Spring 5-8-2022

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

by

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.

April 2022

Oxford, MS

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Acknowledgments

I would like to express gratitude to Dr. Jodi Skipper, my thesis advisor. Dr. Skipper signed on to be my advisor on my McNair project during the summer of 2021. What was originally an eight-week commitment turned into over a year of mentoring and editing on her part. The field of African diaspora archaeology may currently be small in number, but individuals like her make it mighty. I am grateful to know her and her work.

Many thanks are owed to Dr. Carolyn Freiwald, my second reader. Her guidance and direction during the four years I've known her have been invaluable to my early personal development in anthropology and archaeology.

Special thanks and appreciation is owed to Dr. Simone Delerme, this work's third reader. Her suggestion that I apply to be a McNair scholar has been one of the most life-altering experiences I have had the pleasure of enduring. I am grateful that she has elected to give some of her time to this work as well.

Yonia B. Williamson, my mother, where would I be without you? As a first-generation student, making you proud has been my silver lining through it all. You give me the best encouragement possible. I thank you, but I could never thank you enough.

Abstract

This project unearths the hidden labor of Black women by analyzing architectural remains, artifacts, and primary and secondary documentary evidence surrounding the urban antebellum Hugh Craft House site in Holly Springs, Mississippi. This project considers the gap in theorizing the hidden labor of Black women in the seldom-researched setting of urban slavery. It also 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 watching clips of Behind the Big House tour interpretations; taking a Craft House tour in Holly Springs; looking at primary sources like Works Progress Administration slave narratives, and federal census records; cataloging and analyzing artifacts; 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.

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Chapter O N E: 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), an eighty-four-year-old antebellum home tour sponsored by the Holly Springs Garden Club, a non-profit organization responsible for the preservation and restoration of the Montrose historic home (Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 2020)

Figure 1. The Craft House. Photo courtesy of HillCountryHistory.org

The Craft House, at the time of this research, was owned by Chelius Carter and Jenifer Eggleston. It is an antebellum home located in urban Holly Springs, Mississippi. The home was constructed by Hugh Craft, a land surveyor, in 1851.

In both the 1850 and 1860 censuses, the Craft family owned nine enslaved people. In

both census decades, there were two adult Black women living on the site. Although the Craft House has been subject to historical tours, it has yet to be examined in a way that centers the experiences of the Black women that would have lived in the household. To accomplish this, this project uses the lens of Black feminist archaeology, to interpret the material remains as Black women would have utilized them, and to understand what it possibly says about their life experiences. I will interpret the complexities of Black women's hidden labor at the Craft House, through the site's architecture. The home was in the Craft family, or 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 the household during slavery and after slavery in labor roles like that of "chambermaid" and "cook".

For theoretical context in analyzing this property and its buildings, and historical artifacts currently housed at The University of Mississippi from both a 2008 foundation repair and 2014-2015 excavations done by Drs. Carolyn Freiwald and Jodi Skipper, I will look to archaeologist Whitney Battle-Baptiste's book *Black Feminist Archaeology*. Black feminist archaeology focuses on Black women and how they would have utilized resources at a site, and what it possibly says about their life experiences.

The standpoints of Battle-Baptiste are 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 architecture, primary, and secondary historical documents, and a few diagnostic artifacts to center the same Black feminist perspectives and elements as Battle-Baptiste. I will also apply a household archaeology theoretical lens, which considers the power dynamics between enslaved people and their owners in the same household. I will apply household

archaeology to the structures as well as the layout choices within those structures. Ellis and Ginsburg also note how architecture was used to subjugate the enslaved (2017, 2). Thus by analyzing the architecture via household archaeology, I will be able to better understand the terrain that the women traversed and the environmental conditions the Craft family wanted to create and enforce by making these household choices.

This thesis bears great importance on multiple planes. First, the topic of urban slavery is vastly understudied. When we think of the emergence of the American city, our minds tend to think about the technological advancements of that time. This ideology of cities being the embodiment of progress clashes with the truth; cities, although not frequently associated with slavery, were able to progress as they did due to the institution of slavery (Faulkner 2017, 123).The Craft House was a site of urban slavery, which can be "hidden in plain view within urban society" (Carter et. al, 2018, 2). Anthropologist Charles Faulkner notes that "cities were seen as the embodiment of American technological progress and intellectual achievement" (Faulkner 2017, 123). Cities of the antebellum time are remembered today as "vibrant, fast-changing" places (Ellis and Ginsburg 2017, 1). The persistence of something as "archaic and evil" as the institution of slavery is not often thought about in cities (Faulkner 2017, 123). Furthermore, the prevailing belief of the southern plantation is perpetuated via popular culture (Ellis and Ginsburg 2017, 1). Thus, the element of urban slavery often goes unstudied as Americans are more exposed to elements of rural plantations through movies and general media like *Django Unchained* (Tarantino, 2012) and *Twelve Years a Slave* (McQueen, 2013).

In Chapter Two, I plan to give a brief historical context to Holly Springs, through the lens of urban slavery and introduce Carter's and Eggleston's founding of the Behind the Big

House program, a historical education program focused on urban sites of enslavement. Knowing the context of the city's founding is crucial to understanding some of the daily household functions of the Craft family, and thus the enslaved. Chapter Three overviews archaeology at the Craft House, and public history at the site. Chapter Four introduces the theoretical perspectives of household archaeology, as defined by Leslie Stewart-Abernathy, as well as Whitney Battle-Baptiste's Black Feminist Archaeology theory. The method of this thesis, including artifact overview, and directed study under the supervision of my thesis advisor is covered in Chapter Five. The final chapter, six, encompasses the results of my analysis, integrating method and theory.

Overall, this work aims to explore what a day in the life of the Black women enslaved by the Craft family, and those who worked after slavery, consisted of; specifically, what the architecture, records, and a diagnostic artifacts combined with prevailing theories and anecdotal evidence from one of the Craft House owners, can tell us.

This thesis is an expansion of a project I completed in the summer of 2021 for the University of Mississippi Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement Program. The McNair program is a national program that colleges may apply to host for undergraduate students. The program is funded by the Department of Education and aims to support high-achieving students from historically underrepresented backgrounds like Black, Hispanic, and Native Americans, in their goal of obtaining a doctoral degree. Each student is placed with a faculty mentor that aligns with their career goals. The mentor guides the student through a research project that must be completed by the end of the program. My program lasted from

May to early July on the University of Mississippi's campus. During that time, the project's main goal was to unearth the hidden labor of Black women by analyzing architectural, primary, and secondary documentary evidence surrounding the Hugh Craft House site. I learned valuable skills like how to properly utilize an archive and interpret census documents. This project has given me the opportunity to follow up and further investigate the lives of the enslaved Black labor at the Craft House, also the main goal of this thesis.

Chapter Two: History and Context of Holly Springs

In this chapter, I will explore Holly Springs from its founding to allow for a greater understanding of the time scope of this project. To best understand the environments those enslaved would have inhabited, it is essential to have a general understanding of the region's history and other relevant contexts like Hugh Craft's settlement in the area. This chapter attempts to provide an overview of Holly Springs, a site of urban slavery, and give context to Marshall County, Mississippi. Slavery within the South is often linked to rural environments. To better examine the lives of those enslaved by Hugh Craft, the history and context of Holly Springs as a place of urban slavery must be understood.

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 ensured transportation of important commodities and plantation supplies (Carter et. al, 2018). Urban areas were not absent from slavery; they were important cogs in the machine of the institution of slavery.

This history and context chapter encompasses the discovery and settlement of the area,

slavery, and the period of Reconstruction. Chapter three introduces the Pilgrimage as a consequence of this history.

Discovery and Settlement

The 1830s were a time of business booms in industries supported by enslaved labor like textiles in America. The cession of Chickasaw and Choctaw Native lands resulted in millions of acres becoming available to white settlers looking to expand "cotton lands" (McAlexander 2017, 45). The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830 where the Choctaw agreed to move to newly established lands in Oklahoma caused many Natives to cede their land to what felt inevitable. The Creeks, Choctaws, and Cherokees ceded their land as well (McAlexander 2017, 14). In the 1832 Treaty of Pontotoc, the Chickasaws, whose ancestral homeland included Marshall County, ceded their domain to the government (McAlexander 2017, 13-14).

The Treaty of Pontotoc specifically gave way to the incorporation of Holly Springs in that same year (Callejo-Perez 2001, 20). The removal of the Native American population from that area preceded an influx of white settlers from areas like Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia (Callejo-Perez 2001, 21). Many of these settlers had an interest in building capital through agriculture and investing in enslavement and were looking to expand to fertile lands that were capable of supporting the production of crops like cotton. As a result, in a year's time, Holly Springs had twenty dry good stores, three banks, and over ten saloons (Callejo-Perez 2001, 21). Holly Springs, a product of the economic boom of the 1830s, became the seat of Marshall County, Mississippi, and was considered a "cotton capital" (McAlexander 2017, 45). Essentially, the rural plantations of Marshall County had their cotton processed via enslaved labor and transported from Holly Springs, a thriving urban center, to larger city

markets like Memphis.

The opening of new lands in the region from the Chickasaw Cession was essentially a large business opportunity for land agent Hugh Craft, who moved to Holly Springs from Milledgeville, Georgia in 1839. In 1840, a national cotton crisis hurt the economy of Holly Springs, which was in Mississippi's largest cotton-producing county Marshall County (Callejo-Perez 2001, 21). Nevertheless, settlers still moved in to take advantage of the new access to the land. In the early 1850s, Hugh Craft moved the rest of his family to Holly Springs from Milledgeville (Carter et al 2018, 2). In 1851, he finished a Greek Revival Style antebellum home on property inherited from Craft's mother-in-law, Chloe Collier (Carter et. al 2018, 2).

By its founding in 1836, Holly Springs was a growing "cotton capital" with many schools, churches, and "blocks of business houses" (McAlexander 2017, 36). Holly Springs' role as a liaison for the transport of rural resources to urban markets was paramount; it led the town to be considered the most important town that came from the Cession (McAlexander 2017, 35).

Holly Springs' history is rooted in the economic potential of the area. Even before Holly Springs was incorporated, many white settlers that were looking to invest in the economic institution of slavery recognized the promise of the land in North Mississippi and were moving to the Hill Country region (McAlexander 2017, 34). The Chickasaw Natives of that region had delegates that negotiated in Washington, D.C. after President Andrew Jackson initiated the drive to move the Chickasaws west of the Mississippi River (McAlexander 2017, 34). These negotiations led to modifications of the 1832 Treaty of Pontotoc, which is a document that ceded nearly 7 million acres of Chickasaw land. In the document's preamble, it

is noted that the Chickasaw would sell their land east of the Mississippi River and seek a home in the west (McAlexander 2017, 14). The American government agreed to have the Chickasaw land surveyed and offered publicly for sale with proceeds being distributed to Chickasaws minus the costs associated with the process of surveying and selling the lands (McAlexander 2017, 14). By the spring of 1834, Chickasaw lands were sold and proceeds of the land sales went into a general fund where tribal individuals received a payment that corresponded to their family size and the number of enslaved people they owned (McAlexander 2017, 34). It was not until 1836 that the American government started offering land made available via the Chickasaw Cession (McAlexander 2017, 35).

An emerging town like Holly Springs was an attractive investment or fresh start for many. Houses like the Greer-Ross-Tucker House (1840), Burton Place (1848), and Lewellen-Brown-White House (1854) sprang up to house the town's white residents. Each of these homes was situated in urban Holly Springs at the time of their construction and had enslaved quarters.

In Holly Springs, there are many antebellum homes that still survive today, including the Hugh Craft House, at the time of my research, owned by Chelius Carter and Jenifer Eggleston, a National Parks Service grants writer. It is a Greek Revival antebellum home built in 1851 (See Figure 1). The property sits at 184 South Memphis Street, at the intersection of Gholson Avenue and South Memphis Street in Holly Springs. It consists of the main house and an additional structure, a former slave dwelling, consisting of an outdoor kitchen, slave quarters, a cellar, and a loft. The structure stands adjacent to the main home (Figure 2).

Figure 2 Historic East Side of the Quarters (left) and South Side Entrance to the Modern-Day Craft House (right), where the modern Craft house kitchen was added in the 1920s. This image shows how close the quarters are to the main house.

Slavery in Holly Springs

In the American South, approximately 10 percent of the enslaved population worked in cities or towns (Neuberger, 2017). In 1860, Holly Springs had a population of nearly 29,000 (McMurry 1998, 5). Within this number, 1, 295 residents were owners of enslaved persons; the total number of those enslaved in Holly Springs was nearly 17,500 (McMurry 1998, 5). Only eight of Holly Springs' population of African descent were listed as "free" (McMurry 1998, 5).

Those enslaved in cities had tasks within the home like domestic labor and maternal labor. Outside of the home, one chore enslaved people might have consisted of going to stores to retrieve items; often the sought-after items were written on notes by enslavers requesting of clerk to ensure what was to be delivered by the enslaved (Jones-Rogers 2019, 5). McMurry (1998) details an example of labor done in North Mississippi by the enslaved. James Wells, the

father of Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a journalist that is best known for her outspoken work against lynchings in the South. Wells-Barnett was born in 1862 in Holly Springs a few blocks away from the Craft House.

James' father, his enslaver, apprenticed him to work in Holly Springs in carpentry (McMurry 1998, 4). Thus, those enslaved in urban environments not only could have had ample tasks outside of the home, but they also could have worked in shops alongside carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.

Enslaved women in urban environments had many tasks also including, but not limited to, the following: cooking, wet nursing, food preparation, laundry, 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, weaving, washing and ironing fabrics, and raising chickens (Jones 2015, 5). Later in this manuscript, I will talk more in detail about domestic chores, like night nursing and fire kindling, as a whole may have looked like in the Craft House.

Works Progress Administration (WPA) slave narratives from the late 1930s can add to an understanding of what it was like to be enslaved in a Mississippi city. The WPA was a federal program that aimed to record the experiences of the formerly enslaved. Fanny Smith Hodges of McComb recalls having to dress and wash the children of the household once she was "jes big 'nough" (Federal Writers Project 2006, 68). Combing the children's hair and making them presentable for the town was a task she had. Hodges also talks about the master of the house, a local pillar of the community, Judge Cassedy. In addition to general comments about the prestige look of his family, Cassedy is described especially well; he is noted to have clothes finer than his counterparts and a "fine" carriage and driver (Federal Writes Project

2006, 68). Essentially, the enslaved were responsible for helping maintain and uplift Jude Cassedy's public image. Making sure carriages were spotless, having each of his children sport neat hair, and mending any clothes that may have been torn or in need of repair were jobs for the enslaved. Whereas in rural, less populated environments, the enslaved may have not seen other enslaved people outside of their daily environment or been aware when their enslavers would have visitors to the main home, which could have been far from the enslaved cabins or have been perceived by the public.

For those in cities specifically, hiring out could mean getting hired to work as a nanny, cook, or even working on the railroad like formerly enslaved railroad worker Wayne Holiday of Monroe County, Mississippi (Federal Works Project 2006, 73). Raised in Aberdeen, Mississippi, Holiday worked on the Illinois Central Railroad until he was told he was too old to work any longer. Holiday worked on the railroad while enslaved and after emancipation.

Sylvester W. Oliver (2008) gives examples of some of the consequences that people enslaved in Marshall County faced. The work is comprised of multiple advertisements that give us insight and specific examples of enslavers in Marshall County, as well as examples of the language used to describe enslaved people, consequences, and rewards that were available to those assisting in the return of an escaped enslaved person.

The advertisements also serve as written examples of enslaved people's resistance. Although there is no evidence of those enslaved by the Craft family running away, it is plausible that both the Crafts and those enslaved were aware of the enslaved people that attempted escape within their county.

In addition to resistance, readers are able to get a glimpse of what would happen to those that ran away. One slave owner named H.H. Pipkin beckons newspaper readers to find his

runaway slave, Alfred, and confine him in jail until he can be retrieved (Oliver 2008, 14). There is also an advertisement for selling a female, Julia, at the Holly Springs courthouse (Oliver 2008, 15). Both of these advertisements use names for the enslaved. U.S. census records, however, do not name the enslaved; only ages, gender, and race are listed.

Enslaved labor in rural and plantation environments was often rooted in a tangible product like pounds of cotton picked, urban slavery was more so about processing goods and domestic service. A charge, specifically for the Craft youth, could have done tasks like sleeping at the foot of the bed, relay messages between the cook and the slave owners, or serve of a task serve as a playmate for the children of the household (Jones-Rogers 2015, 6). Sleeping at the foot of an enslaver's bed is not a task limited to children, however. Harriet Jacobs, a former slave, and writer notes in her autobiography *Incidents in the life of a Slave Girl* of an adult taking on this task. Jacobs talks about her great-aunt, Nancy, who was owned by the Flint family (Jacobs 1861, 218-220. She slept near the mistress of the Flint household, should she need water or fanning throughout the night. This duty to Mrs. Flint always extended, even during the night of Nancy's wedding. All plans of the enslaved could be halted for the convenience of the enslaver.

Reconstruction in Holly Springs

Reconstruction was the time frame after the Civil War where the federal government played a role in enforcing the shift 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).

African American history in Marshall County essentially starts in 1836 as many American-born Africans were imported from other southern states to the newly acquired Chickasaw lands (Oliver 2002, 3). From 1840-1860, Marshall County imported more enslaved people than any other Mississippi county, save Hinds County (Oliver 2002, 6). The free labor, economic viability, and agricultural skills of the enslaved helped Marshall County develop (Oliver 2002, 4). Although slavery existed in America for over 200 years, slavery lasted in Marshall County from 1832-1862.

The demise of slavery in Marshall County is marked by the invasion of North Mississippi by Union troops in April 1862 (Oliver 2002, 8-9). Enslavement was not officially abolished in America until 1865 with the 13th amendment.

In 1865, the "Freedmen's Bureau" was established by congress to tend to matters of the newly freed (Oliver 2002, 10). The 14th Amendment in 1868 conferred free Black Americans citizenship; the 15th Amendment in 1870 gave Black men voting rights. The Mississippi Legislature created Black Codes to stifle the growth of Black economic development and social life on October 31st, 1865 (Oliver 2002, 10). In an article edited and introduced by political scientist Scott Yenor, he introduces the Black Codes before explaining to them as they were intended and written by the Mississippi Legislature in 1865. The? Mississippi Constitutional Convention denoted the issues of voting rights and other civil rights matters to be held after upcoming elections (Yenor 2022). During this election, many former Confederates were elected, one being a former Confederate officer, Benjamin Humphreys. With the newly elected legislators, a series of laws, the Black Codes of Mississippi, were passed. The codes, first passed in October of 1865, outlined relationships of freedom and mulattos with those in the position of management over them;

the codes essentially gave managers over freed laborers the authority to beat adult individuals, or provide corporeal chastisement "as a father or guardian is allowed to inflict on his or her own child" (Yenor 2022). Sequential codes gave legal regulation to labor, movement, and general activities of the newly freed Black Mississippian population (Yenor 2022).

In "Reconstruction in Marshall County," Ruth Watkins gives an account from Robert W. 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." This speaks to the newfound sense of community that free Black people were able to foster.

On the other hand, it is also evident that in Holly Springs the Ku Klux Klan had essentially no impediments to being present in the lives of newly freed Black Marshall Countians. Watkins (1912, 33) describes the relationship between the local Democrats and the army unit of Major Jonathan Power's troops in Holly Springs. Major Power was the commander of the Federal troops stationed in Holly Springs (Watkins 1912, 33). Power's unit did little to suppress the militant activities of the Klan, whose oath states their objective is "to suppress the negro and keep him in the position where he belongs, and to see that the Democratic party controls this country" (Watkins 1912, 33). Moreover, the military band associated with Powers 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). Thus, although I have outlined a situation in which emancipated people of African descent in Holly Springs may have gathered, it is clear that there were forces at play to suppress Black people.

In Holly Springs post-war, free Black people created their own Black congregations to be able to have autonomy and lead their own services (Oliver 2002). This led to the creation of the Holly Springs Missionary Baptist Association in 1872. The association encompassed twenty-eight churches (Oliver, 2002).

In addition to churches, freedmen in Holly Springs sought education. Over forty schools sprang up in Marshall County from 1865-1870; at least three were specifically in Holly Springs. Holly Springs today is considered the Mississippi foundation of Black American education with schooling for Black soldiers and children dating back to 1862 (The South Reporter, 2007).

Formerly enslaved people no longer needed written passes from their enslavers to be able to visit with family and friends, move, or 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 Freedmen'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.

In addition to newly freed Black people finding their way in the changing landscape of

Reconstruction Era Marshall County, former enslavers also had to find new common ground. Former enslavers like the Crafts lost their financial investments (slaves) as well as walking emblems of their wealth (Kruse et al. 2020). The end of enslavement also marked a heavy blow to the existing white power structure as emancipation meant losing control of Black people's labor and choices (Kruse et al. 2020).

In Reconstruction Era Marshall County, the number of Black people considerably outnumbered the number of whites by about six thousand individuals (Kruse et al. 2020). Currently, about 7,000 people live in Holly Springs (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). Many of the Black residents are likely descendants of the enslaved that labored in the antebellum homes, built by the settlers post Chickasaw Cession, which is still in Holly Springs today. Considering this, the need to interpret lasting elements of slavery is even more evident. The interpretation of the lives of those enslaved in Holly Springs could directly provide more information available to educate some of their descendants. Furthermore, the city is home to one of the earliest Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Rust College, which was founded in 1866 (Rust College, 2021). Not only is making information about the experiences of the enslaved in Holly Springs relevant to the history of the overwhelming majority of the city, but it can also serve as an interpretive practice by those interested in public history or similar career paths at Rust.

Some context of enslavement and the Reconstruction period for those that lived in Holly Springs and Marshall County is crucial. Chapter three will explore the Annual Pilgrimage and the Behind the Big House program.

Chapter Three

In the early 1900s, regional pilgrimages often regurgitated elements of the "lost cause" ideology, a thought process that centers on the existence of white supremacy and honoring Confederate sacrifices (Wilson 1980, 228). Wilson (1980, 219) notes the importance of the lost cause as a secular religion in the south. Post-Civil War, the South conceptualized a "common religion" complete with mythology, ritual, and organization. This foundation for what Wilson describes as the "religion of the Lost Cause" started when Southern and Christian values began merging in the antebellum period (1980, 220). Rather than encompass the experiences of all those that lived there, many programs essentially only focus on the life and legacy of those in the main home (Skipper and Davidson 2008, 392).

The Pilgrimage in Holly Springs started in the spring of 1938. Cities like Vicksburg and Natchez were already hosting pilgrimages before Holly Springs. The founders of the Holly Springs Pilgrimage, members of the Holly Springs Garden Club, visited the Natchez Pilgrimage in 1936; the Natchez Pilgrimage is the inspiration for the tour in Holly Springs (Skipper and Davidson, 2008, 393). In 2020, the garden club's annual pilgrimage held its 82nd tour. In general, many historic homes in Holly Springs like Montrose and Hilltop open their doors to the public. Family members or volunteers dress up in period clothing like hooped skirts and interact with the crowd in a way that represents how the main inhabitants of the home would have.

The Pilgrimage, a program of antebellum house tours that focused on the activities and lifestyle of those that inhabited the main houses, did not fully express the humanity and experiences of those enslaved in Holly Springs, according to Chelius Carter and Jenifer Eggleston. With Eggleston's and Carter's goal of contextual historical home education on

the experiences of the enslaved, the Behind the Big House program was conceptualized, initially wanting to work with the already existing Pilgrimage.

This partnership of the Craft House owners and the existing Pilgrimage tours lasted essentially for one season. There were following attempts at a cohesive relationship, but curating a working program of Behind the Big House and the Pilgrimage was never cemented (Skipper 2022, 60). The garden club grew to see collaborating with the Behind the Big House as a financial strain; changing existing advertising to be more inclusive of the Behind the Big House, additional reception costs, and overall marketing expansion became a financial burden in the eyes of the club's leadership (Skipper 2022, 3).

Behind the Big House

Behind the Big House is a historical property-centered educational programming project, established in 2012. It was founded by Chelius Carter and Jenifer Eggleston, the owners of the Craft House. Carter and Eggleston recognized that they were owners of slave dwellings that are capable of giving "deep insight into the lives of their inhabitants" (Behind the Big House, 2022). With a 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 sometimes included the living quarters for the enslaved as well as the actual kitchen that served those in the main house, as well as the enslaved (Stewart-Abernathy 2004, 61). Many of these homes have ample fireplaces, like the Craft House with four fireplaces.

With ample chimneys, these structures exemplify that detached kitchens were all

the more a way to reinforce the social stratification of slave-owning society rather than a means of preventing fires. In “Appropriated to the Use of the Colored People,” John Vlach speaks to the built form in urban landscapes. Vlach notes that the placement of spaces that enslaved people consistently occupy, like kitchen quarters, usually are behind, to the side of, apart, or down from the enslaver’s home (2017, 64). Such placements make the inferior social positioning of the enslaved visible (Vlach 2017, 65).

Holly Springs had many antebellum houses within its urban landscape that have detached kitchens and slave quarters like the Craft House. Thus, the Craft family home is not a rarity in that it consisted of a family owning enslaved people within Holly Springs.

The need to fill the gap in progressively contextualizing slavery in historic properties was identified by Eggleston and Carter shortly after they identified a historic kitchen and quarters on their acquired antebellum Holly Springs property, the former Hugh Craft House, that Carter purchased in 2002. Craft’s former home features a detached kitchen, a quintessential element of urban slavery, right outside of the main home’s side door. The initial 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).

Carter and Eggleston curated a support system for both individuals and organizations to utilize their homes for public education. One member of the supportive network of the Behind the Big House project is Joseph McGill, Jr., the founder of the Slave Dwelling Project, which aims to “deliver the message that the people who lived in these structures were not a footnote in American history” but people with stories worth

exploring and inhabited spaces by advocating for their preservation (McGill, 2021). Another addition to the network of the Behind the Big House project is culinary historian and educator Michael Twitty. Twitty authored the 2017 book *The Cooking Gene: A Journey Through African American Culinary History in the Old South*. His expertise in African American culinary history is an asset to interpreting historical sites like the Craft House.

In 2013 University of Mississippi faculty member, and historical archaeologist, Jodi Skipper added her expertise in heritage in tourism spaces to the project. University of Mississippi archaeologist Carolyn Freiwald later conducted test excavations of a portion of the yard along with a few graduate students.

Dr. Jodi Skipper, starting in 2013, included some of her students from the Center for the study of Southern Culture as docents, or volunteer guides (Skipper 2022, 62). As the tour takes place in the spring, Skipper moved one of her courses focused on elements of the program like heritage and tourism to the spring semester in order to give students and potential docents ample context. Students were trained by taking the Behind the Big House tour before undertaking the role of docents. As college students from the University of Mississippi were docents and volunteers, reaching out to the historically Black college, Rust College, was also a part of Carter and Eggleston's community outreach (Skipper 2022, 61).

By 2013, the program encompassed seven sites. Maps were given out to those touring to allow visitors to know what sites were available and where. Nevertheless, seven sites across Holly Springs likely were too broad of a scope. One of Skipper's student volunteers for McCarroll Place, a home on the roster for the 2013 tour of the Behind the Big House in

partnership with the Pilgrimage, recalled that the home did not see a visitor during the time they were volunteering that day (Skipper 2022, 62). The McCarroll Place is a cottage constructed in the Greek Revival style, similar to the Hugh Craft House (Knecht 2015). It also has surviving kitchen and slave quarters that were built in the 1850s on the urban property lot. The McCarroll Place, which was constructed in 1836, currently sits half a mile from the Craft House. Starting in 2014, the tour only included three sites. Two of these sites, the Craft House and Burton Place, are on South Memphis Street. The Magnolias home is the closest in proximity to South Memphis Street out of the other four properties that were featured in 2013, thus making the entire program a convenient and walkable tour (Skipper 2022, 64). Still, annual participation was determined by the homeowner's willingness to participate as well as the availability of local schools to visit the program (Skipper 2022, 63.

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 and quarters which are quintessential in urban slavery contexts. Eggleston questioned, "the personal histories of the 'Big Houses' had been preserved but what of those personal lives 'Behind the Big House?" (Behind The Big House, 2022). In, 2018, Dr. Jodi Skipper developed a website, BehindtheBigHouse.org. The website's focus is to inspire others to utilize the experiences of the program's creators and volunteer to build on the success of Behind the Big House by showing users ways to learn more about crafting their own program. Although the program initially started with just Holly Springs, Dr. Jodi Barnes developed a replicable model and founded a program in Arkansas.

The Craft House was a part of the annual Behind the Big House program from 2012

until the COVID-19 pandemic. During the program, students, volunteers, and visitors alike were able to learn about the history of the home. Other historic interpreters like Tammy Gibson and Joseph McGill, Jr were part of the program. Multiple volunteers, many from the University of Mississippi, served as guides or docents (Behind the Big House, 2022).

In 2022, the Behind the Big House Program in Holly Spring was active at the Craft site in person for the first time since 2019. In spring 2022, the program was replaced with a film project that only featured the Craft house. Carter sold the home later that summer. The objective of the 2022 program was to film public archaeology and preserve the knowledge and work that has been done so far. Documentation filming took place so that students and the general public can review the film in the future to learn more about the site and the public history that took place there.

In the documented 2022 Behind the Big House Program, student and community volunteers were able to experience elementary levels of actively doing digital archaeology by conducting ground penetrating radar to be assessed in the future. Carter notes that Craft had an office in the front of the property; likely, it faced South Memphis Street and the Craft family stables on the other side of South Memphis Street. Ground Penetrating radar can help identify where the office would have been.

Archaeology at the Craft House

The artifacts analyzed in this document were unearthed in 2008 and 2014 respectively. In 2008, Carter initiated a foundation repair on the historic home. The alterations to the historic foundation unearthed many artifacts; however, these artifacts essentially do not have any

provenience. As construction workers were repairing the foundation, Carter and the workers collected many historical artifacts, including glass, charcoal, ceramics, and metal fragments. These artifacts are currently on loan from Carter to The University of Mississippi.

In 2013-2014, Dr. Carolyn Freiwald wanted to explore the foodways of the enslaved using the Craft House as a case study. In a February 2022 interview, Freiwald noted that it was hypothesized that there may be some differentiation between what those that were enslaved consumed versus those of the main house. The research goal focused on foodways; archaeological testing units, or test pits, were placed in the middle of the yard space between the main home and the quarters to ponder potential cooking and consumption activity. Graduate students at the University of Mississippi were able to accompany Freiwald and Skipper to the Craft House to excavate. Freiwald notes that they elected to dig here as the space in between the main home and the door of the quarter's kitchen is a space where food waste likely was deposited. Continuing, there was plausibly a porch attached to the quarters. It is likely food was accidentally dropped in transport. Units were also excavated adjacent to the kitchen of the quarters. Last, shovel tests were done near the end of the yard space closer to the fencing that runs parallel to South Memphis Street in order to check for a walkway.

Drs. Freiwald and Skipper, accompanied by graduate students, started excavations in November 2014. This excavation, dubbed "operation one", scaled the property in two meter by two-meter sections. In personal communication with Freiwald, she noted that there were three test units, as well as ample shovel tests, in places where deposits of food were likely. There were also shovel tests in the front of the main home to test for a walkway. Carter speculated that the side of the kitchen quarters that faces the main home likely had a porch. This section,

along with the front of the yard, was subjected to shovel tests to consider foodways.

Figure 3 Carter's Sketch of the Historic Property

Although learning about foodways was a key question in the initial stages, Skipper notes that understanding cuisine is only one aspect of why these excavations are important (Newsom 2015). She states that the enslaved were not able to tell their stories; the artifacts and food elements are essentially all they left behind. To have the opportunity to interpret them to tell the story of those that had few records of them left behind is important (Newsome 2015).

When starting operation one, the two professors established a two-meter by two-meter grid. The grid was then subdivided into single-meter units. An excavation unit named "25D" was started on November 15th, 2014. The goal of the unit was to see the activities in between the two main structures and to look for the remains of a possible walkway. The first lot within the unit produced about twelve buckets that were screened for, resulting in ceramics, coal,

fauna, metal, and glass remains. Lot two within 25D was concerned with investigating more of the coal deposits found. Coal is evidence of a fire, but furthermore, it can be evidence of outdoor cooking, and thus can plausibly speak to foodways pending further investigations.

Freiwald noted that the space between the quarters and the main home may have been where outdoor cooking, and other activities that require fire like washing, would have taken place. The evidence of burning found in 25D helps support that this space speaks to the daily activities of the enslaved.

Although learning about foodways was a key question in the initial stages, Skipper notes that understanding cuisine is only one aspect of why these excavations are important (Newsom 2015). She states that the enslaved were not able to tell their stories; the artifacts and food elements are essentially all they left behind. To have the opportunity to interpret them to tell the story of those that had few records of them left behind is important (Newsome 2015).

Chapter Four: Theoretical Perspectives

This chapter outlines the theoretical perspectives of household archaeology and Black feminist archaeology. I elected to utilize these two frameworks because they each are crafted by archaeologists that are heavily familiar with enslavement in the antebellum period. Furthermore, both frameworks address issues that I believe make them the best theoretical perspectives to utilize for this research. As established, the overarching goal of this thesis is to uncover the hidden labor of Black women that were in the Craft House, a site of urban slavery. Thus, I feel it is crucial to utilize the elements of these two frameworks specifically. Black feminist archaeology, in particular, allows me to adequately consider the hidden labor of Black women as the framework calls for consideration of spaces and artifacts as Black women would have

utilized them. It centers on the experiences of Black women. Her work is rooted in a genealogy of Civil Rights Era Black 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," which sit at the intersection of a multitude of societal stratifications. (Combahee River Collective, 1977). Founded in 1974, the Combahee River Collective was an organization of Black feminists that was actively committed to making strides against racial, sexual, and class oppression (Combahee River Collective, 1977). The Combahee River Collective was active from 1974 until 1980. They were in agreement with Marxist theory, but also note that Marx's analysis must be further protracted to be applicable to the specific economic placement of Black women and their place in the labor force (Combahee River Collective, 1977).

Marxist theory illustrates that changes in the prevailing societal thought will always give rise to a new thesis, or primary belief, and antithesis in humanity (Marx 1996, 20). Karl Marx, a nineteenth-century German social scientist, drew upon previous theoretical frameworks to construct this social theory, dialectical materialism, in which many events such as social change of their era, evolving class systems, and their overall theory of history were addressed (Marx 1996, 20). Karl Marx identified materialism as the driving force behind not only societal change but history in itself, thus shaping how he understands the basis of capitalism and societal changes.

The Collective recognizes the genesis of their Black feminism to be rooted in the historical preface of Black women's "continuous life-and-death struggle for survival and liberation". Black women embody the stance of a formidable adversary to white male rule and have, historically, been active in resisting and being defiant against the white male rule in a

spectrum of subtle and dramatic ways (Combahee River Collective, 1977). The militancy of Black women like Harriet Tubman and the personal sacrifice of those like Ida B. Wells-Barnett exemplifies the unique situation of those that are Black and women as they worked from their place in the intersection of a multitude of social stratifications to advance the lives of others.

Their statement is significant to this study because understanding the early history of Black feminists can better help me utilize a framework that is rooted in the sentiments of Black feminism. This unique position of Black women historically and presently is what Battle-Baptiste, an archaeologist and member of the larger Afro-descendant community, is drawing upon to consider her framework.

This framework is important to this research as there are two structures on the property where people reside. In these two structures, not only are the individuals living in them not related but also there is a broad social stratification of a white enslaving family and Black enslaved people. Given the census, there is no clear way to determine if any of the enslaved were related to each other as slave census schedules did not record names. Furthermore, the labor of those in one structure, the quarters, directly translates to economic progression for those in the other, the main home. The relationship of the people in the two structures is one of enslaver and enslaved. Thus, establishing that even in the midst of the social differences, those within the two vastly different structures are still one household.

Households and Gender in Archaeology

The study of households is an integral part of archaeology. Mary C. Beaudry notes that "Archaeologists are naturally drawn to household archaeology because so many of the sites they excavate are places where people lived as well as where for much of the human past

people carried out most of their daily activities" (Beaudry 2015, 2). Looking at the household is a start to better understanding the daily activities of those enslaved by the Crafts.

To apply a household theoretical lens to the Craft home site, a definition of "household" must first be established. Pluckhahn notes that household studies largely emerged in the 1970s through the context of settlement pattern studies in Mesoamerica (2010, 333). Whereas households were largely seen as a basic building block and a point of articulation for societal and economic processes, they evolved to be seen as spaces for cultivating identity, gender, and ethnicity (Pluckhahn 2010, 33).

I am using archaeologist Leslie Stewart-Abernathy's definition of household used to analyze the urban antebellum context of historic Washington, Arkansas, which he defines as "a co-residential, social, and economic unit" (2004, 53). This means that those in the main house are a part of the same household as those enslaved and occupying the quarters. 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 places that see 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 that the concept of the household can tell us about the daily functions of those that were enslaved including household chores, what they may have owned, sleeping arrangements, gender roles, captive family roles, and how they utilized space.

Hugh Craft, born in 1799, was originally from Maryland; he later moved to Milledgeville, Georgia. Craft was twice widowed. 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. Collier acquired the land in 1842 and likely built a frame cottage on the property. The stucco walls of the Craft family home differ greatly from the wood siding of the enslaved structure; this architectural difference in materials is one of the things that led Carter to believe that the slave quarters predate the main home (Craft House Tour, 2021). Carter stated that the current main house'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 1850, the household consisted of Hugh Craft (fifty-one) and his wife Elizabeth Craft (forty-four), as the adults within the main home; daughters Caroline (seventeen) Stella (eleven) and Hellen (three); and sons Addison (fifteen) and Heber (thirteen). Nine enslaved people, including two adult women ages thirty-five and twenty-six, are within the household. A forty-year-old male is the only other enslaved adult; the other six enslaved are children ages ten, seven, five, three, two, and one.

In Holly Springs, Craft was a land agent, handling 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). Carter also notes that they attended the local Presbyterian church on South Memphis Street next to the Craft House. The Presbyterian Church on South Memphis Street today was built in 1860 (Knecht 2016). In 1937, there was another Presbyterian church nestled into the same spot; the older structure is the one in which the Craft's would have attended church.To make way for the current structure of the church, the original was moved (Knecht 2016).

Families of the antebellum era strove to present themselves with the highest standards possible. Through their hidden labor, the enslaved 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 interests 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.

Hugh Craft suffered a debilitating stroke in the early 1860s and remained an invalid until his death in 1867 (Carter et. al 2015, 3). In the 1870 census, post-slavery, Hugh Craft's wife Elizabeth Craft is the head of the household due to Hugh Craft's demise. The household encompasses Hugh Craft's daughters, Stella, thirty-one, and Hellen, twenty-two, along with two Black people, Disley Clarke, fifty-five, and Henry Davidson, twenty-five. Clarke and Davidson are listed as domestic servant and laborer respectively. In the 1900 census, a white male boarder is present along with a cook, and a chambermaid. The boarder is a twenty-eight-year-old named Rufus Shuford. Lillie Wright, forty, and Mary Garrison, twenty, serve the household in the role of cook and chambermaid respectively.

By the census of 1880, the home no longer featured 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 1880 household. The household is now home to two families, Crafts-Forts, a border, and a servant. The head of household is Addison Craft, Hugh's son, who was forty–five years of age in 1880. In the census column listing the relationship to the head of household, we see his sister still lives in the home. A nephew named Robert is also present.

Much of the information from the census of 1890 was lost to a fire in 1921. The census would have reflected the household as it stood on June 1st, 1890, the official census date (Blake 1996). The census of 1890 featured expanded inquiring about race; responders would have been able to denote quadroon, octoroon, Japanese, Indian, or Chinese descent (Blake 1996). It also featured an inquiry into Civil War service (Blake 1996). Due to this loss, the Craft household as it stood in 1890 cannot be interpreted with the values that census records provide.

Sanborn Fire Insurance maps are the best source to speak to the property of the 1890s because there are no census records for that decade. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, or Sanborn maps, are detailed maps of urban areas in America from the late 19th to the 20th century. They were taken for insurance purposes in case of fire damage to structures. They show what structures are in an urban lot for each map. In February of 1891, a Sanborn map was recorded on the Craft House property. For the household in 1891, there was the main structure, the Greek Revival style stucco plastered home. It features a shingled roof. The kitchen and slave quarters were also present. One "x" in the lower right corner denotes that, as has been previously established, the quarters were not brick and rather made of wooden frame. Directly behind the quarters was a small building; using the scale provided on the map, the structure is

approximately one-fourth the size of the kitchen and quarters. It is listed as a one-story structure.

Lillie Wright, forty, is the cook for the household in the 1900 census. The census notes that she is literate, and she is unwed. Her relationship with the head of household, Chesley Daniel, is as a servant. Mary Garrison, twenty, is listed as a chambermaid. She does not have the ability to read. Both women were born in Mississippi. Neither Lillie nor Mary had the ability to write.

Chesley Daniel, fifty, was still head of household in 1900. The other inhabitants of the household include Fannie, Fort, Voorhees, and Lucy Daniel. James Fort is the only relative in the Craft-Fort-Daniel household in 1900 that does not have the last name of Daniel. Rufus Shuford, a twenty-eight-year-old boarder, may plausibly share the former slave quarters with Lillie Wright and Mary Garrison. Although this is plausible, there is no evidence to confirm it.

Deed records show that the Craft house stayed in the hands of Hugh Craft descendants until 1972 (Marshall County Deed Book, 1972, 269). James Fort Daniel was the last Craft descendant to own the home. Several individuals and institutions, including the Bank of Holly Springs, owned the home before Carter in 2002.

Architectural Description

In 2017, Ed Chappell and Carl Lounsbury wrote an architectural description of the property. They described the Craft House yard as boarded by a cast-iron fence with meandering wiring and intricate, decorative finishings surrounding the entire lot (Chappell and Lounsbury 2017, 6).

Today, when entering the main home from the side closest to the slave quarters, or the

left side when standing on South Memphis Street, visitors stand in a modern kitchen that was added on to the main home in the 1920s. This would have been the primary entrance for enslaved persons and the emancipated servants of the household. Walking further into the home, there exists the main area of service. This area is beyond the modern kitchen and marks the first area original to the home. To the right within this area is a small room that resembles a butler's pantry.

Today, beyond this service chamber is a pair of double parlors and a dining room in the southwestern corner of the home (Chappell and Lounsbury 2017, 5). There are four fireplaces within the house. A historic cistern is in between the main home and quarters, or an area for water storage. The portion of the main home that is featured in the right corner of Figure two is the modern kitchen. During the time of this thesis' main interest (1859-1900) the pantry would have been the closest point of the main home to the quarters

In addition to multiple fireplaces, both the quarters and the main home have a cellar. Cellars can be used for general storage, curing meats, storing food, and cooking. The cellar of the main home had an entrance hidden by a door that could be closed and likely locked. It is placed directly next to another hidden stairway that leads upstairs. The cellar for the quarters is accessible from the outside. It is in the center of the structure and located on the east wall; it is facing South Memphis Street.

With two staircases that can be tucked away by narrow doors on the left, there is a small, doorless room on the right. Carter notes not only where the former food storage pantry was in the home but also a small area adjacent to the dining room (Craft House Tour, 2021).

Across South Memphis Street today is a parking lot currently owned by Carter, which would have been part of the historic property. In the front yard, Hugh Craft had an office (Craft House Tour, 2021). The dimensions of this office are unknown.

When considering the enslaved in an urban area, Vlach mentions what anthropologist James Scott calls "weapons of the weak" and "weapons of the strong" (Vlach 2017, 65). Tactics like the placement of living quarters, etc, that reinforce an inferior status and in turn, makes harsh treatments seem justified are weapons of the strong (Vlach 2017, 65). Those enslaved on the property did possibly change according to the censuses, however, it is not likely that the expectations the Crafts held for their enslaved shifted.

Beaudry notes that the idea of the household should be inclusive of a compound, including non-kin persons: servants, apprentices, boarders, etc. (Beaudry 2015, 2). Traditionally in archaeological analysis, households were approached as the smallest, indivisible social unit, one that would not have been inclusive of servants or the enslaved. This previous approach privileged household analysis of the microscale. Beaudry argues that the overarching premise of her framework is to expand the common purview of household archaeology and consider how domestic life fits into the larger topic of processes concerning social stratification. Building upon the progress in household analysis by scholars like Beaudry, in my analysis I will be cautious to not privilege the microscale or the macroscale sphere of the household unit but rather conceptualize both structures as a whole unit that reflects elements of local and regional society (Beaudry 2015, 3).

Black Feminist Archaeology

Whitney Battle-Baptiste's Black feminist archaeology approach to understanding Black women's hidden labor is also key to interpreting the Craft site. She argues that 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 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). As an anthropology student, this methodology fits this project's aspects as I draw WPA narratives, including material culture items or artifacts, architectural and recovered artifact interpretations, and secondary sources on Black women's antebellum histories.

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 in the Nashville area. Battle-Baptiste initially started being involved with the site in 1996 (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 81). She worked as an intern during an extensive field survey that was taken to determine the course of the following excavation seasons (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 83).

When considering the Hermitage, Battle-Baptiste theorizes what Jackson's lifestyle, and his absence on the property, meant to the captive African population (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 83).

Similarly, I want to consider the bearing that Hugh Craft's work may have had on the enslaved. I want to do this as Craft's office was once in the bounds of his front yard. Thus, his work and workspace are intertwined with his home. Enslaved people's labor could also extend to Craft's work and working space.

The Lucy Foster Homestead is in Andover, Massachusetts. It was originally excavated in 1942 as one of the earliest sites of 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 Lucy Foster Homestead site is relevant as applying a gendered, Black feminist lens to uncover or reshape how Black women may have worked is a goal of this work. Battle-Baptiste notes the ongoing analysis of Black women solely through mainstream gendered archaeology by scholars like Spencer-Wood; however, her framework aims to reshape that existing discussion to bring in a more nuanced look (2016, 48).

Lucy Foster was a freedwoman in New England. Her status as a freedwoman meant she was a contributor to the local economy, could be active in the church and community, and was able to shape her only daily life (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 48). The Lucy Foster Homestead site was established by Euroamericans; sites interpretations established by Euroamerican males, specifically, usually focused on understanding the experiences of other Euroamericans

(Battle-Baptiste 2018, 110). The gradual shift to focusing on people of "lesser interest" was progressive, however, racism, classism, and sexist ideologies were still prevalent in the people that were implementing archaeological frameworks onto sites like the Lucy Foster Homestead site (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 110).

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 Burghardt's", or DuBois's maternal family. With a Black feminist framework, Battle-Baptiste reviewed previous archaeological interpretations by engineer and archaeologist Ripley Bullen along with his wife, Adelaide Bullen, 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, like Lucy Foster (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 30). Battle-Baptiste recognizes these three sites as helpful in curating a better understanding of gender, race, and archaeology.

Battle-Baptiste theorizes the captive domestic sphere or the domestic space where enslaved people 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 looked at 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 allows me to better engage with the hidden labor of Black women at the Hugh Craft site. 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 both structured the hidden labor of Black women architecturally and also perpetuated an unstable and everchanging Black familial unit given the likely shifts in who was enslaved on the property.

To further expound on gender in archaeology, I consulted Suzanne Spencer-Wood's 2009 chapter "Feminist Theory and Gender Research in Historical Archaeology" and Elizabeth Scott's 2020 chapter "Feminist Historical Archaeology," as two chapters that carry implications for my own research. As my research focuses on the experiences of Black women, I must consider that gender is a part of relations and processes that ground values, division of power, and labor roles in society (Scott 2020, 319). Thus, the microcosm of a particular site is a reflection of the values and power dynamics of the greater society the individuals lived in.

Spencer-Wood states that feminist theory developed "from critique of androcentric biases" (Spender-Wood 2009, 61) Different waves of feminism brought about changes in what feminist theory critiques and how. The intersectionality of class, race, gender, and ethnicity emerged (Scott 2020, 318; Spencer-Wood 2009, 76). This intersectionality is critical when wanting to understand spaces inhabited by

Black women as these identities cannot be separated.

Historical archaeology, specifically, largely drew on the dominant ungendered cultural paradigm prevailing in anthropology and history; that is, the accounts of white men were the cultural norms of the entire past culture (Spencer-Wood 2009, 62). This is similar to a point made by Battle-Baptiste. In her third chapter, she speaks of learning archaeology's "canonical texts" of white men in historical archaeology like Robert Schuyler and James Deetz (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 110). Only having the ideologies of white men being taught and utilized as foundational, or canonical, texts is problematic; she later notes the fact that Euroamerican interpretations can be influenced by their relationship to the African descendant community, or lack thereof (Battle-Baptiste 2016, 116).

Furthermore, not all archaeology of gender, or more specifically on women, has feminist concepts or methods (Scott 2020, 319; Spender-Wood 2009, 59). Scott's chapter beckons readers to conduct research in a manner that will interrogate the past in a way that has relevance for socioeconomic relations within modernity (Scott 2020, 330). That is to say, Scott believes that scientific research of the past should help other scientists consider the foundations for the current societal and economic conditions. Spencer-Wood asks readers to be careful to not extend inclusivity into what she considers nihilistic relativistic epistemology, that is, giving all claims to knowledge equal validity (2009, 86). This is crucial as giving androcentric and feminist theory the same level of validity would negate the fact that feminist theory

emerged in order to address the gaps in androcentric interpretations.

With the Black feminist theoretical framework, household archaeology theory, and mindfulness of feminist concepts in archaeology in mind, I will discuss my methodology, how this thesis came to fruition, and how I studied artifacts with these frameworks in chapter five.

Chapter Five: Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to further outline the methodology. Additionally, I will give an overview of a select few of the artifacts from the Craft house. To date, I have re-cataloged 315 artifacts from the Craft house foundation repair and excavations.. Although the entirety of the artifacts from the Craft House were cataloged with efforts by the aforementioned professors and graduate students that worked on the project, the database formatting originally used differs greatly from the formatting of the University of Mississippi Center for Archaeological Research. In Freiwald's steering of re-cataloging many of the artifacts, I have made much of the collection consistent with what is familiar and approved by researchers at the University of Mississippi.

Overall an infinitesimal amount of the artifacts can be considered heavily diagnostic; there are also many that cannot aid in interpreting the consistent usage of either structure. Thus, this project merely introduces a few objects in a simplistic overview; no thorough analysis will be discussed in this project. One reason for this is that many of the artifacts come from a construction project Carter initiated on the

home to fix the foundation in 2008. These artifacts have no provenience, which is a precise record of where an artifact was recovered. The objects from the foundation repair were not scientifically retrieved, documented, and categorized. They were collected from unknown places on the Craft property and came to be in the possession of the University of Mississippi via an artifact loan from Carter.

Methods

As noted before, my Black feminist archaeology methodology encompasses anthropological theory, material culture studies, architectural analysis, consulting historical documents, and first and secondary historical contexts of the experiences of Black women within captive and post-slavery households. As previously noted, these research methods included watching clips of Behind the Big House tour interpretations; taking a Craft House tour in Holly Springs; looking at primary sources like Works Progress Administration slave narratives, and federal census records; cataloging and analyzing artifacts from the Craft house; and consulting secondary sources on captive antebellum households, household archaeology theory, and Black feminist archaeological theory.

Artifacts

The artifacts discussed in this document were unearthed in 2008 and 2014 respectively. In 2008, Carter initiated a foundation repair on the historic home. The alterations to the historic foundation unearthed many artifacts; however, these artifacts essentially do not have any provenience. As construction workers were repairing the

foundation, Carter and the workers collected many historical artifacts.

As a part of this research project, I cataloged, rebagged, and reboxed over 300 artifacts from both the 2008 foundation repair and the 2014 excavations at the Craft House. Each item was placed in an updated database and had the following elements recorded: given context, artifact type, material description, and count. Identifications for these artifacts were made under the initial cataloging using Freiwald's formatting, or her preferred database organization. This chapter's overview will mention the pieces that are overall diagnostic.

Freiwald and Skipper opened four units and conducted three shovel tests for this project in 2014. Figure four gives a visual of where these units were placed in relation to the kitchen quarters. All artifacts mentioned within this chapter will either be from the foundation repair or one of the archaeological test pits. Although there were multiple units, all artifacts mentioned here come from the units that were named "24D" and "25D". In a site summary, Freiwald explains that 25D was located in between the main house and the slave dwelling (or kitchen quarters) (2019, 1).

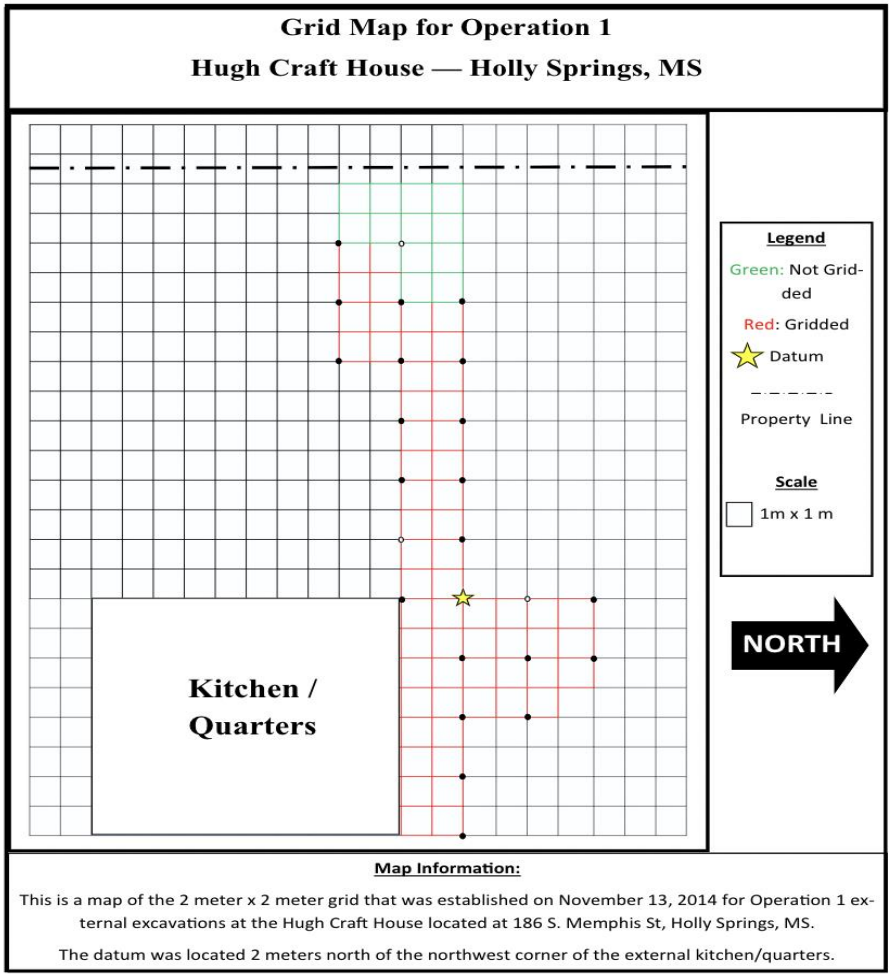

Figure 4 Map for Operation One

Ceramics

Ceramics are pottery. Nonmetallic materials, usually clay, are molded into the desired shapes by hand or machine and fired at high temperatures. In historical archaeology, ceramics are primarily manufactured in industrial fashions versus the traditional, older art of hand-making pottery. Historic ceramics are those with European or Asian origins made in the late 1400s.

Having ceramics at a site can often help date the site. However, the dates of Hugh Craft's homeownership and the dates that Black women worked and lived with

Craft descendants are solidified via multiple sources of documentation like slave schedules, census records, and home deeds. Thus, ceramics are moreover helpful in helping this thesis conceptualize aspects of daily life for those on the property by providing evidence of some of the vessels used.

The popularity of ceramics, like many other commodities, is ever-changing. By 1830, whiteware (1830-1900) replaced pearlware (1760-1830) as a more popular attempt at Chinese porcelain. Whiteware is a ceramic that is white with a lead glaze. Many sherds, or ceramic fragments, found at the Craft house have been identified as both pearlware and whiteware. They are difficult to distinguish, especially later forms of pearlware and early whiteware (Skipper 1999,88). Many whitewares were decorated, one of the most well-known being "Gaudy Dutch," which is present at the Craft site. Gaudy Dutch, a type of pottery that was hand-painted, is a type of pattern-styled whiteware that was popular from about 1810-1930. It is also considered polychrome whiteware. Figure five illustrates the hand-painted, colorful, and often floral elements that are associated with Gaudy Dutch.

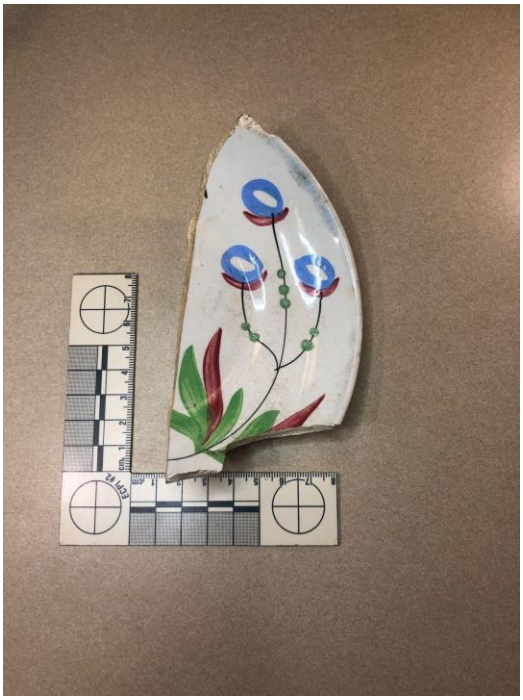

Figure 5 Gaudy Dutch Example

As the manufacture of pearlware declined in 1830, it is still present at the Craft house site. It likely suggests that the Craft household, either the enslaved or Craft family, were using dated ceramics by 1850. Overall, it is not possible to tell for sure what was used by the Crafts and what was used by the enslaved. The Crafts could have given older, more worn ceramics to the enslaved for their use.

From the foundation repair, a mostly intact pot well over twenty centimeters in length was found. As seen in figure six, it is brown, unglazed, and has ceramic handles. Given its lack of glaze and attention to utilitarian ease with handles, it likely was used for food service or general food storage. Pots that are unglazed are also pristine candidates for residue analysis testing.

Glazes are a type of glass that is combined with other minerals like silicate, lead, or salt to create a glass-like coating. It is often absent on a vessel as led-based coatings

are not ideal for food preparation or storage.

Figure 6 Ceramic Pot

One of the more diagnostic pieces that came from the 2008 foundation repair is this vessel denoted in Figure seven. Surviving a little less than seven centimeters in length, this piece of flatware, or flat, non-hollow ceramic, has a maker's inscription on it.

Ceramic analysis by Dr. Skipper denotes that the Craft family would be considered a family of a high social status and general wealth (Myers 2016, 5).

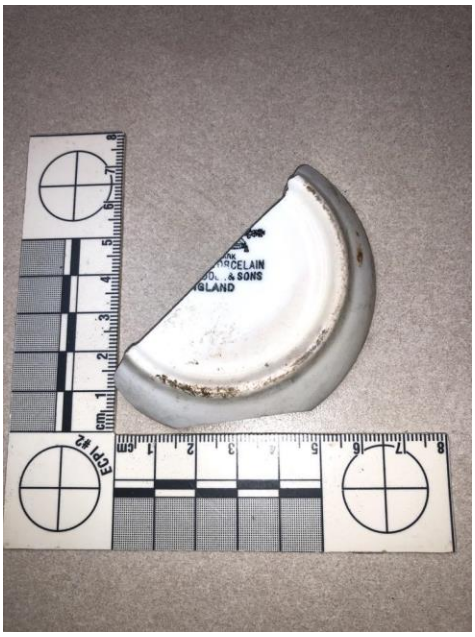

Figure 7 Semi-Porcelain

Fauna and Botanical

The purpose of the 2014 excavations was, in sum, to ruminate on plausible avenues of foodways that may have been left behind in the archaeological record. As of March 2022, no discarding midden, or dump for domestic waste, has been found. Midden analysis is key when analyzing households (Beaudry 2015, 8). Often, they correspond with a disaster or transformative event within the household (Beaudry 2015, 8). As mentioned, Hugh Craft suffered a debilitating stroke in the early 1860s and died in 1867 (Carter et. al 2015, 3). The death of the family patriarch is an example of a transformative event that could have created a discarding of possessions. Furthermore, these types of midden deposits are prevalent in urban contexts (Beaudry 2015, 8-9). Although the Craft home experienced the aforementioned transformative event and is situated in an urban context where middens are reasonably common, a midden has not been found. Due to the lack of a midden, this analysis and connection to foodways is

limited. As it is uncertain what sector of the property was delegated to the trash and other discarded items, it is likely that where food-related artifacts were found is not a complete reflection of how it was meant to be discarded.

In daily life, it is possible that food could have been dropped by the enslaved while walking from the kitchen quarters to the main house. Furthermore, it is highly hypothesized by Carter that there was a porch attached to the quarters (see Figure 3). Although there is not much evidence to support this, it is important to consider it a possibility.

When re-cataloging artifacts, I came across nuts, charcoal, wood, and animal bones. Each item opens different windows of possibilities. First, charcoal is evidence of fire. Larger deposits of charcoal likely indicate a spot of habitual usage. As there is a kitchen on the property, it is most likely that animals were killed and cooked in the cellar or outside. I cataloged over ten large bags of charcoal, most of which came from test unit 25D.

Archaeobotanical remains are divided into the categories of being either macro or micro. Macro archaeobotanical remains are essentially those that are visible to the naked eye whilst micro remains are considered "invisible" and require those studying to use some sort of aid (D'Andrea 2020, 276). An example of micro archaeobotanical remains is plant DNA and pollen analysis. The archaeobotanical remains of the Craft House that concern this work are macro remains that I was able to see without the assistance of microscopes or other aids. Macrobotanical remains present in the Craft collection include wood charcoal, fruits, and nuts. (D'Andrea 2020, 276).

Within the collection of cataloged macro remains, two types of nuts were found:

a pecan and two halves of a walnut. The pecan was ten to thirteen centimeters deep within unit 25D. The walnut halves were found within the foundation repair, thus; they have no actual provenance or known find spot.

The Craft family diary mentions raspberries being grown in their garden (Craft/Fort Family Letters, 1840-1878). Nothing is mentioned of the labor, and whose labor tended to the raspberries. Gardens are conscious, active environments (Leone 1989:46). They are extensions of the household, just like sidewalks and cellars. The social forces and stratification that are present within the rest of the household would thus be active within the garden. The garden on the Craft property essentially was another stage where the daily habits and unspoken expectations of enslaved labor played out.

Bones were common within the collection. From the foundation repair, unsorted teeth that are likely pig, are present. Consulting the Craft family diary, we know that swine, along with chicken, was on the property. Most bones found in the 2014 excavation were found in unit 25. Furthermore, some bone found in the unit was burned. It is likely that the fire that would have taken place here was from cooking and not for warmth or other recreational usage given the high amount of bone in or adjacent to the unit.

From the foundation repair, butchered cow bones are present. Ten fragments amounting to two hundred and two grams are the butchered remains of a long bone. A fragmented left radius, left and right humerus and multiple bovine phalanges are also present in the foundation repair collection.

In 2015, Freiwald noted that she can tell that the Crafts were eating sheep;

remaining butchered bones also tell us about the quality of the cuts (Newsom 2015).

Enslaved Africans and their descendants often expressed identity and forms of resistance with their foodways (Brunache 2019, 149). However, what is found at the Craft house are botanical remains indigenous to North America and foreign to Africa like raspberries and walnuts and fauna that are explicitly written about by the Craft family as things they ate. Although looking at the food-related remains at the Craft house can help theorize where additional cooking took place and what was being eaten, it does not clearly connect those enslaved on the property to the larger picture of African diaspora foodways. To better understand the foodways that were at the Craft House, I used first-hand accounts by Craft descendent Chesley T. Smith.

Chesley Smith was born in 1910. She is the daughter of Hugh Craft's grandchild, Voorhies Daniel Smith. Smith speaks in general of the many cooks in households in Holly Springs noting "every cook….made wonderful pastry" (Smith 1996, 10). One of the cooks Smith recalls was named Florence House (1994, 4). House cooked supper for the household every winter; in the summers, the family often ate sandwiches(Smith 1994, 74). Another cook, Mary Fields, was loved by the family youth for her biscuits and macaroni (Smith 1994, 9). Smith also writes about walking down South Memphis Street and hearing steady beats at the street's length; this steady noise was the many cooks of not only the Craft household but other homes such as Burton Place preparing biscuits by hand for Sunday's meals at about the same time (Smith 1994).

Narratives of those enslaved in Marshall County add to the artifacts and faunal remains. Polly Turner Cancer speaks about raising chickens and eating pork sausage

frequently. Another woman enslaved in Marshall County, Callie Gray, notes once an animal would be killed, the animal would often be sent around to share with neighbors. It is also plausible that some faunal remains are from the enslaved hunting. Turner Cancer of rural Marshall County notes that wild turkeys were common. Although this example is rural, those in urban areas of Marshall County may have had the opportunity to hunt or benefitted from other's hunts (Myers 2016, 7).

Chapter Six: Results

Chapter six discusses the results of this thesis. The goal of this chapter is to imagine aspects of the life of the enslaved Black women at the Hugh Craft House site. The labor of Black women, hidden by narrow staircases and outdoor entrances, will come to light for the reader. The reader should have a clear understanding of who was in the Craft household during the census years mentioned, as well as an understanding of the magnitude of labor the enslaved women would have been performing to adequately take care of the household.

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 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 likely varied in time as it is dependent on the weather conditions. Multiple sunny days in a row were likely best for this step in the process. Later, the fabrics would be ironed and properly put away. This process would be repeated as needed, likely 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 likely be washing the clothes of sixteen individuals, nine enslaved in addition to curtains and drapery.

Considering the Craft family diary, we can sense some of the agricultural aspects of the grounds (Craft/Fort Family Letters, 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 across the street from the two living structures. 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.

During Craft's lifetime, the stables were situated on the land that currently is a parking lot. The Crafts owned cows, among other animals, that were often mentioned in the near-daily entries of the Craft family diary (Craft/Fort Family Letters, 1840-1878). Pigs and chickens were also owned by the Crafts and would have been kept across the street in this stable. Those enslaved would likely have been shielded from the street by lattice fencing. It is unclear where a gate would have been in the fencing that would have allowed for enslaved laborers to cross the street for tasks such as feeding and slaughtering the animals or readying horses for travel.

There would have been a brick walkway leading to the office. The presence of the

office has significant bearing on the labor of the enslaved. First, while crossing Memphis Street to the stable, the enslaved would have been under the gaze of Hugh Craft when he was in his office. Furthermore, any type of laborious tasks Craft would have needed to be performed in the office like cleaning or moving would have been done by the enslaved. Thus, there are at least four structures that would have depended on enslaved labor for this household: the main house, stables, Craft's office, and the home quarters of the enslaved themselves. Last, this household is a site of urban slavery, thus situated in in a non-rural area. It is plausible the enslaved people would have delivered supplies or documents to and from Hugh Craft's office to other points of interest in the town like the post office, city hall, or client's residences.

The kitchen and slave quarters have a cellar where the pork was likely smoked (Craft House Tour, 2021). Carter recounts that during many times he has been in the cellar on hot, humid days, the smell of smoking meat is present (Craft House Tour, 2021). 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 de-feathering the chickens and possibly killing and dividing up the hog, and preserving the meat for later meals.

The cook likely 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. This section is where enslaved women would have left the food that had been prepared to be plated and served by the male enslaved person, one who essentially did tasks similar to that of a butler. On the left of this small entranceway is two narrow staircases hidden behind doorways. Inside the main home, one staircase leads to the cellar, a place where Carter speculates enslaved may have smoked and cured meats (Craft

House Tour, 2021).

Gina Haney writes in "Understanding Antebellum Charleston's Backlots Through Light, Sound, and Action" we see that pantries were often constructed by the elite between the main dwelling and the kitchen (2017, 96). These additions were in the rear usually and aided the illusion of architectural cohesion (Haney 2017, 96). Nevertheless, these pantries were more architectural choices that perpetuated the social hierarchy (Haney 2017, 96). Thus, having this area where the food was handed off to someone else enforced the enslaved women of the Craft House's position.

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 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. Edward Chappell writes on urban domestic slavery of a similar architectural layout. Chappell mentions hyphens, spaces where the enslaved could wait in shelter for food delivery (Chappell 2017, 27). The staging area likely had a similar social function like the hyphens that allowed those

delivering food to be closer to those about to be served yet distant enough to not experience any potential freedom and congeniality of the yard or kitchen (Chappell 2017, 27).

The food pantry, as Carter notes, would have been locked. The mistress of the household would have access to a key. Mrs. Craft having a locked pantry also speaks to the power that women in households with enslaved people had. During interviews, formerly enslaved people have actually attributed equal power to the men and women of the household (Jones-Rogers 2019, xv). As the white-owning women's households were directly impacted by the institution of slavery, slave-owning women were often perpetrators and defenders of the institution; this goes against the prevailing ideology that slave women were not true "masters" of the enslaved (Jones-Rogers 2019, ix-xii). Slave-owning women were not ignorant of the brutal elements of slavery, in fact, they partook in them and benefited from them (Jones-Rogers 2019, ix).

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.

In addition to childcare, the enslaved women would have been in a distinctive relationship with the youth. Caroline, Stella, and Hellen would have all been learning how to be a mistress whilst Addison and Heber learned how to be masters. In Stephanie Jones-

Rogers's *They Were Her Property*, she notes that the youth of the home grew up learning "how to be mistresses and slave owners through an instructional process that spanned their childhood adolescence" (Jones-Rogers 2019, 1). The process Jones-Rogers describes is an example of Bourdieu's habitus. Habitus connects the social structures operating within a society to the practices of individuals. In 1850-1900 Holly Springs, there were grave societal expectations of how the enslaved and later freed Black people were to interact with White individuals. Habitus forms from structural forces like upbringing, location, class, gender, and racial status. The structural position of even the female children, Hellen, Caroline, and Stella gave them agency as owning women to establish their own relationship with the enslaved. As white women had to learn to not be enslavers and the formerly enslaved learned to the elements of non-enslaved life, there were still largely unconscious forces, along with the conscious forces of oppression aforementioned in relation to reconstruction, that were at play due to how American society noted the agency of racial and ethnic demographics.

Often, it was a requirement of the enslaved to greet the children as "young master" or "young mistress" rather than their names (Jones-Rogers 2019, 5). Jones-Rogers details the experience of Rebecca Jane Grant, a formerly enslaved woman that was interviewed by the Works Public Administration. Grant was sent to town to retrieve an item for her mistress. Upon arriving home, it was revealed that the item was a cowhide strap two feet in length. Grant was whipped for not referencing the mistress' infant daughter as "Miss" and the toddler-aged son as "Master" (Jones-Rogers 2019, 5).

Given the amount of youth, free and enslaved, in the Craft House, the enslaved women had to become well versed in nursing. This also would have been another avenue of bringing in

profit, if the Craft's elected to do so. Hiring out for wet nursing was a popular occurrence. When the enslaved were rented or hired out, their enslavers made an additional profit from their labor. One recorded incident notes that for about seven dollars a month, an enslaved woman in Saint Landry Parish, Louisiana owned by Elizabeth Patterson was hired out as a wet nurse to George Jackson and his wife in order to nurse their young son (Jones-Rogers 2019, 111). Given this numeral amount, there is an equivalence of rural, field-intensive labor and maternal labor. This example shows that the maternal labor of one wet nurse is considered equivalent to the labor of three field hands (Jones-Rogers 2019, 111). These transactions of wet-nurses and maternal labor specifically were popular. Between just 1800 and 1865, nearly 1350 advertisements, both for those seeking wet-nurses and those hiring out their enslaved to serve to others as a wet-nurse, were published (Jones-Rogers 2019, 111).

Last, architecture can speak to the space available to all of the women during this project's 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 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 from the general public that would have done these nightly tasks.

Furthermore, a lattice fence is speculated by Carter to 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 of the house would have likely served the food prepared by the cook, so no enslaved woman or their labor would have been viewed. In 1850, the only adult enslaved male was forty; in 1860 he was replaced by a thirty-two-year-old male.

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-Rogers 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.

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 fifteen 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 twenty-six-year-old female, one thirty-five-year-old female, and a forty-year-old male.

Table 1.1 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

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 eighteen-year-old William Young, twenty-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 ten years older than the ages listed in 1850. Therefore, besides the twelve-year-old female, it is likely that the old children were no longer a part of the Craft Household in 1860.

Table 1.2 Comparative Table of Households; 1860

Main Household (8)	Enslaved (9)
Hugh Craft 60	45 F
Elizabeth 53	40 F
Stella 21	32 M
Hellen 13	16 M
Hebeer 23	15 M
Mary 20	12 F
Mary J 3	9 M
William Young 18	6 F
	3 M

Enslaved people often did not know what year they were born, let alone a more 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 thirty-five-year-old female of 1850 is likely the forty-five-year-old female of the 1860 census. On the same hand, the twenty-six-year-old listed in 1850 would have been thirty-six 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 twenty-six-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.

During Reconstruction, on the other hand, the newfound elements of liberty for the formerly enslaved of Holly Springs were met with growing counteractions. 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, a historian for the WPA, we see an example of discrimination within Holly Springs. Belle, born in 1847, was interviewed at age ninety. She recalls her wedding year of 1868 when she faced discrimination trying to wed and start a family in Holly Springs. "Captain Myers," related to her old enslaver, "was clerk in the courthouse and wouldn't let us have a license," Caruthers notes (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).

Enslaved Public and Private Life

In *Childhood in Holly Springs,* Hugh Craft descendent Chesley Thorne Smith speaks on Black residence of Holly Springs and other memories as she recalls them from his late 1920s upbringing. She highlights early on in the book the gathering together of Black residents at a location called the "old Peel Place pond" (Smith 1996, 4). They gathered there

for a baptism.

Although this occurrence is about a generation after emancipation, it is highly likely that the events Smith is describing are not a new phenomenon; it is most likely a continuation of events that took place during enslavement. This is similar to the events described by Lisa Tolbert in "Henry, A Slave, V. State of Tennessee: The Public and Private Spaces of Slaves in a Small Town". Tolbert's chapter describes a prayer meeting at the home of a free Black woman, Hannah Henderson, in the small town of Franklin, Tennessee. Henry, the enslaved man mentioned in the chapter's title, had a routine of both work and leisure (Tolbert 2017, 142). Those enslaved in towns often started their day before sunrise; their days may have been filled with errands or even skilled labor (Tolbert 2017, 142). Nevertheless, being enslaved in a small town likely had more "apparent freedom of movement" and access to public spaces in comparison to rural enslaved life (Tolbert 2017, 146). The autobiographical work of Harriet Jacobs, a woman who was enslaved, notes that one could "rejoice" that they lived in a town where "all the inhabitants knew each other!"(Tolbert 2017, 147). Jacobs essentially is speaking about the ability of those enslaved in small towns to have more spatial and social intimacy (Tolbert 2017, 147). Being enslaved in a small town sometimes gave negotiating skills to the enslaved (Tolbert 2017, 148). Furthermore, assaults or other negative situations could reflect poorly on an assailant. Harriet Jacobs speaks about her grandmother's presence in town being "some protection" to her (Tolbert 2017, 148).

Delinquent actions can quickly become public knowledge in a small town. Laws were often in place to restrict the leisure of the enslaved. Haney notes of bell companies advertise a sense of control and security by employing bells at entrances (Haney 2017, 87-88). Having bells

on doorways allowed homeowners to know where their enslaved persons were. A particular advertisement from one "William Hedderly, House Bell-Hanger, Bell Founder" notes that those who may wish to have bells in their home have a variety of materials to select from (Haney 2017,87-88). It is likely that these different materials acted as a signal; bronze, silver, etc. sound differently when struck. Thus, given the particular sound of the chime, a slave owner will know if their enslaved just entered or exited a certain room. Last, these bells may have doubled as a deterrent. Garden gates with bells may protect the fresh fruits and vegetables from being picked by those walking by on their way to the town square.

Harriet Jacobs did find comfort in her grandmother's status and presence in her small town; nevertheless, she felt victimized as well by the space (Tolbert 2017, 148). When she wanted to escape, she faced a horde of possibilities for discovery due to the intertwined lives of white and Black people in small towns (Tolbert 2017, 148).

Small towns must be understood in their own terms for the paradox they are (Tolbert 2017, 149). Thus, when considering Holly Springs, I must be careful to not drift into the mindset of how rural enslavement operated. Although those enslaved listed on the Slave Schedule do not have names, secondary documents and primary documents like the Craft Family Diary aid in creating an understanding of how not only those enslaved by the Craft's may have transverse the actual town, but also add to the larger story that is urban slavery, specifically urban slavery in small towns.

1870

The census of 1870 is one that catalogs paramount shifts in household dynamics. Elizabeth Craft is now the head of household. Craft's daughters, Stella (thirty-one) and Helen

(twenty-two) are in the household. Moreover, this is the first census that features emancipated Black servants within the Craft household. In 1870, Dilsey Clark and Henry Davidson were listed as domestic servant and laborer respectively. Davidson was twenty-five and Clark was thirty-five in 1870. Davidson was born in Mississippi; Clark, on the other hand, was born in North Carolina. It is possible that she came to Mississippi as an enslaved woman being purchased. This possibility is further strengthened by the census of 1900 showing Dilsey Clark, then sixty-five, back in North Carolina. 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. This change in dynamic is paired with the death of Hugh Craft, meaning the household of 1870 differs greatly from that of 1860.

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 formerly 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 speaks mostly with 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," she writes (Craft/Fort Family Letters 1840-1878). She continues, "economy was can 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

By the census of 1880, the home no longer included 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 were fourteen individuals living in the household. This number is inclusive of both a servant and a white male border. The household is now home to two families, a border, and a servant. By 1880, the household was now home to a Craft-Fort lineage. The head of household is Addison Craft, Hugh's son, who was forty-five years of age in 1880. In the census column listing the relationship to the head of household, we see his sister still lives in the home. A nephew named Robert is also present.

In 1880, the census lists Francis Wade as a live-in servant for the household. She is a thirty-year-old "mulatto", or person of mixed race, and a divorcee. It is unknown how much she was paid, or if she was paid in money at all. It is possible that she served the household in exchange for room and board in the former enslaved kitchen and quarters. Her pay as a servant is also questionable given the possibilities of the Craft-Fort finances after Hugh Craft's demise.

The household now has a border. 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 do Martha Craft Fort and her children.

All in all, the presence of two siblings' 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 would have been taken up by the white women of the home.

Thus, Francis still likely lived in the quarters constructed for enslaved women and traversed the hidden staircase similarly to them, 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 here with her husband Chesley Daniel. In addition to three of Daniel's children, James Fort also resides here with his sister. The youth of the house consists of Vorhees Daniel, thirteen; Lucy Hill Daniel, eight; and Fort Daniel, sixteen. Two Black women reside on the property: Lillie Wright and Mary Garrison. Lillie Wright was forty 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 twenty years old. Her relationship with the head of household is also “servant”. Her specific occupation is chambermaid. She was not, in 1890, able to read or write. This is a vast difference from her older counterpart, Lillie, who is able to read. Mary was born in February of 1877. Thus, unlike Lillie, Mary was never enslaved. Nevertheless, she is an example of how the aforementioned turmoil of the 1870s could have forced Black women back into subservient positions.

In addition to the two women, a border 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 twenty-eight at the time. He is likely not related to the members of the household as 1930 census records show Shuford, then in his fifties, as a boarder in another household in Holly Springs.

Similarly, in the household of 1880, it is likely that there is some financial distress for the family to consider a boarder. Also, in this household, there is a presence of extended family with James Fort, forty, being present. Thus, the financial distress is evident at least from 1870 until 1900. This theory is important as financial prosperity is directly tied to the pay and likely treatment of the free Black women that worked in the house from 1870 - 1900.

Hellen’s commentary juxtaposed with Jones-Roger’s commentary allows me to theorize about the social strain that likely was on this household from 1970-1900. As previously mentioned, young white women were often learning to be slave owners (Jones-Rogers 2019, 1). The instructional process of trial and error that children in slave-owning households went through to learn the type of master or mistress they was essential habitus (Jones-Rogers, 2019). Thus, Hellen Craft would have spent her early life learning how to be a

mistress almost as a rite of passage. That opportunity would never come. Her aforementioned commentary showcases negative emotions for learning tasks such as sewing for herself. It likely is not a skill she ever anticipated developing. As enslaved women learned to be employees, formerly owning women learned to be employers.

Within this household, there are nine people total. This is a deep contrast from 1850 when 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 still a characteristic of the Craft household.

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 likely 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 like 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 an overall unexplored topic within architectural research. Furthermore, theorizing these sentiments 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 with this evidence 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. I also consulted Black feminist archaeology's framework as a foundation to consider how Black women lived in the space and did the work.

Primary and secondary sources aided in providing information on the types of laborious chores that would have been both typical of 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, paired with the primary source of the Craft family diary specifically noting gardening. The diary also lists at least two different fruits that were grown on the property, including raspberries.

A point of continuing this project's interest is considering the 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 lead to an insight into what the enslaved could have grown for themselves, as well as more insight on what would have been grown for the main house.

If continuing this project, I would also like to expound upon the architectural analysis with more hands-on archaeology. The aforementioned grid map for operation one (Figure 4) could be used to create more test units. I would hope to find further evidence of Craft's office, which would not be located as close to the kitchen quarters per Carter's speculation.

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. Furthermore, elements of the institution like slave trading were not sequestered in urban environments (Jones-Rogers 2019, 130).

Research at the Craft House is 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 of 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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