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BY HER HANDS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE HIDDEN LABOR OF BLACK WOMEN AT THE HUGH CRAFT HOUSE SITE IN HOLLY SPRINGS

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ABSTRACT

This project considers the gap in theorizing the hidden labor of Black women in the seldom-researched setting of urban slavery. The project unearths the hidden labor of Black women by analyzing architectural, primary, and secondary documentary evidence surrounding the urban antebellum Hugh Craft House site in Holly Springs, Mississippi. It draws on household and Black feminist archaeology theories to uncover the hidden labor in the domestic spheres that the enslaved women were actively shaping. Research methods included reviewing archival footage; site visits; examining primary sources; and consulting secondary sources on antebellum households, household archaeology, and Black feminist archaeology. This research finds that the layout and architecture of the site were designed to give Black women restricted and hidden access to the main house. It also shows that although the Craft family and descendants still relied on Black labor, after the Civil War, the expectations for their labor were different.

Introduction

In Mississippi's Hill Country region sits the small city of Holly Springs. As the seat of Marshall County, Holly Springs features a business district, the Ida B. Wells-Barnett Museum, the historically Black Rust College, and several antebellum homes that garner attention each year via the Pilgrimage Tour of Historic Homes and Churches (hereafter the Pilgrimage) which is an antebellum home tour sponsored by the Holly Springs Garden Club. Holly Springs was founded in 1836 by white settlers who recognized the fertility of the soil after local Native Americans were expelled from the region (City of Holly Springs, 2021). During the mid-to-late 1800s, Holly Springs's business district was a hub for processing goods harvested with enslaved labor like cotton that required transport from rural plantations to larger hubs like Memphis and other cities along the Mississippi River.

Urban centers of the antebellum era, like Holly Springs, functioned as support systems for rural plantations. They provided the facilities for moving crops like cotton to markets, as well as ensuring transportation of important commodities and plantation supplies (Carter et. al, 2018). Thus, urban areas were not absent of slavery; they were important cogs in the machine of the institution of slavery. Holly Springs functioned as one of these urban centers. It became an urban center due to the influx of settlers looking to invest in new lands and agricultural opportunities. An emerging town like Holly Spring was an attractive investment or fresh start to many. Houses like Burton Place (1849), Walter Place (1860), Crump Place (1837), and Montrose (1858) sprang up to house the town's residents. All of the aforementioned antebellum homes, and many others, survive today in Holly Springs.

In 2002, Jenifer Eggleston and Chelius Carter purchased one of these historic homes. Carter, a historian, did much research on the former inhabitant of the home, Hugh Craft. Craft, an owner of enslaved persons, constructed the home in 1851. After living in the home for a few months, Carter learned of a historic kitchen and enslaved quarters on their acquired antebellum property in Holly Springs. Carter realized the Craft House was a site of urban slavery. Enslaved people's dwellings can be "hidden in plain view within urban society" (Carter et. al, 2018,2). Obscuring evidence of slavery in urban areas reinforces the modern belief that cities and slavery are not connected, and surviving structures are still hidden or unrecognizable to many.

Considering their home and the plethora of other antebellum homes in Holly Springs, Carter and Eggleston identified a need to fill the gap in progressively contextualizing slavery on historic properties. With Eggleston and Carter's goal of contextual historical home education on the experiences of the enslaved, the Craft House's initial outreach was intertwined with the Pilgrimage and later developed into the Behind the Big House project, which is a enslaved people's dwelling interpretation program that focuses on educational outreach. Chelius Carter and Jennifer Eggleston curated a supportive network of both individuals and organizations. The hope of bringing educational outreach and historic sites advocacy and preservation to the local community of Holly Springs was cemented together in Carter's 2005 founding of Preserve Marshall County and Holly Springs, Inc. (Preserve Marshall County & Holly Springs, Inc., 2021).

In "Slavery in Knoxville, Tennessee: In, but Not Entirely of, the South," anthropologist Charles Faulkner notes, "cities were seen as the embodiment of American technological progress and intellectual achievement" (Faulkner 2017,123). Furthermore, the persistence of something as "archaic and evil" as the institution of slavery is not often thought about in cities (Faulkner 2017, 123). Thus, the history of urban slavery often goes unstudied as Americans are more exposed to accounts of rural plantations through movies and television shows like *Django Unchained* and *Underground*.

With this focus on educating the public on the often-overlooked elements of urban slavery, the Behind the Big House Project devotes specific attention to the presence of detached kitchens which are quintessential in urban slavery contexts. Detached kitchens were a part of urban antebellum households, and they sometimes included living quarters for the enslaved as well as the actual kitchen (Stewart-Abernathy 2004, 61). Holly Springs features multiple antebellum houses within its urban landscape that have detached kitchens like the Craft House.

Although the Craft House has been subject to many tours and interpretive perspectives, it has yet to be analyzed through the lens of Black feminist archaeology, which is a theoretical framework that focuses on interpreting material remains as Black women would have utilized them and what this can tell us about their life experiences. Doing this work would be beneficial for the descendants of those not only enslaved in Holly Springs, but for the descendants of American slavery in general. As this work may include analysis of a physical building that is not protected, doing this work as soon as possible is crucial. Structures often do not last forever and any analysis I curate now will be beneficial to those wanting to study this site or similar sites in the future.

For context, I will use archaeologist Whitney Battle-Baptiste's work *Black Feminist Archaeology*. Her work is rooted in a genealogy of Civil Rights Era feminists, like those known as the Combahee River Collective, who stated in 1977 that "no one before ha[d] ever examined the multilayered texture of Black women's lives" (Combahee River Collective, 2015). Drawing on this genealogy of Black feminist theory, I will uncover the hidden labor of Black women at the Hugh Craft House site by analyzing architectural and primary documentary evidence. I will also apply a household theoretical lens, which considers the power dynamics between enslaved people and their owners in the same household. I will interpret the complexities of Black women's hidden labor at the Craft House through the site's architecture. The home was occupied by the Craft family and their descendants during the time that is of utmost interest to this paper: 1850-1900. This timeframe is important as census records indicate that Black women were present in laborious roles like that of "chamber-maid" and "cook."

Currently, about 7,000 people live in Holly Springs with roughly 80% of the residents being Black (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). Considering the current demographics, a need to interpret lasting elements of slavery are even more evident. Many of the Black residents are likely descendants of the enslaved people who labored in the antebellum homes that are still in Holly Springs today. Therefore, interpretation of the lives of those enslaved people in Holly Springs will directly educate and benefit some of their descendants.

Households and Gender in Archaeology

To apply a household theoretical lens to the Craft home site, a definition of "household" must first be established. I am using archaeologist Leslie Stewart-Abernathy's definition of household from his chapter in *Household Chores and Household Choices* entitled "Separate Kitchens and Intimate Archaeology." Stewart-Abernathy uses the urban antebellum context of historic Washington, Arkansas to understand households, which he defines as "a co-residential, social, and economic unit" (2004, 53). Like Holly Springs, Washington, Arkansas was also a cotton frontier of the antebellum era. Stewart-Abernathy focuses on the detached kitchens of this region as sites used for more than food preparation; they encompass daily practices and physical separation, power relationships, and a place of refuge from the inner workings of the main home (Brandon & Barile 2004, 9). This means the concepts of households can tell us about the daily functions of those who were enslaved, including household chores, what they may have owned, sleeping arrangements, gender roles, captive family roles, and how they utilized space.

Stewart-Abernathy incorporates sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" to understand the habitual practices of people who lived in urban, antebellum households. Stewart-Abernathy explains that the concept of habitus encompasses a complex system of "durable, transposable dispositions," which means people's habitual practices become stable and are then transferred to others (Stewart-Abernathy 2004,52). Stewart-Abernathy essentially is building on Bourdieu's knowledge to show that each aspect of how a home is laid out perpetuates the institution of slavery that remains stable through an unconscious cultural transmission by those who live in the antebellum household. Kitchens are integral parts of the household. In this case, habitus encompasses thinking about how habits are generated and what the architecture says about habitual practices. Stewart-Abernathy can illustrate how habitual practices are perpetuated through cultural practices using data such as birth and marriage certificates, tax records, and archaeological remains. Bourdieu's habitus allows Stewart-Abernathy to theorize about the daily labor practices of the enslaved individuals and their owners. Stewart-Abernathy's chapter will help me to think through what material culture, especially architectural remains, can say about architectural choices that perpetuate hidden labor and the habitual practices that sustain it.

Whitney Battle-Baptiste's Black feminist archaeology approach to understanding Black women's hidden labor is also key to interpreting the Craft site. Battle-Baptiste believes that, like Black women of the past, she has struggled with invisibility (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 35). Furthermore, the worth of women is often entangled with their labor (Battle-Baptiste 2016,43). With this notion, a raced and gendered lens is pivotal in reshaping the discussion of who women were and uncovering their hidden labor. This theoretical framework was developed during Battle-Baptiste's time excavating at both the Hermitage and the W.E.B. DuBois Boyhood Homesites, as well as revisiting previous excavations at Lucy Foster's Homestead. First published in 2011, Battle-Baptiste's *Black Feminist Archaeology* details the framework of the theory. She notes that Black feminist archaeology is not a formula, rather it is "a methodology that combines aspects of anthropological theory, ethnohistory, the narrative tradition, oral history, material culture studies, Black and African-descendant feminisms, and critical race and African Diaspora theories" (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 29).

The three sites mentioned above aided in her crafting of this theoretical framework. First, the Hermitage is the former plantation site owned by President Andrew Jackson. Jackson moved to the Tennessee property in 1804 intending to pay off his debts and recover from financial misfortune (Battle-Baptiste 2001, 82). The property is located in the Nashville area. Battle-Baptiste initially started being involved with the site in 1996 (Battle-Baptiste 2016,81). The Lucy Foster Homestead is located in Andover, Massachusetts. It was originally excavated in 1942 as one of the earliest sites belonging to an African American to be excavated (Battle-Baptiste 2016,30). Battle-Baptiste revisits this site in building her framework to consider how a gendered, Black, and feminist lens can reshape the discussion of who Black women are and the possible avenues of viewing them (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 47-48). The W.E.B. DuBois Boyhood Homesite is in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Battle-Baptiste also approached it with a Black feminist framework (Battle-Baptste 2016, 30). The site encompasses the life and labor of the "Black Burghardts," or DuBois's maternal family. With a Black feminist framework, Battle-Baptiste reviewed previous archaeology interpretations to bring the intersectional elements of gender, race, and class together to better theorize about the neglected histories of African descendant women in Western Massachusetts (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 30). In total, Battle-Baptiste recognizes these three sites as helpful to curating a better understanding of gender and archaeology.

Battle-Baptiste theorizes the captive domestic sphere, or the domestic space where enslaved captives resided, as complex households that shaped and manipulated their immediate living circumstances (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 49). The fluidity of family and kinship calls for a Black feminist lens in considering the instability of parenting responsibility, the presence of women-centered domestic production, and theorizing the possibility of central spaces. Often, the domestic spheres that the enslaved women were actively shaping are analyzed through both sexist and racist assumptions provided by matrifocal arguments laced with underlying stereotypical representations of the Black family structure. When curating a framework for Black feminist archaeology, Battle-Baptiste considered this existing narrative to construct a counter-narrative that takes into account the dire impacts of slavery on captive family structures (Battle-Baptiste 2016,51).

The Black feminist archaeology theoretical framework will allow me to better engage with the hidden labor of Black women at the Hugh Craft site. My Black feminist archaeology methodology will include anthropological theory, material culture studies, oral history, and secondary historical contexts of Black women's experiences in captive households. Her theoretical framework will also help me to apply an intersectional lens to understanding the hidden labor of captive households. The Black feminist archaeology approach is valuable as it considers the frequent invisibility of Black women in material culture representations and seeks to dismantle stereotypical understandings of the Black familial unit. The Craft home structured the hidden labor of Black women and also perpetuated an unstable Black family unit.

Research Findings

I will examine Black women's hidden labor at the Craft house through the lenses of Black feminist archaeological and household theories. I will do this chronologically based on census

records from the years 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900. I will examine these years specifically because they each show that Black women were part of the labor force in the household. The census of 1890 cannot be confirmed because much of the documentation from that year was destroyed or badly damaged in a fire in 1921 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). As a result, I will exclude the census year 1890 from my analysis.

The census records provide not only the knowledge of how many individuals were in the Craft family but also their ages, places of birth, assets, and occupations of all males over 15-years-old. The corresponding slave census schedule notes how many enslaved people were on the property, their races, and their ages.

With the 1850 and 1860 federal censuses, there are schedules of those who were enslaved per household corresponding to the general census. Enslaved people were not named (Random Acts of Genealogical Kindness, 2019). However, their sex, race, and ages are listed under their owner's names. With this information, I can understand something about the labor roles of Black women of the Craft household.

I will organize this information by census years. For additional contexts, I will use other methods alongside census information to envision Black women's hidden labor. These methods included watching clips of Behind the Big House tour interpretations; taking a Craft House tour in Holly Springs, with its founder Chelius Carter; looking at primary sources like Works Progress Administration (hereafter, WPA) narratives and federal census records; and consulting secondary sources on antebellum households, household archaeology, and Black feminist archaeology. This multilayered approach encompasses many necessary elements for reconstructing a day in the life of enslaved women at the Craft home chronologically. It begins in 1850, which is the earliest census available that also shows evidence of Black women as slaves in the household. I will also give some context to the Hugh Craft slave-owning family for comparison to the experiences of Black enslaved and free women.

The Craft Family

Hugh Craft was from Maryland. With his third wife, Elizabeth Robinson Collier Craft, he moved to Holly Springs. The property where their home was built originally belonged to his wife Elizabeth's mother, Chloe Collier. Carter stated that the current property's cellar was likely the foundation for Elizabeth's mother's cottage, no longer extant (Craft House Tour, 2021). As an architect, he noted that the six-over-six windowpane of the cellar would have been typical of a cottage of the time. Furthermore, every window inside the main structure of the home is eight over eight and inconsistent with the six-over-six construction. In Holly Springs, Craft was a land agent. In this position, he handled the purchasing and selling of land. Carter notes that Craft's position as a land agent would have placed him frequently in City Hall, processing and searching through land deeds (Craft House Tour, 2021). Craft and his family were in the public eye, and Carter also notes that they attended the local Presbyterian Church.

Families of the antebellum era strove to present themselves with the highest standards possible. Through their hidden labor, enslaved women were the ones called upon to uphold the

public image of families like the Crafts. They forcefully operated on "the ideology of domesticity" that required them to work for their enslavers' image as if their own interest were involved (Glymph 2012, 6). Furthermore, it can be argued that enslaved women were essential elements of southern households. As one example, historian Thavolia Glymph writes of the accounts of Amelia Lines, a northern-born white woman from a working-class family. Lines moved to the South and wrote of the cultural milieu to her family back home essentially noting that "to do without a black servant in the South was not an option" and that only by going home can she live a life independent of Negro help (Glymph 2012,76). Uncovering and interpreting the hidden labor of Black women within antebellum households is paramount because, without their hidden labor, the common operations of antebellum households are not wholly possible.

Black Labor and Gender Roles

Bat. Boil. Wash. Rinse. Dry. Iron. Repeat. In a video clip from the 2018 Behind the Big House Tour, Tammy Gibson, a historical interpreter for the Behind the Big House program, interprets the role of a laundress. Gibson is a travel historian, storyteller, and entrepreneur. Laundresses of the time completed this lengthy, often multi-day, process multiple times a month (Gibson, 2018). The task of doing laundry was particularly laborious. First, clothing was batted to remove dust. Next, the clothes were boiled and stirred. The women of the Craft house then had to fetch water. Carter notes of a water well on the property, making this the most likely place water was collected for the household. (Craft House Tour, 2021). The clothing would have been stirred, likely using a battling stick. Battling sticks are lengthy paddle-like sticks that were used to first remove dust via batting the clothing; later, the battling sticks could have been used to stir and monitor the boiling clothing and other fabrics. Following this part of the process, a washing board and lye soap would have been used to further clean the fabrics. The women likely made their lye soap, but given their urban setting, it is also plausible that it could have been purchased from merchants.

The task of gathering water would be repeated to rinse the fabrics of the soap. Afterward, a branch likely was utilized to dry the fabrics. This process of drying the items probably varied in time as it is dependent on the weather conditions. Multiple sunny days in a row were best for this step in the process. Later, the fabrics would be ironed and properly put away. This process would be repeated as needed, weekly or at some other established regularity. Furthermore, the load would increase whenever the mistress would request additional fabrics to be washed along with the clothes. Thus, a laundress at the Craft home in 1850 would typically be washing the clothes of 16 individuals, nine enslaved in addition to curtains and drapery.

Laundry was only one of the urban enslaved women's labor roles. Their many tasks also included, but were not limited to, the following: cooking, wet nursing, food preparation, sewing, polishing silverware, dressing the mistress and her children, fanning during warm seasons (day and night), keeping oil lamps lit, kindling fires, milking cows, preserving meat, spinning and weaving, washing and ironing fabrics, and raising chickens (Jones 2015, 5). In this project, I will talk more in detail about what cooking and other domestic chores, like night nursing and fire kindling, as a whole may have looked like in the Craft House.

Considering the Craft family diary, we can sense some of the agricultural aspects of the grounds (Craft, 1859). The Craft family diary notes that raspberries and strawberries were grown and distributed to visitors of the Craft family (Craft, 1859). Carter notes that garden trims or boundaries were found near the quarter's rear. This proximity of material remains of the garden's fencing adds to the likelihood that it was one of the many responsibilities that went into a day in the life of an enslaved woman of the Craft family during this time.

The task of cooking in the household likely reinforced the power dynamic of the house mistress and the woman in the role of the cook in addition to being an arduous and repetitive task. The cook would have lived and worked mostly in the same space. This "confinement" was intentional as "the cook was never relieved from work as she faced constant demands from the main house" (Vlach,1996). Furthermore, John White, an enslaved Texan that lived in a detached kitchen within close proximity to the Big House notes "his proximity to the Big House made him a frequent target of his owner's temper" (Vlach, 1996).

The Craft family had stables that housed horses. The Crafts write of having their horses and a carriage prepared before taking trips to other areas in North Mississippi (Craft/Fort Family Letters, 1840-1878). They do not write about the specific individual preparing the animals for travel; however, it was likely an enslaved person. Moreover, Carter notes that in addition to horses, hogs and chickens were likely raised. The kitchen and enslaved quarters has a cellar where the pork could have been smoked. Thus, the cook's role in food preparation would have been intertwined with the daily task of feeding and nurturing animals, as well as the occasional task of killing and defeathering the chickens and possibly killing and dividing up the hog and preserving the meat for later meals. Usually, the cook did not serve the meal. Carter notes not only where the former food storage pantry was in the home, but also a small area adjacent to the dining room that functioned similarly to a butler's pantry. The food prepared by the cook was likely placed here to be plated and served by the male enslaved person, who served as a butler.

It is possible that the relationship between Mrs. Craft and the enslaved women could have been tumultuous. From secondary sources like Glymph's work, we know that feelings of contempt or dislike were frequent from mistress to enslaved woman. We see that Black women who labored in white households were often considered "unmanageable" among other things. Enslaved women who were consistently seen as unsatisfactory in the eyes of their mistresses could be sent to another plantation or sold off as punishment (Glymph 2012, 68).

I know from my visit to the Craft House that walkways ran from the kitchen and enslaved quarters to the home. Surviving today are architectural scars and markings that outline what used to be the pantry. A narrow staging area that leads directly into the dining room remains. The pantry, as Carter notes, would have been locked. The mistress of the household would have access to a key. Mrs. Craft having a lock such as this prevents the enslaved women, and others, from providing themselves with more than an approved amount of food. The presence of locks paired with the secondary source of Glymph gives insight to the possibilities of the mistress and enslaved cook's relationship.

With a considerable number of children in the structures of the enslaved and main household, the enslaved women of the household likely spent an ample amount of time nursing

them in addition to laundry, gardening, and cooking (Carter et. al. 2018, 12). Each census showcases a difference in the children present. Thus, the enslaved women of the household would have been partaking in childcare differently in 1850 than in 1860, and so on, based on census records of those in the house discussed below.

Last, architecture can speak to the space available to all of the women during this project's focusing time frame, and what that says about their mobility. First, Carter notes a discrepancy in one of the upstairs windows (Craft House Tour, 2021). All of the eight-over-eight windows in the main areas of the home are uniform except for one in a room he states likely was the nursery. The remaining cuts in the woodwork and wall are floor-to-ceiling. Overall, Carter states that this is the location of a former outdoor staircase that would have enabled the women in the position of a chambermaid to go directly from their quarters to that of the children. This feature gives an example of an architectural choice to hide the labor of the enslaved people who would have done these tasks from the general public.

Furthermore, a lattice fence would have encompassed the grounds (Craft House Tour, 2021). This adds to the hidden labor as tasks that would have been done outside like gardening, washing fabrics, and hanging fabrics to dry, would have been concealed from the general public. Thus, visitors entering the main house to dine with the Crafts would not have seen the enslaved dwelling, or the enslaved women, directly. The enslaved male would have served the food prepared by the cook, so no enslaved woman or their labor would have been viewed.

Enslaved children would have likely used the hidden staircase to supplement the working roles of the enslaved Black women. Enslaved children were often assigned a member of the owning family to take as a "charge" (Jones 2015, 6). Enslaved children would sleep near the charge, likely in an upstairs corridor that was added after the house's initial construction (Craft House Tour, 2021). They would be awakened at night by their charge to send for an enslaved woman if nursing was needed or a snack requested. Children would also kindle fires for their charge or adversely fan their charge during the seasonal months.

1850

The 1850 Census shows seven individuals in the Craft family (See Table 1.1). Hugh and his sons Addison and Heber Craft are the only males. Censuses of this era listed the occupations of all males at least 15-years-old. Their occupations are "land agent" and "student" respectively. The mistresses of the house include Elizabeth R. Craft, Hugh's wife, and their daughters Carolina, Stella, and Hellen Craft.

Considering the corresponding schedule of enslaved people in 1850, the Craft household held nine enslaved people. Half of the enslaved were five years old or younger. Two of the enslaved people were ten or younger. The remaining three are adults: one 26-year-old female, one 35-year-old female, and a 40-year-old male.

Comparative Table of Craft Household; 1850

Main Household (7)	**Enslaved (9)**
Hugh 51	40 M
Elizabeth 44	35 F
Caroline 17	26 F
Addison 15	10 M
Heber 13	7 M
Stella 11	5 F
Hellen 3	3 M
	2 F
	1 F

Table 1.1

There were changes in both the enslaved and owning population of the Craft household from 1850 to 1860. For the Anglo-Americans of the household, the addition of 18-year-old William Young, 20-year-old Mary, and three-month-old Mary J represent additional clothes to wash, mouths to feed, and bodies to fan and kindle fires for. Mary J, in particular, is the youngest of all the members of the white family and would have needed an immense amount of care and attention as a newborn.

The enslaved population experienced changes as well. Where there are enslaved children listed as one, two, three, five, seven, and ten, there are only a few ages of children that are directly 10 years older than the ages listed in 1850. Therefore, besides the 12-year-old female, it is likely that the older children were no longer a part of the Craft Household in 1860.

Comparative Table of Households; 1860

Main Household	**Enslaved**
Hugh Craft 60	45 F
Elizabeth 53	40 F
Stella 21	32 M
Hellen 13	16 M
Heber 23	15 M
Mary 20	12 F
Mary J 3 months	9 M
William Young 18	6 F
	3 M

Table 1.2

Enslaved people often did not know what year they were born, let alone an accurate date of birth. Hence, their ages were often estimated when they were sold into different households. Nevertheless, we can theorize if it is likely that individuals were sold from the household given a difference in corresponding ages throughout the years.

The 35-year-old female of 1850 is likely the 45-year-old female of the 1860 census. Similarly, the 26-year-old listed in 1850 would have been 36 in the next census. It is possible that it is the same woman with their age rounded up. However, it is also plausible that the 26-year-old from 1850 is no longer in the Craft household in the next census and was replaced by a woman of a similar age to do the needed tasks.

1865 also marks a shift to the Reconstruction Era in Holly Springs. Reconstruction was the time frame after the Civil War where the federal government played a role in enforcing the integration of formerly enslaved Black Americans into society. For Mississippi, the punishments and rules given to Black enslaved people were modified; the state penal codes "simply replaced the word *slave* with *freedman*: all the crimes and penalties for slaves remained 'in full force' for the emancipated (Phillips 2017). In "Reconstruction in Marshall County," Ruth Watkins gives an account from a man named Mr. Flournoy describing the presence of political processions by Black people in Holly Springs. It states, "at Holly Springs there was a very large assemblage of negroes, some 3,000 or 4,000." (Watkins 1912, 32). Watkins, then a University of Mississippi history student, writes that "blacks would march in daylight to the music of horn and drum, throughout the principal streets of town." At these processions, it is noted that there was "not a white face in sight anywhere." First, this speaks to the newfound sense of community that free Black people were able to foster. Formerly enslaved people no longer needed written passes from their enslavers to be able to visit

with family and friends, move, or to gather in groups. In addition to the opportunity to build and strengthen communal relationships, education was no longer barred in the same way. An example of this is the founding of Shaw University, now Rust College. Shaw University was established in 1866 by the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Rust College 2020). Shaw University was accepting of "adults of all ages, as well as children" (Rust College 2020). Thus, formerly enslaved people of Holly Springs were able to lay claim to political opinions, receive an education, and grow a sense of community.

On the other hand, the newfound elements of liberty for the formerly enslaved of Holly Springs were met with growing counteractions. The aforementioned article notes the commander of the Federal troops in Holly Springs was, as much of the Ku Klux Klan, sympathetic to what were then-Democratic views. Moreover, the military band participated in Klan gatherings. Thus, Klan members met minimal militaristic resistance to achieving the elements of their oath which included, "to suppress the negro and keep him in the position where he belongs" (Watkins 1912, 33).
In addition to this violence and discrimination from elements of the military and local political environs, restricted job opportunities, and landlessness also forced Black women back into white households (Glymph 2012,11). From the WPA narrative of Belle Caruthers, taken by Nettie Fant Thompson, we see an example of discrimination within Holly Springs. Belle was interviewed at age 90. She recalls her wedding year of 1868 where she faced discrimination trying to wed and start a family in Holly Springs. Caruthers recalls that a "Captain Myers," a man related to her old enslaver, "was clerk in the courthouse and wouldn't let us have a license," (Waters 2002,16). This discrimination likely carried into job searches and attempts to purchase land. Thus, domestic work often meant the path to survival for fragile and emerging Black households; furthermore, ready cash was often provided to those working in domestic spaces (Glymph 2012, 8).

1870

The census of 1870 is one that catalogs paramount shifts in household dynamics. Elizabeth Craft is now the head of household. Moreover, this is the first census that features emancipated Black servants within the Craft household. In 1870, Dilsey Clark and Henry Davidson are listed as a domestic servant and laborer respectively. Thus, the labor roles that were previously provided by two Black women and supplemented with enslaved children are done by a single free woman and a male domestic laborer. With this change in dynamic paired with the 1868 death of Hugh Craft, it is plausible for Elizabeth Craft and other inhabitants of the home to supply more labor. The dynamic of the Craft House has thus changed on two fronts; they now must function with neither the income of Hugh Craft nor the labor of unpaid Black women. Glymph notes that after the Civil War, "southern white women had to learn to be employers, and former enslaved, employees" (Glymph 2012,7). White women often viewed this as a loss of status, and thus "demeaning" and "appalling" (Glymph 2012, 7).

Hellen Craft recalls the drastic shift in lifestyle during the postwar era in "War Time in the South." This piece, acquired from the University of Mississippi Archives and Special Collections, is a primary document that tells Hellen's thoughts on the changing dynamics of life after the Civil War.

Moreover, Hellen provides general examples of how white women like herself were having to change their work ethic in order to survive: "Ladies whose white hands were all unused to such labor learned to card, to spin, and to weave" (Craft, n.d.). She continues, "economy was an obligatory virtue in those days, and nothing was wasted which could possibly be turned to account" (Craft, n.d.). Thus, Hellen Craft speaks first hand of the frugality that had to be implemented amongst many well-to-do white women and their households.

1880

The census of 1880 no longer concerns most of the original members of the Craft Household. Elizabeth Craft died in 1879, opening the home to a new mistress. Hugh Craft's child from his first marriage, Martha Craft, married James Fort. James Fort died in 1878. By 1880, Martha Craft Fort had moved into the house. According to the census, there are fourteen individuals living in the household at this time. This number is inclusive of both a servant and a white male boarder. The household is now home to two families, a boarder, and a servant. Thus, the household is now home to a Craft-Fort lineage. The head of household is Addison Craft, Hugh's son, who is now 45 years of age. In the column listing the relationship to head of household, we see titles like "sister" (Hellen) and "nephew" (Robert).

Francis Wade is the only servant for this household that lives within the household. She is a 30-year-old "mulatto," or mixed-race, divorcee. It is unknown how much she was paid—if she was paid at all. It is possible that she served the household in exchange for room and board. Her pay as a servant is also questionable given the possibilities of the Craft-Fort finances. First, the household now has a boarder. Having a non-family member pay to live within the home often can be a sign of financial troubles. In addition to this, there are essentially two families living within the home. Addison and his children do not have their own residence, nor does Martha Craft Fort and her children.

All in all, the presence of two sibling's families living within the home their father constructed with a paying boarder are strong pieces of evidence that the Craft siblings may not have been doing as well financially as before the war. The income of individuals was not recorded in this census; thus, these theories are crucial to understanding the immense labor that was done by one servant. However, considering the reminiscent writing of Hellen Craft, we know that chores like sewing and spinning could be taken up by the white women of the home. Therefore, Francis still likely lived in the quarters constructed for enslaved women and traversed the hidden staircase, but, nevertheless, there are some tasks that she likely was not responsible for such as sewing and spinning.

1900

In the census of 1900, there were nine individuals living in the Craft House. Fannie Fort, the grandchild of Hugh Craft, resides there with her husband Chesley Daniel. In addition to three of Daniel's children, James Fort also resides there with his sister. Two Black women reside on the

property: Lillie Wright and Mary Garrison. Lillie Wright is 40 years old at the time and her birth is listed as December 1859. It is likely she was enslaved as a child. Her occupation is "cook," which she did as a live-in position in the Craft House for Hugh Craft's descendants. Her relation to the head of the house is listed as "servant." Mary Garrison in the 1900 census is 20 years old. Her relationship with the head of household is also "servant." Her specific occupation is chamber-maid. She was not, in 1890, able to read or write. This is a vast difference to her older counterpart, Lillie, who is able to read. Mary's date of birth is February 1877. Thus, unlike Lillie, Mary was never enslaved. Nevertheless, she is an example of how the aforementioned turmoil of the 1870s forced Black women back into subservient positions.

In addition to the two women, a boarder is present. This is a different boarder than the 1880 household ten years prior. Rufus Shuford, the boarder, holds the occupation of a grocery salesman. He is 28 at the time. He is likely not related to the members of the household as 1930 census records show Shuford, then in his 50s, as a boarder in another household in Holly Springs.
Similarly, with the household of 1880, it is likely that there is some financial distress prompting the family to consider a boarder. Also, in this household, there is a presence of extended family since James Fort, 40, is present. Thus, the financial distress is evident at least from 1870 until 1900. This theory is important as the financial prosperity is directly tied to the pay and treatment of the free Black women that worked in the house from 1870-1900.

Within this household, there are nine people total. This is a deep contrast from 1850 where there were nine people enslaved in the household and sixteen people total. However, having two adult women living on the property to fulfill roles of servitude is a perpetual element 50 years later. Mary Garrison likely climbed the same hidden staircase of the unnamed Black women before her to help Fannie and her children Fort, Voorhees, and Lucy bathe and dress. Although roles like sewing and quilting might have been taken up by white women, gardening, kindling fireplaces, polishing floors, and washing were some of the laborious roles still done by servants.

It is likely that Lillie would have had to cook for those of the main family as well as the boarder. From Carter, I know that the modern kitchen did not exist until 1930 (Craft House Tour, 2021). Thus, Lillie would have likely cooked for the main family on the same perpetually burning fires as those before her. It is likely that the task of tending to animals like chickens was still one of her roles. In addition to this, she, as a free woman, likely went to markets and shops to gather food for the household. She likely grew her own food as the women before her. Hence, the clandestine labor of Black women in the Craft House survived into the 1900s.

Conclusion

The hidden labor of Black women is a largely unexplored topic within archaeological research. Furthermore, recognizing and analyzing enslavement within urban settings adds to these layers. People do not equate the advancement of cities, citadels of supposed human intellectualism and progress, with slavery, which is remembered as an archaic evil (Faulkner 2017:123). The Craft House, a site of urban antebellum slavery, provides grounds to do such overlooked research.

To explore the hidden labor of Black women at the Craft House, I first sought years where there is evidence of Black women living in the household. The census years of 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900 were such years within the Federal census. Using household archaeological theory and Black feminist archaeology framework, I theorized about the possible daily labor tasks the women would have completed, as well as how their work was hidden in plain sight through architectural choices like outdoor stairways and hidden stairwells. Primary and secondary sources aided in providing information on the types of laborious chores that would have been typical at the time and what elements of those chores were confirmed at the Craft household. An example of this is a secondary source noting that gardening was a task typically performed by enslaved women and the Craft family diary specifically noting gardening, as well as listing at least two different fruits that were grown on the property.

Continuing this research, pottery is one element that can be considered. During previous archaeological surveys, pottery has been found. The attributes of historic pottery can tell us what temperature it was fired at, how it was glazed, what it is made of, and its use. An example of this significance is the consideration that a household with a plethora of porcelain will likely have a different socioeconomic status than a household with mostly less refined earthenware.

Another point of interest in considering this research's possible avenues of continuation would be soil sampling. Soil samples can be subjected to the archaeological technique of floating. Floating the soil samples can reveal seeds and other small artifacts. Although there are Craft family diary entries that specifically note certain things that were grown for the enjoyment of the Craft family, seeds that may be found in soil samples can give insight into what the enslaved people would have grown for themselves, as well as more insight on what would have been grown for the main house.

In conclusion, the hidden labor of Black women in the Craft House is a pivotal line of research. First, it is a sight of urban slavery. Urban slavery research has a plethora of gaps due to the surviving ideologies of the emergence of cities in America. The positive ideologies surrounding the emergence of cities do not pair with the lasting legacy of progressive cities with the presence of the archaic and evil that is the institution of slavery.

Research at the Craft House is also essential as there is an abundance of evidence showcasing the immense amount of labor Black women gave to the household's functions. Moreover, this project can be explored through more theoretical lenses and avenues. Analysis on pottery and conducting more archaeology are just two of these pathways that can lead to more understanding of the inner machinations of the hidden labor of Black women at the Craft House site.

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