had close friends among temperance leaders in Missouri (Rash 1991:145). The temperance movement is referenced in the painting by a banner upheld by women on a balcony, that states: "Freedom for Virtue [Re]striction for Vice." It is important to note that despite their inability to vote, women were active participants in the temperance debate and in other political/social matters of antebellum Missouri.

The Verdict of the People was also created in reaction to Senator Stephen Douglas's

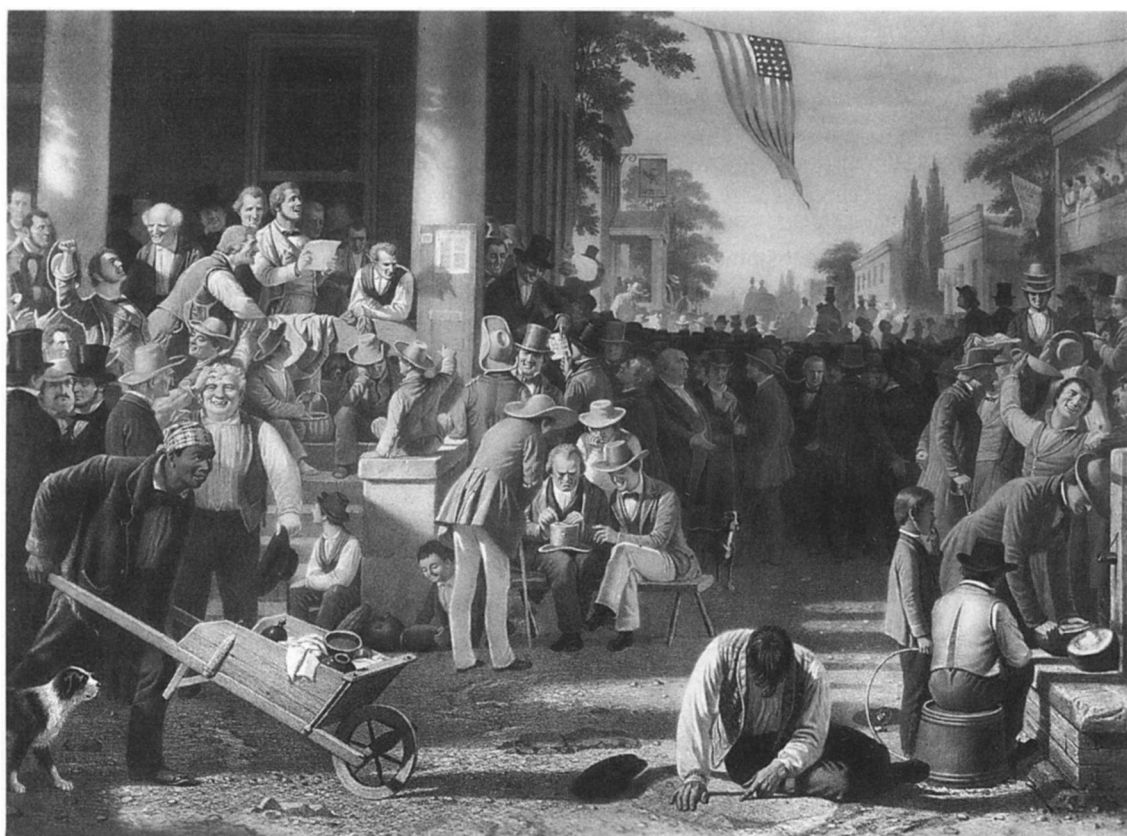


FIGURE 4. An anonymous lithograph of George Caleb Bingham's 1854–1855 painting, *The Verdict of the People*. (Image used by permission, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.)

Nebraska-Kansas Act of 1854, which recognized the sovereign right of territories to vote on slavery. This negated the Missouri Compromise of 1820 that prohibited slavery in the former Louisiana Territory north of the parallel 36° 30' N, except within the state of Missouri. Bingham was vehemently against Douglas's bill, and the painting foreshadowed the Border War between Kansas and Missouri, which then led to the Civil War (Rash 1991:146). At one time, Bingham and his family were slave owners, but by the 1850s he held a strong antislavery stance, which resulted in his move from the Whig to the Republican Party in 1855. Slavery is symbolized in *The Verdict of the People* by one African American male, who is presented in the foreground with a wheelbarrow, serving the white, male crowd with refreshments as they exercised/celebrated their citizenship right of suffrage. Together the women and their temperance banner and the African American male bookend the large, white, male crowd and the election process. The African American male is moving toward a white male that is sitting on the ground in a *Dying Gaul* position and below a large American flag hanging over the crowd (Rash 1991:147). The *Dying Gaul* is one of the most celebrated and copied works of ancient Rome and depicts a naked captive fighting against death and refusing to accept his fate. Bingham's depiction symbolizes the proslavery faction's slow demise and his antislavery viewpoint, supporting a unified nation under one flag. A second version of this painting was created after 1855, which adds an African American woman and child also sitting below the American flag and above the *Dying Gaul* figure, reinforcing Bingham's antislavery stance. He also adds a large church steeple between the temperance banner and the American flag, emphasizing the immorality of slavery and drinking.

Arguably Bingham's most famous piece is *Order No. 11* (1865 to 1870), which was created to illustrate the tragedy of the Civil War in Missouri. On 25 August 1863, Union officer Major General Thomas Ewing enacted Order No. 11, which "decreed that all farm residents in the border counties [between Kansas and Missouri] must abandon their homes and property within a fortnight," except for those that Ewing deemed loyal to the Union (Shapiro et al. 1990:42). Bingham traveled to Jackson County, Missouri,

and confronted Ewing and attempted to have him rescind the order, but with no success. Bingham then warned Ewing that "I will make you infamous with pen and brush as far I am able" (Shapiro et al. 1990:43). The painting *Order No. 11* was Bingham's weapon, which depicts the eviction of a Missouri farm family with one man shot dead and with enslaved African Americans consoling the white family and covering their faces in horror. This painting offers an interpretive opportunity to discuss the Border War between Kansas and Missouri, the Civil War that followed, and the social relationship between master and slave. Regarding the latter, the second restoration of the Bingham home in 1963 reconstructed a detached kitchen that was likely used by an enslaved African American cook and/or servant (Figure 2). Unfortunately, the current narrative of Bingham's home does not address the existence of African Americans at this residence, nor are any of the complex topics of slavery, racism, and gender roles, which are symbolized in his paintings, presented to the public on these tours.

In 2008, the Huston Tavern was part museum and part restaurant, which the Missouri Division of State Parks believes to be the oldest continuously operating eatery west of the Mississippi River. The museum component highlights Joseph Huston, the founder, and the Santa Fe Trail with restored and furnished period hotel rooms, a ballroom, a mercantile establishment, and a detached kitchen. Sadly, there has been little interpretation of the hotel guests/residents or the African American employees that worked in the tavern as enslaved and then as paid cooks and servants until the 1970s (Figure 5). In particular, the original detached kitchen has been refurbished as a period room, representing an antebellum kitchen used by enslaved African American cooks. A doorway and stairwell also leads from the kitchen to a second-story loft, which was used as living quarters by the tavern's African American employees. The kitchen is no longer detached, and the second-story loft has been removed by later additions that engulf this space within the restaurant's dining room. The kitchen has been appropriately refurbished, but it has no historical signage for tavern patrons, and formal tours give only a brief discussion of an African American presence or history.

In 1991, the ARSHS opened a new museum and visitor center with 9,000 sq. ft. of exhibit



FIGURE 5. Rena Brown (*sitting*) and her family, who worked in the Huston Tavern as cooks, maids, and waiters, ca. 1915. (Photo used by permission, Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Arrow Rock State Historic Site.)

space. The exhibits were designed to place Arrow Rock's heritage within the broad history of central Missouri, beginning with prehistoric Native Americans, to historical tribes of the Osage and Missouri, and the settlement of the Little Dixie region by American immigrants. One glaring absence was that African Americans were not represented in this historical narrative. When this error was recognized, a low-budget and temporary exhibit was installed at the end of the gallery, literally as an afterthought. The physical placement of this exhibit panel at the end of the museum gallery parallels the inclusive/exclusive nature of the detached kitchen behind the "big house" or the postbellum African American community that was placed immediately outside Arrow Rock's city limits. The ARSHS is currently working with the FAR on a more inclusive renovation of their exhibits to include Arrow Rock's African American heritage. This began in 1999, when the ARSHS created a draft plan for this exhibit restoration, but they are still waiting for additional funding from the state to accomplish this project. The first step to this revisionist process has already begun with a new orientation film, *Arrow Rock: Frontier Town in Boone's Lick Country*, which provides a balanced interpretation of Arrow Rock's heritage, including its African American culture from slavery to current African American heritage events (Missouri Department of Natural Resources 2001). Without the complete renovations and reinterpretation of ARSHS exhibits and historic sites, why would the African American descendant community want to come back to Arrow Rock? History will continue to be segregated, perpetuating the racial ideology that began with slavery.

Conclusion

In the 20th century, Arrow Rock transformed itself into a major heritage-tourism site through a grassroots process of civic engagement. Collaborating with the professional community, local citizens in Arrow Rock have utilized historic preservation methods to revitalize and redefine their community's cultural identity and economy. Over time the focus of Arrow Rock's civic engagement has changed from affluent members of society and celebratory history to social history and African American heritage, but the story is still not complete. In particular, women's history

and gender roles in society have not been fully interpreted either.

The legacy of slavery has continued to impact how and where African American history is interpreted. This has been a problem not only in Arrow Rock, but nationally, as museums and historic sites struggle with how to interpret "uncomfortable history" (e.g., slavery, racism) that might offend a tourist, benefactor, or the descendant community (Chappell 1999; Eichstedt and Small 2002; Baumann et al. 2009). Even if institutions want to engage in these difficult topics, they may not have the expertise, collections, or funding to provide a meaningful interpretation (Singleton 1997). In attempting to address these deficiencies, many older museums that have ignored African American heritage for decades may find a distrustful community. This is particularly true when African Americans are asked to share their history or to donate family heirlooms (McDavid 1997). Recent historical research and archaeological investigations in or near Arrow Rock on enslaved African American life and on its postbellum African American community have attempted to engage and empower the descendant community and break down the racial barriers that have divided Arrow Rock's history into "black and white." In the end, Arrow Rock's civic engagement is not bound by its city limits. The ARSHS, the FAR, and the DAR will continue to develop programs and external collaborations that expand its access to all. As a National Historic Landmark site, America's heritage is found in Arrow Rock as nearly everyone who traveled west from St. Louis came through this village.

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