Chapter 4
What Does Womanhood Have to Do with Capitalism?: Normalized Domesticity and the Rise of Industrialized Food in Annapolis, MD, 1870–1930

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Introduction

In 2007, author Barbara Kingsolver released *Animal, Vegetable, Miracle*, chronicling her family's year-long break from industrially processed and transported foods (Kingsolver 2007). Around the same time, food writer and activist Michael Pollan wrote *The Omnivore's Dilemma* (2006) and then *In Defense of Food* (2008), national nonfiction bestsellers that explored how Americans have moved away from eating whole foods and towards "eating nutrients." In these volumes, Pollan encouraged Americans to change their eating habits and eat foods that their ancestors would recognize as food, instead of the "edible food like substances" that come from factories that predominate in American food culture. These books were part of a growing movement to encourage American consumers to move away from industrially processed foods, become more familiar with how foods are grown and raised, and eat as many locally produced foods as possible. In the same vein, during the beginning of the twenty-first century, many American cities, including Annapolis, Maryland, began to reverse the trends of the past two centuries, which had banned domestic livestock from public and private spaces in cities due to concerns about noise, disease, and public health. Activists arguing that livestock and gardening space should make a comeback in cities often articulated arguments similar to those of the mayor of Annapolis during the 2012 City Council debates over beginning to allow chickens back into city backyards. At that time, Mayor Josh Cohen stated that he saw "hens as a way to be more connected to the food that we eat" because

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"eggs don't just magically appear in the cartons in the grocery store refrigerator" (Sauers 2012).

How did Americans get into the position of relying so heavily on industrially produced, mass-marketed, and processed foods? This chapter examines how the American diet of processed foods and white bread was developed and perfected during the time period between the Civil War and the Great Depression through new technologies, and the domestic science and home economics movements (Engelhardt 2011; Shapiro 2009; Strasser 1982). Intended to give women a place in the scientific public sphere during the time period that domestic production was being replaced by factory production, domestic science was a gender ideology that embraced a new American diet full of modern, industrially made foods. Couched in the language of science and touted as an emancipatory practice for women, domestic science's reliance on factory-produced foods was part of an increasing separation between food-producing workers and food consumers, and between nature and society, in the American capitalist system. Using archaeological evidence from Annapolis, Maryland, this chapter explores the way in which an emerging gendered movement, the domestic science movement, changed the diets of residents and tied them more closely to the industrialized food system that became dominant in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It also explores the ways in which food systems are closely connected to not only gender, but also to race and racialization and labor and social class.

During the late Victorian and Progressive Era periods, the rise of domestic science as an influential gender ideology affected how consumers in Annapolis and other cities were acquiring their food, as well as what they were eating and drinking. Historical and archaeological evidence shows that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, raising domestic animals was increasingly outlawed or discouraged within the city limits of Annapolis (Annapolis City Counselor 1897; McCullough 1869; McWilliams 1935; Riley 1908). By this time, smaller lot sizes and in-fill construction also limited the amount of lot space that could be used for domestic food production. Domestic spaces were increasingly seen in the dominant gender ideologies as places of refuge from commercial and productive activities, and domestic spaces and yards were being used less frequently for productive purposes (Green 1983; Yentsch 1991). Activities associated with the raising and processing of animals were also increasingly viewed as detrimental to home sanitation. Food production and primary processing activities were more frequently taking place outside the home (Strasser 1982), and many products that had formerly come into Annapolis homes in bulk were now available in prepackaged, mass-produced form on store shelves.

Progressive Era ideologies assigned modern and sanitary ideals to new standardized products, including canned and bottled goods, and engagement by women with "modern cookery" was thought to protect family health, prevent social unrest and alcoholism, and promote Americanization in poor and immigrant groups (Shapiro 2009). New ideas about eating and cooking promoted convenience foods, outwardly rejected alcohol consumption, and focused on women as consumers of food products, instead of as producers of food products. The new food acquisition and

preparation behaviors that were normalized were strongly associated with white, middle-class women, and emerging gender norms were closely tied to the social boundaries of race and class (Green 1983; Schenone 2003; Shapiro 2009; Strasser 1982).

Between the Civil War and the Great Depression, the nation was struggling with post-War reconciliation between the North and the South, increasing urbanization and expanding urban populations, the effects of increasing industrialization and mass production, economic panics and depressions, increasing foreign immigration, and the beginning of American imperialism (Lears 2009). Influenced by these concerns, identity and categorization became even more important to social interactions. The impetus to create social boundaries was also aided by the emergence or professionalization of disciplines that aimed to study social life and social problems scientifically—including anthropology, sociology, public health, psychology, sexology, and domestic science—as well as social reform movements and the extension of governmental regulation (Hall 2006, p. 105). These historical currents, many of which are usually conceived of as occurring in the public sphere, had profound effects on how domesticity was defined and who was included in its premises. Notions of domesticity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries connected the collective social well-being to individual daily practices and, when applied as a set of normative ideals "tended to curb social variety into a narrow expectation of domestic, social, and sexual arrangements that were acceptable, plausible, recognizable, and knowable" (Shah 2001, p. 15).

During the early twentieth century, important negotiations were taking place around domestic spaces, and progressive reform movements made connections between the world of the household and the larger society's political and economic institutions (Dye 1991). The emerging field of domestic science made domesticity an objective body of knowledge that could be actively pursued through scientific housekeeping and cookery, and which had links to the prescriptively "male" worlds of research, technology, business, and higher education (Shapiro 2009, pp. 44–45). It was also during the mid- to late-nineteenth century that foreign immigration to the United States reached its peak, and the United States was taking its first steps towards imperial expansion following the Spanish-American War in 1898 (Lears 2009, pp. 276–279). Therefore, we should recognize that during this time, what was domestic also came to be seen in opposition to what was foreign or other, and not just what was public (Kaplan 1998). Foods associated with specific ethnic identities were particularly targeted by domestic science.

The end of the American Civil War in 1865 necessitated a reconfiguration of the nation's social, economic, and political structures (Blight 2001; Dailey et al. 2000; Engelhardt 2011; Foner 1998; Lears 2009; Richardson 2001). Gender and sexuality played an often unacknowledged role in the racialization processes of the American capitalist system and the construction of modern cities in the post-Civil War period (Camp 2011, pp. 14–15). Gender normalization, identification, and differentiation affected the emerging post-Civil War social and economic systems, which reshaped American cities, domestic spaces, and diets. Normalization "imposes homogeneity, but individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix

specialties, and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another (Foucault 1979, pp. 184).” Normative constructions of gender and sexuality determine what qualifies as being part of the realm of possibilities for human identifications, behaviors, and relationships, and normative ideas about gender “work to delimit the very field of description that we have for the ‘human’ and the ‘livable’” (Butler 1999, pp. xxii).

This chapter looks at how gender identities and differentiation affected the new social and economic systems that emerged in Annapolis and other American cities following the Civil War. How were ideas about domesticity, encoded in emerging gender ideologies, used to delimit acceptable and unacceptable behaviors in public as well as private spaces? How was the “public” project of governance accomplished partially through negotiations about “domestic” spaces and responsibilities? During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, normative social configurations and gendered attributes were being defined, negotiated, contested, and redefined on a regular basis (Dye 1991). The impact of changing ideologies about womanhood and domesticity had repercussions beyond individual families or households, and emergent gender ideologies were closely connected to larger debates and public priorities. Through normalization, some behaviors were marked as safe and acceptable, whereas others were considered to be threatening or unnatural. These differences were then used to determine who would be considered eligible for civil rights and the protections of citizenship (Shah 2001).

The Annapolis Context

In 2008, Archaeology in Annapolis, a long-term archaeological research project that explores the history of Annapolis, Maryland, began work on Fleet and Cornhill Streets in the historic district of the city. During the following three summer field schools, between 2008 and 2010, additional test units were excavated in private backyard spaces at 40 Fleet Street (18AP110), 30 Cornhill Street (18AP114), and 41 Cornhill Street (18AP115) (Figure 4.1). This chapter focuses on the archaeological remains from the backyard at 40 Fleet Street, and comparative sites in Annapolis.

The lot that today contains both 38 and 40 Fleet Street was purchased by the Workingmen’s Building and Loan Association in 1885 (MIHP AA-1279 n.d.). After purchasing the property, the Workingmen’s Building and Loan Association constructed the attached, two-story, frame houses of 38 and 40 Fleet Street as rental properties for working-class families, and retained ownership of them until 1920. In 1922, the property was purchased by Jacob Blum and Louis Kotzin, although by four years later Blum had full ownership of the property (MIHP AA-1279 n.d.). Blum was part of the Russian Jewish immigrant community that developed on Fleet and Cornhill Streets between 1910 and 1930, and he, both independently and with Kotzin, purchased several properties on Fleet Street during this time period (MIHP n.d.). Blum was a grocer and his own store and residence was located at 6–8 Fleet Street, but he also owned 14, 16–20, 22, and 38–40 Fleet Street (MIHP AA-1279 n.d., p. 4).

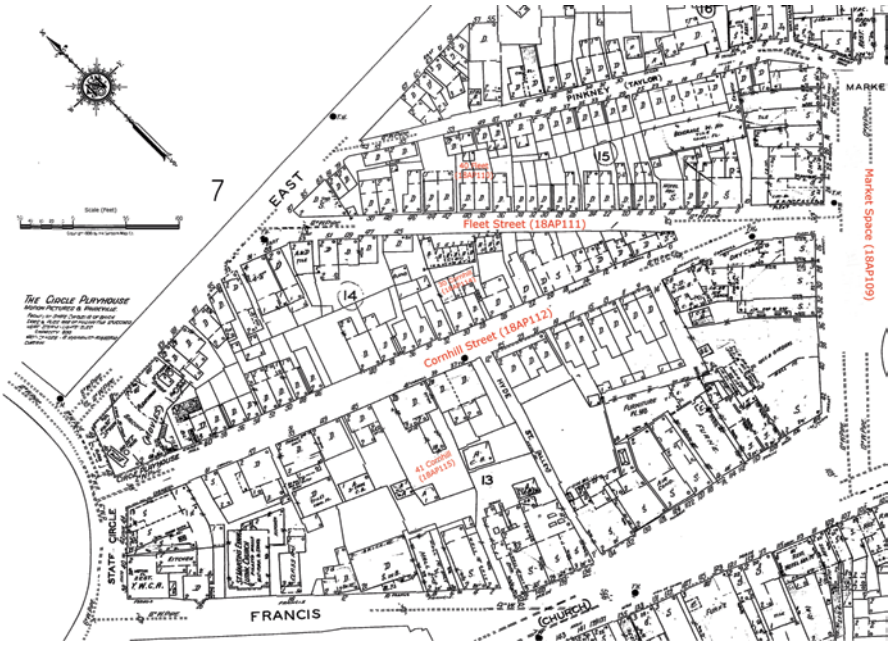

Fig. 4.1 The archaeological sites excavated by archaeology in Annapolis on Fleet and Cornhill Streets during 2008, 2009, and 2010. Shown on a detail from the 1930–1959 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps of Annapolis

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Fleet Street site was occupied by working-class African American families. By 1910, the house at 40 Fleet was occupied by George Price, his wife Sarah Price, and their two children, Ambrose and Catherine (United States Bureau of the Census 1910). George Price died between 1910 and 1920, and in subsequent census years, Sarah Price is listed as the head of the household and, at various times, her children or grandchildren are listed as living with her. It is probable that the boundaries between the households of Sarah Price and her children were fluid in a way that is not fully captured by the census data. This fluidity is hinted at by the fact that her 6-year–old granddaughter, Mildred Price, was enumerated in the household of Sarah Price, as well as in the household of her son, Ambrose Price, at 144 South Street, in the 1920 census (United States Bureau of the Census 1920). This fluidity may reflect family relationships that aided both Sarah Price and her daughter-in-law, and allowed them to complete their work, as a domestic servant and a laundress, respectively.[1]

[1] Price's daughter-in-law worked as a laundress at home, and had two younger children in addition to Mildred Price (United States Bureau of the Census 1920). Mildred staying with her grandmother may have provided her mother with the childcare support necessary to complete her washing. Sarah Price may also have needed her granddaughter to help her with tasks around her own house and at her job as an aging domestic worker in a private home (Warren 1990, p. 30 discusses similar situations in Annapolis).

Marylanders were divided in their sentiments and support during the Civil War, and Maryland was officially a slaveholding state that sided with the Union. Therefore, Maryland had a population of newly emancipated black residents after the war, joining the existing free African American population in the state, especially sizable in the City of Annapolis (Leone 2005). The antebellum Maryland Legislature's policy had been to try to restrict the number of free African Americans entering Maryland, and reduce the existing number of free African Americans (Brown 1994, p. 12). Therefore, in the wake of the Civil War, white supremacy had to be reconfigured from a system of racial slavery into a system where hierarchy was justified by deviance of other groups from white middle-class norms, supported by new legal structures like Jim Crow legislation.

Annapolis, as did other urban areas in the north and south, attracted newly free men and women who felt that they might have more opportunity in the city than in the country. These new residents further increased the city's population, which was rapidly increasing due to the return of the Naval Academy from Rhode Island, where it was located during the Civil War, to Annapolis, and by the availability of jobs in the city's maritime and construction industries (Ives 1979). Between 1860 and 1870, the population in Annapolis increased by almost 30%. A large amount of this growth, 43%, was attributable to the increase in the city's black population. By 1870, white residents accounted for 62% of the city's population, and black residents accounted for 32% of the total population of 5,744 residents (McWilliams 2011, p. 200). Between 1870 and 1880, the city's population grew by an additional 15% (McWilliams 2011, p. 212).

The Compromise of 1877 ended Reconstruction and decided the presidential election of 1876. The restoration of white supremacy was gradually implemented throughout the 1880s and 1890s through initiatives including black disfranchisement and racial segregation (Lears 2009, p. 24). In 1908, as the city celebrated the 200-year anniversary of its charter, local Jim Crow legislation, and therefore de jure segregation, officially came to Annapolis (McWilliams 2011, p. 247). However, during the last decades of the nineteenth century, de facto residential segregation had been increasing in the city and in the project area. Census data between the years of 1880 and 1900 indicate that most of the residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets were born in Maryland, and that Cornhill Street was occupied predominantly by white residents, whereas Fleet Street had a slightly higher percentage of African American residents. During this time period, the percentage of African American households on Fleet Street increased, while the percentage of African American households on Cornhill Street decreased (United States Bureau of the Census 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930). During the beginning of the twentieth century, almost all of the non-African American households on Fleet Street were occupied by Russian Jewish families, who also faced housing discrimination in the city.

Although black households continued to be located throughout the city, separation by race into residential clusters increased throughout the city, as it had on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, as time went by (Brown 1994). In an oral history interview from the early 1990s, a white man who lived at the very bottom of Fleet Street described an incident from his childhood, which reinforces the idea that although

black and white residents were living close to one another, there were definite social boundaries between residents. The man describes how one day a black woman who lived farther up Fleet Street collapsed, and his mother had her picked up and brought into their house. He relates that later in the afternoon when he was outside again playing he heard "some of the black ladies" talking about what had happened and saying that "it was like nothing they'd ever seen before, that a white woman had picked up a black woman—up off the street—and put her in her own bed!" According to the man being interviewed, it was a "scene of wonder" to them that something like that would happen, even though the two women lived down a short street from each other (Warren 1990, p. 76). This illustrates how socially constructed boundaries separated black and white women, although they lived in adjacent spaces.

The 1870s through the 1930s was a time of great economic transformation and growth in the United States. The industrial economy emerging after the war necessitated that people be placed into increasingly rigid social categories, and there was anxiety in the public discourse about mixing, blending, and passing (Engelhardt 2011; Lears 2009). As populations expanded in urban areas, including Annapolis, administrators were also concerned with modernizing and policing urban space and urban residents, transforming the appearances of cities and attempting to better regulate the behaviors of urban populations and make them more governable (Abrahams 2009). This regulation of behaviors and spaces did not just occur at the level of state or local legal administration, it was also enacted through other discourse about domesticity that connected collective social well-being to individual genteel behaviors. Discourse about domesticity, enacted through material practices that can be seen archaeologically, codified norms and created narrow ideas surrounding acceptable domestic, social, and sexual arrangements (Shah 2001).

In the wake of postbellum constitutional and social changes, new barriers to civil rights for African Americans were increasingly constructed based on the idea that their behaviors were nonnormative or unworthy of citizenship. After the War, "whites were unwilling to expand their prewar definitions of 'manhood' and 'womanhood' to include formerly enslaved persons—gender and sexual roles were rewrought and white supremacists intended to reassert their dominance by playing on antebellum themes—the 'Sambo' incompetence of the black male and the moral bankruptcy of black women" (Clinton 1992, p. 310). African Americans actively worked to create a counternarrative to the tropes of black men as idle and criminal and black female unworthiness for protection, as "ideas about African American criminality and social pathology were amplified in the aftermath of the Civil War" and "white southern elites looked for ways to resuscitate the prewar conventions of slavery" (Crooms-Robinson 2012, p. 562).[2]

[2] To counter the assault on African American worthiness for citizenship, diverse ideas were proposed by African American leaders. These included W. E. B. DuBois' (2008 [1903]focus on developing the talented tenth, which emphasized the role of higher education in developing the leadership capacity of the most able African Americans; activist and African American women's club movement leader Mary Church Terrell's focus on virtuous and proper black women; and Marcus

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries normative and nonnormative gender behaviors and social configurations were constantly being defined, negotiated, contested, and redefined (Engelhardt 2011) in Annapolis and throughout the country. The development of ideas about what was natural or unnatural, safe or unsafe, were an important part of the systems of social differentiation that supported capitalist inequalities. As the American population became more urban in the late nineteenth century, there was also the perception of an increasing separation between nature and society, which included a corresponding separation between food production and consumption in industrial food systems. The ideology of domestic science, in turn, played an integral role in creating the demand for increasingly industrial foods.

What Food Can Tell Us About Engagement with Gender Norms and Industrial Capitalism

A central component of the separation of the spheres in nineteenth century gender ideology was the separation of workplaces, commercial life, and productive activities from the private home. This resulted in a decrease in integrated household economies and the creation of a consumer economy aimed largely at the middle classes (Rotman 2009; Wall 1994). During this time period areas of homes and yards were redesigned to make them more isolated and private (Yentsch 1991, p. 196; Rotman 2009, p. 19; Wurst 2003). In the dominant ideology, a woman was judged upon the appearance of her home and yard. It was thought that a family would be less successful and less moral if "the yard and garden were untended, the house unpainted, and the rooms neglected and unkempt," than they would be if they had a more conscientiously maintained home (Green 1983, p. 59).

Between the 1860s and the mid-twentieth century, the free movement of animals throughout the city of Annapolis was being increasingly regulated (McCullough 1869; Annapolis City Counselor 1897; Riley 1908; McWilliams 1935). By the end of the nineteenth century, hogs were banned from the city, and by the early twentieth century, the city's daily newspaper, the *Evening Capital*, was publishing discussions about the problems associated with raising chickens in the city (Annapolis City Counselor 1897; Warner 1998a, p. 124). Keeping animals in the city was increasingly framed as a threat to public health, which can be seen through the fact that animal regulations increasingly became incorporated into the portion of the city code that dealt with the "Health of the City," instead of being stand-alone sections of the code.

The separation of food consumption from the work of food producers and food production systems can also be seen in the increasing separation of consumers from the animal origins of their meat purchases as the twentieth century progressed. As

Garvey's assertion that African Americans would only improve their condition under the protection of a nation founded by African Americans in West Africa (Crooms-Robinson 2012, p. 562).

food industrialization increased, certain body parts, including heads, necks, and feet, were removed even from animals, such as birds, that were often purchased whole. Removing these body parts, as well as selling meat in portions, is one way that consumers begin cognitively to separate the meat they eat from the animals that the meat comes from (Fiddes 1991, p. 95; Warner 1998a, p. 128), further alienating consumers from the production of their foods. This can be seen as part of what Foster (1999) calls the metabolic rift in capitalist urbanization, creating increasing separation between people and the land and environment.

Changes in food sources and meanings as food production was increasingly industrialized had effects on the ways in which women procured and prepared their foods. The repetitive, structured, everyday behaviors that women performed while marketing, cooking, and keeping house also consequently changed. During the Victorian Era, consumers, especially those in cities, were becoming increasingly separated from their food sources. An effort was also made to distance the family's home meals from any taint of "animal indulgence" or animal-like behaviors with food, eschewing strong tastes and prizing a bland diet (Schenone 2003; Shapiro 2009). Discourses of science, technology, and modernity reigned supreme in general as well as in the prescriptive literature of domesticity at the turn of the twentieth century, when the industrial production of food really took off. Foodways during this time period were closely tied to ideas about domesticity and public health, and the Progressive Era imbued industrial and standardized products, and canned and bottled foods, with new sanitary ideals. Processed foods, in neat and sterile packages, became common in the early twentieth century (Engelhardt 2011).

Elizabeth Engelhardt (2011, p. 13) states that "When women taught other women and girls about daily food preparation, supply, and presentation of food for the family, they performed a political act." She further stated that we have to stop viewing the procurement, preparation, and service of food as natural and that when we do, "We can tease out the dynamics embedded in these lessons" (Engelhardt 2011, p. 13). Domestic science had a huge effect on American life, but because the influence is so large and diffuse, historians have often overlooked these effects (Schenone 2003). Domestic science was used by women to step into the public sphere, which Victorian gender ideologies denied them access to, and domestic science opened up new careers for women, who organized themselves to improve public health and food safety standards and better their lives and the lives of others (Schenone 2003, p. 242). However, domestic science has also shaped American food systems in ways that have increasingly been called into question: eliminating ethnic foodways, promoting convenience foods, creating a distinct and intentionally bland American diet (Schenone 2003, p. 243), and embedding Americans deeply within industrialized food systems.

Food distribution and consumption have historically been influenced by gender, as well as ethnicity, age, and class (Diner 2001, p. 4). Because of the close association between women and cooking in domestic contexts in nineteenth and early twentieth century America, changes in the food supply and food preparation tasks had a disproportionate effect on women. When new products showed up in the American marketplace, it was often women who decided what products were seen

as useful to the family and would be incorporated into the family's food culture (Diner 2001, p. 5).

Throughout the nineteenth century, new technologies sparked changes in food production and distribution practices, which facilitated changes in the American diet. By the 1870s, refrigerated transport cars on railroads made the transportation of fruits and meat across the country profitable. By the early twentieth century, manufacturers began to take over some of the work of precooking preparation, and tasks such as butchering, cutting and pounding sugar, sifting impurities from flour, shelling nuts, drying herbs, grinding spices, and roasting coffee were commonly performed before these products reached the home kitchen (Strasser 1982, p. 11, 17, 29). Food increasingly came to consumers in standardized cans and boxes, which were advertised and distributed to a national marketplace. Although we don't often think about the process of how our food became industrialized, mass production and mass distribution transformed food from the product of home industry and barter into a commodity that was increasingly produced by large companies for profit (Strasser 1982, p. 29).

More industrialization was seen as the solution to even the problem of adulteration in industrial foods, and food science became obsessed with foods that were uniform, predictable, and safe, eschewing properties including taste, pleasure, individuality, and cultural identity. Hygiene and purity became important selling points for national brands, and mechanization brought claims that food could be "untouched by the human hand" when it reached consumers (Fernandez-Armesto 2002, pp. 216–217). In the ideology of domestic science, handling food too much during cooking at home, as in the factories, was considered distasteful (Shapiro 2009, p. 142). Domestic scientists saw food as powerful, and believed that food's ability to draw forth cravings and desires had to be managed. The culinary goals of domestic science were to contain and control food, removing taste and texture, decorate food, and package it. This could consist of breaking food down to its simplest components, or burying it in white sauce, or under whipped cream and candied flowers (Shapiro 2009, p. 6).

As contemporary food writer Laura Schenone (2004, p. 252) points out, with domestic science food was supposed to be "neat, clean, pretty to the eye—and above all not too spicy or offensive," qualities that were also prized in women at the time. "Scientific" cooks were also set up in opposition to the stereotypes of black "mammy" cooks as the ideals of scientific cooking, which originated in New England and spread to the South by 1900 (Witt 1999, p. 56). Reformers believed that a proper diet would make the poor and working classes more civilized (Shapiro 2009, p. 124, 153). It was also widely believed that there was a significant connection between the urge for alcohol in workingmen and the poor cooking skills of their wives, and that a well-run home could be a powerful guardian against civil unrest (Shapiro 2009, pp. 130–131). In an article entitled "The Home and the Labor Problem," Mrs. Helen Ekin Starrett (1895) wrote that "the home is the chief factor in the working-man's life, and therefore one of the chief factors in the solution of the [labor] problem." She further stated that a man with a well-run home "is not going to join in rash movements of any kind, or in any way jeopardize the possession

of that home" (Starrett 1895). Preventing civil unrest was a concern for public officials and reformers during the end of the nineteenth century, as the nation suffered wage cuts and repeated economic panics (Shapiro 2009, p. 131). These changes in foodways in the late Victorian and Progressive periods in Annapolis are discussed here through an examination of artifacts related to consumption of prepackaged, market-procured foods, and Prohibition.

The Rise of Industrial Foods

During the nineteenth century, it was uncommon to preserve foods at home through methods other than drying, salting, or storage in root cellars (Strasser 1982, p. 22). Home canning of fruits and vegetables in sealed Mason jars did not take off in many places until after 1900. This occurred with the advent of machine-made sanitary glass canning jars (Strasser 1982, pp. 22–23). Earlier methods had been much more complicated and less reliable, and the Mason jar revolutionized home canning (Smith 2007, p. 93). Modern home canning in Mason jars intensified during World War I due to government campaigns to promote home canned goods, using slogans such as "We Can Vegetables and the Kaiser Too" (Strasser 1982, p. 23).

Commercially canned food was originally seen as an emergency food, used for expeditions, military campaigns, and ocean voyages, and not for home use (Strasser 1982, p. 23). Throughout the nineteenth century, canning technology improved, the volume of canned food produced increased, and prices fell, making canned food more widely affordable. American production of canned food increased from 5 million cans per year in 1860 to 30 million cans per year in 1870 (Standage 2009, p. 162). As technology improved, production increased, and prices fell, canned goods became more and more successful because consumers increasingly viewed their products as more sanitary, hygienic, and standardized. This was due, in part, to successful advertising campaigns for national brands, and the influence of domestic science. Advertising campaigns and displays of new canned products at world fairs and exhibitions attached the values of modernity, progress, and consumer desire to the increasingly available canned foods (Engelhardt 2011, p. 95). According to advertisers and home economists, the consumer did not have to wonder whether one bottle or can would taste different from the next, or be of lesser quality. Processing gave foods "the sanitary gloss, the smooth, unvarying texture, [and] the evenness of quality" through science and technology (Shapiro 2009, p. 191). Domestic science thrived on the message that technology was transforming homes and food for the better.

By the 1910s, many domestic advisors shared the opinion that canned fruits and vegetables had improved in quality so much that, unless the homemaker had her own garden and orchard, they were preferable to fresh produce. Processed cheese was similarly touted as being preferable to farmhouse varieties because of its uniformity and because it would save the homemaker "material, time, and labor" (Shapiro 2009, pp. 191–192). By the middle of the twentieth century, consumers often

preferred canned foods to fresh foods, because they had become used to the taste and textures of commercially canned foods (Bentley 1998, p. 131). Many families, including those in rural areas, relied heavily on commercially canned food by the 1920s and, by the 1930s, cookbooks frequently listed canned goods as ingredients (Bentley 1998, p. 131).

Under the powerful influence of domestic science educators and the emerging food industry, American food consumption shifted increasingly towards industrially processed foods as the twentieth century progressed (Shapiro 2009, p. 193, 195). Commercially canned products began to make more sense financially as well, and they became cheaper than fresh produce at the beginning of the twentieth century (Bentley 1998, p. 131). This resulted in the creation of a distinctive American diet—heavy in mass-produced, processed foods—which remained largely unquestioned until the late twentieth century. Increasing reliance on packaged goods instead of fresh foods resulted in the increasing separation between the consumer and her food sources.

A series of photographs of the same butcher's store in Annapolis between 1914 and 1928 also illustrate this shift (Figure 4.2). In a 1914 photograph, B.C. Britton's Butcher Company at 77 West Street, looks like a much less sanitary place, according to the ideals of modernity and domestic science, than it does 14 years later. In 1914, the store displays cuts of meat out on a table, with no glass separating it from customers. Whole animals hang behind the table. On the opposite wall the store offers bulk goods, as well as shelves full of canned products. By 1919, meats are displayed behind glass, identifiable whole animals are absent, and the quantity of prepackaged products has increased. A scale has prominence of place in the photograph, and advertisements for national brands, including one encouraging customers to "Ask for Pillsbury's Best Flour," decorate the far wall of the store. In the final picture of the series, from 1928, the floors and fronts of the display are shining and the counter fronts have sanitary white inserts. The scuff marks that were visible on the floors and the counter fronts in 1919 are gone, and canned goods continue to be stacked to the ceiling. Through this series of photographs, the separation of consumers from the production of the foods that they are eating, and a shift towards standardized products, is notable.

A glass minimum vessel count was conducted on the glass assemblage from a privy fill, Feature 14, at the 40 Fleet Street site (Table 4.1). The glass assemblage from 40 Fleet Street was compared to assemblages dating between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at other Annapolis sites: Gott's Court, the Maynard Burgess House, and the Main Street site. The Gott's Court and Maynard Burgess House sites, like 40 Fleet Street, were occupied by African American residents, whereas the Main Street site was occupied by middle-class white residents. The cellar feature, feature 71, at the Maynard Burgess House had a *TPQ* date of 1889 (Mullins 1999b). The Gott's Court assemblage dates to early in the twentieth century, but because the bottle assemblage comes from sheet deposits, the dating is not as specific as the dates from the assemblages that come from sealed deposits (Mullins 1999b). The privy deposit at the Main Street site dates to the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century (Warner 1998b), and the Fleet Street

Fig. 4.2 A sequence of photographs showing B.C. Britton's Butcher Company on West Street in Annapolis in 1914, 1919, and 1928. (Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives)

Table 4.1 Glass minimum number of vessel counts for 40 Fleet Street and comparative Annapolis sites. (Comparative data taken from Mark Warner 1998b; *"The Best There Is of Us": Ceramics and Status in African American Annapolis*)

	40 Fleet Street, Feature 14 Privy Fill	Gott's Court	Maynard Burgess, Feature 71 Cellar Fill	193 Main Street, Feature 12 Privy Fill
Bottle Type	Number (% of Total)	Number (% of Total)	Number (% of Total)	Number (% of Total)
Pharmaceutical	2 (6.67)	16 (38.10)	22 (27.85)	17 (44.74)
Liquor/Whiskey	10 (33.33)	4 (9.52)	18 (22.78)	1 (2.63)
Fresh	3 (10)	7 (16.67)	6 (7.59)	0 (0.00)
Beer	1 (3.33)	2 (4.76)	0 (0.00)	3 (7.89)
Food	8 (26.67)	2 (4.76)	15 (18.99)	5 (13.16)
Wine/Champagne	1 (3.33)	7 (16.67)	5 (6.33)	0 (0.00)
Unknown alcohol	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (2.63)
Personal	1 (3.33)	3 (7.14)	0 (0.00)	3 (7.89)
Ink	1 (3.33)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (13.16)
Milk	0 (0.00)	1 (2.38)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Preserving jars	2 (6.67)	0 (0.00)	2 (2.53)	0 (0.00)
Household	1 (3.33)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Unknown form	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	11 (13.92)	0 (0.00)
Total MVC	*30* (*99.99*)	*42* (*100.00*)	*79* (*99.99*)	*38* (*99.99*)

privy deposit dates to around the late 1920s. Therefore the Fleet Street privy assemblage dates to a slightly later time period than the assemblages from the other sites.

Bottles that contained alcohol were the largest category of container glass in the 40 Fleet Street privy assemblage, comprising 33% of the assemblage. Food-related containers were the second largest category of container glass in the Fleet Street privy, comprising 27% of the assemblage. These food-related vessels included bottles that may have been used for condiments or sauces, pickles or horseradish, baking soda or powder, and extracts for cooking. It was possible to determine the origins and manufacture dates of nine of the container vessels in the Fleet Street privy, based on their embossing. No labels were preserved. Of the vessels with an identifiable place of manufacture, four of the nine were manufactured in Baltimore, Maryland, a major center for canning and bottling.

Of the 30 glass container vessels recovered from the Fleet Street privy, only two were embossed by local Annapolis manufacturers. These bottles were both mineral water bottles. This follows the pattern of other African American sites in Annapolis, which show a pattern of avoidance of Annapolis pharmacists and bottlers (Mullins 1999b). Paul Mullins (1999a, 1999b) has written convincingly about how African Americans in Annapolis developed a body of consumer tactics to subvert the racism of the marketplace. Mullins has argued that archaeological materials indicate that African Americans focused on the consumption of national brands during the late

nineteenth century, "a tactic which circumvented local marketers' racism and reflected African American aspiration to the consumer privileges trumpeted in brand advertising." Local retailers, who bottled their own products or sold dry goods in bulk, could adulterate their products when selling to African American consumers. In contrast, national brand products offered the same quality and quantity in every container, and were sealed before they got to local markets (Mullins 1999b). [3]

The earlier deposition dates of the deposits at Maynard Burgess and Gott's Court suggest that this was taking place at a time when national brands were still significantly more expensive than goods sold in bulk (Mullins 1999b). This pattern of African American consumption of national brands is certainly consistent with the assemblage from the privy at 40 Fleet Street. Although metal preservation in the privy was poor, the Fleet Street privy also contained fragments of corroded metal that may be related to canned goods. The fragments were poorly preserved, however, many were shaped in a way that suggests they may have once been part of cans. The Fleet Street site privy also contained at least two glass preserving jars. The later date of the Fleet Street assemblage, and the push for increased home canning among black and white residents of Annapolis during World War I may have affected the slightly higher percentage of glass preserving jars at the Fleet Street site when compared with other Annapolis sites.

Although their preference for industrialized, national-brand food products may have been a continuation of earlier tactics to subvert racism in the marketplace, other factors may have been at play at the Fleet Street site. The residents of Fleet Street may have also been investing in the promises made to consumers by domestic science and invoking the protections of modernity and sanitary practices. Earlier consumption of national brands was a specifically African American consumer tactic to subvert the racism in the Annapolis marketplace, however, by the early twentieth century, canned goods were part of the recommendations made by home economists regarding proper cookery and guarding the health and nutrition of the home. Experience cooking with mass-produced, national brand foods may have also helped African American domestic servants to retain their employment in white homes, by demonstrating engagement with modern cookery.

By the early twentieth century there are strong associations in mayors' reports and the public discourse in Annapolis between substandard living conditions, disease, and African American residents of Annapolis (Jones 1905; Jopling 2008; White 1938). The individual behaviors of African American residents were being blamed for these problems, and the effect that inequality in the city's racialized housing and labor system had on the living conditions of African American residents was obscured. Black domestic servants and washerwomen were particularly blamed for spreading tuberculosis to white communities because of their "frequent

[3] Mullins (1999b) argued that archaeological evidence showed consistent national brand consumption by homeowners at the Maynard Burgess site, as well as Gott's Court and Bellis Court. This suggested to Mullins that this preference for national brand consumption was not class-related, because the middle-class homeowners at Maynard Burgess exhibited similar consumption patterns to the working-class renters who occupied the alley communities of Gott's Court and Bellis Court.

trips across the color line in their daily work" (Hunter 1997, p. 196). The Annapolis *Evening Capital,* for example, wrote that "Colored people with TB spread disease" and pointed out that "White housekeepers" were dependent on the help of African American domestic workers but were not inquiring into the sanitary behaviors and home lives of their domestic help (as cited in Jopling 2008). Black women were vilified more than black men because they were more frequently employed in white households and because of stereotypes about black women's behavior (Hunter 1997, p. 197). For black women who worked for white families, it may have been especially important to enact sanitary ideals through outward engagement with domestic science, an act of dissemblance to keep surveillance of true inner lives at bay (after Hine 1994). This was crucial in an environment where African American women were not afforded the same societal protections as white women and were stereotyped as being lustful, primitive, domineering, dirty, unwomanly, and unable to change with the times (Townsend-Gilkes 2001), and white residents were simultaneously being implored to inquire into the sanitary behaviors and home lives of their domestic help (Jopling 2008).

Modern cookery may also, as Witt (1999, p. 56) suggested, have been embraced by African American women because of its goal of elevating household labor, which was the labor of the majority of African American women in the South and in the project area during this time period. Also, within the environment of racist stereotypes that attributed animal-like behaviors to African Americans, a demonstrated separation from both animals themselves and the animal-like cravings that the bland diet created by domestic science was supposed to counteract may have been strategically employed.

Although space does not allow an in-depth discussion of the results here, a basic faunal analysis was also conducted on the Annapolis sites.[4] The analysis was conducted to get an idea of what wild and domestic species were being utilized by residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets, gauge reliance on market sources of meat, and learn whether these patterns changed as industrialized food production increased in the late Victorian and Progressive periods (Knauf 2013). All of the faunal remains were analyzed using standard zooarchaeological methods.

The sites on both Fleet and Cornhill Streets had low Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) counts when compared to other Annapolis sites. However, the sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets showed that a variety of protein sources were being used at all of the sites, and there is no simple equation between protein sources and identity. The African American residents of Fleet Street appear to have eaten pig more than other meat sources. Warner (1998a) hypothesized that this was true generally for African Americans in the Chesapeake region, and the residents of Cornhill Street seem to have consumed more mutton and beef, as Warner (1998a) hypothesized was

[4] Amanda Tang, Justin Uehlein, and Ashley Dickerson also conducted basic analyses and number of identified specimens (NISP) counts on the faunal assemblages from 40 Fleet Street, 41 Cornhill Street, and 30 Cornhill Street between 2009 and 2013 (Tang and Knauf 2010, 2013; Uehlein 2012). NISP counts record each (complete, partial, or fragmented) individual bone, tooth, shell, scale, or horn as a single unit (Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984, pp. 24–25; Peres 2010, p. 26). Amanda Tang also calculated the distribution by portion for the 40 Fleet Street and 30 Cornhill Street sites.

true generally for white residents of the Chesapeake region. The variety of proteins is also similar to other Annapolis sites (Knauf 2013). Residents of Fleet and Cornhill Streets appear to have had a diverse diet throughout the time period of study, which included wild sources, but was heavily reliant on domestic sources.

The faunal samples generally get smaller at the sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets during later time periods, possibly because of increasing city regulations about the disposal of garbage and changing attitudes surrounding the discard of animal remains (see Riley 1908 for examples). NISP counts from Fleet and Cornhill Streets were compared to data collected in Mark Warner's (1998a) work on the other sites in Annapolis. Due to the fact that the assemblages discussed in the comparative analysis are also generally small, the amount of detailed comparisons that can be made between sites is limited (Warner 1998a). However, the goal of this section is not to complete a detailed analysis of the sites, but instead to allow for limited comparisons between them. The fact that these sites were all occupied between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and are located within close proximity to one another can provide some general information about food consumption in the city, although we will not be able to say exactly what was being prepared and eaten at each meal.

All of the Annapolis sites, including those on Fleet and Cornhill Streets, show a strong reliance on domestic mammals as the primary source of meat. At the sites analyzed by Warner (1998a) pork and beef were the primary meat sources, although small amounts of sheep or goat were present in the various assemblages. In contrast, the sites on Fleet and Cornhill Streets show much less utilization of beef as a meat source, and a heavier reliance on sheep or goat through time. In all of the comparative contexts analyzed by Warner, pig is the species with the greatest number of specimens. In contrast to this, pig remains only a small part of the assemblages at the sites on Cornhill Street, never topping 10% of the non-oyster assemblages in any time period, and sheep and goat remains are more prevalent in the samples from Fleet and Cornhill Streets than they are in the comparative data (Tang and Knauf 2010, 2013; Knauf 2013).

At all of the comparative sites, avian remains formed a significant portion of the total faunal remains, comprising between 18 and 20% of the total faunal counts. Avian remains similarly comprise 23% of the non-oyster faunal assemblage from the 40 Fleet Street privy. In contrast, avian remains are less prevalent in the samples from Cornhill Street. The avian remains associated with the Fleet Street privy appear to have been purchased from market sources, and focused on wing and leg pieces. However, keeping chickens in domestic yard spaces as a source of fresh eggs would not necessarily be reflected in the faunal record of the sites. The beef, pork, and sheep or goat consumed at the sites were also almost certainly acquired through commercial vendors. Meat was consumed in portions, instead of whole animals, reflected in the repetition of certain body parts and cuts (Tang and Knauf 2013).

Another arena where Progressive Era reformers tried to stamp out animal-like behaviors in foodways was through the temperance movement. A strong affinity for drinking was often explicitly linked with poverty and ignorance in temperance

rhetoric. The image of the working-class drinker was contrasted with the successful white, native-born, American, middle-class abstainer (Reckner and Brighton 1999, p. 68). Prohibition was embraced by Protestant moral reformers as a way to allay their fears of social disorder, which were racially inflected, and as a means to keep working-class people self-disciplined, sober, on time for work, and efficient (Lears 2009, p. 103). Annapolis went dry on Saturday, March 16, 1918, before the rest of the country because of wartime orders from the Secretary of the Navy. Although the Secretary of the Navy's edict only lasted through the end of World War I, the National Prohibition (Volstead) Act went into effect on February 1, 1920 (McWilliams 2011, p. 255). Annapolitans remember the period of Prohibition as one where they only had to look out for federal agents and not state or local officials (Campbell 1990). Even though it was relatively unpopular, Prohibition remained the law of the land in Maryland until the Twenty-First Amendment, repealing the Volstead Act, was ratified. The Twenty-First Amendment came up for ratification in Maryland on September 12, 1933 (McWilliams 2011, p. 255).

Analysis of the glass assemblages was also used to explore engagement with—and resistance to—temperance. Following Reckner and Brighton (1999, p. 71), in order to minimize the ambiguities that could be caused by bottle reuse, only bottles that could be considered to have stored alcohol with some degree of certainty (beer bottles, wine and liquor bottles, glass flasks, etc.) were considered in the discussion of alcohol use at 40 Fleet Street and at the comparative sites. Liquor or whiskey bottles made up the majority of the bottles recovered from each of the contexts analyzed (Table 4.1). It is important to note that the boundaries between pharmaceutical or medicinal products and liquor and whiskey were blurry during the Victorian Era (Warner 1998b, p. 195). Although they were marketed for their medicinal purposes, pharmaceuticals, bitters, and tonics generally had substantial alcohol content. Pharmaceuticals generally contained an alcohol content between 17 and 47%, which Warner (1998b, p. 195) likens to contemporary whiskeys. At the Fleet Street site, 40% of the bottles contained some type of alcohol, at Gott's Court 69% of bottles contained alcohol, at the Maynard Burgess House 58% of bottles contained alcohol, and at the Main Street Site 58% of bottles contained alcohol. Oral histories show that temperance and Prohibition never really took hold in Annapolis, and the bottle assemblages from Annapolis sites reflect this.

Mineral waters, considered here in the fresh beverage category, have a relationship to both alcohol consumption and health care. On the one hand, mineral waters may have been used to calm many of the physical complaints associated with overindulgence in alcohol. However, mineral waters may have served as a "stimulating substitute" for alcoholic beverages (McKearin and Wilson 1978, pp. 233–234; Armstrong and Armstrong 1991, pp. 39–41, 89, 93 as cited in Reckner and Brighton 1999). African American residents of Annapolis may have been using mineral water for dominant curative purposes, or the use of mineral water at African American sites may also reflect the importance of water in African American medical care, generally (Mullins 1999a, p. 53).

The two mineral water bottles from the 40 Fleet Street privy were not deposited until at least the late 1920s, long after their dates of manufacture. The deposition lag

between the period of manufacture of these bottles and the time when they were deposited was also mirrored in the Maynard Burgess House cellar assemblage. Fresh beverages lose their carbonation and, therefore, are usually consumed quickly. The lag between manufacture and discard in the Fleet Street privy may suggest either manufacturer recycling of the bottle or household reuse (Mullins 1999a, p. 53). This suggests that household water use may therefore have been greater than is suggested by the number of fresh water bottles (Mullins 1999a, p. 53), although the bottles may have also been refilled with other household liquids.

Although the overall percentages of alcohol-containing bottles are high across all of the sites including Fleet Street, there is a significant difference in the amount of pharmaceutical bottles recovered at the Fleet Street site when it is compared to other Annapolis sites. At Fleet Street, pharmaceutical bottles made up only 7% of the assemblage, whereas at the other sites, pharmaceutical bottles were the single most prevalent bottle type. At the Gott's Court site, pharmaceutical bottles made up 38% of the assemblage, at the Maynard Burgess House, patent medicine bottles made up 28% of the assemblage, and at the Main Street site pharmaceutical bottles made up 45% of the assemblage. This dearth of pharmaceutical bottles at 40 Fleet Street, particularly patent medicine bottles, may relate to early twentieth century pure food and drug reforms.

Ohmann (1996, p. 93) argues that patent medicines fell out of favor in the early twentieth century "because they did not fit into the new domesticity that was emerging." Magazines such as the *Ladies' Home Journal* began to refuse to run advertising for patent medicines, which had previously formed a significant portion of their advertising (Ohmann 1996). Throughout the 1890s, medical doctors also began to push aside other medical practitioners and stigmatize home remedies, which included patent medicines, bitters, and tonics. They began to vigorously assert their claims to a monopoly on health care. This occurred at the same time that corporate expertise was being brought into the home in other areas, such as food preparation and sanitation (Ohmann 1996, p. 93). The much lower percentage of patent medicine bottles in the Fleet Street privy, the latest sealed deposit that is being used for comparative purposes, could reflect an engagement with the modernization of health care practices during the early twentieth century, as the efficacy and purity of patent medicines were increasingly being called into question after the creation of the federal Food and Drug Administration. The decreasing presence of patent medicines does not, however, automatically equate to better access to professional health care. Professional medical care remained outside the realm of possibility for many African American Annapolitans well into the twentieth century because of the structural and social inequalities of the city's medical system (Mullins 1999a, p. 54).

The high percentage of bottles that contained alcohol at each site is also interesting in light of the rhetoric of Prohibition. The discourse surrounding Prohibition claimed that there were far greater levels of intemperance in minority and poor populations; however, the glass analysis contradicts these stereotypes by showing relatively consistent levels of consumption of alcohol between the sites in Annapolis. Mark Warner (1998b) suggested these conclusions about Gott's Court, Maynard Burgess, and the Main Street site, and the addition of the Fleet Street site affirms his

conclusions. These results from Annapolis support Reckner and Brighton's (1999) conclusion that "[A]rchaeological perspectives on the temperance question support a critical approach to reformist literature and documentary sources."

Conclusions

Archaeological evidence from Annapolis shows that there was a heavy reliance on market-based food sources in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Increased engagement with industrialized food production is reflected in the predominance of national brand products and the procurement of meat in portions, particularly in later contexts in the city. During this time period, advertising and the rhetoric of domestic science encouraged the consumption of "modern," mass-produced, "sanitary," and "sterile" foods. This involved vilifying the traditional cooking styles of African American and immigrant women, and further entangling consumers in alienating industrial food systems that valued the separation of food production from consumption, nature from society, and food consumers from food-producing activities and workers.

At the same time, as part of the post-Civil War restructuring of white supremacy, domestic life became a major arena through which African American behaviors, including foodways, were scrutinized to determine the worthiness of African American residents for civil rights, citizenship, and employment opportunities. The African American residents of Fleet Street were consumers of national brand products, which may have been part of a strategy, described by Mullins (1999a), in which African American Annapolitans purchased standardized national brand products to avoid racist practices by local grocers. However, the Fleet Street assemblage comes from a slightly later time period than the sites that Mullins studied, when canned and bottled goods were much more encouraged and accepted within the dominant ideologies of gender and cookery. As industrialized food producers began to produce more surplus food due to increasing monoculture and improved canning and bottling techniques, domestic science created the demand for these new consumer products, touting the idea that the bland standardized tastes of industrial foods were preferable to the strong flavors and variety of artisanal foods, which could promote "unnatural" desires among consumers.

Therefore, for African American domestic workers in Annapolis, like those on Fleet Street, engagement with industrialized foods and the ideals of domestic science generally, could have been a strategic move to secure employment and protect women working as domestic servants and laundresses—the two major sources of employment available to black women in the labor structure of the time—from accusations of old-fashioned or unsanitary behaviors. It could also have been a reflection of the desire of African American women to promote domestic science's mission to elevate the status of household labor, and resist negative stereotypes of African American housework and family life. What was at stake in these negotiations was not just what would be served for dinner on any given night. The sociological study of African American culture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

produced explanations that often attributed African American poverty and inequality to African American gender, sexual, and familial irregularities, many relying on normative assumptions of proper and improper family behaviors (Brewer 1988, p. 331; Ferguson 2004, p. 20). What was at stake then, for African American women, was whether they themselves would be judged as unsanitary, backwards, and unworthy of protection if they did not engage with the norms of domestic science.

Darlene Clark Hine (1994, p. 37) has written about a "culture of dissemblance" among Southern black women. The outward behaviors and attitudes of black women created the appearance of openness, although African American women were simultaneously shielding the truths of their inner lives from outside scrutiny (Hine 1994, p. 37). Rape and the threat of rape, racial animosity, class tensions, gender role differentiation, and regional economics all influenced the development and practice of this politics of silence among black women. This was a self-imposed invisibility, which gave black women the resources "needed to hold their own in their often one-sided and mismatched struggle to resist oppression" (Hine 1994, p. 41). In the face of negative estimations of their worth, black women shielded their private definitions of themselves from public scrutiny, revealing to the public only what they wanted to be seen (Hine 1994, pp. 41–43), in this case engagement with dominant, industrialized food systems.

An overarching question that influences this work is whether archaeology can help to address industrialized food production practices and the current alienation of consumers from food production. Hegemonies and normative formations, including dominant gender ideologies and capitalist modes of production are "elastic alliances" that rely on dispersed and sometimes self-contradictory strategies for their maintenance and reproduction (Berlant and Warner 1998, p. 553). These strategies are reflected in the historical and archaeological records, and archaeology can provide important contexts for contemporary debates about inequality and the expansion of capitalist markets. It can also provide the space to critique formations, such as the American industrial food system, that have become normalized. As archaeologists, we can, in the words of queer archaeologist Jimmy Strassburg (2000, p. 24) "make strange and multidimensional what is normally considered known, familiar and commonplace, what is assumed to be the order of things, the natural way, the normal, and the healthy."

Understanding how the American industrial food system developed, the interests that it serves, and possible alternatives that might exist or have existed in the past is an important first step towards thinking about creating nonindustrial or postindustrial models of food production and consumption. However, recognizing the possible alternatives and tactics that people have used to negotiate industrial food systems, and how it relates to their cultural identities is not enough, because, as Nancy Fraser (1998, p. 4) pointed out, we should not decouple "the cultural politics of difference from the social politics of equality." This will take recognition of difference in sociocultural spaces such as foodways, as well as redistribution in the economic sphere, and representation in the political sphere (Fraser et al. 2004). Although contemporary food authors have been vocal in urging American consumers to reject industrially produced foods in favor of fresh and local foods, critiques have generally focused on individual dietary change, instead of on structural changes to the food

system (Guthman 2007). Sociologist Melanie DuPuis (2007) wrote that this results in a blunted critique where "rather than making political choices, we pretend … that our dietary choices will solve our personal and national problems."

Poor diets and heavy reliance on calorie-dense industrialized foods continue to be blamed on individual choice, and not on the industrial food manufacture and distribution systems which were promoted by corporate advertising and domestic science, and put into place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Food and agricultural production practices intersect with race in many ways. However, existing social movement activities barely address many substantial causes of health and livelihood inequalities. Racial and economic inequalities are built into institutions and policies, including city codes, zoning policies, and mortgage and lending practices, that determine how specific communities, industries, and goods and services come to exist, or not exist, in certain places (Guthman 2011, p. 277, 297).

The search for alternatives to the industrialized food system, as well as other aspects of capitalist modes of production, can be fraught. It can be easy to romanticize a natural agrarian past that never really existed, and create new false essentialisms to replace the old. There is also a danger in the idea that "if only they knew" people would stop eating industrialized food. The ethics of "bringing good food to others" can be particularly problematic because many of the discourses, practices, and spaces of alternative food continue to be defined by white, middle-class subjects, although there are some notable exceptions including the work of African American food scholars and activists like A. Breeze Harper (2010) and Bryant Terry (2012), both of whom encourage whole-foods veganism as an avenue towards food justice, health, and sustainability. Currently, many projects focused on the shift away from industrial foods reflect a very narrow view of what is possible, emphasizing market-driven alternatives. Therefore most projects are not taking place in locations and among social groups that have experienced strategic disinvestment (Guthman 2011, p. 277). These factors work against a more transformative politics of the possible. However, this does not mean that archaeology cannot have a real role in questioning and exploring alternatives to capitalist formations such as industrialized food.

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