What the Slaves Ate

Recollections of African American Foods and Foodways from the Slave Narratives

Herbert C. Covey and Dwight Eisnach

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PREFACE

Much has been written over the years about the complex social, economic, and political outcomes of the institution of slavery in the United States. Authors have explored, from myriad perspectives, the social and cultural upheaval caused by this tragic chapter in our country's history. Although there is a considerable literature on what slaves ate and how they survived, most of what has been written has been based on second- or third-hand accounts, archaeological evidence, and research of extant documents of the times, such as slave ship logs, plantation rationing logs, and manuals on the treatment of slaves.

Surprisingly, precious little has been written using the first-person accounts of the slaves themselves to tell the story of how they subsisted under slavery. In fact, not only did they subsist, they created flavorful and nutritious dishes by supplementing rations of poor-quality food and leftover scraps with their own enterprise, drawing on the rich African and Caribbean traditions of peppers and spices.

Purpose of the Book

This book focuses on a single but complex aspect of slavery, that of food. It highlights some of the ways that food related to slave culture; how it was used to control, punish, and reward slaves and how it was rationed; and how African American slave foods evolved into the diverse array of southern-influenced dishes, taking into consideration regional differences and other ethnic and national influences (Native American, French, and Spanish) as well.

We began this project nearly three years ago with what, at the time, we thought would be the simple notion of utilizing the Works Progress Administration's (WPA) Federal Writers' Project of the 1930s as the foundational base for studying African American slave foodways of the Antebellum period. Despite their flaws and biases, which are detailed in Chapter 1 the WPA slave narratives are nevertheless a rich source of first-person accounts of life under slavery, including details

about food, cooking, and recipes, by the people who lived through this period in history.

The Writers' Project hired unemployed writers during the Great Depression and fanned them out across seventeen states, mostly in the South, assigning them to interview 2,200 former slaves. The project's goal was to capture a written history of their lives before the opportunity was lost. The resulting interviews created a rich tapestry of history told by those who lived through a part of this turbulent time. Many scholars have since used parts of the narratives to tell stories about slave life, but to our knowledge, no one has focused solely on the narratives in a comprehensive and systematic way for the sole purpose of probing into the foodways of slaves, including diet, nutrition, rations available, and the control issues between owners and slaves that centered on food.

As the project unfolded, we realized that the narratives alone provided insufficient evidence from which to make valid assumptions about what slaves ate and how they prepared, stored, and cooked their food. As with all good scholarship, it was necessary to seek other sources to corroborate our observations. As a result, more than three hundred other literary sources, periodical articles, and other media resources were added to our research. Although the project began with simpler purposes in mind, it began to take on a life of its own as we progressed—taking us on a journey back to precolonial West Africa to find the roots of some of the most historic and important foods, cooking techniques, and agricultural methods that made the voyage to the New World with slaves. It also evolved into a review of some of the complex relationships between owners and slaves over the control and rationing of food and its role in maintaining the dominance of one race over another. Some of our preconceived notions of the impact of slavery on African American foodways were validated by the research. Many others fell by the wayside, including, for example, the notion that all slaves were treated in more or less the same way and had essentially the same diet. As our research showed, treatment of slaves varied by region and even by individual plantation, and there was tremendous variance among slaves as to what foods were available to them.

The WPA narratives, selected earlier narratives (autobiographies), and other primary and secondary sources were reviewed for references to meals, food, diet, recipes, social relationships constructed around food, food preparation, rations, and other related terms. The WPA narratives provide first-person accounts of food and diet for the period. Our objectives for the review were to determine what foods were available, gathered, and prepared and the manner of their consumption. Emphasis was placed on who spoke about foods, what foods were identified, and when and how foods were referenced. Much of the information presented stems from direct quotations from the WPA narratives, but a few earlier non-WPA narratives are also incorporated.

It is impossible to uncover every possible food or recipe prepared and consumed by slaves. We do not pretend to have done so or claim to have completed a comprehensive study of slave foods and foodways. We do not claim to have identified all of the foods consumed by slaves. What we did attempt to do was to compile a list of foods and related recollections that seem to have stuck in the memories of those who lived under slavery. These memories were so entrenched that more than sixty-five years after emancipation, the WPA respondents sometimes could recall them in great detail. It is this detail we focused on with an eye to discovering previously unexplored insights.

Organization

The opening chapters of the book set the stage for examining African American slave foodways by first looking at the issues of food as control, the nutrition required to keep field hands reasonably healthy, the benefits and limitations of the narratives and other similar documents as sources, and the ancestral history of native African foods and spices. It then seemed a natural and easily understood process to compartmentalize the important food groups of slaves, as told through the narratives, into major groupings: vegetables, domestic meat, wild game, dairy, grains and baked goods, and fruits and nuts. Chapters are devoted to each of these general food groups.

Illuminating insights into the management/labor relationships between slaves and owners mediated through food can be found in Chapter 11, which examines celebrations and special occasions, which were often a time for relaxing the otherwise strictly observed social boundaries between whites and African Americans. The Civil War years and their impact on slave foodways and the intrusion of soldiers from the North and South into plantation life are also featured in this chapter.

The final chapter summarizes our general conclusions and links them to contemporary dietary practices of African Americans. Although this book uncovers much about what ex-slaves had to say about their foods, food preparation, and corresponding relationships around both in the plantation South, it is clear at this juncture that we have only scratched the surface of this complex topic.

The appendices at the back of the book were gleaned from researching all 2,200 of the narrative interviews and document every food or dish mentioned. The appendices confirm that slaves had access to more than three hundred different foodstuffs or dishes from various sources, including their own enterprise gardens, wild game, domestic livestock, and rations from owners, although there was little variety and sometimes little quantity from rations.

Without question, slaves ate other foods not identified in the narratives. It would be wrong to conclude that slaves had a rich diet that incorporated all of these foods; they relied heavily on pork and corn. However, it would also be incorrect to conclude that their diets were limited only to these two common food items, for the narratives and other sources indicate that slaves were very resourceful in taking advantage of what was available to them. It would be more accurate to conclude that slaves, when they could, turned to the forests, streams, gardens, and their own means to survive and make the most of these resources.

Slave Recipes

This study includes selected slave recipes from the narratives. In his general history of cooking, *The American History Cookbook* (2003), Mark H. Zanger noted that slave cooks on plantations would have been familiar with many of the printed recipes found on southern plantations because they cooked in the kitchens of their owners. White mistresses and others would read the recipes for them to follow. Likewise, as Zanger and others have noted, some of the slaves' recipes were eventually included in the plantation cookbooks, although authors were known not to acknowledge the cooks' slave origins. These southern and plantation cookbooks do include recipes that can be attributed to slave cooks and slave foodways.

After emancipation, some ex-slaves eventually published their own cookbooks in the decades following the Civil War. Among them was Mrs. Abby Fisher (a likely

slave from South Carolina), who dictated her book *What Mrs. Fisher Knows about Old Southern Cooking, Soups, Pickles, Preserves, etc.* (1881). This and other books, although rare, do contain combinations of old slave and white recipes. The published recipes represent only one type of slave recipe. Because few slaves were taught to read or write, some authentic slave recipes were passed down through oral tradition. Although instances are uncommon, the WPA narratives and accounts include some recipes and descriptions of how to prepare foods, such as how to prepare ash cakes or roasted sweet potatoes. Although not always recipes per se, secondhand descriptions in the narratives of foods available to slaves can shed light on how particular foods were prepared. The advantage of the narratives is that they reveal recipes and food references that were not typically included in traditional southern plantation or ex-slave cookbooks. For example, slave recipes for how to prepare possum or squirrel would have been included by neither white nor slave authors in their cookbooks. These narrative references, whether direct or indirect, to foodways and recipes are a second source of slave recipes. Some of the actual slave recipes from both sources are included in this book. Consistent with much of the history of African American slave experiences, whatever recipes or foodways were present during and after slavery were in oral form and were passed that way from one generation to the next. With each passage between generations, there was a chance that recipes and foodways might change.

The narratives also refer to many dishes and foods for which there were no specific recipes mentioned in the narratives. Although wishing to be true to the narratives, we nevertheless made an attempt to identify recipes and food preparations that may have come close to how foods were prepared. Obviously, it cannot be concluded that these recipes were known to slaves, but only that they might have been or that, possibly, the recipes were prepared in the big house. Unless they were preparing these foods in the big house, most slave cooks would not have had exact ways to measure quantities, such as teaspoons and tablespoons, to use in food preparation. In "Soul Food as a Cultural Creation," an essay for Anne Bower's book *African American Foodways: Explorations of History and Culture* (2007: 52), William Whit wrote, "Slaves used smell and taste, touch, sight, and sound in order to cook." Slaves also would not always have had access to basic ingredients such as real soda, ginger, wine, and other foods that are sometimes mentioned in these written recipes.

With all of these cautions, it remains a worthy exercise to include some of the recipes that might have come close to what some slaves may have experienced. For example, terrapin stew is mentioned in the narratives, and slaves in some regions had access to terrapins as a food. Yet there are no recipes for terrapin in the narratives. Thus we have included a terrapin recipe from Abby Fisher's 1881 cookbook *What Mrs. Fisher Knows about Old Southern Cooking, Soups, Pickles, Preserves, etc.* It is very likely that Abby Fisher worked in a plantation kitchen, although this has not been fully established according to food historian Karen Hess (1995). Abby Fisher was certainly old enough to have been exposed to southern recipes; she was 33 years old at the end of the Civil War. The recipes she included in her cookbook—which was the first published by an African American—were probably common to the period, but they were most likely prepared by her for southern whites.

Other recipes have been included from secondary sources other than the narratives or Abby Fisher's 1881 cookbook. These sources include *The Historical Cookbook of the American Negro* (Thurman 2000), *The African American Heritage Cookbook: Traditional Recipes and Fond Remembrances* (Tillery 1996), and *Plantation Row*

Slave Cabin Cooking: The Roots of Soul Food (Mitchell 1998). These secondary-source recipes were used to augment the recipes mentioned in the narratives.

Many of the time-honored staples of American cooking had their origin in the South, and the influence of African American slaves is unmistakable in the development of the family tree of American foodways. One of the uplifting personal revelations we experienced in reading story after story in the narratives was that despite the intolerable and degrading circumstances under which slaves toiled, the indomitability of the human spirit allowed them to rejoice in the simple pleasures of food shared with family. After long hours of working in the plantation fields, the evening meal was a time for families to gather, reflect, tell stories, and visit with loved ones and friends.

Final Observations

Historians and other social scientists have encountered difficulties and controversy in studying the dietary practices and nutritional status of African American slaves. For example, one major topic of controversy has been the adequacy of the slave diet. More than 25 years ago, Tyson Gibbs and his colleagues, in their article "Nutrition in a Slave Population: An Anthropological Examination" (1980), observed that the adequacy, variety, and quantity of the slave diet were subjects of great controversy among historians. This controversy continues today and will likely continue into the foreseeable future largely because of the dichotomy reflected in what ex-slaves had to say in the narratives about how well and what they ate under slavery. This controversy will not be resolved with this book. Rather, this study falls within the new genre of works identified by Theresa A. Singleton, who wrote in "The Archaeology of Slavery in North America" (1995: 126):

> Studies of slave foodways have . . . moved away from strict interpretations of slave nutrition to consider social and cultural factors that also influenced foodways of enslaved people. These studies examine differential access to food supplies, food as expressions of cultural identity, and food as a means of social control.

Despite their cultural, political, economic, and racial struggles, African Americans have retained a strong sense of their original culture through many means, and among these food has been critically important.

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Herbert C. Covey, Ph.D.
Dwight Eisnach, B.S.
October 2008

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THE WPA NARRATIVES AND SLAVE DIETS

> We [slave children] were not regularly allowanced. Our food was coarse corn meal boiled . . . It was put into a large wooden tray or trough, and set down upon the ground. The children were then called, like so many pigs, and like so many pigs they would come and devour the mush; some with oyster-shells, others with pieces of shingle, some with naked hands, and none with spoons . . . There were four slaves of us in the kitchen—my sister Eliza, my aunt Priscilla, Henny, and myself; and we were allowed less than a half of a bushel of corn-meal per week, and very little else, either in the shape of meat or vegetables. It was not enough for us to subsist upon. We were therefore reduced to the wretched necessity of living at the expense of our neighbors. This we did by begging and stealing, whichever came handy in the time of need, the one being considered as legitimate as the other.
>
> Frederick Douglass 1845, 65–66

The control and distribution of food are reflections of socioeconomic power, control, and status. Food provides nourishment but is also a primary source of enjoyment for humans (Sutch 1976). Food is also a carnal and simple pleasure that divides the day and seasons of the year (Yentsch 1994). To understand food and its distribution is to gain insight into the operations of society. Food, or the lack thereof, has been a contributing factor in wars and the rise or fall of civilizations, at the root of the ability to resist major plagues, a factor in territorial disputes, and a vehicle by which to control people. Food is an essential human need that shapes relationships among people. Food historian Anne Bower (2007: 8) summed it thusly, "Food, it turns out, is an excellent locus for the study of group dynamics—how different populations exclude, include, reject, accept, and otherwise influence each other."

Given the importance of food and its social aspects, scholars have viewed the study of African American slave diets as an important avenue to understanding the complex social relationships of people living under slavery. For example, even the act of breast-feeding slave children could evoke power struggles between owners and slave mothers. In his book *Slave Counterpoint*, Philip D. Morgan (1998: 544) shared

an account of a slave owner wanting only three breast-feedings a day, while a slave mother, claiming her infant was sick because of a lack of milk, wanted five feedings a day. These struggles over food started as soon as the first Africans were boarded onto slave ships, and they continued throughout the South over the course of slavery in the United States.

Some slaves refused to eat during the Middle Passage voyage as an act of self-determination and control. Refusing to eat was an act of defiance for some slaves during their journey to the new world (Shange 1998). The English slave traders labeled slave self-starvation as "fixed melancholy," and the Portuguese called it "banzo"; both considered the practice dangerous and deadly, which it was. The Danes attacked this "problem" on their slave ships by force feeding despondent slaves using a special mouth opener called a *speculum oris* (Svalesen 2000). This device was a wooden instrument shaped like a pair of scissors with a thumbscrew on the side that could be turned to force open the jaws, after which food would be crammed down the mouth, often causing gagging and vomiting. This was another way the crew could take away what little power and defense the Africans had over their minds and bodies during the trip.

These power and control issues on board slave ships surfaced in other acts of rebellion besides over food. Many Africans would jump overboard when they had the opportunity or find ways to cut their own throats rather than endure the misery and degradation of the Middle Passage. The struggle over food has always been a central theme in all societies in which one group asserts dominance over another.

The study of slave living conditions, clothing, housing possessions, health, and—in the case of this book—food can shed light on the quality of life experienced by slaves (Otto and Burns 1983). The study of slaves and their food is rich with economic, social, and cultural insights about their lives, and this book looks at the foods described, oftentimes very fondly, by ex-slaves in the Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives and other sources. Food took on a profound significance in the WPA interviews of ex-slaves (Joyner 1971). This book identifies the types of foods, nature of meals, food preparation, and rationing mentioned in these narratives, which were collected during the Great Depression when surviving former slaves were typically in their eighties and nineties. It focuses on some of the dietary references made by ex-slaves, emphasizing and inventorying the specific types of food used by slaves. That the enslavement of African Americans had a devastating impact on communities, families, diets, and foodways is a foregone conclusion. This impact will be explored through the many comments made by those who experienced life under slavery.

Scholarship on Slave Nutrition

Historians have often included in their works analyses of slave diet and slave nutritional status. In the late 1920s, historian Ulrich B. Phillips characterized slavery as a benevolent and benign institution that introduced African peoples to white superior ways and liberated them from their backward and impoverished lives. Phillips implied that slaves lived and ate comparatively well—and a few of them might have—given the narrative descriptions of some former slaves. But in the 1950s, another historian, Kenneth M. Stampp, described the harsh realities of slavery as an exploitative enterprise. Stampp did not conclude that slaves had it well off or that they ate well.

In 1974, Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman published their controversial book *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*. This book, whether accurate or not, served as a catalyst for many following studies and much debate. Fogel and Engerman put forth evidence that slaves were nutritionally better off than previous historians had suggested. Using an economic approach, they argued that census data and plantation accounts illustrate that slaves had adequate housing, stable family lives and working conditions, and most importantly, diets that were comparable to those of many white workers. Fogel and Engerman have been criticized for making logical leaps and statistical errors, relying on too small a data set, and disregarding regional variations, among other significant methodological errors (Genovese 1974; Steckel 1986a; Sutch 1975, 1976).

Archaeologists have included sections in their findings related to food and its preparation. Many digs include findings of food remnants, broken pottery, utensils, bones, fire pits, and other items associated with food. Heavy reliance on pork and corn is an undisputed fact of the slave diet that has been noted by many historians; both pork and corn were plentiful, hardy, and easy to produce. Sam Bowers Hilliard's *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840–1860* (1972) studied the foodways of the South, and Hilliard reported on the importance of pork and cornmeal in the southern diet for both whites and African Americans. According to Hilliard, the per capita consumption of pork in the colonial South was three times that of Europe. He reported that the southern diet was weighted heavily on pork, corn, turnips, peas, potatoes, and okra. Pork was also used to season and flavor vegetable dishes.

It is difficult to describe everyday slave life without addressing the topics of food and foodways. Several of the classic studies of slavery refer to slave diets and foodways. Examples include John W. Blassingame's *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (1979); Eugene Genovese's *Roll, Jordon, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974); George P. Rawick's *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Vols. 1–19,*; Kenneth Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South* (1956); Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (1998); and John Hope Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (1965).

Almost all of the autobiographies and narratives of ex-slaves written before emancipation contain stories and sections regarding food and foodways. In particular, Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (1845) contains many stories regarding his and other slaves' struggles over food. Other period narratives with references to food include Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, Written by Himself* (1789); Booker T. Washington's account titled *Up from Slavery: An Autobiography* (1901); Charles Ball's *Fifty Years in Chains: Or the Life of an American Slave* (1859); Harriet A. Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself* (1857); and Solomon Northrup's *Twelve Years a Slave* (1853). Other sources of information on food and foodways are the accounts of white travelers to the Antebellum South, such as Frederick Law Olmsted's *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States: In the Years 1853–1854* (1856), which includes his observations about slave foods and foodways.

Archaeologists have included sections on their findings related to food and its preparation collected from digs of slave quarters or cabins (Crader 1984, 1989; Singleton 1991, 1995; Yentsch 1994). An example is James Deetz's *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619–1864* (1993), which details archaeological

evidence of slave diet and cooking utensils from the colonial period through the Civil War on a Virginia plantation. The records kept by slave owners of the food that they provided for slaves present an interesting foundation for minimum amounts and types of food provided but are inadequate in covering the entire slave diet. This is because slaves were active in finding and preparing foods to supplement their plantation provisions. Deetz's archaeological evidence indicated that slaves spent considerable time hunting, fishing, trapping, and otherwise fending for themselves. Slaves had domestic animals but also acquired a wide variety of wild game for their diets. Some of the wild game included catfish, shad, and herring. Other seafood, such as oysters, was likely provided by planters. Deetz found that the foods most often consumed were pork, catfish, birds (unidentified), fish (unidentified), sturgeon, chicken, cattle, and opossum, or as it is colloquially called, possum.

Southern Regional Variations

In the past, as it is today, the South was noted for its distinctive foods. The regional variations in food production and consumption by slaves have been covered by many social scientists (Finkelman and Miller 1998; Gibbs et al. 1980; Jewett and Allen 2004; Morgan 1998; Schwartz 2000). Plantation records and planter journals, which often provided advice of provisioning and feeding of slaves, served as source documents for these and other social scientists' research. The general perception is that cotton was the dominant crop of the South, but the truth is that this was the case only in certain regions, such as the middle sections of South Carolina and Georgia, the lower Mississippi River Valley, and parts of Texas and Alabama. Different crops dominated other regions, such as tobacco in Virginia and Maryland, rice in South Carolina and the Low Country of Georgia, and sugar and rice in Louisiana. In South Carolina, so much rice was grown that it sometimes replaced corn in the slave diet (Finkelman and Miller 1998). In the Chesapeake and Low Country regions, corn was the main food crop, but it was less abundant in the Low Country, which resulted in slaves needing to grow more of their own food (Morgan 1998). In Alabama, the primary foods for slaves were smoked and salted pork and cornmeal (Jewett and Allen 2004).

In Arkansas, slaves often grew subsistence crops such as corn, vegetables, hogs, and cattle. Here, as in most southern states, the slave diet consisted mostly of pork and corn. Each working slave received about three to five pounds of salted meat and a peck of cornmeal per week (Jewett and Allen 2004). These rations were supplemented with garden vegetables, fish, and game, and slaves were allowed to fish and hunt game themselves. In Florida, slaves grew peas, black-eyed peas, squash, sweet potatoes, watermelons, corn, potatoes, and other vegetables (Jewett and Allen 2004; Rivers 2000). Corn, which grew well in Florida, and pork represented the bulk of the diet for Floridian slaves (Rivers 2000). Plantation owners in Georgia provided minimum rations of three pounds of bacon per week, corn, Indian beans, salt, molasses, potatoes, and cracked rice that was unfit for exportation (Jewett and Allen 2004). In Georgia, rice often replaced corn in the slave diet (Finkelman and Miller 1998), and as in other states, slaves in Georgia could maintain small gardens, fish, and hunt to supplement their diets. Kentucky plantation owners provided three to five pounds of salted pork and one peck of cornmeal per week as well as sweet potatoes, molasses, and buttermilk, and slaves in Kentucky kept gardens and raised poultry as supplements to their rations. Owners in Louisiana provided slaves with one-half pound of pork and one quart of cornmeal daily. In Louisiana, rice often replaced corn in the slave diet

(Finkelman and Miller 1998), and slaves in Louisiana also relied on fish and small game, such as raccoons, birds, possum, and fowl, to supplement their rations (Hall 1992). In Mississippi, slaves were provided per week approximately three and a half to four pounds of pork, eight quarts of cornmeal, and rations of sweet potatoes, grits, and rice (Jewett and Allen 2004). In North Carolina, the customary three to five pounds of meat (pork) and a peck of cornmeal were provided weekly, and many owners also provided molasses, buttermilk, and sweet potatoes. Slaves in North Carolina, as in other states, also hunted and fished.

Source Materials and Approach

Most African American folk knowledge is oral, and much of what is known today about African American diet in earlier periods has been handed down orally from generation to generation. The stories of slaves sometimes referred to meals, food, and food preparation during the Antebellum and adjoining periods. During the Jacksonian and Antebellum periods, a limited number of ex-enslaved people wrote down or told their life stories under slavery. During the 1840s and 1850s, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Jacobs, Anthony Burns, and others who had escaped from slavery wrote down or told their stories. Included in these and other early narratives were references to slave foods and foodways. Some of these references and accounts have been incorporated into this study. These first narratives fueled the fires of abolitionists before the Civil War, but following the war, the public and scholars showed little interest in the early narratives.

Another type of narrative emerged following the Civil War, written by people such as Booker T. Washington. His *Up from Slavery: An Autobiography* (serial publication, 1900–1901; book publication, 1901) sought to inspire African Americans to work hard and persevere against the racism in American society. These narratives, or more appropriately, autobiographical statements, provide personal views of life under and after slavery. These also made useful references to foods and foodways.

Yet, for some time, these stories of life under slavery were largely ignored or neglected by scholars. In the late 1920s, this neglect changed when John B. Cade, Ophelia Settle Egypt, and others collected new narratives of ex-slaves in Louisiana. During the late 1920s, scholars at Fisk University made similar efforts. African American research staff at Fisk University (1945) conducted two hundred interviews of older ex-slave respondents in 1929 and 1930 in Tennessee and Kentucky.

The largest collection of ex-slave narratives was assembled by the Federal Writers' Project during the late 1930s. During the middle of the Depression, the federal government, through the WPA, created jobs for unemployed writers and researchers by paying for interviews of ex-slaves. This massive project was an effort to capture the life experiences of older African Americans who had experienced slavery before their life stories were lost. Under the Federal Writers' Project, staff conducted interviews with ex-slaves wherever they could find them throughout the country, but mostly in the South. The collection of narratives includes accounts of interviewees from every state that condoned slavery. The narratives, however, are organized by the states in which the former slaves lived at the time they were interviewed, which were not necessarily the same states in which they had lived under slavery.

After more than seventy years, these WPA narratives remain a major and relatively untapped source of information about everyday African American life during and after slavery. Scholars have used the WPA narratives to uncover information

such as on the experiences of women who were enslaved (Goodson 1979; Martin 2000), folk medicine (Covey 2007), old age (Close 1997; Covey and Lockman 1996), and general life under slavery (numerous works, including Baker 2000; Blassingame 1977; Clayton 1990; Escott 1979; Genovese 1976; Hurmence 1990; Rawick 1972). However, few scholars have fully explored the narratives for references to diet, food, and foodways.

Living Conditions of Poor African Americans at the Time of the WPA Narratives Project

The 1930s were difficult times for most people and particularly hard for older African Americans (Wolters 1975). Even in the best of times, many lived in poverty (Dollard 1957; Myrdal 1962). African American incomes were exceptionally low. Census data on people having gainful employment from the 1920 and 1930 censuses also indicate that African Americans were disproportionately employed in traditionally low-income jobs. In 1920, 67.3% and in 1930 64.7% of African Americans gainfully employed worked in low-income agricultural or domestic service occupational groups (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1923; 1933). After slavery, systems of sharecropping and tenant farming transformed many rural African Americans into debtors.

The WPA narratives, in comments by both the interviewers and interviewees, provide a sense of the abject poverty faced by African Americans during this period in the rural South (Yetman 1984). Of the living conditions of the interviewees, the historian C. Vann Woodward (1974: 474) remarked, "After all, these were old and helpless people, often living alone in the worst years of the Great Depression, sometimes admitting they were hungry and not knowing where the next meal was coming from." Others survived the Depression fine as long as they did what they needed to do on their small farms and plots of land (Gordon 1979). The desire for the steady meals present under slavery, regardless of their adequacy, was expressed by some respondents (Escott 1979), and some even indicated that they were well fed under slavery (Joyner 1971). Their state of livelihood and their living conditions at the time of interview may have affected how some recalled slavery; many respondents said food was more plentiful and was better prepared and tasted better during their years in slavery than during the Depression.

The poverty experienced by the WPA respondents and their living conditions was expressed on several levels. For example, one WPA interviewer (Rawick 1972, Vol. 1: 44) described the conditions of one woman, aged 85, as living, "in a dilapidated cabin which rests in a clump of trees by the side of the railroad. The sagged roof is patched with pieces of rusty tin." One WPA interviewer in Mississippi observed that, "Uncle Gus Clark and his aged wife live in a poverty-stricken deserted village . . . " (Rawick 1972, Vol. 9: 22.) Another former slave, Henry Gladney, aged 82, lived with his wife, son, daughter-in-law, and seven children in a two-room house in South Carolina. Virtually all of the narratives underscore the poverty and hardship faced by older African Americans in the South during the Depression.

In addition to enduring poor living conditions, many of the respondents had worked exceptionally hard their whole lives yet were now unable to support themselves due to poor health and disability. Being highly religious and having lost friends and family, some simply awaited death and reunion with their loved ones. The theme of approaching death and a better afterlife surfaces in the narratives. Alabaman Simon

Walker (Rawick, vol. 1: 406) reflected the attitude that many older African Americans held that they were simply waiting to go to heaven:

> But die ole nigger ain't no mo' good fer hahd labor. All mah white folks done gone on, an heah I is on de Welfare, jist waitin' fer de good Lawd to call me up.

Benefits and Limitations of Using the WPA Narratives

More than 2,200 ex-slaves from seventeen states participated in the WPA slave narrative project during the 1930s (Rawick 1972). This is a sizable sample of respondents who lived under slavery, which provides a biased but large study of ex-slaves. The interviews represent a large sample of rural, southern, older African Americans during the Depression. Several of the interviewees continued to live and work on the same plantations as they did when they were enslaved (Rawick 1972). The narratives provide a rare glimpse into the daily lives of slaves and their interactions with plantation society. Scattered throughout these narratives are references to food and its preparation by African American slaves.

Scholars have noted that the narratives have limitations and shortcomings, such as the editing done by some of the WPA interviewers (Clayton 1990). In addition, there was no effort on the part of the interviewers to select a systematic sample of ex-slaves (Escott 1979; Yetman 1984). Researcher Anne Yentsch (2007: 68), while noting that the narratives are invaluable and insightful, also concluded that they lack the specifics of food preparation.

Life in the Jim Crow rural South during the 1930s was also marked by continued discrimination and racism, which undoubtedly affected the perceptions and attitudes expressed by the respondents in that region. It may also have affected what they were willing to tell predominantly white interviewers, even though some interviews were conducted by African American interviewers. Some respondents undoubtedly avoided dangerous questions or told stories that were irrelevant (Escott 1979). Comments about white society and slavery often were guarded because many of the former slaves resided in the same areas as their ex-master's descendants and depended on them for help in obtaining old age pensions (Baker 2000; Blassingame 1975, 1977). The WPA respondents would occasionally paint a somewhat rosy picture of life under slavery because they had been conditioned to not say anything critical or uncomplimentary about plantation life (Genovese 1974).

The gender, race, and educational backgrounds of the WPA interviewers varied, as did the interviewing techniques and questions used (Bailey 1980). Blassingame (1975) noted that the interviewers lacked empathy with the former slaves and that they often phrased their questions to obtain the answers they wanted.

A methodological issue of relying on the WPA narratives to identify foods and foodways is that the interviewees sometimes are unclear as to what they are referencing. For example, a few respondents referred to "pot liquor" or "pot likker" as a dish, but it is unclear what specific vegetables were used to make it. It could refer to any combination of liquids resulting from boiling vegetable, meat, and plants. Sometimes the WPA respondents' use of foods was highly regionalized. At times, their folk and slang expressions are unknown, unclear to the reader, or simply inaccurate. In addition, some foods have different or multiple names, depending on the region or the knowledge of the respondent. At other times, the WPA interviewer may have misspelled, misreported, or misheard terms (Moore 1989). For example,

respondent Wash Wilson (TX) referred to sweet potatoes as "sweet pertaties." In addition, respondents were not always specific in their use of words. For example, *bread* could mean white bread or cornbread. The words *potato* or *tater* could mean white or "Irish" potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) or sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*). When the respondents mentioned meat, they did not always specify the type of meat.

Sometimes it is unclear from the narrative whether the respondent had access as a slave to the foods being described. For example, respondent Ophelia Jemison (SC) described the smells of foods coming from the big house and how her stomach ached for the foods she saw there. Her account suggests that she did not have access to those foods but did have access to potatoes and gravy, yet we cannot be totally sure:

> De big house all dicorate an' shining, an' strain wid de company dat come. We eberyone hab plenty to do, an' us feet jes tickle de flo (floor) when dat music stat (start) to sigh. An' de smell ob dem turkey!—Dem ham, and chicken pie! An' de snow white cake pile up wid dem red barries mek we eye so (sore) alooking an' we stomach ache for de taste ob dem tings. But we colored people know when dak (dark) come obber eberyt'ing de big fire going to be light out dere so dem dat dance kin dance, an' dem dat sing kin stretch dey boice (voice) mos' to Hebben, but dat de time little gal when Hebben is come down to we. Eberybody happy, eberybody full ob wittles (victuals), ebery gal got 'e man. Dat peace on ert (earth). An' den I say: 'Mammy, don't you cry, ain't us got we two, an ain't you done told God to brung we some tatuh (potato) an' graby.'

A significant concern is the ability to generalize from the WPA narratives to the full Antebellum period. Caution must be exercised about relying solely on the narratives when writing about the Antebellum South because most of the respondents would not have been alive before the 1850s. Thus the narratives, although somewhat reflective of the Antebellum and neighboring periods, are restricted to the end of that period. In addition, most of the WPA narratives were gathered from respondents who would have been very young at the time of slavery (Joyner 1971; Yetman 1967). Therefore, they would have experienced slavery as children and not as adults. In some narratives, references are made to periods other than during slavery, and those may be difficult to unravel from the enslavement era material.

Caution should also be exercised regarding whether the food references found in the narratives actually concern the Antebellum period or refer to a time thereafter. Toward the end of the Civil War, as Union soldiers swept through the South from plantation to plantation, they would take the best stores of food for themselves, and they sometimes would share it with the slaves. In studying the narratives, one must be careful to distinguish which foods were available to slaves during this unsettled period as opposed to their more "normal" Antebellum diet before the northern incursions. Although the intent of the interviews was to capture information about life under slavery before it was lost, the respondents frequently drifted back and forth to times other than the period of slavery. The WPA respondents made many references to the Great Depression and to their lives after emancipation. It is sometimes difficult to conclude whether their food references and knowledge apply to periods before, during, or after the Civil War. In some cases, however, the respondent clearly linked comments to the period under study.

Despite their shortcomings, the WPA narratives represent a rich source of information about everyday slave life and should not be ignored (Woodward 1974; Yetman 1967). Without the WPA narratives, the largely neglected but important voices of

those who experienced slavery would remain unheard. As Paul D. Escott noted in *Slavery Remembered* (1979), the words of the slaves themselves constitute the best source on the black experience under slavery. The WPA sample represents a broad spectrum of African Americans who lived under slavery during the period immediately before the Civil War and during the war itself (Joyner 1971; Yetman 1984). These narratives, when used with supplementary documents, represent a valuable foundation of information about life under slavery from the ex-slave's viewpoint.

Finally, as anyone who has studied the narratives will attest, there is a richness to the storytelling and the expressions of the ex-slaves who participated in this WPA effort. The more one looks, the more one finds interesting human stories and accounts of what life was like. A case in point is an observation made by respondent Harriet Robinson (OK) who described in one paragraph what life was like for her under the cruel oppression of slavery and the changing times with the North's defeat of the South—most importantly, that she had triumphantly outlived all of the other slaves and her owners:

> One day whiles master was gone hunting. Mistress Julia told her brother to give Miss Harriett (me) a free whipping. She was a nigger killer. Master Colonel Sam come home and he said, "You infernal sons o' bitches don't you know there is 300 Yankees camped out here and iffen they knowed you'd whipped this nigger the way you done done, they'd kill all us. Iffen they find it out, I'll kill all you all." Old rich devils, I'm here, but they is gone.

Ms. Robinson captured much history and feeling in her comments.

2

SLAVE NUTRITION

> "If their food gave out before the time for another issue they waited until night and then one or two of them would go to the mill-house where the flour and the meal was kept. After they had succeeded in getting in they would take an auger and bore a hole in the barrel containing the meal. One held the sack while the other took a stick and worked it around in the opening made by the auger so as to make the meal flow freely. After their bags were filled the hole was stopped up and a hasty departure was made. Sometimes when they wanted meat they either went to the smoke house and stole a ham or else they would go to the pen where the pigs were kept and take a small pig out. When they get to the woods with this animal they proceeded to skin and clean it (it had already has killed with a blow in the head before they left the pan). All the parts that they did not want were either buried or thrown in the nearby river. After going home all of this meat was cooked and hidden. As there was danger in being caught none of this stolen meat was ever fried because there was more danger of the odor of frying meat going farther away than that odor made by meat being boiled." At this point Mr. Womble stated that the slaves were taught to steal by their masters. Sometimes they were sent to the nearby plantations to steal chickens, pigs, and other things that could be carried away easily. At such times the master would tell them that he was not going to mistreat them and that he was not going to allow anyone else to mistreat them and that by taking the above mentioned things they were helping him to be more able to take care of them.
>
> George Womble (GA)

More than 50 years ago, historian William Postell (1951) held that southern plantation owners had a stake in providing care for slaves. As long as the slaves were economically productive, Postell concluded, overseers and plantation owners viewed them as valuable commodities that needed to be fed, clothed, and receive medical care. Gibbs et al. (1980) noted that historical documents indicate that plantation owners had two major concerns in owning slaves—their health and their management, which included the adequate provision of food. In a similar vein, Savitt (1978) reported that

some owners generally tried to clean up slave living areas, regulate food, and vaccinate the slaves.

However, since Postell, there has been an ongoing debate about how well slaves were cared for and fed. It is well established that some owners were negligent, and just how much owners were willing to invest in the care and provision of food to slaves differed. Some owners provided slaves with only the minimal amount and quality of food believed necessary to maintain their productivity. Less productive slaves, such as small children or the very old, fared poorly. It is also known that owners often reduced rations and care for older and less productive individuals. This is what happened to Frederick Douglass's elderly mother, who was abandoned to an isolated cabin with little to live on after years of loyal service to her owner.

The economic investment represented by the slave population was the primary reason why they were provided care and food. Owners linked adequate food to the health of their slaves. Fontenot (1994: 29) wrote, "Even though there is recorded concern expressed by slaveholders for the well being of their slaves, for the most part the health condition of slaves was of economic concern for plantation owners." Bankole (1998) noted that medical care of slaves was consistent with the slave owner's desire to profit from his investment. The same was true for food. Plantation owners viewed the economic value of slaves as important. To some, this meant that slaves should be fed at least at a subsistence level (Harper 1985). For example, Rivers (2000) reported that Florida's plantation owners treated their slaves as investments and at least fed them adequate amounts of food. The relationship between their market value and care was not lost on the slaves. Works Progress Administration (WPA) respondent Alexander Kelley (IN) underscored that he understood how the market and labor value influenced how well slaves were fed:

> A matured man slave of good physique and steady temper and average working ability, and not disposed to run away, was worth in the slave market as high as $3000. That is why we slaves were always well fed.

Or slaves were at least given the appearance of being well fed. Some owners would take measures to give the illusion of their slaves being well fed just before they were sold at the slave market. Robert McKinley (IN) reported on how this was the case on his plantation:

> When the "nigger traders" came to the Parker farm, the old mistress would take meat skins and grease the mouths of the slave children to make it appear she had given them meat to eat.

The Concept of Soundness

During slavery, southern whites referred to the health status of slaves, as it related to their value, as their "soundness." Whites used the concept of soundness to appraise slaves as individual units in relationship to the slave owner's wealth (Fett 2002). They believed the health of slaves directly affected their ability to work and specifically their price at auction. In addition, owners used the notion of soundness to determine the extent and quality of care they were willing to provide to their slaves. Those slaves viewed as more valuable received more attention and food than those seen as less valuable. Owners would not take as good of care of slaves who were older or very

young or had disabilities. At slave auctions, plantation owners frequently called on physicians to attest to the soundness of slaves to do work (Fisher 1968; Kiple and King 1981). Ailments, such as rheumatism, arthritis, and hernias, disabilities, childbearing ability, and other conditions, such as old age, were viewed as reducing a slave's value in market. Slaves with or having signs of malnutrition, chronic illness, or disease were judged to be "unsound" and unworthy of purchase. Slaves who appeared well fed and healthy were worth more at market.

Market-driven notions of soundness and proper care of slaves did not ensure that all slaves would receive adequate food and care. Some owners were so neglectful of the needs of their slaves that laws were passed to address this neglect. Some states found it necessary to pass laws to ensure that slaves were properly cared for and rationed. Campbell (1989: 134) summarized the situation in Texas:

> Republic of Texas had no constitutional or statutory provisions concerning the material conditions of slaves' lives until the Constitution of 1845 empowered the state legislature to pass laws requiring masters of slaves "to provide for their necessary food and clothing." The legislature went on to define the failure of not providing "comfortable clothing, or a sufficient quality of wholesome food" as "cruel treatment" punishable by a fine ranging from $100 to $2,000. Definitions of "comfortable," "sufficient," and "wholesome" were open to debate and enforcement of the law was problematic. There is some evidence to suggest that in Texas slaves were viewed by their holders as an economic investment, questions of humanity aside. The *Matagorda Gazette* of April 16, 1859 in an article on slavery in Matagorda County provided this advice, "an abundance of good and wholesome food should always be on hand to supply the wants of each and every slave." And as a practical matter, the farms and plantations of Texas produced large quantities of food crops, which at that time were not exported by the state and would have presumably been available to feed the slaves.

Plantations as Self-Sufficient Enterprises

Ideally plantations, in the view of owners, should be self-sufficient entities able to be self-sustaining yet also producing a surplus wealth, including commodities for market sale. The plantation, to the extent possible, should meet the needs of the owners and slaves (Edelson 2006; Oakes 1990).

The ideal plantation was one where the housing, clothing, medical, and nutritional needs of its slaves were met within the resources of the plantation. Owners tried to balance the needs, including nutrition, of their slaves with generating a profit. If at all possible, most, if not all, of the food would be provided with little to no reliance on outside sources. Of course, this was the goal, but realistically, plantations relied on trade and sales with external entities. The southern plantations traded with each other and other businesses to secure what they could not produce. For example, salt, metal tools, and preserved meats were widely traded for throughout the South. Ex-slave Simon Durr (MS) spoke to the self-sufficiency of his master's plantation:

> Mos' everything was growed an' made right dier on de plantation. De cows from de green pasteurs furnished all de milk an' butter, de drove ob hogs furnished all de meat an' lard. De vegetables, 'taters an' meal come from de fiels'. De lassis was made from de cane, de barn yard was full o' chickens, turkeys an' ducks which gib us all de fresh eggs an fowl meat we could use.

With plantation self-sufficiency being the ideal, owners turned to each other for advice and assistance. Besides advice from other planters, owners had access to various manuals and newspaper articles on sound plantation management. Planters shared their ideas on how to manage plantations and published their thoughts and suggestions in journals and manuals (Breeden 1980). For example, in an article on plantation management written in 1853, *De Bow's Review* provided amounts of food for provisioning slaves. It should be kept in mind that *De Bow's Review* was a journal that justified slavery at every opportunity and sought to maximize the profits of the owners. The implication of all of this written advice was the notion that productive slaves should be better fed than less productive slaves. Thus, these writings ranked provisions according to the perceived work value of the slave. Field hands fared better than indoor hands, and males fared better than females. Children fared the worst when it came to the recommended rations. *De Bow's Review* recommended:

> Provisions will be issued weekly as follows:
> Field Hands—To each man, three and a half pounds bacon, and one and a half pecks meal. To each woman, girl, and boy, two and a half pounds bacon, and one peck meal. In-Door Hands—To each man and boy, two pounds bacon, and one peck corn meal. To each woman and girl, two pounds bacon, and one peck corn meal. To each child over two years and under ten years, one pound bacon, and half a peck of corn meal.
>
> To the above will be added milk, butter-milk, and molasses, at intervals, and half a peck of corn meal. [De Bow 1853: 177]

In an 1849 article on plantation management in *De Bow's Review*, owner John T. Leigh described how he took care of his slaves in Mississippi. His comments were very much a statement of how very well he believed he was taking care of his slaves:

> The most of my negroes have families, and live as you see in very comfortable cabins, nearly as good as my own, with good fire places, good floors and doors, comfortable beds, plenty of cooking utensils and dishes, tables and chairs. . . . Those who have not families of their own, mess together; I give each of them $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of bacon, clear of bone, per week, and of the same quality that I use myself, and which I make upon the place, and generally about a peck and a half of corn meal, not being particular about the measure of that, as I raise plenty of corn and grind it in my own mill, and wish them to have all a part of the meat rations for an equivalent in molasses. I also give them a liberal supply of fresh meat from time to time during the year. They also, as you see, all have their hen houses, and as 'master's corn crib is always open,' they raise an abundance of eggs and fat chickens to eat or exchange for any other luxuries they wish. Besides, my negroes raise a crop of cotton every year for their own use, and several of the most provident of them will observe that the children are all taken care of and fed during the day at the nursery, upon corn bread and fat, and hominy and molasses. [De Bow 1849: 380–381]

Plantation Rules, written by C. William Tait, called for giving every working slave hand two and a half to three and a half pounds of bacon a week and a peck of cornmeal (Campbell 1989: 136). If other foods were available, these rules provided for less pork and corn to be given. Ulrich Phillips (1910) cited the rules of an owner named Alexander Telfair who wanted his operating rules "strictly attended to" in his absence. In his rules titled, *Rules and Directions for my Thorn Island Plantation by*

which my Overseers are to Govern Themselves in the Management of it, he outlined three rules for food rations and rules for slaves such as:

> 1 The allowance for every grown Negro however old and good for nothing, and every young one that works in the field, is a peck of corn each week, and a pint of salt, and a piece of meat, not exceeding fourteen pounds, per month.
>
> . . . 3 The sucking children, and all other small ones who do not work in the field, draw a half allowance of corn and salt.
>
> . . . 9 Feed every thing plentifully, but waste nothing. [Telfair 1910]

In 1834, one Virginia planter advised in the *Farmers' Register* that it was important to maintain well-fed slaves. He couched what should be done in moral and humane terms. This moral justification for the care of slaves is characteristic of many of the writings by planters. He wrote:

> It is all important for the morals as well as the comfort of slaves, (to say nothing of the policy and humanity of the thing,) that they should be well clothed and fed; for they will steal if they are not well fed, and the very best remedy for hog stealing is to give the rogues a plenty of pork to eat. Negroes should have some of the luxuries of life too, such as fowls, eggs, &c. with which to buy coffee and sugar, a garden of fruit trees, all of which will save the master's fowls, fruit &c. and aid in the facility of managing the slaves, and will serve to attach them to their homes. [Moore 1989: 74]

Again, the moral theme that "it is the right thing to do" surfaces in the advice of John Taylor of Carolina, Virginia, who in 1809 gave suggestions for the care of slaves (Phillips 1966). He recommended that plenty of meat and vegetables be provided to discourage pilfering. Besides economic motives, owners shared the message that slaves were untrustworthy and, to keep them in line, fed them not because it was the right thing to do, but because it kept the slaves from stealing more valuable food sources. A South Carolina planter named Plowden C. Weston published guidelines for managing slaves in 1846. Regarding rations, he wrote:

> Great care should be taken that the negroes should never have less than their regular allowance: in all cases of doubt, it should be given in favor of the larger quantity. [Halpern and Dal Lago 2002: 211]

It is without question, regardless of the amounts or quality of rations, that slaves were well aware of how they were being shortchanged by owners and overseers (Escott 1979). For example, the WPA narratives include references to the poorer cuts of meat, seconds (flour), and other inferior foods unfit for white society. The slaves knew that their labors produced more than they received in clothing, shelter, and food. This fact alone led to the deep resentment of many slaves toward southern white society.

Some of the recommendations for feeding slaves were collected by James O. Breeden (1980) in his book titled *Advice among Masters: The Ideal in Slave Management in the Old South*. Breeden compiled a collection of written Antebellum thoughts on how to manage plantations and slaves from planters, physicians, and others of the era. Breeden concluded that the slave diet occupied much of the southern attention, and southerners connected adequate diet with good health. Good health

meant higher production from slaves. The published advice was typically the ideal of plantation management but often differed from actual practice. Breeden (1980: xi) concluded, "A good master, they insisted, was guided by humanity, duty, and self-interest, and in that order."

Actual practice of some planters differed from the written advice. In summary, Breeden found that southerners recommended that field hands receive a weekly allowance of three and a half to four pounds of meat, one to one and a half pecks of cornmeal, and unlimited vegetables. Others also made recommendations for feeding slaves. One Virginia planter seemed to stretch the shelf life of provision for his slaves. He wrote in 1837:

> Potatoes, cabbage, turnips, and peas, boiled with beef or bacon, will give your negroes a wholesome meal for breakfast or dinner; at the other, they should have fish, or the same. With a little attention, the above vegetables will last for twelve months. Occasionally, fresh meat will be required. [H. 1837: 301–302]

In 1851, another Mississippi planter wrote about rations:

> Of meat, I give a pound apiece a day when they are eating the bony parts, four pounds a week when giving them the joints, and three and a half pounds a week when weighing the middlings, as much bread as they want, all the milk except the little used at my table for only two of us, frequently give molasses and endeavor to raise an abundance of vegetables, all of which they have without deducting any meat or bread. I plant largely of peas, Irish potatoes and yams, simblins (cymling), cabbage and turnips; every house is furnished with cooking implements; and each family or Negro cooks his supply (which is given to him weekly) to suit his own taste. I do not say this is the best, but it gives me less trouble and they prefer it. I got in this habit by not being with my negroes when I first began to plant. When I moved home I proposed to change it if they wished—not one was willing. A negro shows when he is well fed as readily as a horse; and mine look slick and greasy and they work lively and are cheerful and happy—we appear to be doing well this way, and it is a good rule to let well alone. [Townes 1851: 8]

Antebellum Views on Slave Diet and Disease

Historians have noted the relationship between the slave diet and disease. Schneider and Schneider (2000: 83) wrote, "Diets consisting mainly of rice, fatback, cornmeal, and salt pork rendered slaves vulnerable to blindness, sore eyes, skin irritations, rickets, toothaches, pellagra, beriberi, and scurvy." Yet, according to Taylor (1982), despite the high fat content in the foods they were eating, there was not a high incidence of coronary heart disease among slave populations. Some of the major nutritionally related diseases that were found among slave populations included the following:

- Pellagra—Pellagra is a disease that is typically associated with diets that rely very heavily on corn (Kiple and Kiple 1977). Pellagra's symptoms are diarrhea, dementia, and potentially, in severe cases, death. Pellagra results from a vitamin B_3 (niacin) deficiency. Skin lesions are also symptomatic of pellagra. Ironically, corn contains niacin, but it is chemically bound and not available unless soaked in lye and made into hominy. The consumption of meats, such as beef and poultry, can help synthesize niacin in the body.

The fact that slaves suffered from pellagra underscores the inadequacy of many of their diets, at least during the winter months (Finkelman and Miller 1998).

- Rickets—Historically, rickets has a higher incidence among black populations because of genetic predispositions and a vitamin D deficiency partially caused by skin pigmentation (Kiple and Kiple 1977a; Kiple and King 1981).
- Scurvy—Characterized by spongy and livid gums, scurvy results from a lack of vitamin C. Because heat destroys vitamin C, the cooking of meals for hours in pots decreased the amount of vitamin C in slave diets. Finkelman and Miller (1998) reported that scurvy was common among southern slaves even though they were surrounded by vegetables. Kiple and King (1981) noted that scurvy was acknowledged by physicians of the period as the result of too much reliance on meat and corn and too little reliance on vegetables.
- Beriberi—Beriberi is associated with diets that rely heavily on rice that has been milled or polished (white rice), a process that strips away the outer husk and coating of the rice kernel containing thiamine, or vitamin B_1. Beriberi is the result of a deficiency in thiamine, which in its extreme leads to rapid swelling of every part of the body and often would result in death within five to six days (Kiple and Kiple 1977a; Kiple and King 1981).
- Anemia—Examination of slave skulls suggests that anemia was widespread. Anemia (low levels of red blood cells) has many causes, but among them are nutritional deficits, specifically of iron and vitamins. Anemia can cause fatigue and stress on bodily organs.

Besides planters, Antebellum medical authorities also recommended that slaves be fed well. Stowe (2004: 51) wrote, "Medical learning therefore tamped down what might have been expansive issues in public health into the confines of a common sense serving the institution of slavery: feed slaves good food, keep their houses in repair, do not overwork them."

Physicians of the period occasionally focused on food. In 1850, a physician named Thomas Afflect toured and wrote about the best operated plantations. Dr. Afflect described in detail the preparation of pork and cornmeal per field hand per dinner and how it was served in the fields in tin buckets.

Southern whites, such as physicians and plantation owners, formed many conclusions about the dietary needs, practices, and status of African American slaves. Besides defining the nutritional requirements of slaves, southern physicians developed theories that linked slave nutritional status to health and disease.

J.D.B. De Bow, a plantation owner, in his *De Bow's Review* in 1847, described how water and slaves should be managed on the plantation. His suggestions shed light on how he perceived the needs of slaves for clean and healthy water. He linked a clean water supply with the slaves' health:

> Cistern water not too cold will on any plantation save enough in doctor's fees to refund the extra expense. I would not allow bayou, or spring, or well water to be taken into the field, nor should there ever be a deficiency of water there. Negroes are thriftless, thoughtless people, and have to be restricted in many points essential to their constitutions and health. Left to themselves they will over eat, unseasonably eat, walk half the night, sleep on the ground, out of door anywhere. [De Bow 1847: 420]

So what did the Antebellum medical authorities think of the diseases resulting from or promoted by malnutrition? The highly influential southern physician, Dr. Samuel Cartwright (1793–1863) of New Orleans, espoused numerous racist and proslavery theories about Africans, including that it was impossible for slavery to cause harm to Africans (Bankole 1998). Dr. Cartwright published numerous articles

on the inferiority of Africans, stating that some diseases and ailments were peculiar to slaves. "Negro" diseases that he wrote about included "black vomit," "rascality," "Cachexia Africana" (dirt eating), "vomito negro," "saffron scourge," "black tongue" (pellagra), and "drapetomania" (running away) (Cartwright 1851).

One example of a "disease" associated with African American foodways was the practice of pica, or dirt eating. Southerners perceived the West African–based cultural practice of eating or chewing clay or soil (pica) as a disease peculiar to slaves. White southerners labeled it the "Negro Disease" of "Cachexia Africana," "mal de'estomach," "hati weri," or dirt eating (Kiple and King 1981; Stowe 2004). This perceived "disease" was confused with other real diseases, such as tuberculosis, that were common among African Americans (Warren 1997).

Southern whites viewed pica with contempt (Gibbs et al. 1980), even though it has a long tradition in Western history dating back to the ancient Greeks (Haller 1972). Physicians, along with plantation owners, considered the custom of pica as contagious and believed that it should be prevented from spreading from one slave to another. According to Antebellum physicians, stomach aches, depression, dropsy, failing appetite, vertigo, and shortness of breath were some of the perceived signs to owners that dirt eating might be occurring (Kiple and King 1981).

In response to the practice, owners used a variety of techniques to deter slaves from dirt eating including using mild purgatives, threats, punishments, or iron masks or gags; cutting off the heads of those dying from the practice; and other harsh responses (Haller 1972). One preventive measure thought to work was to have the slaves eat roasted bat, which would "cure" them of the practice (Pyatt and Johns 1999).

Kiple and King (1981) analyzed the slave practice of pica and shared the results of many studies that report that pica is more frequently found among malnourished populations that lack basic vitamins in their regular diets, such as vitamins B and B_7 (biotin), and protein, calcium, and iron. Although slaves had protein in their diets, much of the time, it was of such poor quality that it had little nutritional value. Many of the clays consumed by slaves were tested and found to contain these nutrients. Thus, an interpretation of the practice goes beyond cultural and historical factors and suggests that slaves ate clay to supplement their inadequate diets (Genovese 1974). For example, pregnant and lactating slave women practiced pica, unknowingly to make up for iron, calcium, and magnesium deficiencies (Finkelman and Miller 1998). The soils and clays of Georgia and North Carolina contained silex, iron, magnesia, and alumina, which had nutritional value (Pyatt and Johns 1999). However, slaves consuming clays and soils ran the risk of acquiring pathogens from the soils (Gibbs et al. 1980).

There were other consequences of malnourishment that physicians failed to acknowledge or that were misdiagnosed. Evidence indicates that West African people were malnourished before enslavement and their travel to North America. Summarizing the nutritional status of the West African region where most slaves originated, Kiple and King (1981) noted that the African nutritional status was poor. West African diets relied heavily on starches and were low in protein. West Africans raised a few goats, pigs, and chickens as sources of protein, but these were not a regular part of their diet. Eggs and other dairy products were not customarily part of the African diet; fruits and some vegetables were also not normally included. Kiple and King (1981) noted that many African diets were protein deficient, overloaded with starches and carbohydrates, and lacking in essential vitamins and minerals.

If slaves were not malnourished at capture, many certainly were by the time they endured imprisonment on the West African coast and then suffered through the two or more months of the Middle Passage voyage. Where the slaves lived impacted their nutritional and health statuses. The relationship between slave diet and disease is well established in modern medical literature. Evidence of malnutrition causing or increasing slave susceptibility to illness and disease is plentiful. For example, historians have noted that regional variations in diet impacted slaves' mortality and fertility rates (Kiple and Kiple 1977; Morgan 1998). Differences in slave birth and mortality rates have also been attributed to the size of plantations, harshness of work, social conditions, and environmental factors (McBride 1998).

One nutritionally related disease common in parts of the South was beriberi, which results in numbness of legs, aching muscles, altered gait, and body swelling. The disease is linked to an absence of thiamine (vitamin B_1) in the diet. The common slave diet, consisting primarily of pork and corn, contained enough thiamine to prevent beriberi. However, prolonged storage of cornmeal can reduce the levels of thiamine by a third or even a half, and cooking further reduces the amount (David et al. 1976). Pork, when treated or cooked, can also lose thiamine. In southern regions where rice supplanted corn in the slave diet, beriberi was common. This is because planters polished the rice to prevent spoilage; however, polishing rice removes many of the nutrients found in its outer layers. Kiple and King (1981) noted this dietary deficiency and observed that in the rice growing regions of Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, there was a correlated higher incidence rate of beriberi among slaves.

Another example of the role diet played in slave health and disease was that slave nutrition and genetics were linked to the high slave mortality rates from respiratory infections (Kiple and Kiple 1977a; Kiple and King 1981). Malnourished children, these authors noted, were more prone to die from whooping cough than those having adequate nutrition. They also linked sore eyes and blindness to a lack of vitamin A. Sweet potatoes are a good source of vitamin A, but the type of sweet potatoes consumed by slaves were generally of low grade and sometimes lacked this essential vitamin.

Culturally, drinking milk is uncommon among West African peoples, and they were essentially lactose intolerant (Kiple and Kiple 1977). Lactose intolerance is the inability to digest milk or dairy products and results in diarrhea, upset stomach, and gastrointestinal problems, which eventually lead to dehydration and nutritional loss. Even for those slaves who could digest milk, fluid milk was both seasonal and not readily available in the South (Gibbs et al. 1980). Kiple and King (1981: 133) wrote, "A case has been made that because of such difficulties as lactose intolerance, problems with vitamin D, and other genetic factors, a significant portion of the slave population was seriously deprived of calcium and iron."

Ironically, as will be revealed in the WPA narratives, ex-slaves frequently mentioned the abundance of milk and milk products in their diets under slavery. They frequently mention milk and how much it was consumed, suggesting that lactose intolerance may have been less widespread than once thought or that, perhaps after generations of life in America, African Americans may have better adapted to dairy products. Red Richardson, born under slavery in Texas in 1862 and interviewed in Oklahoma for the WPA narratives, said, "We ate cornbread, beans, vegetables, and got to drink plenty milk." Agnes Walker (OK), also born in 1862, said, "Our principal foods were cornbread, milk, butter, sorghum, hog meat and beef." Richardson, Walker, and dozens of other WPA respondents who talked about milk in their

diets never noted that it disagreed with them, which is, obviously, only anecdotal observation.

Not all modern scholars are convinced of the relationship between the slaves' poor nourishment and disease. Savitt (1978) believes the data are mixed, complex, and unconvincing. Savitt suggests that many of the symptoms reported would have been typical and not necessarily indicative of disease resulting from dietary deficiencies. Savitt observed that dietary deficiencies do not immediately result in disease. He also noted that worms and other parasites would have accounted for many of the symptoms reported among slave populations. The omnipresence of parasitic worms and the corresponding symptoms can easily be misdiagnosed as nutritionally driven disease.

Much of the research on slave diet and disease has focused on nutrition during infancy and the nutritional demands of the hard labor that was typical of being a slave. Low birth rates, high child mortality, and other health indicators are associated with poor nutritional status. Some researchers have concluded that the roles of diet during infancy and work intensity during pregnancy have been overemphasized, whereas the role of the disease environment has been underemphasized (Coelho and McGuire 2000). Coelho and McGuire (2000) contend that hookworm and malaria had more to do with health deficits than the lack of food or overwork. They reported that hookworm alone could account for as much as 14 percent to 24 percent of slave birth weight deficits. Regardless of cause, be it parasitic worms, dietary deficiency, or hard work, it is evident that many slaves experienced poor diets and resulting ailments.

Nutritional Requirements of Slaves

A number of researchers, writers, and scholars have investigated the dietary requirements of slaves. This is a subject area of great discourse and debate and will not be resolved here but only touched upon. For example, according to Taylor (1982), slaves typically ate less desirable portions of whatever the owners were eating. Taylor asserted that the diet of the adult slaves was adequate, in that the slaves consumed enough calories to do their work. Table 2.1 summarizes the findings of a sample of studies. There is considerable variation in the estimated calories needed to meet minimal adequate nutritional needs, as evidenced in the table. Experts do agree that workload, gender, age, weight, and other assorted factors influence the amount of calories needed to stay healthy (Swan 1975).

These estimates of dietary requirements do not factor in what calories slaves were able to acquire on their own. There are other considerations when asking questions about the adequacy of slave diets. One factor was the variation among plantations and regions. Some plantations provided slaves with sufficient amounts of food, and others clearly did not. The region of the South also mattered because some regions afforded slaves opportunities to fish, grow supplemental crops, or enhance their diets better than others. Although all involved arduous work, some plantation crops demanded more work than others. Rice and sugar crops are more labor intensive to produce, and thus, slaves working those fields demanded more caloric intake than slaves working crops such as cotton, corn, or grains.

Slaves working in southern cities ate better than those in the countryside (Wade 1964). Wade concluded that urban female slaves were more likely to have been domestic servants and thus would have had more access to their owners' kitchens. However, he also noted that often their meals would have been leftovers and, although full of variety, would have been lacking in quantity.

Table 2.1 Nutritional Needs of Slaves

Ration	Nutritional Value	Needed	Source
4 cups of ground corn per day	1,700 calories and 360 grams of carbohydrates, but no fiber or protein	Active people need between 22 and 26 calories per pound of body weight; thus, a 140-lb woman would need a minimum of 3,600 calories per day	Trinkley 2006
1 quart of whole ground cornmeal and 1/2 pound cured medium fat ham (pork) with no bone or skin	2,348 calories per day	2,000 to 2,700 calories per day; specifically, males 2,700, females 2,000, pregnant females 2,300, and lactating females 2,500 calories	Savitt 1978
1 quart of whole ground cornmeal and 1/2 pound cured medium fat ham (pork) with no bone or skin	2,392 calories per day	2,000 to 2,700 calories per day; specifically, males 2,700, females 2,000, pregnant females 2,300, and lactating females 2,500 calories	Gibbs et al. 1980
1 peck of cornmeal and 3 to 4 lbs of salt pork per working male	3,743 to 4,240 calories per day	Not specified	Stampp 1956

Slave Rations

Slave codes, which regulated all legal rights of slaves and how they were to be treated, came about in the colonial era and established a complex set of rules to regulate the institution of slavery (Smead 1989). Most codes stipulated the amount of clothing to be issued by planters to each slave and rationed food. Typical food rations from the codes ordered that slaves were restricted to a weekly ration of a peck of cornmeal and three to four pounds of salt pork per family. Slaves, of course, supplemented this by growing their own vegetables and, when permitted to do so, by hunting small game and fishing.

Plantation owners and overseers needed to ensure, at some level, that slaves were provided adequate food. Usually once a week, they provided rations of food to heads of households or unmarried slaves (Schneider and Schneider 2000). The amount of rations per individual depended on the size of the plantation; perceived value, age, and work role of the slave; time of year; and other factors (Phillips 1966).

Eyewitness accounts of rationing describe how it occurred. In his 1853–1854 classic tour of the southern states, Frederick Law Olmsted observed the practice of rationing in South Carolina:

> The provisions furnished them consist mainly of meal, rice, and vegetables, with salt and molasses, and occasionally bacon, fish, and coffee. The allowance is a peck of meal, or an equivalent quantity of rice per week, to each working hand, old or young, besides small stores. [Olmsted 1856/1904: 60]

In other sections written from his travels, Olmsted (1856/1904) noted that there were pressures put on planters for not providing enough rations for slaves. Such

This view of "ration day," printed from a wood engraving based on sketches by London-born artist Alfred R. Waud (1828–1891), was published in *Harper's Weekly* on February 2, 1867. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-116622.

planters, Olmsted observed, lost respect in the community. In his travels throughout the South, Frederick Law Olmsted observed that slaves typically had a basic diet of approximately a peck and a half of cornmeal and three pounds of bacon a week, which was typical of what the slave codes suggested.

As indicated previously, the amount of the ration sometimes varied on the plantation based on the role of the individual slave. For example, ditchers and drivers were sometimes allowed extra allowances in their rations (Phillips 1966). However, some plantations failed to increase rations for special groups such as pregnant women or children (Schwartz 2000). Rations were often taken to the cookhouse the next day to be prepared. Several historians have noted that the weekly rations were inadequate and that slaves turned to obtaining their own food through small gardens, hunting, fishing, or theft (Genovese 1974; Stampp 1956). Yentsch (2007) observed that archaeological excavations of slave quarters have found substandard rations, which is consistent with documentary records and the recollections of slaves regarding their dismal circumstances.

Ulrich B. Phillips (1929) found that slave rations were standardized and were, for an adult, a daily quart of cornmeal and one-half pound of salt pork, which were supplemented by an occasional sweet potato, peas, rice, and fruit. Many historians have reported that slaves received about three pounds of boneless pork per week (Kiple and King 1981).

Historians have studied and reported on the nature of slave rations throughout the South. In Alabama, slaves were typically rationed three to five pounds of pork a week with a peck of cornmeal (Jewett and Allen 2004). Some plantations in Alabama also provided rations of buttermilk, sweet potatoes, and molasses. In Florida, rations of three and a half pounds of pork and a peck of cornmeal were common (Rivers 2000). One seacoast plantation provided nine quarts of Indian corn to every slave age 14 years or over, five to eight quarts for children weekly, and one quart of salt per month (Flanders 1933). These rations were supplemented with rice and peas. Zanger (2003) concluded that, by the 1850s, most plantations had settled on a weekly ration of three to four pounds of pork and a peck (two gallons) of cornmeal with seasonal fruits and vegetables. Davis (1999: 167) specified that the rations in Natchez, Mississippi, were "A weekly ration of a peck of cornmeal and three to five pounds of salted pork per adult was the usual fare in the quarters."

Slaves formed their own opinions of their masters on their housing, clothing, treatment, and quality and quantity of food rations. Occasionally, owners would reward hardworking slaves with extra rations (Schneider and Schneider 2000). However, some plantations did not provide complete rations. For example, in South Carolina, the Gowrie rice plantation did not provide a regular meat allowance. Rather, Gowrie slaves were expected to find their own meat through hunting and fishing (Trinkley 2006).

According to Solomon Northrup's slave narrative written in 1853, weekly rations consisted of the following:

> All that is allowed them is corn and bacon, which is given out at each corncrib and smoke-house every Sunday morning. Each one receives, as his weekly allowance, three and a half pounds of bacon, and corn enough to make a peck of meal. That is all—no tea, coffee, sugar, and with the exception of a very scanty sprinkling now and then, no salt. [Northrup 1853/1968: 127]

In *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*, Frederick Douglass (1845: 10) reported that he received one bushel of cornmeal and eights pounds of fish or pork per month. Douglass, in his book *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), also reported that the meats that were provided in the rations were often tainted pork and poor quality herring.

In her 1857 narrative, Harriet Jacobs described a Mrs. Flint's treatment of her slaves:

> She had not strength to superintend her household affairs; but her nerves were so strong, that she could sit in her easy chair and see a woman whipped, till the blood trickled from every stroke of the lash. She was a member of the church; but partaking of the Lord's supper did not seem to put her in a Christmas frame of mind. If dinner was not served at the exact time on that particular Sunday, she would station herself in the kitchen, and wait till it was dished, and then spit in all the kettles and pans that had been used for cooking. She did this to prevent the cook and her children from eking out their meager fare with the remains of the gravy and other scrapings. The slaves would get nothing to eat except what she chose to give them. Provisions were weighed out by the pound and ounce, three times a day. I can assure you she gave them no chance to eat wheat bread from her barrel. She knew how many biscuits a quart of flour would make, and exactly what size they ought to be. [Jacobs 1857/1987: 12]

In her narrative, Harriet Jacobs also described weekly rationing that demonstrated the relative values placed on slaves. Men fared best, followed by women, children, and older slaves, respectively. She wrote:

> On that night the slaves received their weekly allowance of food. Three pounds of meat, a peck of corn, and perhaps a dozen herring were allowed each man. Women received a pound and a half of meat, a peck of corn, and the same number of herring. Children over twelve years old had half the allowance of the women. . . . Among those in waiting for their allowance was a very old slave, who had faithfully served the Flint family through three generations. When he hobbled up to get his bit of meat, the mistress said he was too old to have any allowance; that when niggers were too old to work, they ought to be fed on grass. [Jacobs 1857/1987: 93]

The narratives contain ex-slave thoughts and recollections regarding rations. Jones (2005: 165) wrote of rations on Texas plantations:

> Typical rations for a working hand were two and a half to three and half pounds of bacon per week, which could be reduced if milk, butter, and molasses or syrup were supplied. If dried beef was the source of meat, five or six pounds were a typical weekly ration. A peck of cornmeal or a supply of sweet potatoes provided needed carbohydrates. Rations might also include fresh beef or pork, tobacco, vegetables, and even wheat flour.

Anna Mitchell, an ex-slave from North Carolina, recalled that she and others received only two meals a day on the plantation, but three meals appear to have been the norm (Jewett and Allen 2004). Millie Barber (NC) indicated that food was scarce on her plantation. She commented, "All de old slaves and them dat worked in de field, got rations and de chillum were fed at de kitchen out-house. What did they git? I 'members they got peas, hog meat, corn bread, 'lasses, and buttermilk on Sunday, then they got greens, turnips, taters, shallots, collards, and beans through the week" (Rawick 1972, Vol. 2: 26, 39). Andy Anderson (TX) described rations before the war as being good, but during the war, they became inadequate. Anderson stated:

> He weighs out the meat, three pounds for the week, and he measures a peck of meal. And 'twa'n't enough. He half-starve us niggers, and he want more work, and he start the whippings.

Rose Williams was born in the 1840s on the Black plantation in Texas and spoke of rations as follows: "We-uns have for rations the corn meal and milk and 'lasses and some beans and peas and meat once a week." Frank A. Patterson (AR) recalled, "They give 'em three pounds of meat a week, peck of meal, pint of molasses; some of them give 'em three to five pounds of flour on a Sunday morning according to the size of the family."

Gus Feaster (SC) remembered weekly rationing as a special event and believed the rations provided by his owner were considerably better than those at surrounding plantations.

> It was a special day on each plantation when de Master and de o'seer give out de week's rations, like dis: Four pounds o' bacon; one peck o' meal; quart o' flour; quart o' molasses;-dey was dat black; and dey was de rations fer a whole endurin' week. . . . Heavy rations come out on Friday. On Sad'day come de shoulder meat fer Sunday mornin' brekfas' and de flour come on Sad'day also. Our Master give us hominy fer Sunday mornin' brekfas', kaise us had red meat wid gravy den. My Master was Marse' Tom Carlisle of Goshen Hill. He de one give us dem Sunday specials. De niggers on de other surroundin' plantations never got no sech 'sideration as I ever heard of.

Planters used rations as a way to control slaves. Rations, although meager, were nevertheless an incentive for slaves to work and comply with the demands of plantation life. With the act of rationing, planters sent the message that they were in control because what they provided could also be taken away. Rationing provided a control mechanism for planters to at least attempt to control the behavior and compliance of their slaves. It reinforced the social economic hierarchy present in plantation society.

Table 2.2 Examples of Rations in WPA Narratives

Meat	Flour	Meal	Syrup/Molasses	Other	Narrative
3½ lbs meat	1 sal. 1 gallon shorts	1 peck	One quart	One cup lard	Della Briscoe (GA)
7 lbs (men), 6 lbs (women), 5 lbs (child)	5 lbs	1 peck	Unspecified		George Taylor (AL)
3 lbs	Unspecified	1 peck	½ gallon		Norman Burkes (AR)
3½ lbs	Unspecified	1 peck	1 quart syrup		Rhodus Walton (GA)
6–7 lbs; more if man had family		1 peck			Cull Taylor (AL)
3 lbs		1 peck	Unspecified syrup	Potatoes	Annie Stanton (AL)
3 lbs		1 peck			Henry Barnes (AL)
3 lbs	Unspecified	1 peck	½ gallon of molasses	Sugar, coffee	Oliver Bell (AL)
7 lbs bacon	2 dusters (6 lbs)	1 peck	1–2 quarts molasses	Bag of grits, ½ lb green coffee, unlimited vegetables	Dink Walton Young (GA)

Source: WPA Ex-slave Narratives.

Sometimes, planters increased rations of meat, rum, and clothing during certain seasons to prevent slaves from running away. This was the case during hoeing season on some rice-growing plantations in the Low Country (Morgan 1998).

Children and Rationing

Childhood was an important factor in rationing. On some plantations, rations were often proportioned according to the ability to work, with children and older slaves faring less well. Steckel (1986, 1986a) concluded that the quality of life for children was very poor. Their heights and weights for their age were below normal compared with children fed adequate diets. According to Steckel, poorly nourished slave children were restricted in their abilities to play, explore, and work but, nevertheless, did these activities on the plantation. In general, children received about half the rations as adult hands (Schwartz 2000). Owner references to quarter-hands and half-hands were common to the period and referred to children, older individuals, and those unable to carry a "full" workload in the fields. These groups generally received fewer rations. It should be noted that on some plantations, families were simply given a little extra rations if they had children (William Brooks, VA).

Children often received smaller rations until they reached their teens (Finkelman and Miller 1998; Jewett and Allen 2004), even though many of them began working at hard labor in fields early in life (King 1995; Schwartz 2000). Children were often put to work as young as age 3 or 4 on "trash gangs" that weeded fields, picked up trash, worked in the kitchen, fed farm animals, and performed other chores. Children also made significant contributions to their families' diets by fishing, tending crops, helping raise animals, and hunting, and through theft (King 1995; Schwartz 2000). Schwartz (2000: 123) summarized how life was for slave children on plantations:

> Children cleaned, cooked, washed clothes, and gathered wood, and they often watched younger siblings or the infants of friends and relatives. They fed chickens and gathered eggs, just as they did for their owners, and they helped garden, the youngest among them scaring birds away from the crops. Along the Atlantic coast, they beat rice for the family table with a mortar and pestle. Youngsters everywhere contributed to their family's diet by fishing and hunting or trapping rabbits and other small game.

Recalling his boyhood as a slave, Booker T. Washington said one of his jobs was to transport heavy bags of dried corn to the mill for milling. He was small and not very strong, so that when the bag fell off the horse, he would have to wait for hours until some passerby could help him load the bag of corn back on the horse.

Despite Washington's and other children's contributions, many essentially survived in a state of malnourishment, some until they were old enough to work in the fields. Kiple and Kiple (1977a) concluded that infants and children may have suffered more frequently from malnourishment than adults. Steckel (1986) found that slave children's health was one of the poorest ever studied and adult working slaves were better off. Finkelman and Miller (1998) concluded that young children were protein deprived until they were old enough to work.

Despite empirical research suggesting general malnourishment of slave children, conditions, as previously noted, could differ by region and even from plantation to plantation depending on the owner. Several former slaves recalled their childhoods as being free from hunger, and yet they knew their bounty was in preparation for

the harder work in the fields that awaited them when they grew older. Thomas Hall, born in Orange County, North Carolina, in 1856, recalled as a WPA interviewee, "The food in many cases that was given the slaves was not given them for their pleasure or by a cheerful giver, but for the simple and practical reason that children would not grow into a large healthy slave unless they were well fed and clothed; and given good warm places in which to live."

Eliza Evans (OK), who grew up as a slave in Selma, Alabama, recalled, when interviewed, that "None of old Master's young niggers never did much work. He say he want 'em to grow up strong. He gave us lots to eat. He had a store of bacon, milk, bread, beans and molasses. In summer we had vegetables."

Rations were increased as children moved from being quarter-hands, to half-hands, to full field hands (King 1995; Schwartz 2000). For example, ex-slave Benny Dillard (GA) recalled how it was for children:

> "Dey never let chillun have no meet 'til dey was big enough to wuk in de fields."

They received smaller rations even though many were expected to work for the plantation, their families, or both. Some plantation owners, anxious to get children into the fields as soon as possible, took measures to promote child slave labor (King 1995). Schwartz (2000: 139) wrote:

> Owners offered a variety of inducements to children and their parents to tempt youngsters into the field. Willis P. Bocock, an Alabama planter, gave fathers a hen for each child put to cultivation. Another slaveholder who traveled throughout Alabama and Mississippi reported similar practices in both states: 'Every hand or youth who works in the field has the privilege of raising chickens—they sell them and eggs, or eat them, as they please. They also raise corn and sell the same.' In this way, children who began work in the field not only increased the family's food rations but also earned a small amount of cash.

Schwartz then added:

> Hoping that hunger would propel some children into taking on adult labor, owners withheld full rations from slave children. Rules for plantation Management published in *DeBow's Review* advised that 'each person doing any work' should receive double the rations provided 'each child at [the] Negro-houses.' These instructions for plantation managers recommended 1 pound of bacon and $\frac{1}{2}$ peck of corn meal each week for children between ages two and ten. Once children began working alongside adults, the suggested portion more than doubled to $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of bacon and $1\frac{1}{2}$ pecks of corn meal. Discussion of food allotments in the Southern Cultivator and other agricultural journals regularly distinguished between slaves 'large enough to go to the fields to work' and those too small to do so. A widely circulated article by "Tattler" observed that owners commonly provided 'each hand that labors, whether man. Woman, or child,' with equal rations. Thus, on many plantations, children—'water carriers and all'—received the same rations as more productive adults if they regularly contributed their labor to the field in any capacity. Those who did not could end up 'half-famished.'

Enough to Eat?

Frederick Law Olmsted concluded from his travels in 1853 and 1854 that slaves, for the most part, were adequately fed. He wrote: "I think the slaves generally (no

one denies that there are exceptions) have plenty to eat; probably are fed better than the proletarian class of any other part of the world" (Olmsted 1856/1904: 122). His early observations did not lay to rest the debate over the adequacy of slave diets and nutrition. To the contrary, the debate has raged on about whether slaves had enough to eat. Historians have debated for decades whether slave diets were adequate. Even ex-slave statements about the quality and quantity of food are debatable. Noting a lack of agricultural productivity among slaves as evidence of their nutritional status, Genovese linked this conclusion to the insufficient quality and quantity of food. Genovese (1965: 43) wrote: "The slave usually got enough to eat but the starchy high-energy diet of cornmeal, pork, and molasses produced specific hungers to ensure neither sound bodies or the stamina necessary for sustained labor." Thus, he concluded that slave productivity was low.

In another study, Finkelman and Miller (1998) noted that slave diets were deficient qualitatively and, consequently, slaves suffered severely from nutritional deficiencies. However, others, such as Morgan (1998: 92–93), have concluded that the slave diet was at least sufficient enough to sustain life, as witnessed by the increases in slave populations and heights of slaves. Morgan also acknowledged that slave diets were typically high in starch, low in protein, and monotonous in content (Morgan 1998: 102). Others, such as Coelho and McGuire (2000), suggest that other factors were also important besides diet, such as malaria and the prevalence of hookworm.

There is abundant evidence that in the South, food shortages occurred and people in some areas did not produce enough food for their own use (Hilliard 1972). Hilliard (1972) noted that the southern states were able to produce more than enough food but, at times, placed a higher priority on cash crops than food for consumption. Genovese (1974) made the observation that if slaves had enough food, stealing of food would not have been so prevalent throughout the South. Genovese (1965: 43) further concluded that:

> The limited diet was by no means primarily a result of ignorance or viciousness on the part of masters, for many knew better and would have liked to do better. The problem was largely economic. Feeding costs formed a burdensome part of plantation expenses. Credit and marker systems precluded the assignment of much land to crops other than cotton or corn. The land so assigned was generally the poorest available, and the quality of food stuffs consequently suffered.

In contrast is the perspective that slave diets had to be adequate. Some historians have viewed slavery as an economic enterprise that valued slaves, and thus, owners took relatively good care of them as investments (Flanders 1933; Phillips 1966). For example, in their study titled *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, Fogel and Engerman (1974) concluded that slaves ate a wide variety of foods. They claimed that because historians have relied too heavily on written records and plantation manuals, many of the foods consumed by slaves have not been recognized. Slaves planted gardens, hunted, fished, and had access to a wide variety of foods. Fogel and Engerman (1974) concluded that the caloric intake of slaves exceeded that of freedmen by 10 percent. They found that slave protein intake exceeded the modern daily recommended value by 110 percent, calcium by 20 percent, and iron by 230 percent. They also calculated that the slave diet provided about 4,185 calories per day (see Table 2.1). Fogel and Engerman surmised that slaves were fed enough food to be able to work hard all day. They essentially concluded that, at least as far as food was concerned, slavery was not cruel or harsh. Slaves had diets that were both calorically

and nutritionally adequate, at least on the plantations included in their calculations.

Gibbs et al. (1980: 251), summarizing the research on slave diets in coastal South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia, concluded, "Overall, the diet of slaves in this ecozone appears to have met the nutritional needs of the population in a manner that permitted continued high work outputs as well as substantial population growth."

Kiple and King (1981) reviewed the relationship between the nutritional status of slaves, genetics, and disease. After acknowledging that slave diets were not all that different from the diets of whites, they suggested that genetics, coupled with other factors such as disease, digestion, heavier workloads, and so on, contributed to the inadequacy of slave diets.

> The hypothesis, however, that we advance is that black genetic heritage coupled with the kinds of foods available to slaves meant a diet that for whites may have been nutritionally adequate, but that for blacks failed to deliver sufficient usable quantities of a number of important nutrients. [Kiple and King 1981: 72]

Some of the evidence suggests that slaves were adequately provisioned. Some historians have concluded that in some regions, slaves had at least adequate diets. Frederick Douglass concluded, similar to much later research (Wade 1964) noted earlier in this chapter, that city slaves fared much better than plantation slaves when it came to provisions. He noted that city slaveholders were under considerable pressure not to be labeled as cruel masters and to care for and feed their slaves well. Douglass (1845: 37) wrote, "Every city slaveholder is anxious to have it known of him, that he feeds his slaves well; and it is due to them to say, that most of them do give their slaves enough to eat." Douglass later noted that there were "painful" exceptions to this pattern. Samuel Boulware (SC) recalled that as a slave, his food was adequate to provide the stamina needed in the field: "Us had plenty to eat in slavery time. It wasn't de best but it filled us up and give us strength 'nough to work."

Modern historians have noted regional variations in the amounts of food. For example, Rivers (2000: 127) wrote, "Overall, Florida's bond persons benefited from at least an adequate supply of food." This sense of adequate amounts of food is echoed in most of the Florida WPA narratives. The same could be said about the narratives from other states because many ex-slaves stated that their diets were better under slavery. Regarding ex-slaves from Texas, Campbell (1989: 135) concluded:

> Finally, the slaves themselves did not commonly complain of being poorly fed. "In a sample of 181 former slaves interviewed during the 1930s, 58% remembered having good or adequate food, while less than 5% said that they had not had enough to eat." The economic conditions of elderly blacks during the Great Depression may have had some effect on the memories of former slaves and how they were fed when they were slaves, but their interviews cannot be totally discounted.

Yes, We Ate Well—One Perspective

Any comments made by WPA respondents about the quantity and quality of food under slavery need to be framed within the context of the Great Depression and the poverty many of them were experiencing during the interviews. Most of the respondents were extremely poor and were hard hit by the Depression. Thus,

compared to life in the 1930s, some vocalized that slavery did at least provide a level of subsistence better than that experienced during the Depression. Joyner (1971) noted many instances when WPA respondents indicated they were well fed under slavery. Some likely did eat better under slavery, whereas others did not; still others never had an adequate diet during or following enslavement.

The narratives cannot resolve the issue of whether or not slaves received enough food. What is evident is that the ex-slaves voiced their opinions about the quantity and quality of the foods available under slavery. Georgia Baker (GA) recalled that she had enough to eat on the Stephens' plantation. She noted:

> Marse Alec had plenty for his slaves to eat. There was meat, bread, collard greens, snap beans, 'taters, peas, all sorts of dried fruit, and just lots of milk and butter. [Killion and Waller 1973: 8]

Ex-slave William Ballard (Jewett and Allen 2004: 210) remembered having plenty to eat: "We was allowed three pounds o' meat, one quart o' molasses, grits and other things each week—plenty for us to eat." Louis Davis (MS) commented:

> We always had plenty of something to eat. Meat, cornbread, milk, and vegetables of all kinds. The garden was made for the colored, and the whites together, so each person didn't have to worry with making one for hisself. My mother cooked for all the slaves both grown ups and children. Everybody ate in the big cook kitchen. There was a big brick oven, where the bread was baked. The other food was cooked in an open fireplace. We never did have no possum or game of no kind. Maybe there warn't no hunters on the place.

Another typical quote was that of Abram Harris (AR) who stated:

> My Marster warnt no big, rich man lak er heap er de white folks in den slabery times, yit en still, he sho hed er plenty er ebery-thing, en de bes of all he fed he niggers good en wus always good ter tem.

Taylor Jackson (AR) described how things were on his plantation:

> I had plenty to eat, more'an I has now generally. I had better in slavery than I have now. That is the truth. I'm telling the truth, I did. Some didn't. One neighbor got mad and give each hand one ear of corn nine or ten o'clock. They take it to the cook house and get it made up in hominy. Some would be so hungry they would parch the corn rather 'an wait. He'd give 'em meal to make a big kettle of mush. When he was good he done better. Give 'em more for supper.

John Boles, an ex-slave from Florida, indicated that slaves experienced a monotonous but adequate diet. This was a result of community pressures in Florida to provide slaves with adequate diets (Rivers 2000). But having enough to eat did not always imply that the food was of high quality. For example, Lizzie (IN) complained that she was forced to eat chicken heads, pig's ears, fish heads, pig tails, and parsnips (Baker 2000). In addition, some owners tried to convince their slaves that better foods were not good for them. They worked at persuading slaves that sweets, richer foods, and higher quality foods were not good for their health. For example, Jane Johnson (SC) noted that her owner told her and other slaves that they would get sick if they

ate fancy foods and would not be able to work as hard. She then ironically noted that he was good to her:

> "Yes sir, us had a plenty of rations to eat; no fancy vittles, just plain corn bread, meat and vecetailes. Dere was no flour bread or any kind of sweet stuff for de slaves to eat. Master say sweet things 'fected de stomach and teeth in a bad way. He wanted us to stay well and healthy so us could work hard. Master Tom was good to us, course he was, 'cause he didn't see us much no way."

There Was Not Enough Food—The Other Perspective

Fogel and Engerman (1974) have been criticized by a number of historians since their publication of *Time on the Cross*, most notably by Richard Sutch (1976), who convincingly questions almost all of the methods used, analyses performed, and conclusions drawn by Fogel and Engerman. Sutch's criticisms include poor farm production estimates, small sample size, errors in estimating food production and consumption, research biases, conjecture, and other flaws.

Although many ex-slaves indicated that they ate well, others indicated that they did not. After noting the adequacy of food for some, Frederick Douglass (1845: 29) also complained of being cold and hungry as a child: "I suffered much from hunger, but much more from cold." Later in his life (1845: 53) he wrote, "Not to give a slave enough to eat, is regarded as the most aggravated development of meanness even among slaveholders."

King (1995: 37) observed that even after producing most of the food on plantations, some slaves complained about not having enough to eat. One of the songs lamenting the lack of food that was shared among slaves was the following:

> We raise de wheat,
> Dey gib us de corn;
> We bake de bread,
> Dey gib us de crust;
> We sif' de meal,
> Dey gib us de huss;
> We peel de meat,
> Dey gib us de skin;
> And dat's de way
> Dey take us in;
> We skim de pot,
> Dey gib us de liquor,
> And say dat's good enough for nigger. [King 1995: 37]

Another song that recalled the notion of "feast or famine" that many slaves experienced was remembered by Lucinda Davis (OK) when she was interviewed in the 1930s:

> What yo' gwine do when de meat give out?
> What yo' gwine do when de meat give out?
> Set in de corner wid my lips pooched out!
> Lawsy!
> What yo' gwine do when de meat come in?

> What yo' gwine do when de meat come in?
> Set in de corner wid a greasy chin!
> Lawsy!

The narratives include many memories of not getting enough to eat (Joyner 1971). Examples are numerous and include one from Belle Butler (IN), who commented:

> All slaves on the Coffer plantation were treated in a most inhuman manner, scarcely having enough to eat, unless they would steel it, risking the risk of being caught and receiving a severe beating for the theft.

Lillian Clarke (VA) described how selfish a mistress was in feeding her house servant:

> Ole A'nt Cinda say he and her mistress use to put one salt herrin' fish up on a shelf fer her to eat. Mind you, dats all po 'Cinda got fer all day long. No, ain't give no bread wid hit. She had to eat dat or nothing. [Perdue et al. 1976: 72]

Joseph Mosely (IN) recalled how tough it was for slaves on his plantation: "The master was very unkind to the slaves; they sometime would have nothing to eat, and would eat from the garbage." Emman Moore (AR) shared the following: "We didn't have plenty to eat but we had to eat what we did have." Then he added, "I member they wouldn't give us chillun no meat, jus' grease my mouf and make my mother think we had mest." Elizabeth Brennon (AR) shared a similar memory:

> She used to tell how when meat was so scarce she'd be cooking. She'd wipe her girls' faces with the dishrag. One of them would lick her lips. Make other children hungry for meat to see them so greasy. They hadn't had any meat.

Lizzie Williams (MS) remembered just how hard things were:

> Heep o' times we'd eat coffee grounds fo' bread. Sometimes we'd have biscuits made out o' what was called de 2nd's. De white folks allus got de 1st's. De slaves didn't have no gardens but ole Missus give us onion tops out o' her garden.

Tines Kendricks (AR) shared a similar view:

> At times dey would give us enough to eat. At times dey wouldn't–just 'cordin' to how dey feelin' when dey dishin' out de grub. De biggest what dey would give de field hands to sat would be de truck what us had on de place like greens, turnips, peas, side meat, an' dey sure would cut de side meat awful thin too, Boss. Us allus had a heap of corn-meal dumplin's an' hoecakes. Old mis', her an' Mars Sam, dey real stingy. You better not leave no grub on your plate for to throw away. You sure better eat it all iffen you like it or no.

Stealing/Theft

Stealing food was a common occurrence on plantations. Given that the rations could be insufficient on some plantations, slaves needed to take control of their own provisions. They grew and raised much of their own food, and for some, stealing became another way to obtain food. Stealing food from owners was the most common

offense by slaves (Hamilton 1977). Frederick Douglass wrote about theft among slaves:

> Scarcely a day passed, during the summer, but that some slave had to take the lash for stealing fruit. The colonel had to resort to all kinds of stratagems to keep his slaves out of the garden. The last and most successful one was that of tarring his fence all around; after which, if a slave was caught with any tar upon his person, it was deemed sufficient proof that he had either been into the garden, or had tried to get in. In either case, he was severely whipped by the chief gardener. This plan worked well; the slaves became as fearful of tar as of the lash. [Douglass 1845: 17]

Escott (1979) noted that more than one hundred of the WPA narratives referred to regular thievery. Plundering or raiding the smokehouse was particularly attractive to some slaves, as they sought to supplement their diets (Joyner 1971). Slave children often targeted fruit orchards. Schwartz (2000: 133) wrote, "Orchards were especially hit hard by young thieves, who sometimes raided peach, apple, and plum trees before the fruit even had a chance to ripen." Levi Pollard, a WPA respondent, remembered stealing pears on his plantation.

There were several reasons for theft, the most obvious of which was hunger (Savitt 1978). However, many of the narratives suggest that stealing was a source of pride and a mechanism for dealing with the injustice of enslavement (Savitt 1978; Stampp 1956; Taylor 1982). Many recent works on slavery have " . . . portrayed resistance as an integral part of any picture of antebellum plantation life" (Lichtenstein 1988: 413). Theft, therefore, would be an act of slave resistance. Southern whites assumed that all slaves stole by nature (Genovese 1974). In addition, stealing food from owners gave slaves access to a variety of foods that normally would not have been available. Plantation records and the WPA narratives indicate that slaves sometimes found it necessary to steal food such as hogs, chickens, smoked meats, vegetables, and other foods from the plantation stocks (Escott 1979; Genovese 1974; Moore 1989; Rivers 2000; Savitt 1978; Stampp 1956). When rations were inadequate, slaves stole what they could to survive (Blassingame 1979). As Yentsch (2007: 67) put it, "Inadequate rations were a tacit license for theft." For example, Carter Jackson (TX) took chickens, Henry Johnson (MO) stole turkeys, and Tom Morris (MS) made off with eggs.

Morris Hillyer, a slave belonging to the noted Superior Circuit Court Judge and Wilkes County, Georgia Congressman Junius Hillyer prior to the Civil War, recalled that, "Old Judge bought every roguish nigger in the country. He'd take him home and give him the key to everything on de place and say to help hisself. Soon as he got all he wanted to eat he'd quit being a rogue. Old Judge said that was what made niggers steal—they was hungry."

Some stole food out of boredom with their everyday diets, such as Victoria Mcmullen (AR), who shared:

> She didn't steal because she didn't have to. She had plenty without stealin'! She got plenty to eat in the house. But the other slaves didn't git nothin' but fat meat and corn bread and molasses. And they got tired of that same old thing. They wanted something else sometimes. They'd go to the hen house and get chickens. They would go to the smokehouse and get home and lard. And they would get flour and anything else they wanted and they would eat something they wanted. There wasn't no way to keep them from it.

Others stole as a means to have something special or out of the ordinary that they normally would not have had access to. Charlie Richardson (MO) remembered this humorous story from his childhood about how his mother tried to prepare a special breakfast for him:

> We never had no flap-jacks in the cabins. No Sah. Flap-jacks was something special for only Marster Mat Warren and the Missis. That makes me remember a funny story about flap-jacks. My Ma brought some flap-jack stuff down to the cabin one day; you know, jest swiped it from the house where she worked. Well, Ma was frying away to git me something special like when she hears the Missis comin' with her parrot. So, Ma hides them flap-jacks right quick. Soon the Missis come in our cabin and was talkin' to my Mammy when that crazy old parrot he begin to get fussy like somethin' was wrong. He were a smart parrot and outside, generally called us all "niggers, niggers". Well Sah, he kept a quaking and the Missis kept sayin', "shut up' shut up', what's the matter with you?" Purtty soon the Missis go over to sit in a chair Ma had with a big pad in it. And before the Missis could set down that crazy parrot begun to yell, "Look out Mam, it's hot'. Look out. Look out'". The Missis turned to my Ma and said "What's the matter here?" My Ma answered, "Tain't nothin' the the matter Missie. And then that fool parrot hollows agin, "It's hot' It's hot' And sure 'nough the Missis she get a peek at a flap-jack stickin' through under the pad, where Ma hid them. And Ma almost got a good lickin' for that.

The depiction of the amount and quality of food indicated in the WPA narratives is mixed, ranging from more than adequate to virtual starvation. Baker summed:

> Apparently some slaves ate well, but others had barely enough to eat. This varied not only from plantation to plantation but also on the same plantation. Candies Richardson, for instance, said that the slaves who worked in her owner's house ate the same food that the owner and his family ate; those working on the other parts of the plantation, however, did not fare so well. They ate fat meat and parts of the hog that the people in the big house would not eat. A week's ration of food was given each slave, but if it was eaten before the week was up, the slave had only salt pork to eat until the next ration. A person could not eat much of that, though, because it was too salty. [Baker 2000: 86]

Solomon Jackson (AL) reported how his plantation cook grandmother recounted that slave children stole sugar, cheese, and crackers from the big house. To some slaves, theft was justified. For example, Booker T. Washington (1901) remembered as a child his mother cooking chicken at night to serve her children in the morning and wondering where she obtained the chicken. He presumed that it was theft and commented:

> Some people may call this theft. If such a thing were to happen now, I should condemn it as theft myself. But taking place at the time it did, and for the reason that it did, no one could ever make me believe that my mother was guilty of thieving. [Washington 1901: 5]

Some ex-slaves, such as Arthur Greene (VA), said they were forced into stealing by whites because they did not receive enough food:

> All you hear now is 'bout de nigger stealin' from dese po' white devils. De whole cause of stealin' an' crime is 'cause dey for'ced the niggers to do hit in dem back days. Now

> hits er following 'em. White folks certainly taught niggers to steal. If dey had give 'em nough to eat dey wouldn' have no cause to steal. [Perdue et al. 1976: 124]

In a similar vein, George Womble (GA) described how, if rations did not last out the week, slaves on the Georgia plantation where he worked would take matters into their own hands:

> If their food gave out before the time for another issue they waited until night and then one or two of them would go to the millhouse where the flour and the meal was kept. After they had succeeded in getting in they would take an auger and bore a hole in the barrel containing the meal. One held the sack while the other took a stick and worked it around in the opening made by the auger so as to make the meal flow freely. After their bags will filled the hole was stopped up and a hasty departure made. Sometimes when they wanted meat they either went to the smoke house and stole a ham or else they would go to the pen where the pigs were kept and take a small pig out. [Killion and Waller 1973: 117]

He then talked about how slaves were taught to steal from other plantations:

> The slaves were taught to steal by their masters. Sometimes they were sent to the nearby plantations to steal chickens, pigs, and other things that could be carried away easily. [Killion and Waller 1973: 118]

George Womble was not alone in describing theft from other plantations. In an economically motivated context, some owners actually turned a blind eye to their slaves stealing food from neighboring plantations or even encouraged their slaves to steal. This tolerance of theft reduced the owners' expenses and helped ensure that their slaves had adequate food. Celestia Avery (GA) also reported stealing from other plantations:

> "Once a week Mr. Heard allowed his slaves to have a frolic and folks would get broke down from so much dancing" Mrs. Avery remarked. The music was furnished with fiddles. When asked how the slaves came to own fiddles she replied, "They bought them with money they earned selling chickens." At night slaves would steal from the Heard plantation, go to LaGrange, Ga. and sell chickens which they had raised. Of course the masters always required half of every thing raised by each slave and it was not permissible for any slave to sell anything.

Sometimes, according to Olmsted's account, slaves stole for purposes other than hunger, such as to purchase liquor (Olmsted 1856/1904). Joyner noted how instances of slaves stealing were acts of defiance:

> One of the most prominent methods by which slaves resisted was stealing. By theft, a slave could simultaneously take revenge upon oppressors and supplement a family's meager food supply. Few acts of slave resistance irritated the masters more. Food was the primary object of slave theft. [Joyner 1991: 92]

Of course, the penalties for stealing could be severe. Thus, slaves had to conceal their stealing activities and stolen food. Some of the narratives include descriptions of how food was concealed from the owners. One ex-slave recalled:

> I have seen pa go out at night with a big sack and come back with it full. He'd bring sweet potatoes, watermelons, chickens and turkeys. . . . Where he went I cannot say, but he brought the booty home. The floor of our cabin was covered with planks. Pa had raised up two planks, and dug a hole. This was our storehouse. [Webber 1978: 170]

Julius Jones's (MS) account told of hiding stolen food:

> The eating what they give us sure warn't nothing to brag on. Most of the time we didn't have nothing excusing meat and bread and the biggest part of the meat was possums, coons, and rabbits. Course in the summer time they would give us greens and cabbage out of the big garden what they planted just to feed us. Once my father stold some hog meat. He made us children get under the bed to eat it so nobody could see us if they came by the house. He always fed us under the bed when he got hold of something he didn't want nobody to know nothing bout.

Marrinda Jane Singleton (VA) was born in North Carolina in 1840 and raised in Virginia. She provided a detailed account of stealing a hog and getting caught:

> One dark night another slave and I 'cided to take one of Marster's pigs. We were so hungry, and had no food. Now you understand fer such an undertakin'. Fust we had to sound out the supposed friend to see if he or she could keep their tongues inside their teeth. Upon finding it safe, we ventured wid di pig plan.
>
> We took dis pig, carried hit own to de swamp lands. Killed hit. We got rid of de water whar we don scald him by puttin' hit in de river. You know, dar wasn't much to throw 'way' cause you, ain't you never stopped to think 'bout hit? Kin use nearly every findin' in de hog, even what you find in de intrels, dey use now dese days fer fertilizer. Stuff used as manure on yer lands. Dis pig was now divided equally and I went on to my cabin wid equal share. All de chillum was warned not to say nothin' bout dis. If dey did, I tole 'em I would skin 'em alive, 'cause dis pig was stole to fill their bellies as well as mine. By some means de news got to marster 'bout dis pig dat we had stolen.

According to some of the Virginia narratives, some meats were easier to steal than others. For example, beef was difficult to steal because of the noise cattle make, but hogs and sheep were much easier to steal and thus prone to theft (Moore 1989). Hogs were particularly attractive targets for theft because of their obvious source of substantial meat.

Penalties for Getting Caught

When caught stealing, the penalties for slaves were usually severe. William Brooks (VA) described what happened to those on his plantation who were caught stealing food:

> Dey used to gib de slaves bout 6 pounds meat an' 5 pounds o' flour a week effen you ain' got chillum. If you got chillum, you git a little mo'. Well dat ain' 'nough lasten a

> dog a day. So dem niggers steal an' cose when dey steal dey git caught, an' when you git caught you git beat. I seen 'em take 'em in-a-de barn an 'jes tie 'em over lak dis an' beat 'em 'twell de blood run down. Den dey wash 'em in salt water. Some times dey beat 'em so bad dey run away an' hide in de woods. [Perdue et al. 1976: 57]

Irene Coates (FL) described whippings for thefts:

> The slaves were given fat meat and bread made of husk of corn and wheat. This caused them to steal food and when caught they were severely whipped.

Stephen Varner (AL) also mentioned whipping for theft:

> All of the slaves were required to go to the field and had their dinner in a cabin that was set aside for that purpose. Their breakfast and supper was eaten in their own cabins before day and after dark. Sometime they did not have all they wanted to eat and they would break into the "smoke house" and cut some meat and when everybody was asleep they would have a second supper. When they were caught at this they were chained to a tree and whipped. The overseer was a hard man and would whip the slaves severely.

One of the more vivid accounts of the penalty for stealing was provided by Ella Booth (MS):

> One thing I 'members my daddy tole me, whut I never fergits, was when he stole a chicken frum Old Masta. He kotch him wid dat chicken on 'im and he made him kill it and eat it raw. My daddy said dat sho' broke him frum stealin'—Old Marsta whupped him too. He wusn't very good to his slaves. Dey was all glad when freedom come and left him and worked fer demselves. He call em up and tell dem dat dey was free.

A final example is from the narrative of Alex Mccinney (MS), who stated:

> In slavery days dey was allus whippin' us niggers 'bout stealin'. Marsa jus' didn't give us nuff to eat. Dey said my daddy was de only slave he had who wouldn't steal, he'd go hungry first.

Of course, slaves were taught to not steal by most owners and preachers. The church encouraged slaves not to steal from their masters. Charles Grandy, born in 1842 in Virginia, described how this message was given in church but was not always obeyed:

> In de church d white folks was on one side an' de colored on de other. De preacher was a white man. He preach in a way lak, "Bey yo' marser an' missus" an' tell us don' steal f' om yo' marser an' missus. 'Cose we knowed it was wrong to steal, but de niggers had to steal to git somepin' to eat. I know I did. Dey had plenty o' food dere. Hawgs, cows, chickens an' ev'thing was plentiful. Sometimes dey kill two an' three hundred hawgs but dey sell 'em. Didn' give me any. I got so hungry I stealed chickens off de oos'. Yessum, I did, chickens used roos' on de fense den, right out in de night. We would cook de chicken at night, eat him an' bu'n de feathers. [Perdue et al. 1976: 116]

Religious admonitions against thievery were not restricted to attendance in church. Lucretia Alexander (AR), after noting that slaves did not go in the white church, commented:

> The preacher came and preached to them in their quarters. He'd just say, "Serve your masters. Don't steal your master's turkey. Don't steal your master's chickens." [Yetman 1976: 12]

Concluding Observations Regarding Slave Nutrition

The narratives do little to resolve the issue of the adequacy of the slave diet. Some respondents recalled having plenty to eat, and others remembered being hungry all the time. Some former slaves described living situations where they ate as well or nearly as well as their masters; others described situations of want and deprivation so extreme that mothers would wipe the inside of a child's mouth with a greasy rag to provide the faintest hint of the taste of meat. So the debate will continue. What the narratives do reveal is that slaves were actively resourceful and imaginative in supplementing their rations with a wide variety of foods. The problem remains that whether it be from the narratives or other sources, we have little empirical data that shed light on the quality or quantity of slave-generated provisions (Drescher and Engerman 1998) or on the amount and quality of foods collected by slaves to supplement their rations (Deetz 1993), other than some of these anecdotal sources.

Despite the existence of the slave codes, *De Bow's Review*, and other attempts to standardize the amounts, types, and quality of food provided to slaves, there were still tremendous variances from region to region and from plantation to plantation.

When planters rationed, they always considered the profit line of the plantation first. In their advice to each other, they often couched their recommendations in moral terms—that it was the morally correct thing to adequately feed slaves, at least those who were productive. All of this advice implies a kindness and moral high ground, but nothing could be further from the truth. Slaves were, after all, still slaves, and at the end of the day, they were forced to be subservient to their owners. They had to deal with what they were provided or could gather or grow on their own. The true moral issue was that of slavery's very existence.

As we will detail later in the book, slaves were not passive recipients of whatever food the planters gave them. They were active in the production of their own food to supplement their rations. This observation is consistent with the conclusions of others (Genovese 1974; Gibbs et al. 1980), the WPA narratives, and archaeological evidence. It will become apparent that many slaves had access to a wide variety of foods that they harvested, gathered, or hunted on their own. This observation is consistent with archaeological evidence resulting from plantation site digs throughout the South. For example, reporting on a 1988 dig on the Wilcox plantation in Virginia, Deetz (1993) reported that the grounds surrounding a slave cabin from the Antebellum period produced bones of pig, cattle, horse, sheep, goat, deer, opossum, rabbit, rat, squirrel, raccoon, chicken, crow, mallard, bird (unidentified), catfish, sturgeon, striped bass, snapping turtle, turtle (unidentified), shellfish, oyster, freshwater mussel, and marine clam. This pattern is mirrored in other regions.

Slavery as a complex institution has been written about extensively. The immorality of it has been thoroughly examined by historians, theologians, and political scientists. But the bottom line of it is this: Plantations operated as economic engines

of the South fueled by the toil and heartbreak of generations of African Americans whose ancestors, as food historian Karen Hess (1995) has noted, brought only their memories with them from Africa.

The slave traders' concept of soundness, the connections between disease and slave diet, the nutritional needs of hardworking field hands, rationing, stealing, and the lasting debate over whether or not slave diets were adequate are necessary components to understanding the dynamics at work and the conventions of the time that led to the resourcefulness and ingenuity applied by slaves in their struggle to maintain some of their original African culture through food.

What we have tried to do in this chapter is lay the foundation concerning more specifically what foods were in common use by slaves, how they were obtained, and what they meant to the developing African American culture. African foodways were combined with French, Spanish, and Native American influences and were interfused by the necessities and limitations forced by slavery to create both food that filled empty bellies and food that inspired the soul of the southern style.

3

AFRICAN ROOTS AND FOOD TRADITIONS

> My daddy said in Africa, dey didn't live in houses. Dey jest lived in de woods, and et nuts, and wild honey they found in trees. Dey killed wild animals, skinned dem and et 'em, but made slips out of de skins to wear demselves. Dey jest eat them animals raw. Dey didn't know nothin' bout cooking. They even et snakes, but when they found 'em, they cut dere heads off quick, fore dey got mad and "pizened" demselves.
>
> Chaney Mack (MS)

Precolonial West African Life and Development of Agriculture

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, West and West Central Africans were primarily subsistence farmers growing crops and preparing food in ways that had evolved for 5,000 years, having developed the West African savanna into an important cradle of agriculture. Despite the recollection of Mr. Mack from Mississippi, African cooking, though simple, involved much more than the meat from local game. In fact, the diet of West Africans relied heavily on both indigenous grains and vegetables that had been cultivated for many thousands of years and included an increasing number of nonnative crops after the sixteenth century.

Africa had always been linked to the Middle East and Asia through Egyptian and Ethiopian civilizations that brought many crops to Africa from as far back as prehistoric times (Gibbon and Dugan 2007). Approximately 2,000 years ago, when trans-Saharan trade below the Sahara Desert brought in additional foodstuffs, the food base available to West Africans became more varied as Europeans began to arrive in search of trade routes to Asia.

Anyone interested in the lineage of foods that were important to slaves and the development of cuisines such as southern cooking, or "soul food," Creole, Cajun, barbecue, Bahian, or Caribbean must begin with the traditions, cooking styles, and crops that were important to West Africans because all of these cuisines evolved incorporating African influences.

Why West Africa?

The overwhelming majority of Africans who were kidnapped, sold, traded, or otherwise carried into slavery and brought against their will to the New World beginning in the fifteenth century came from along a 3,500-mile length of the West African coast from Senegambia, or modern Senegal, on the north to Angola on the south. European slavers, beginning with the Portuguese, worked the immense coastline of western Africa, establishing forts and small communities along the way that became holding prisons for slaves awaiting the vessels that would take them from Africa. In one of the greatest concentrations, approximately sixty of these forts were built along the coast of Ghana, some within sight of each other (St. Clair 2007). These establishments also served as supply depots for goods and rations that were either being imported or exported to other destinations along the triangular slave trade.

As a matter of expediency, those engaged in capturing slaves mostly worked the coastlines and connecting interior regions along the coast of West Africa. It was far easier and less dangerous than trying to transport the captured Africans from farther distances, especially through areas of tropical rain forest.

But as the slave trade developed, there was another, more compelling economic reason to search the western edge of the African coastline for slaves, especially from among the grassland cultures found in the Senegambia region, and that was to take into bondage the highly skilled savanna agriculturalists who were already farming most of the crops that would become major exports to English North American colonies (Piersen 1996). The Africans who would become enslaved also brought with them their proficiencies in metallurgy, pottery, leatherwork, and weaving (Cusick 1995).

Rice and indigo were Senegambian specialties, and those crops would later become important to South Carolina and Louisiana. In addition, these African savanna farmers raised maize, which was introduced to Africa in the sixteenth century; peanuts and tobacco, which were crops from the Americas but established by then in Africa; and native melons, gourds, beans, cotton, sorghum, millet, okra, benne (sesame) seed, tamarind, and kola (Moore 1989). African farmers from the forested areas raised yams, bananas, and again, after the sixteenth century, maize, manioc (or cassava, a South American tuberous root used as a potato substitute or to make a type of flour), and sweet potatoes (Horton and Horton 1995).

Many were also skilled in tending livestock, especially cattle, sheep, and goats. One of the first jobs given to transplanted African Americans in South Carolina was tending cattle. As Piersen (1996: 74) wrote, "The West African techniques of open grazing, with nightly opening for protection and seasonal burning of open lands to freshen the grasses" doubtless influenced cattle ranching in South Carolina. In fact, historian Peter H. Wood has speculated that the term "cowboy" may have first been a pejorative to describe African American men in South Carolina who were stationed at cowpens with herding responsibilities (Wood 1974).

In his book *Africanisms in American Culture*, Joseph E. Holloway (2005) describes the regional settlement in the American colonies of the various African tribes represented in bondage. For example, he noted that these first slaves in South Carolina were Wolofs from Senegambia, desired specifically, as Piersen recognized, for their skills in livestock management and rice cultivation. Virginians also showed a preference for Senegambians, including Wolofs, Fulani, Bambara, Malinke, and Mandingos, who

were prized as house servants and cooks. Yoruba (Nigeria), Fon (Benin), and Fanti (coastal Ghana) slaves were also preferred by slaveholders in North America as house servants, and their foods are reflected in many dishes of the Antebellum South.

Most Senegambian men were adept at hunting and trapping small and medium-sized game. Although most African societies at this time consisted of small groups or clusters, especially in the forested regions along the great bend of the western coast where dense tropical forestation hindered communications and made large societies impossible, from time to time, special hunting societies were formed for capturing larger animals (Piersen 1996).

It was these sophisticated farming techniques, including wet-rice agriculture, shifting hoe cultivation, use of dikes to control flooding, and working livestock, that made Africans of the West Coast highly prized as slaves for the North American colonies (Piersen 1996). Thus, Africans were transported in bondage to a new land not only because of their labor potential, but also because of their agricultural skills, and the American South, once slavery had rooted, mirrored the agrarian societies of West Africa. For example, South Carolina plantation owners had tried unsuccessfully to grow rice using dry land techniques, but it was the slaves' knowledge of wet-rice agriculture that allowed rice growing to flourish there and in other southern colonies (Piersen 1996).

West African Foodways and Diet

Africans taken from their homeland and brought to North America arrived with their old cultural ways and survival skills learned in transit and soon blended them with what they encountered in the colonies as Europeans were building a new nation. It is worthwhile, therefore, to examine the West African cultures that gave start to African American influence in southern lifestyles, food, and cooking techniques.

Many food historians have traced African American cooking to its African roots by studying specific foodstuffs that have been introduced to North America from Africa. Many common American foods are indigenous to Africa, such as legumes, yams, sorghum, watermelon, pumpkin, and okra, all of which could be found as early as 4000 BC on the African continent (Harris 1995). There is some evidence that African tubers may date back to seventeen thousand to eighteen thousand years ago (Harris 1998). Cucumber, onion, and garlic are also believed to be African in origin, as well as sesame seeds (benne), black-eyed peas (actually a bean), and collards and other leafy greens, among many others.

In addition, historians now recognize that many other foods originally from other continents but well established in Africa before the slave trade made important contributions to the African American diet during slavery. These native and nonnative foods of West Africa were important companions for the enslaved as they endured the Middle Passage crossing to the Americas, not only providing nourishment on the way over, but also giving a toehold to the agriculture that later supported the development of southern cooking and other African-derived cuisines.

West Africans relied little on meat, eating mostly a vegetarian diet, although seafood showed up often in stews served with a starch. Archaeological sites in what is now Ghana reveal that hunter-gatherers who moved around the forests and savannas during a period from 1750 to 1350 BC ate a wide variety of foods including tortoises, monitor lizards, freshwater turtles, and a type of giant land snail (Harris 1998). What meat was used usually was cut into small pieces to flavor stews or other pot dishes

and was boiled slowly for long periods. Domestic meat available included beef, camel, goat, lamb, pork, and poultry, and it was typically sun dried, smoked, corned, or salted for preservation. Roasted meat was frequently served with a sauce that was the forerunner of modern barbecue (Mendes 1971).

Africans had a well-deserved reputation for spicy hot food, and it was their knowledge and use of seasonings and spices that transformed simple and sometimes bland foods into more zesty meals. It was this knowledge that would later instill the interest and complexity to African American–inspired dishes that encompass "soul food" and barbecue and help develop other cuisines such as Creole, Cajun, and Bahian.

Grains of paradise, a West African spice obtained from the plant *Aframomum melegueta* and also known as Melegueta pepper, was used extensively in West African dishes to give them a pungent and peppery flavor and yet is relatively unused today (Harris 1998). Exported to Europe, grains of paradise was a fashionable substitute for black pepper in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The hot *malagueta* chili pepper (spelled "mala" and unrelated to the Melegueta pepper), grown in Brazil, is a staple of Bahian cuisine, which is also African influenced. Ground pepper and red pepper oil were the commonly used forms of pepper seasoning. A Yoruba (southwestern Nigeria) proverb says, "The man that eats no pepper is weak, pepper is the staff of life."

Wild game was enjoyed, when possible, by West Africans of the precolonial period, and this later would explain why enslaved African Americans were more adventurous than European-Americans in adapting to animals like possum, raccoon, bottom-feeding fishes, turtles, and wild birds that Native Americans had used for centuries as food choices (Piersen 1996).

Traditional precolonial African cuisine was characterized by use of starch as a focus. Fufu was a common dish of the coastal Guinea area of West Africa. It was made from a starchy food, such as yams, cassava, rice, or plantains, that was pounded, usually in a mortar and pestle, to the consistency of dumpling dough (Mitchell 1993). To this base was added cayenne pepper and sometimes crab meat; the dish was boiled in a pot with okra, and sometimes a sauce was added.

African meals of this period also used steamed greens, such as collards, with hot spices. Dishes of steamed or boiled green vegetables, peas, beans, and cereals were widely consumed. In each African locality, there were numerous wild fruits and vegetables that were part of the diet. Watermelons, bananas, and plantains were some of the more familiar fruits in the forested regions of West Africa, but plums, dates, figs, star apples, and pomegranates were also consumed (Mitchell 1993).

Cooking techniques of West Africa often combined fish and meat, including dried fish, and one-pot meals were favored, such as soups or stews that combined meat and vegetables. Cooking methods included boiling, steaming in leaves, roasting over an open fire, baking in hot coals or ashes, toasting beside the fire, and frying in deep oil, usually palm oil (Harris 1995).

In addition to these cooking techniques, there were several culinary tendencies that traveled with the enslaved from Africa to America that are signatures of African-inspired cooking in the United States. According to Harris (1995), among these were:

- The use of rice dishes;
- The use of smoked ingredients for flavoring;
- The use of okra, nuts, and seeds as thickening agents;
- The use of leafy green vegetables;

- The creation of various types of fritters; and
- The abundant use of peppery and spicy hot sauces.

Seeds and nuts were important to the African diet. The peanut, in particular, is a food often associated with Africa because of its heavy use in African cooking. The New World peanut, however, was native to South America and was probably introduced to Africa in the early 1500s by Europeans. The Bambara groundnut, akin to the New World peanut, is an African native, but because the New World peanut is easier to harvest and a more productive plant, it became more common than the groundnut in Africa soon after its introduction. By the time the slave trade began, peanuts were being used as a vegetable and ground up as a soup base or, along with okra, as a thickener to many African dishes. Peanut soup is still a popular southern dish. It was later believed by some that enslaved Africans introduced the peanut to North America, and it almost certainly made the Middle Passage voyage with them, but European explorers probably brought the peanut to North America slightly ahead of the arrival of slaves. Even today, the peanut is an important part of the African diet because of its high nutritional value (Gibbon and Dugan 2007).

Deep frying was used by African cooks for a variety of foods such as yams, okra, plantains, and bananas. Palm oil, peanut oil, and sometimes animal fat were used for frying (Ciment 2001). Shea butter (an African vegetable butter made from the fruit of the *Butyrospermum parkii* tree) and sesame and coconut oils were also used, depending on the locality (Mitchell 1993).

Many African tribes at the dawn of the slave trade customarily ate their meals from a large communal bowl using their fingers to dip into what was typically a one-pot dish. Herders from the Senegambia region often would not eat during the day but only in the evening, a practice that would later serve them well under slavery when eating times were limited. Utensils for cooking and eating were simple, made from earthenware or prepared gourds or other squashes (Harris 1995).

A typical meal at the time might consist of rice, a staple food, chicken, and milk. Green leafy vegetables, okra, varieties of pumpkins, squashes, gourds, and cucumbers were also consumed, and eggplant, introduced prior to the Middle Ages by Arab and Persian travelers, was often an ingredient of stew or soups.

A wonderful account, although coming later, describing the African meal was preserved in a book written by Olaudah Equiano who was born in 1745 in what is now Nigeria and who was forced into slavery in America and the Caribbean. Equiano later bought his freedom and became an author and early antislavery activist. In his book, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, Written by Himself*, originally published in 1789 in London, he described cooking and eating in Western Africa:

> Our manner of living is entirely plain; for as yet the natives are unacquainted with those refinements in cookery which debauch the taste: bullocks, goats, and poultry, supply the greatest part of their food. These constitute likewise the principal wealth of the country, and the chief articles of its commerce. The flesh is usually stewed in a pan; to make it savoury we sometimes use also pepper, and other spices, and we have salt made of wood ashes. Our vegetables are mostly plantains, eadas [eddoes], yams, beans, and Indian corn. The head of the family usually eats alone; his wives and slaves have also their separate tables. Before we taste food we always wash our hands: indeed our cleanliness on all occasions is extreme; but on this it is an indispensable ceremony. After washing,

> libation is made, by pouring out a small portion of the food, in a certain place, for the spirits of departed relations, which the natives suppose to preside over their conduct, and guard them from evil. They are totally unacquainted with strong or spirituous liquours; and their principal beverage is palm wine. This is gotten from a tree of that name by tapping it at the top, and fastening a large gourd to it; and sometimes one tree will yield three or four gallons in a night. When just drawn it is of a most delicious sweetness; but in a few days it acquires a tartish and more spirituous flavour though I never saw anyone intoxicated by it. The same tree also produces nuts and oil. Our principal luxury is in perfumes; one sort of these is an odoriferous wood of delicious fragrance: the other a kind of earth; a small portion of which thrown into the fire diffuses a most powerful odour. We beat this wood into powder, and mix it with palm oil; with which both men and women perfume themselves.
>
> We also have markets, at which I have been frequently with my mother. These are sometimes visited by stout mahogony-colored men from the south west of us: we call them Oye-Eboe, which term signifies red men living at a distance. They generally bring us firearms, gunpowder, hats, beads, and dried fish. The last we esteemed a great rarity, as our waters were only brooks and springs. These articles they barter with us for odoriferous woods and earth, and our salt of wood ashes.

Slave Trade and the Middle Passage

Once the European discovery of the New World occurred, colonization, expansion, and domination of North America, South America, and the West Indies depended on a reliable and plentiful work force. Attempts to subjugate the natives of these new lands soon proved unsuccessful, in large part because native populations became weakened and reduced in number with the introduction of diseases for which they had no immunity. Europeans were unsuited to the climate and suffered from tropical diseases. Africans, on the other hand, were excellent workers, often had experience in agriculture and keeping livestock, were used to tropical climates and resistant to tropical diseases, and could be "worked very hard" on plantations or in mines.

Beginning in the middle of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese began to "solve" this labor problem by the opening of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, a three-pronged, or triangular, trade route consisting of three journeys from Europe to Africa, to the Americas or the Caribbean, and then back to Europe. The outward passage from Europe carried manufactured goods to Africa, the brutal Middle Passage carried African slaves and other "commodities," and the third leg of the trade was the return to Europe bringing the produce of slave labor, sugar, tobacco, rum, rice, cotton, molasses, and other goods.

The Middle Passage was a horrific two-month voyage that transported Africans to the New World after being held for sometimes months in the so-called "slaving forts" along the Guinea Coast after their capture. It has been estimated that from 1450 to 1870, between ten million (Curtin 1969: 268) and fifteen million (Inikori 1982: 13, 60) uprooted Africans were taken into slavery and brought mostly to the Americas and that at least one million of them died during the passage. Dozens of other scholars place the numbers at various other points in that range. Historians estimate that of these numbers, approximately 42 percent of African slaves went to the Caribbean Islands, 49 percent went to South America, and less than 5 percent came to British North America and the United States. The remainder went elsewhere, primarily to Europe (*E-Black Studies Journals* 2007). The number of slaves delivered to British

North America and the United States was approximately five hundred thousand, which accounted for the 5 percent of total slaves delivered (Thomas 1997: 804).

Surviving the Ordeal

In the early years of the slave trade, it took an average of sixty-two days to make the notorious Middle Passage trip from West Africa to the Americas. Slaves were held below deck in filthy conditions and packed tightly, fitting together like spoons in spaces described as no larger than the size of a coffin per person. They were exposed to new diseases and suffered from malnutrition and dehydration long before they reached their destinations. The death rate on board has been estimated at anywhere from at least 10 percent on most voyages to 30 percent, and even by some estimates 40 percent, if it was a particularly bad crossing with an improvident captain (Thomas 1997: 423, 717). It is believed that the majority of deaths occurred during the first couple of weeks of the trip due to malnutrition and disease encountered during the forced marches and subsequent imprisonment on the coast of West Africa prior to sailing.

But as the voyage continued and life became even more miserable for the enslaved, the heat, crowded conditions, poor diet, and, especially, limited and mostly unclean supplies of water took an additional toll. Once the voyage had been underway for a period of weeks, dysentery, or "the flux" as it was called, became the worst of the diseases on the ships (Thomas 1997: 422). An English surgeon in 1790 attributed two-thirds of the deaths on one particular journey to "*banzo*," the mortal melancholy, as it was described by Brazilians, or "involuntary suicide." But in fact, dysentery was a much worse problem. Smallpox was probably the second most common cause of death for slaves on the Middle Passage because it was a disease for which they had no immunity. Europeans were stricken by smallpox epidemics hundreds of years earlier after the Crusades, but because of the presence of the cowpox virus, mainly in Europe, by the time Europeans began the slave trade, most were immune to smallpox. Once recovered from cowpox, which is caused by a related but much milder viral infection, one becomes immune to further infection from both cowpox and smallpox viruses. Smallpox and many other infectious diseases were unknown both in Africa and the New World until Europeans began exploration of both continents.

Despite efforts to keep slaves in as good condition as possible so they could bring the best price at market, conditions aboard slave ships were so unhealthy and intolerable that it became a difficult proposition. Below deck was the stench of sweating bodies and human excrement. Disease and infection were rampant, and ship surgeons found it nearly impossible to tend to the sick in the slave hold because they would faint due to the excessive heat (Thomas 1997). Thus slaves would sometimes be moved to other parts of the ship to be treated, more for the comfort of the surgeons than for the ill. As they succumbed, dead slaves were unceremoniously thrown overboard, and there is reason to believe that this was done on the port side. The starboard side, which was the "best side" of the ship, was probably reserved for white men (Svalesen 2000).

As was noted in Chapter 2 about the conflicting accounts of whether the amount of food for slaves in the South was adequate, so too are there discrepancies over the adequacy of water supplied to African slaves bound for the Americas. An English slave captain, Captain Sherwood, claimed in the 1790s that, as a rule, there was adequate water onboard slave ships (Thomas 1997). Sometimes this was true; sometimes it was not. An average European man of the time was said to require a quart of water to drink

every day, but Africans were accustomed to drinking more water than Europeans, probably because of the heat of their climate. In their laws governing provisions and treatment for slaves on ship, the Portuguese required that each slave should be given a *Canada*, or 1.5 pints, of water daily (Thomas 1997). Some English ships would carry enough water to provide two pints per day per person. No matter how much water was carried, it required significant space to store. To comply with the Portuguese law, a ship carrying three hundred slaves would have to load thirty-five barrels of water to make the voyage.

Jean Barbot, a French Protestant merchant who in 1732 published his account of his voyages along the West African coast, noted that at "each meal we allowed each slave a full coconut shell of water and, from time to time, a dram of brandy" (Hair et al. 1992). Sometimes a double supply of water would be loaded. The British slave ship *Brookes* in the 1780s carried thirty-four thousand gallons of water for six hundred slaves and forty-five sailors, yet a ration of three pints of water per person per day would have required only twelve thousand gallons (Thomas 1997).

No matter the amounts, there often proved to be not enough water either because of conditions onboard ship or because the water itself was part of the problem. Below deck, temperatures often reached over 100°F, and often water was carried in very unsanitary ways. It was frequently stored in the same barrels that carried other goods on different legs of the trade, such as cane brandy brought from South America, which afterwards would foul any container for subsequent uses unless thoroughly cleaned, and they seldom were cleaned (Thomas 1997). In addition, water loaded from some ports in Angola was notoriously bad and in short supply. Between the heat and unclean water, dehydration and dysentery, the latter of which also caused or worsened dehydration, were common on slave vessels.

Food Onboard Slave Ships

Initially, regular merchant vessels were converted to slave ships especially fitted to hold human cargo. By the second half of the eighteenth century, however, vessels were designed and constructed specifically for the trade. They were sleek, narrow vessels, with special grates and portholes to direct air below deck (Horton and Horton 1995).

Despite the inhumane conditions, the economics of the trade demanded that ship captains have some consideration for their cargo because most often their wages and commissions depended on the number of slaves delivered safely to port. Besides, some ships' captains were moved by early Christian doctrine that seemed to legitimize slavery but with a responsibility to treat slaves well. At least this is how Barbot, who was also a ship captain, interpreted the apostle Paul's first-century epistle to his friend Philemon the Greek about Philemon's runaway slave Onesimus. St. Paul converted Onesimus to Christianity while the slave was in his custody, but his letter to Philemon returned Onesimus to his owner with the recommendation for indulgence. Barbot interpreted the epistle to mean that although slavery was legal, slaves should be treated humanely (Thomas 1997). Most slave trading companies, however, were more attuned to economics than esoteric notions of right and wrong.

Sometimes captains would try to load provisions on board for the slaves that were of a type preferred by their particular African group. Although typically simple, there were some differences in provisions depending on the nation of origin of the ships. Peas, beans, and maize, or Indian corn, were often carried from England if the ship was

a British slaver. Oats from France usually accompanied slave ships of French origin, and on Portuguese boats, manioc (cassava) was usually a staple (Thomas 1997). But most often, food was obtained on the African coast prior to departing—rice in Upper Guinea, yams or plantains from the Niger Delta, or corn in Angola (Horton and Horton 1995). Rice, millet, potatoes, coconuts, limes, and sometimes oranges would also be loaded from Africa (Thomas 1997).

The Portuguese, beginning in 1519, developed precise regulations about the food for the journey of a slave vessel, and later laws (1684) elaborated these regulations. But often, rogue captains sailing from some African ports, especially from Angola, would ignore what was needed for the trip. In some cases, they would even bribe port officials to allow them to use the space that would have been taken up by food to add additional slaves to the hold (Thomas 1997).

Emerging knowledge of nutrition in the eighteenth century indicated that certain fruits and vegetables would prevent scurvy. Actually, what was known at the time stemmed from scientific tests conducted by a ship's surgeon in the British Royal Navy in 1747 in which he concluded that lemon juice prevented scurvy (Beta Force 2007). Science had not yet determined that it was the vitamin C in these foods that produced this effect, but it was known that citrus fruits were among the foods that could prevent scurvy, and so at about this time, it became common practice to load such foods, limes in particular, onto slave vessels for the Middle Passage (Horton and Horton 1995). Sometimes it was a simple mouthwash of vinegar or lime juice in the morning that was given to avoid scurvy among both the crew and the enslaved.

According to Holloway (2005), the most common food on board slave ships was the African yam. One slave merchant noted that roughly two hundred yams per slave would need to be provided for the Atlantic crossing. The ship logs of the slave vessel *Elizabeth* on a 1754 voyage to Rhode Island listed provisions of "yams, plantain, bread, (cornbread) fish and rice." In another account, the logs of the slave ship *Othello* in 1768 listed hundreds of baskets of yams taken on board for the slaves and smaller quantities of plantains, limes, pepper, palm oil, and gobbagobs, or peanuts (Holloway 2005).

In 1750, an English clergyman, John Newton, described the despair in his observations of a Middle Passage crossing (Smead 1989). He wrote that slaves were brought up on deck at about 8:00 A.M. Men were chained down in leg irons, while women and children were allowed to walk freely. At about 9:00 A.M., they were given their first meal of the day, which usually consisted of boiled rice, millet, or cornmeal, sometimes flavored with a lump of salted beef. The meal might also include starchy vegetables such as plantains, yams, or manioc. They might be given a half pint of water each that was drunk out of a *pannikin* (a small hollowed out pan similar to a large spoon). The ordeal was so demoralizing that slaves often sank into a depression known as the "fixed melancholy," as noted previously. A slave so afflicted lost the will to live and died (Smead 1989).

Sometimes a mixture of old beef and rotten fish and salt, known as "slabber sauce," was poured over rice or beans in an attempt to fill the slaves' stomachs. Other accounts of "slabber sauce" described it as a mixture of palm oil, flour, pepper, and water (Mitchell 1993). It was at this time, as they crossed the Atlantic, that the diet of newly enslaved Africans began to change forever as they attempted to survive and adapt to the ordeal of the Middle Passage. Once grounded in the New World, some of the meager and strange combinations of scraps and leftovers forced on them in

transit were later used and modified in slavery, the common thread being that no morsel of food went to waste.

Some of the best and most accurate document sources for understanding what life was like for slaves aboard a slave ship and the actual types and amounts of foods available to them come from ship logs of the vessels engaged in the trade. An example of this is the Danish slave ship *Fredensborg*, originally christened *Cron Prindz Christian* as a one hundred–foot frigate in February 1753. It was built to take provisions and supplies to Danish forts on the African Gold Coast, such as Fort Christiansborg, which was a stronghold for both launching African slaves on the Middle Passage and selling them to other nations' slave traders.

After a few years, the *Cron Prindz Christian* was rechristened as the *Fredensborg* and outfitted to transport slaves across the Atlantic with a capacity of 265 individuals, which it did from 1760 until autumn 1768 when, on a return voyage toward Denmark from the Danish West Indies, it foundered off the rocky coast of southern Norway. Author-diver Leif Svalesen and his team discovered the *Fredensborg* in 1974 off Arendal, Norway, in only twenty-five feet of water. The team brought up many artifacts from the slave vessel over the next few years and then spent much time poring over two thousand pages of the ship's logs, construction details, and inventories from the Danish National Archives to piece together life aboard the ship for slaves and crew. It resulted in one of the more complete historical records of a slave ship and gave a detailed glimpse of the treatment and nutrition given the slaves on board. On the *Fredensborg* specifically, the death rate of the slave cargo crossing the Atlantic was 11 percent, while amazingly, the crew's death rate was 38 percent. The most common causes of fatality for crew members were tropical diseases and foreign infections picked up while in Africa (Svalesen 2000).

The following provisions regulation found by Svalesen in the Danish National Archives is from 1753, the year of the *Fredensborg*'s maiden voyage, and applied to all Royal Chartered Danish Guinea Company ships:

> The weekly Ration for One Man:
> A half pound of Pork
> Two pounds of Meat
> One and a half pounds of Dried Fish
> One pound of Butter
> Five pounds of Groats
> Two pounds of Peas
> Four pounds of hardtack
> Seven pounds of soft bread during the first 4–6 Weeks
> One pint of Brandy
> One Barrel of Beer for each man for the whole voyage
> Two pints of Water daily when all Beer has been consumed.
>
> Oil, Malt Vinegar and Prunes, which are not ordinary fare, shall be given at the discretion of the Ship's Council. [Svalesen 2000: 119]

Groats are hulled and crushed grains of various cereals such as oats, wheat, or buckwheat.

On board the *Fredensborg*, a slave's weekly fare also included one-half paegl (quarter pint) of brandy and one-eighth pound of tobacco and one pipe. The brandy and tobacco were intended more for psychological effect and were included to help

keep up the slaves' spirits during the wearying passage (Svalesen 2000). The brittle clay pipes for smoking the tobacco were supposed to last a whole week and were probably collected after use.

The ship's log revealed that the daily meals for slaves were as follows:

Sunday...	Pork, Beans, Groats	Tobacco and Pipe	
Monday...	Beans, Groats	Tobacco	Brandy
Tuesday...	Beans, Groats	Tobacco	
Wednesday...	Beans, Groats	Tobacco	Brandy
Thursday...	Beans, Groats	Tobacco	Brandy
Friday...	Beans, Groats	Tobacco	
Saturday...	Millet Twice		Brandy

[Svalesen 2000: 119]

For the most part on all slave ships, the enslaved were fed on deck. On the *Fredensborg*, they were taken up in groups, needing fresh air and exercise, as well as food. Feeding was broken into groups for practical reasons because only one hundred wooden spoons and twelve platters were boarded on ship and the *Fredensborg* had capacity for 265 slaves. The stove used to cook the slaves' food was also out on deck and was used to cook porridge of ground millet and Spanish pepper. The millet grain was ground in a stone hollowed out of sandstone, and there were three of these millstones aboard the *Fredensborg*. Grains of paradise was the pepper carried by the Danes, and it was loaded by the ration of ten skjeppe (five bushels) per one hundred slaves for the entire journey.

Although on most slave ships the amount of food and calories allotted to slaves was severely limited during most of the passage, they were normally fed better in the days directly before their arrival in the Americas to strengthen them before sale. When the ships were within a week or two of arriving at the point-of-sale port, many captains would make sure slaves were washed and rubbed with palm oil and fed generous amounts of porridge and salt beef to make them look more presentable for sale. Their open sores from chafing against the slave platforms would begin to heal, and they would sometimes be given tobacco and a drop of rum to help lift their spirits (Svalesen 2000).

Arrival in the Americas

More than 90 percent of enslaved Africans were brought to either South America or the Caribbean Islands during the 400 years of the active Transatlantic Slave Trade, while only 5 percent were destined for North America. The first of that 5 percent, which provided the foundation upon which slavery was built in the North American colonies, arrived when sixty Africans were off-loaded from two British pirate ships that docked at Jamestown, Virginia, within four days of one another in August 1619. They were traded to the English settlers there for provisions. These Africans were part of a total cargo of 350 Angolans that had been en route to Vera Cruz, Mexico, aboard the Portuguese slave ship *San Juan Bautista* when it was hijacked a month earlier by the two pirate ships, *Treasurer* and *White Lion*, the latter of which flew the Dutch flag (Rein 2006). The Africans would soon replace indentured servants from England to work the fledgling tobacco plantations (APVA 2007). Before the importation of Africans to work in North America, poor Englishmen worked as indentured servants for the earliest planters in Virginia in exchange for passage

to America. After several years of servitude, they earned their freedom. The first Africans brought to North America arrived to face a similar system of indentured servitude and, after several years, were allowed to purchase their freedom. In little more than two decades after putting forth at Jamestown, several of the Africans from the *Bautista* bought their own farms, and by the 1650s, some even acquired white servants to raise their tobacco.

This freedom to prosper was allowed the new African Americans in Virginia until the colony enacted laws in 1705 to fully institutionalize slavery and prohibit Africans from owning property and farming to purchase freedom. Many of the free descendants of those from the *Bautista* were stripped of many of their rights, and the slide toward slavery was underway (Hashaw 2007).

In these early years, some of the indigenous crops of Africa began showing up in the slaves' new American home. In tales of the time, which may be somewhat exaggerated, stories were told of seeds from watermelons, okras, and sesame (benne) being transported in the slaves' ears, hair, or clothing. More likely, it was the European slave traders themselves who brought these foods over at the urging of African slave traders who were eager for their own economic gain. However it may have happened, these familiar foods would soon become part of America's southern crops (Harris 1995).

It was not uncommon for many slave ships to land first in the West Indies after crossing the ocean from Africa to off-load a part of their human cargo and perhaps load some trade goods such as rum or sugar before moving on to the mainland north of Spanish Florida. The enslaved Africans passing this way perhaps were exposed, however briefly, to the zesty foods of the Creole islanders—food that was probably a welcome relief from the spoiled and rancid victuals of the voyage. It is conceivable that in breaking the gastronomic monotony they had been forced to endure for two months, they might have gotten a taste of such spirited dishes as pepper pot, gumbo, and *a la daube* (fish or other food in gelatin). By the time the Africans reached their new home, those selected to be cooks, usually women, quickly began demonstrating their flare for cooking by creating dishes that reflected African and Creole tastes and yet still appealed to the English palate that had already borrowed from Native Americans (Randolph 1824).

Thus began the horror of slavery, but also the wonderful roots of African influence on American cuisine and, in the years that would follow, the evolution of southern cooking and derivations that endure today. The essence of it all is the artful use of spices.

It is impossible to contemplate the rich variety of current southern cooking and foodways without some knowledge and appreciation of its African roots and the unique twists borne of want and desperation that were later added during the dark passage through slavery.

4

SLAVE COOKING AND MEALS

All the slaves ate together. They had a cook special for them. This cook would cook in a long house more than thirty feet long. Two or three women would work there and a man, just like the cooks would in a hotel now. All the working hands ate there and got whatever the cook gave them. It was one thing one time and another. The cook gave the hands anything that was raised on the place. There was one woman in there cooking that was called 'Mammy' and she seed to all the chilen.

After the old folks among the slaves had had their breakfast, the cook would blow a horn. That would be about nine o'clock or eight. All the children that were big enough would come to the cook shack. Some of them would bring small children that had been weaned but couldn't look after themselves. The cook would serve them whatever the old folks had for breakfast. They ate out of the same kind of dishes as the old folks.

William L. Dunwoody (AR)

They had a great big kitchen for the slaves. They had what you call pot racks they could push them big pots in and out on. They cooked hog slop there. They had trays and bowls to eat out of that were made cut of gum wood. It was a long house used as a kitchen for the hands to go in and eat. They et dinner there and for supper they would be there. But breakfast, they would have to eat in the field. The young niggers would bring it out to them. They would bring it about an hour after the sun rose and the slave hands would eat it right out in the field; that was the breakfast. You see the hands went to the field before sunup, and they didn't get to eat breakfast in the kitchen and it had to be et in the field. Little undergrowth of children—they had plenty of them on the place—had to carry their meals to them.

Thomas Ruffin (AR)

The complex social relationships on the plantation are revealed through the gathering, storing, preparing, and consumption of food. These activities were essential functions, and African American slaves and whites often affirmed their socioeconomic and racial relationships through these activities. Owners used food to manipulate,

reaffirm their higher status, force work, reward, punish, and otherwise assert their power over slaves. Despite the owners' efforts, many slaves found ways to diminish this power. They found ways to meet their own needs for food.

Food Storage

The storage, preparation, serving, and consumption of food on the plantation is revealing and sheds light on race and socioeconomic relations in the Antebellum South. In the heat and humidity, food spoiled quickly and thus had to be either consumed immediately or properly stored. A few southerners occasionally had access to ice, which they used for food preservation, but this was rare, especially in the Deep South. Instead of ice, slaves and southerners relied on a few time-proven methods of storing foods. They salted, smoked, pickled, brewed, dried, potted, and placed foods in root cellars to preserve them. The methods of food preservation drew upon European, Native American, and African traditions (Whit 2007). Europeans used sugar to preserve fruits. Africans relied on drying and salting. Native Americans relied on smoking, salting, and pickling. When recalling his life as a child in a slave cabin, Booker T. Washington wrote:

> In the center of the earthen floor there was a large deep opening covered with boards, which was used as a place in which to store sweet potatoes during the winter. I recall that during the process of putting the potatoes in or taking them out I would often come into possession of one or two, which I roasted and thoroughly enjoyed. [Washington 1900: 4]

Other examples of slave reliance on root cellars are well documented in the literature (Yentsch 2007). Root cellars are often used by archaeologists to identify slave quarters (Samford 1996). Slaves used root cellars year round to store foods. They used root cellars to keep perishables cool in the summer, and the cellars were often located in the front of the dwelling or near fireplaces to keep vegetables from freezing during the winter. Slaves did not restrict the use of cellars to storing only food. They also used them to store other items, such as tools, buttons, stolen items, coins, and other things of value (Samford 1996). The root cellar was often used by slaves to conceal valued items such as stolen food from their overseers and owners (Singleton 1995). This latter use of storage pits has generated controversy. For example, Mary Anderson (NC) recalled:

> A large hole about ten feet deep was dug in the ground; the ice was put in that hole and covered. Other things besides ice were stored there. There was a still on the plantation and barrels of brandy were stored in the ice house, also pickles, preserves, and cider.

Slaves sometimes used cellars to conceal things from owners. Some of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives mention concealing food and other items from owners in hidden cellars. In response to this secretive behavior, Samford (1996) suggested that the raising of slave cabins off the ground in Virginia during the nineteenth century may have been an effort to prevent slaves from hiding items under their cabins in cellars.

Packing vegetables in the ground also worked to preserve them for use in the winter. Betty Curlett (AR) described how potatoes were buried in dirt:

> They made banks of dirt, sand, leaves and plank and never washed the sweet potatoes till they went to cook them. They had rows of banks in the garden or out behind some of the houses, and had potatoes like that all winter and in the spring to bed.

Zenia Culp (AR) provided another account of how vegetables were buried in pits and covered:

> When they gathered sweet potatoes they would dig a pit and line it with straw and put the tatoes in it then cover them with straw and build a coop over it. This would keep the potatoes from rotting. The Irish potatoes they would spread out in the sand under the house and the onions they would hand up in the fence to keep them from rotting.

She then noted how dairy products were stored, "In old Master Newton's day they didn' have ice boxes and they would put the milk and butter and eggs in buckets and let em down in the well to keep em cool."

Slaves would also store food in boxes, chests, and other containers. John Hunter (AR) talked about food stored in a chest: "Food was kept in an old chest. There weren't no such things as trunks and cupboards." Henry Kirk Miller (AR) also mentioned the use of chests: "Food was kept in the house in a sort of box or chest, built in the wall sometimes." In addition to storage chests, meats were salted and smoked to preserve them (see Chapter 6).

There were other ways slaves stored or preserved food. Some of the narratives mention drying fruits to preserve them for later use. Cynthia Erwing (AL) talked about how fruit and corn were dried:

> Another thing that they used to do, was to dry peaches, and also take roasting ears of corn and scrape them, and put it up on a big scaffold they had in the yard and dry it. Then made starch out of it.

In another narrative, Sally Murphy (AL) stated:

> When dey dried de fruit us would cook our kind of fruit cake. I can't recollect what went in it. Dere was a plenty though. Mistis had fruit dried on tins in de yard, and at twelve o'clock every day all hands went to de house and turned de fruit.

A Note on Salt

All southerners, white and African American, used salt to preserve food, especially meats. The use of salt and drying to preserve food would have been practiced in many African societies and thus would have been passed on to later generations of slaves (Whit 2007). Salt also brings out the flavor of many foods. Slaves working the fields sweated out much of whatever salt they consumed during the hot days; thus, intake of salt was important to help keep workers from experiencing muscle cramping and dehydration. Salt was relatively scarce in the Antebellum South (Joyner 1971). Most southerners found it necessary to purchase salt in their local stores (Oakes 1990).

For those living in coastal regions, the sea was a source of salt. Patience Campbell (FL) mentioned evaporating sea water to obtain salt. She said, "The food was cooked in large iron pots and pans in an open fireplace and seasoned with salt obtained by evaporating sea water."

When asked, "Do you remember evaporating sea water to get salt?" Rivana Boynton (FL) responded, "Ha did hit dat way." But others clearly did not. Salena Taswell (FL), when asked if she remembered evaporating sea water to get salt, replied, "No. We did not live so far from Macon and the Ole Doctor he was rich and bought such things."

However, not all slaves had access to sea salt. Charley Roberts (FL) described how slaves got salt from the smokehouse:

> I don't know why, but I remember we didn't have salt given to us, so we went to the smoke house where there were clean boards on the floor where the salt and grease drippings would fall from the smoked hems hanging from the rafters. The boards would be soft and soaked with salt and grease. Well, we took those boards and cooked the salt and fat out of them, cooked the boards right in the bean soup. That way we got salt and the soup was good.

Jerry Eubanks (MS) also provided an account:

> We couldn't get no salt. We dug up our smoke house and put dirt in big hoppers and pored water through it to save the salt. It dripped through, den dat water was boiled down, till dere was jist old brown salt.

Frank Magwood (NC) and many others recalled doing the same to obtain salt. When interviewed, Magwood said:

> Sometimes you couldn't git salt to go in the vegetables and meat that was cooked. People dug up the salty earth under their smoke houses, put water with it, drained it off and used it to salt rations.

Sometimes salt was mined in various locations throughout the South, and typically, it was considered a job for slave children as a means to provide salt for both whites and slaves. Louisa Adams (NC) recalled, "I picked feed for the white folks. They sent many of the chillun to work at the salt mines, where we went to git salt. My brother Soloman was sent to the salt mines."

Cooking for Southern Whites

Slave cooks, especially good ones, were highly valued on the plantation. An exceptional cook reflected well on the planter and represented high social status in southern society. Planters viewed slave cooks as a cut above field slaves, and the cooks were mostly well treated, but many cooks were also under a lot of pressure, and some were abused. With status came responsibility. Many slave cooks benefited from their close proximity to white southerners in the big house (Drescher and Engerman 1998). Moore (1989: 79) wrote, "In the eyes of white Virginians, cooks—usually women—were often the most valuable, respected members of the slave community, responsible not only for feeding their own families and sometimes the other slaves but also for preparing meals for the big house." Some cooks even garnered sizable reputations for their use of spices in preparing dishes (Genovese 1974). WPA respondent Tilda Johnson (MS) noted the special status cooks in the big house had on the plantation.

In her case, it is clear that she was resented for her special status by other slaves. Her WPA interviewer wrote:

> Tilda Johnson relates that during slavery cooking was considered a very light and easy job. Any slave woman who was allowed to stay at the house and manage the pots and pans was almost a favorite, as only neat clean and careful women were selected for the job of cooking in those days. Sometimes the cook had many helpers but often when field work became rushed one woman would have to manage to carry on and that meant not only to cook the meals but churn the butter and bring water from the spring (nearly a mile away). Tilda lived on a large plantation and handled the job of cooking. "I was a gal of fourteen but I could do a womans work" said Tilda. I knew how to wash, iron, clean up and cook but my job was to cook so I never went to the Fields. I was often abused by de other slaves and called, "old puffed up house rat." I wasn't a house rat do as I used to get out chop wood pick up chips and pine burrs (to make my fire burn fast) bring three pails of water up the hill from the spring one on my head and one in each hand. I knew how to cook good plain food and at holiday time I cooked plenty pastry and other goodies.

Older Women as Cooks

The role of cook in the big house was frequently performed by older slave women (Close 1997; Covey and Lockman 1996; Joyner 1971). They were viewed by owners as nonthreatening, skilled, and knowledgeable in food preparation and service (Close 1997). Female slave cooks passed their cooking knowledge from daughter to daughter over the generations. The WPA narratives refer to these cooks as being older women, consistent with the literature on plantation life. Former slave Josephine Bristow (Rawick 1972, Vol. 2: 98–103) commented about the important role older slaves played in cooking:

> Us little tots would go every morning to a place on de hill, called the milk house, en get our milk 'tween meals while de old folks was off workin. Oh dey has a old woman to see after we chillum en tend to us in de daytime. . . . De old lady, she looked after every blessed thing for us all day long en cooked for us right along wid de mindin.

Almost every plantation had older women who looked after the children and fed them while the adults were in the fields (Covey and Lockman 1996; Genovese 1974). Older slaves contributed to the diet of all slaves by tending gardens, hunting, fishing, and teaching younger folks how to successfully do the former tasks (Close 1997). In addition, they helped prepare foods for market and sale.

Mattie Logan (Rawick 1972, Vol. 7: 88) also shared her memories about the role older slaves had as cooks: "All the meals was fixed up by an old man and old woman was too old for field trucking." Often cooking was done while slave cooks performed other work and chores, such as watching children (Schwartz 2000), which was an important role older slave women played for many slave children (Covey and Lockman 1996). An example from the narratives includes John Williams (AR), who noted, "They had old ladies to cook for the slave children and old ladies to cook for the hands." Another example is from Phillis Hicks (AR), who referred to her mother's experience: "Old people cooked and took care of the children." Slave children benefited from hanging around plantation cooks because they were a source of extra treats and rations and knowledge about cooking. In addition, child care was an important service provided by plantation cooks.

Performance in the Big House Kitchen

Slave cooks were under considerable pressure on plantations to perform well in the big house kitchen. Some owners and/or their spouses could be very oppressive and punitive if things did not go well. Liz Brown (VA), who was born in 1859, recalled what happened when her mother accidentally burned some bread:

> When mother was in pregnant stage, if she happen to burn de bread or biscuits, Missus would order her to the granary, make her take off all her clothes . Sometimes 'twon' but one piece. After she had stripped her stark naked she would beat mother wid a strap. You know it had o many prongs to hit you wid. She beat all de slaves cruelly, dat "hell pigeon" did. Nigger whip was what she used. [Perdue et al. 1976: 63]

In another account, Elizabeth Sparks (VA), born in 1841, mentioned how slave cooks were not permitted to make mistakes:

> She'd give the cook jes' so much meal to make bread fum an' effen she burnt it, she'd be scared to death 'cause they'd whup her. I 'member plenty of times the cook ask say, "Marsa please 'scuse dis bread, hits a little too brown." Yessir! Beat the devil out 'er if she burn dat bread. [Perdue et al. 1976: 275]

Louvenia Huff (AR) remembered a tale from her grandmother that underscores the stress, beatings, and occasional deaths experienced by slave cooks serving in the big house:

> I remember my grandmother telling about once when she was cooking in the kitchen, her back was turned and an old hound dog got in and started to take the chicken which was on the table. He had even got part of it in his mouth. But she turned and saw him—she choked the dog—and choked him until she choked the chicken out of him. You can see she must have been pretty scared to be afraid to let them know the chicken had been tampered with. Then we always thought my mother's death was caused by her being beat by an overseer—she caused that overseer's death, she got him while he was beating her. They had to hide her out to save her life—but a long time afterwards she died—we always laid it to that hard beating.

Angeline Jones (AR) provided a human interest story about how her grandmother cook dealt with a problematic parrot:

> Grandma had a right smart to say during slavery times. She was cooking for her mistress and had a family. She'd hide good things to take to her children. The mistress kept a polly parrot about in the kitchen. Polly would tell on grandma. Caused grandma to get whoopings. She talked like a good many of 'em. She got sick. The woman what married grandma's brother was to take her place. She wasn't going to be getting no whoopings. She sewed the parrot up. He got to dwindling. They doctored him. She clipped his tongue at the same time so he never could do no good talking. He died. They never found out his trouble. Grandma said they worried about the parrot but she never did; she knowed what been done. Grandma come from Paris, Tennessee but I think the same folks fetched 'er. I don't think she said she was sold. She said slavery times was hard. Mama didn't see as hard times as grandma had.

Cooking for Slaves

Some West African traditions carried over to the plantation South, such as women cooking for their own families (Moore 1989). Slave cooks were very influential in shaping the meals and diets of plantation slaves, as well as for whites. Many of the dishes and recipes of the old South reflect African and slave influences. Although southern whites enjoyed some of the slave foods, they did not embrace all of the foods and dishes prepared by slaves because they had access to better cuts of meat and other foods in general. However, they did accept and come to love many of the slave foods. For example, many of the spicy foods of the Deep South, such as gumbo and jambalaya, can be traced through Caribbean and African slave traditions. The popular one-pot meal of jambalaya appears to be of African origin (Singleton 1991: 189).

Cooking with Fireplaces and Ash Pits

Plantation cooking was often performed on open-hearth fireplaces in annexes that were detached or semi-detached from the main house. Fireplaces were the most common means of cooking foods in the old South (Taylor 1982). On his Virginia plantation, Booker T. Washington (1901) recalled how his mother cooked on an open fireplace for both the owners and slaves. Cooking often was done in these separate structures to reduce the heat in the main house and to reduce the risk of fires (Drescher and Engerman 1998). Stoves were virtually nonexistent or very uncommon among slaves, unless they used them in the big house to cook for whites. Ex-slave Sally Brown recalled, "We did'nt have stoves plentiful then, just overs we set in the fireplace" (Killion and Waller 1973: 32). Benny Dillard (GA) recalled a typical fireplace used for cooking:

> De fireplaces was a heap bigger dan dey has now, for all de cookin' was done in open fireplaces den. 'Taters and cornpone was roasted in de ashes and most of de other victuals was biled in de big old pots what swing on cranes over de coals. Dey had long-handled fryin' pans and heavy iron skillets wid big, thick, tight-fittin' lids, and ovens of all sizes to bake in. All of dem things was used right dar in de fireplace. Dere never was no better tastin' somepin t' eat dan dat cooked in dem old cook-things in open fireplaces. [Genovese 1974: 545]

For the most part, wood was the only or primary fuel source for the fireplaces. James Campbell, born in 1852 and who grew up on a plantation in Monroe County, West Virginia, remembered, "An' all de cookin' an' heatin' was dun by wood, why I nebber seed a lump o' coal all time I was der. We all had to cut so much wood an' pile it up two reeks 'for Christmas, an' den when ouah pile was cut, den ouah wurk was dun, so we'd jes' hav good time."

Fireplaces within or near cabins or the big house were another common way slaves cooked foods. Emma Jones (AL) explained how the fireplace worked:

> Our food den was away better dan de stuff we eats today. It was cooked on a fireplace made outen rocks and hooks fastened into de side to swing de pots aroun' on. Us made ash-cakes on a three-legged skillet dat sot ober hot coals an' us cooked in de oven for to bake meat an' cawn bread in. Dere ain't nothin' lak dem deys, no'm.

This undated Albertype Company photograph shows the interior of the reconstructed kitchen building at the home of Betty Washington Lewis, George Washington's sister, in Fredericksburg, Virginia. The house, named Kenmore by a later owner, was saved from destruction in the 1920s by the Kenmore Association, which restored the house and rebuilt the outlying buildings on their excavated foundations. Three-legged pots and other utensils for cooking in a fireplace were intended to recreate the appearance of the kitchen in the late eighteenth century (at which time some eighty slaves lived on the Lewis plantation). A mid-twentieth-century postcard view of Kenmore noted that, "Visitors are served tea and gingerbread made from Mary Washington's own recipe, by Mammy in the old Kenmore Kitchen." A more historically accurate restoration of the house and the kitchen began in 2001. Wittemann Collection; Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-52272.

Ester Green (AL) had a similar account: "All de cookin' was done on de big open fireplaces what had big potracks to hang de pots on." Janie Scott (AL) provided a variation for cooking in the summer outside:

> The slaves quarters were log cabins with clay chimneys, and they cooked in the open fireplaces in the winter and in the summer on what they called scaffolds, built out in the yard. These were made of clay foundations with iron rods across on which the pots hung.

Jefferson Franklin Henry (GA) recalled:

> All the cookin' was done in a log cabin what sot a good little piece behind the big house. The big old fireplace in that kitchen held a four-foot log, and when you was little you could set on one end of that log whilst it was a-burnin' on t'other. They biled in pots hangin' from hooks on a iron bar that went all the way 'cross the fireplace, and the bakin' was done in skillets and ovens, but sometimes bread was wropt up in cabbage or

> collard leaves and baked in hot ashes; that was ashcake. Thick iron lids fitted tight on them old skillets, and most of 'em had three legs so not coals could be raked under 'em. The ovens sot on trivets over the coals.

Mary Minus Biddle (FL) mentioned the absence of stoves and the functions of a fireplace:

> Stoves were unknown and cooking was done in a fireplace that was built of clay, a large iron rod was built in across the opening of the fireplace on which were hung pots that had special handles that lifted about the rod holding them in place over the blazing fire as the food cooking was done in a moveable oven which was placed in the fireplace over hot coals of corn cobs.

Dave Walker (MS) remembered how good the food was prepared by his mammy using the fireplace, bricks, leaves, and other items:

> In dem days all de cookin was done on de fire place. Dey keep a wonderin' how dey was gwine ter make out, finally dey went ter usin' big oak leaves an' paper to bake in. De food to be baked was wrapped in de leaves or paper an' de hot coals was raked back and de food was placed on de hot brick ob de fire place an' civered wid hot aches and coals. Hit would come out jist as purty and sweet as yo' please. Dey aint no food as good as de ole Mamy's cooked on de fire place.

The use of fire pits and the practice of roasting or heating foods in ashes were traditional African methods to cook food. Consistent with their African and Caribbean heritages, slaves also cooked in fire pits and ashes. This method would be passed down from generation to generation in the Antebellum South. In the narratives, there are many references to roasting, baking, heating, barbecuing, and otherwise cooking food in the hot ashes of fires. Some of the foods even refer to ash in their names, such as ash cake or ash roasted potatoes, or hoe cakes. Slaves would place foods directly in the coals or ashes to be roasted or baked. Sometimes, they wrapped foods in leaves, such as cabbage, before placing them in the coals or ashes. They did this to keep in moisture and avoid burning the food. Of course, slaves also placed pots, pans, spiders, and other containers directly in coals or fires.

References to these methods of cooking include one by Everett Ingram (AL), who described the use of leaves: "I 'members dat when I was a strip of a boy, dey cooked ash-cake on leaves an' de chilluns et pot-licker an' bread an' greens outen wooden trays wid wooden spoons." Sol Webb (AL) described the cooking of ash cakes in ashes and sometimes inside of leaves: "Us cooked ash-cakes in the ashes, then had pies, berries, tatters roasted on the coals, fried and baked, corn bread and some times us would cook ash-cake on collard leaves, not turned over." Betty Curlett (AR) mentioned how potatoes were roasted in hot ashes: "They cooked a washpot full of peas for a meal or two and roasted potatoes around the pot in the ashes." Mary Minus Biddle (FL) mentioned:

> Potatoes were roasted in ashes. Oft' times Mary's father would sit in front of the fireplace until a late hour in the night and on arising in the morning the children would find in a corner a number of roasted potatoes which their father had thoughtfully roasted and which the children readily consumed.

In this undated Civil War-era stereograph, an Army cook, formerly a slave, watches steaming pots at City Point, the Union advance supply depot during the siege of the city of Petersburg, Virginia. Located just 20 miles from Richmond, the Confederate capital, City Point was a port created in June 1864 and disbanded by the summer of 1865; with some 10,000 personnel, including thousands of freed slaves, City Point was Virginia's second-largest city during its brief existence. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-B8171-2597.

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Slaves cooked food in a variety of ways and used a range of simple utensils and cookware. Gibbs et al. (1980) summarized the main cooking utensils used by slaves in the coastal South. They identified fireplaces, frying pans, skewers, cast iron pots, knives, and possibly pails, tea kettles, and Dutch ovens as items used by slaves. Many slaves relied on coarse earthen or wooden ware (Morgan 2004). A few of the great plantations had silverware and fine china, but many had simple earthenware and modest wooden or metal (pewter) utensils. In contrast, slaves had to make do with what was available. They had to improvise and use whatever cooking utensils were handed down or they could make, find, or, in some instances, purchase. For example, Callie Gray (MS) described the use of bottles in the place of rolling pins and big pots:

> The niggers' food wus cooked in big pots, like wash pots, and the white folks in little pots. The buscuit skillet had legs to it and a heavy lid. It wus set down on the coals and then coals wus piled on de lid. The biscuits wus made out with your hand, they didn't have no cutters and rolling pins. The first time I ever see dough rolled out, it wus rolled with a round bottle.

Genovese (1974) noted that few masters provided tin dishes and were more likely to supply wooden spoons and knives. However, some slaves lacked even spoons and knives. For example, Alice Dixon (AR) stated, "We didn know whut knives and forkes was den. We et wid our fingahs." Others shared Dixon's experience. As a boy slave, Booker T. Washington recalled his family often eating with their hands. He recalled that without formal knives, forks, and spoons, they relied on gourds, shells from shell fish, crude pottery, discarded dishes, jars, or whatever they could find or make (Washington 1901). Mary Anderson of North Carolina and Willis Cofer, Lonnie Pyondly, and Benny Dillard, all of Georgia, also mentioned using mussel shells as children to spoon out food and milk from a trough (Killion and Waller 1973).

Slaves used whatever they could to store, prepare, and consume foods. A sense of using whatever was available can be found in the practice of using worn out farm tools such as hoes and shovels to cook. Finkelman and Miller (1998: 336) wrote, "slaves who did cook for themselves were generally issued a skillet, and it was said that in many a slave cabin there was also a worn-out cornfield or tobacco hoe on whose blade hoecake was turned out." Other examples of using whatever was available are identified in the writings of the ex-slave Solomon Northrup, whose 1853 narrative described some of the utensils and items he used to store food:

> I kept my corn in a small wooden box, the meal in a gourd; and, by the way, the gourd is one of the most convenient and necessary utensils on a plantation. Besides supplying the place of all kinds of crockery in a slave cabin, it is used for carrying water to the fields. Another, also, contains the dinner. It dispenses with the necessity of pails, dippers, basins, and such tin and wooden superfluities altogether.

He later added:

> When the corn is ground, and fire is made, the bacon is taken down from the nail on which it hangs, a slice is cut off and thrown upon coals to broil. The majority of slaves have no knife, much less a fork. They cut their bacon with the axe at the woodpile. The corn meal is mixed with a little water, placed in the fire, and baked. When it is "done brown," the ashes are scrapped off, and being placed upon a chip, which answers for a table, the tenant of the slave hut is ready to sit down upon the ground to supper. [Northrup 1853: 127–128]

Pottery and Earthenware

Pottery for storing, preparing, cooking, or serving food is the most common recovered artifact associated with enslaved African Americans (Singleton 1995). Samford (1996), summarizing archaeological evidence from slave quarters dig sites, concluded that it was apparent that some slaves had access to utensils ranging from coarse earthenware to finely painted Chinese porcelain. The latter was probably discarded by, handed down from, or purchased from owners. Archaeological evidence also indicates that some slaves used ceramics known as colono ware to store, cook, and serve

food, the use of which predated the Antebellum period. Colono ware, an unglazed, low-fired, hand-built, plain earthenware that maintained the character of African pottery, has been found in several slave archaeological sites ranging from the northern part of the Chesapeake Bay to northeast Florida and throughout the South (Ferguson 1992; Fountain 1995; Singleton 1995). In addition, archaeological evidence from the Wilcox plantation in Virginia indicates that some slaves used hand-me-down pottery or purchased annular ware bowls from the Wilcox family (Deetz 1993). Annular pottery was considered to be appropriate for subservient classes in England and elsewhere. The shapes of this pottery suggest a pattern of one-pot meals of stews and pottages among slaves (Deetz 1993). According to Singleton (1995), by the nineteenth century, ceramic bowls began to replace earthenware among slave settlements.

Samford (1996) noted that archaeological evidence, such as the fragmentary nature of bones found at slave sites, suggests that meat was primarily used by slaves in stews or soups. Singleton (1991) noted the importance of using pottery for cooking and suggested that it may have shaped southern culinary practices for slaves and whites. She observed:

> More important, the use of this pottery suggests that enslaved African Americans prepared food to suit their own tastes, perhaps incorporating aspects of traditional African cuisines. Thus, some African customs associated with preparing and serving food may have been maintained during slavery. Slaves also used these slave-made ceramics to prepare food for their masters. Colonoware accounts for a significant portion—sometimes more than half—of the ceramics used in planter households, thus suggesting that culinary techniques used by slaves influenced the local cuisine of southern whites as well. Gumbos, pilaus, and pilafs—all southern meals prepared in a single pot—are but a few examples of the present-day legacy of the South African influence in culinary practices. [Singleton 1991: 161]

One-pot meals offered many advantages to slaves. They were simple, took advantage of virtually all parts of the plant or meat, killed bacteria, and could last for days (Genovese 1974; Rose 1976; Sutch 1976; Whit 2007). Boiling foods in stewpots was the most common method of both slave and white cooking during the period (Taylor 1982). For instance, one-pot meals were also popular among English settlers in the Chesapeake region prior to the Antebellum period (Yentsch 1994). The key difference between English and African meals of this type was that the latter added more spices to their one-pot meals while the English preferred their meals to be simpler with less spice. The pot was often used to both cook and serve the food. Slaves added ingredients to the pot over time. In addition, one-pot meals could be left on the fire to slowly cook while other work was being done (Samford 1996). Singleton wrote:

> Excavated food remains also point to the general practice of cooking one-pot meals. Carcasses cut into small portions, highly fragmented bones, or bones from which the meat has apparently been sliced all suggest that meats were boiled, in stews or soups for example, rather than roasted. The making of stews was perhaps a culinary preference, but it may also have been a creative way of using pieces of meat considered undesirable by slaveholders. [Singleton 1991: 161–162]

A common one-pot meal for slaves was called "sofki" and was typical of the "anything goes" flexibility given to one-pot slave meals. Sofki generally had a base

of ground corn and hickory nuts, but after that, almost anything that was available could be added to finish the dish. Lucinda Davis (OK) recalled how her master would make sofki for whites and slaves alike and leave it cooking for anyone to eat.

> Dat was sho' good stuff to eat, and it make you fat too! Roast de green corn on de ears in de ashes, and scrape off some and fry it! Grind de dry corn or pound it up and make ash cake. Den bile de greens—all kinds of greens from out in de woods—and chop up de pork and de deer meat, or de wild turkey meat; maybe all of dem, in de big pot at de same time! Fish too, and de big turtle dat lay out on de bank!
>
> Dey always have a pot full of sofki settin right inside de house, and anybody eat when dey feel hungry. Anybody come on a visit, always give 'em some of de sofki. Ef dey don't take none de old man git mad, too!
>
> When you make de sofki you pound up de corn real fine, den pour in de water an drain it off to git all de little skin from off'n de grain. Den you let de grits soak and den bile it and let it stand. Sometime you put in some pounded hickory nut meats. Dat make it real good.

Metal Cookware

Pots

Archaeological evidence from excavated slave cabin sites indicates that they had few pots and pans (Otto and Burns 1983). Metal skillets, iron pots, pans, hoes, shovels, spiders, and other metal objects would have been common to slave food preparation. Iron pots appear to have been both popular and essential to slave cooking. Thomas Jefferson thought iron pots were so essential that he provided each female slave with one along with a bed (Moore 1989). The narratives make many references to the use of iron pots. For example, Sam and Louisa Everett (FL) commented:

> This food was cooked in iron pots which had legs attached to their bottoms in order to keep them from resting directly on the fire. These utensils were either hung over a fire or set atop a mound of hot coals.

Ex-slave Patience Campbell (FL) recalled her mother cooking dinner in large iron pots and pans for other slaves on an open fire (Rivers 2000). In his narrative, the Rev. Young Winston Davis (FL) described to his interviewer:

> . . . of the use of iron pots, fireplaces with rode use to hold the pots above the first for cooking peas, rice, vegetables, meats, etc.; the home-made coffee from meal, spring and well water, tanning cowhide for leather, spinning of thread from cotton and the weaving loom.

Spiders and Frying Pans

Frying pans with tripod legs for use over open fires were sometimes called spiders (Schneider and Schneider 2000). Martin Graham (AL) described his use of them: "Us cooked on de fireplace in three legged spiders set over hot coals, dey cooked light-bread, ash-cakes cooked in collard leaves and den us would drink butter milk

and eat clabber." Similar references to the use of spiders include Matilda Brooks' (FL) account of them:

> Since there were no stoves during slavery, they cooked their foods in large iron pots suspended from racks built into the fireplaces. Fried foods were prepared in iron 'spiders', large frying pans with legs. These pans were placed over hot coals, and the seasoning was done with salt which they secured from evaporated sea-water. After the food was fried and while the coals were still glowing the fat of oxen and sheep was melted to make candles. Any grease left over was put into a large box, to be used later for soap-making.

Sol Webb (AL) commented: "Sol's Grand-pa was Jack Webb. In those days they cooked altogether on the fireplace, using an oven, a three legged skillet placed over the coals." When asked, Rivana Boynton (FL) recalled her mother's cooking utensils:

> Yes, dey had spiders an' big iron kettles that day hung in de chimney by a long chain. Then dey wanted to cook fast dey lowered do chain and when dey wanted to bake in the spiders, they's put them und r do kettle can cover with coals until dey was hot. Dey'd put do pones in does double concerned spiders and turn them around when dey was done on one side.

Anne Maddox (AL) provided another illustration of spiders:

> Us fried on three-legged skillets over de fire an' cooked ash-cakes on de hearth wid hickory leaves on de bottom nex' to de fire. 'tain't no sech food cookin' now as den.

Other metal utensils were sometimes available to slaves, such as tin plates and cups. For example, Frank Menefee (AL) recalled, "All the chillun had a tin plate an' a tin cup with buttermilk in hit." Heard Griffin (GA) noted, "Tin pans served as plates for the families." He also said, "Spoons, knives, and forks were unheard of." Salena Taswell (FL), when asked, "Do you remember what kind of cooking utensils your mother used?" responded with a recollection of a historical encounter:

> We had copper kettles, crocks, and iron kettles. I waited on de table when Lincun came dare. That day we had chicken hash and batter cakes and dried venison.

Wooden Utensils

In addition to metal objects, utensils were often made from wood. Slaves made bowls, spoons, troughs, buckets, and other items out of wood, such as gum. For instance, Benny Dillard (GA) stated, "De wooden bowls what slave chillun et out of was made out of sweetgum trees." The use of wooden bowls, spoons, and troughs was mentioned in the narratives as being common. For example, Betty Curlett (AR) recalled, "My mother said during the war and in slavery times they ate out of wooden spoons and bowls they made." Angie Floyd (MS) stated, "Our food was brung out by de slave cooks in bowls made from hewed out tuberous gum." Toy Hawkins (GA) mentioned, "Us et our breakfast and dinner out of wooden bowls." In some cases, slaves shared bowls at mealtime. Rachel Adams (GA) recalled, "Potliker and cornbread was fed to us chillum, out of big old wooden bowls. Two or three chillum ate out of the same bowl."

Mussel Shells, Gourds, and Miscellaneous Utensils

As noted, other items were used for cooking and eating utensils such as mussel shells, hoes, and gourds. Gourds made from calabash were used for storage and as dippers (Harris 1995: 27). Many whites had metal spoons and other "fancy" utensils, while slaves had to make do with what was available. This fact was not lost on some, and Levi Ashley (MS) noted, "De white folks had silver spoons an' forks to eat wid, but de slaves had to eat wid mussel shells fer spoons, an' we sopped our gravy wid our bread."

The gourd was a very versatile item in slave life. Slaves made bowls, dishes, containers, and other items out of gourds and wove baskets in the African mode (Harris 1995: 27). Griffin Myrax (AR) stated, "They drank out of tin cups and gourds." George Strickland (AL) noted the value of gourds:

> Us et hit wid mussel shells or wid usses han's or gourds. Our wimmin folks would bile de gourds to keep dem from being bitter. Usses had a two acre paster dat usses would turn under in de fall an' plant hit in turnips. I 'clare fo' goodness dey growed nearly as big as a gallon bucket.

Robert Shepherd (GA) echoed similar observations about the uses of gourds:

> Us had water buckets, called piggens, what was made out of cedar and had handles on de sides. Sometimes us sawed off little vinegar kegs and put handles on 'em. Us loved to drink out of gourds. Dere was lots of gourds raised evvy year. Some of 'em was so big dey was used to keep eggs in and for lots of things us uses baskets for now. Dem little gourds made fine dippers.

Another item adopted by slaves was the mussel shell, which, when available, was used for spoons, ladles, and scoops. Benny Dillard (GA) recalled:

> Us et wid mussel shells 'stid of spoons. Dem mussel shells was all right. Us could use 'em to git up plenty of bread and milk, or cornpone soaked wid peas and pot likker.

Meals in the Big (or Great) House

The relationship between slaves and planters and where each took their meals shed insight into the socioeconomic relationships on and among plantations between these two groups. Generally, on smaller plantations, slaves ate with the planters (Gibbs et al. 1980). However, with few exceptions, whites on larger plantations did not eat with their slaves (Whit 2007). Serving and living in the big house had a significant impact on the lives of slaves, such as their interracial proximity with whites (Sobel 1987). On larger plantations, the rule of thumb was that only a select number of house servants were permitted to eat in the big house but not with the planter's family. They were allowed to eat only after the planter, family, and guests had finished. Slaves who cooked and served in the big house typically fared better than those working in the fields by occasionally being able to eat the same foods as the master (Joyner 1971). Booker T. Washington, when old enough, fanned flies from the table during the owner's mealtime. Great house slaves were permitted to consume leftovers and table scraps from their owners and sometimes would take food back to their families (Drescher and Engerman 1998; Schneider and Schneider 2000).

House slaves capitalized on leftovers and even developed a term for a dish made from leftover foods. On weekends, slaves mixed all the leftovers together, such as meat, bread, and vegetables, in a large pot that was then heated. Slaves called these leftover one-pot meals *juba*, *jibba*, or *jiba*. Juba refers to food that was made from leftovers.

Millie Boyd (MS) provided a vivid description of what it was like on her plantation for the owner to have a meal in the big house:

> I members being de table girl on the Hanses (?) place near de riber and de table was eight feet long three feet wide and was loaded wid things to eat, besides dere was more in de pantry and more in de kitchen and food a plenty in de smoke house. I used to love to set up a table and wait on guests. I wore a blue polka-dot dress a wide white apron and a white turban cap. Dere were blue dishes bought from cross de water, silver shinning, plenty wine and mint julips, a black boy to fan de flies away and a big girl to help fill de glasses from de side table. Dere would be from four to six kinds of meat pies in stacks, cakes of every kind, plenty sauces and jelly, preserves, relishes, pickle food good food no truck and green grass (?) like you see dese days.

Ellen Thomas (AL) provided another detailed account on how she was trained to serve whites at mealtime in the big house. Her narrative, written by her interviewer, provides a sense of how house slaves were expected to behave around whites at mealtime:

> Her training as a house servant was very broad and involved every feature of a well kept household of that period. She has especial pride in her ability to serve at table, particularly when there were guests present. A feature of the training given her and which Ellen says she never knew of anyone else receiving was, after being taught to set the dining table complete for guests, she would be blindfolded and then told to go through the motions of serving and so learn to do so without disturbing anything on the table. So proficient did she become in serving, that a few times when they had guests, Judge Kimball would for their amusement have Ellen blindfolded and direct her to serve the dinner. In passing dishes a small silver tray was used.

WPA respondent Martha Colquitt (GA) shared that after the owner's family was finished, leftovers were eaten in the kitchen or taken back to the slave quarters for the children:

> Ma's chillum all had victuals from the white folks kitchen. After Marse Billie's family done ate and left the table, the cook was supposed to take what was left to feed the house niggers and her own chillum, and us did have sure enough good victuals. [Killion and Waller 1973: 50]

Bailey Cunningham (VA), born in 1838, also described how children were allowed to eat in the big house and were fed leftovers:

> All the work hands ate in the cabins and all the children took their cymblin (squash) soup bowl to the big house and got it full of cabbage soup, then we were allowed to go [to] the table where white folks ate and get the crumbs from the table. [Perdue et al. 1976: 81]

There is little doubt that the household servants in the big house ate better than the other slaves (Blassingame 1979; Drescher and Engerman 1998). Some house servants not only ate better, but also secretly prepared food so their families would eat better.

Sarah Fukke recalled making cookies and distributing them to other slaves while the masters were out of town (White 1985). Mary Chesnut's servant, Molly, reported similar practices of feeding slave children from the big house. Caroline Malloy (GA) described how slaves in the big house were fed better:

> As Caroline lived in the house with her "white folks," she fared better than the ordinary slave. However, she said that an every day dinner for a slave consisted of side meat, corn bread and greens.

In a similar vein, Elisa Hays (AR) noted that house slaves fared better than other slaves:

> They had plenty of meat and bread and milk to eat. Coarse food–the commonest kind of food they could get 'hold of! When I knowed anything, I was in the big house eating the bes' with the white folks. Some of them could live well then.

Annie Price (GA) said, "Sometimes, my mother brought us the left-overs from the master's table and this was usually a meal by itself." A final example is the narrative of Fanny Nix (GA), who reflected that she ate better in the big house, even if it was leftovers:

> She recalls that when she minded the flies often the table she allus got plenty of biscuits and scraps o' fried chicken the white folks left on their plates, "But. Fanny added with a satisfied smile. "Marse Green's darkies never wanted for sumpin t'eat, case he give 'em a plenty, even molasses all dey wanted. Fanny and her mammy always ate in "de Missis kitchen."

House slaves and those in the kitchen would sometimes slip food out to their families without the permission of the owners. Levi Ashley (MS) shared this example:

> De white folks had good things to eat, an' sometime I would slip a li'l of de cake er pie an' den I was sho' to be whupped if my aunt tol' on me.

Meals in the Slave Quarters and Fields

Slaves ate their meals in the fields, cabins, and, sometimes, in the big house. The larger meals tended to be at breakfast and midday (Joyner 1971). Some slaves were never allowed to eat with the owners or their guests, whereas others regularly ate with their white owners. On special occasions, such as corn shucking, Christmas, Fourth of July, and hog killing time, many slaves and their owners celebrated and ate together. Sundays were generally days of rest, and in most instances, slaves prepared their Sunday meals on Saturdays (Joyner 1971). Sundays were reserved for special foods, such as biscuits, chicken, fruits, and other treats.

Frederick Law Olmsted (1856: 209) observed a slave group at mealtime; his description provides a sense as to what it was like on some plantations in Alabama for slaves as well as his perceptions of African American slaves:

> The food was given to them in tubs, from the kitchen, was various and abundant, consisting of bean porridge, bacon, corn bread, ship's biscuit, potatoes, duff (pudding), and gravy. There was only one knife used, among ten of them; the bacon was cut and torn into shares; splinters of the bone and of firewood were used for forks; the porridge

> was passed from one to another, and drunk out of the tub; but though excessively dirty and beast-like in their appearance and manners, they were good-natured and jocose as usual.

On the plantation, the noon meal was the largest for field hands. Typically, meals were delivered by children or older people in tin buckets (Jewett and Allen 2004). Planters would not permit slaves to eat their lunches in their cabins because they did not want to lose valuable time from slaves working in the fields. Instead, meals were often served in the fields. Abolitionist Frederick Douglass described how slaves took their ash cakes on his plantation to the fields for lunch to avoid travel back to the cabins (Douglass 1855). Noon meals were cold or hot and sometimes prepared in the fields (Finkelman and Miller 1998). Forms of cornbread, such as spoon bread and hoe cakes, were common in the fields because both could be eaten immediately without utensils or kept for days (Whit 2007). The meals were generally served in the fields to maximize work and minimize the time away from work. Henry Bland (GA) was well aware of the time gained by serving meals in the field, as his narrative indicated:

> Although the slaves cooked for themselves, their breakfast and dinner were usually sent to them in the fields after it had been prepared in the cook house. The reason for this was that they had to get up too soon in the morning, and at noon too much time would be lost if they were permitted to go to their cabins for lunch.

Sometimes women with infants brought the infants to the fields and would nurse them throughout the day (Burkart 1999). The mothers would place the small children under shade trees to keep them cool. Charlie Moses (MS) recalled how meals were brought to the fields and the occasional cruelty his owner displayed:

> We'd git up at dawn to go to the fiel's. We'd take our pails o' grub with us an' hang 'em up in a row by the fence. We had meal an' pork an' beef an' greens to eat. That was mos'ly what we had. Many a time when noontime come an' we'd go to eat our vittals the marster would come a-walkin' through the fiel with ten or twelve o' his houn' dogs. If he looked in the pails an' was displeased with what he seen in 'em, he took 'em an' dumped 'em out before our very eyes an' let the dogs grab it up. We didn' git nothin' to eat then 'til we come home late in the evenin'. After he left we'd pick up pieces of the grub that the dogs left an' eat 'em. Hongry—hongry—we was so hongry!

Susan Jackson (VA) described how, on her Virginia plantation, meals were provided in the fields:

> At ten o'clock on work days dey would ring de bell an' dat was de sign fo' chillum to come fum de fiel'. Dey go back to de kitchen an' help Any Hannah fix de food. She would take de cakes out, an' we would den put 'em aside to warm on a big tray. De cook filled 'nother tray wid cabbage an' bucket wid pot liquor. Den we take it all to de fiel', and de slaves lay down under a shade An' sometimes de ole overseer git impatient an' yell fo' de hands to come back to work fo' dey git done eatin'. [Perdue et al. 1976: 154]

Horace Muse (VA) described how fish were brought to the fields during lunch:

> In dem days de only thing we got to eat was a ash cake an' half a herrin' an water. Ole woman brung us our dinnar to d fiel. She brung bread an' fish in a big basket an' a boy brung us water in a gourd. [Perdue et al. 1976: 216]

The meal served in their cabins was an important time of day for slaves because it was typically in the evening following work in the fields and was a time for families to gather, reflect, tell stories, and visit with loved ones and friends. On some plantations, these meals were prepared in congregate sites and then doled out to families. One description of congregate meals was from a plantation in Texas and was provided by Jones (2005: 165–166):

> At Bernardo plantation cooks began preparing the food at four o'clock in the morning. When the morning gong sounded at daybreak, the slaves came to the dinning hall adjacent to the kitchen for a large cup of strong coffee. They then went to the field and worked until a breakfast of biscuits and meat was brought in buckets at seven o'clock. Dinner was brought to the field at noon, and a hot supper was served in the dinning hall at six o'clock in the evening.

On other plantations, slaves prepared meals for their own families in or near their own cabins. Rivers (2000: 133) noted, "Cooking and eating meals in their own cabins became important to slaves because it permitted them to spend 'private' time with family and loved ones."

Meals from Troughs and Other Humiliations

The practice of feeding slaves from troughs is mentioned in many of the WPA narratives and is well documented in other literature. Troughs were efficient for feeding large groups and were easy to clean because they could be easily rinsed out. The owners' use of troughs to feed slaves sheds light on the status of their slaves. Some owners viewed and treated their slaves similar to farm animals and fed them in the same manner. This was consistent with the treatment of many slaves in other contexts (see Morgan 1998). According to the narratives and other accounts, children would have to compete with animals for what little food they received in this manner. The practice of trough feeding is more strongly associated with slave children than adults. The narratives contain several examples of the practice. Frederick Douglass wrote about how slaves were fed from troughs:

> Our food was coarse corn meal boiled. This was called mush. It was put into a large wooden tray or trough, and set down upon the ground. The children were then called, like so many pigs, and like so many pigs they would come and devour the mush; some with oyster shells, others with pieces of shingle, some with naked hands, and none with spoons. He that ate the fastest got the most; he that was strongest secured the best place; and few left the trough satisfied. [Douglass 1845: 30]

Laura Smalley (TX) described trough feeding on a Texas estate during slavery:

> An they had trays, I don' know whether you see a tray. Wooden tray, dug out, oh about that long. An' all of them would get aroun' that tray with spoons. An' just eat. I can recollect that 'cause I ate out of the tray. With spoons you know, and eat, such as like mush or soup or something like that. They'd feed them 'fore twelve o'clock. An' all

> them children get aroun' there and just eat, eat, eat, eat out of that thing. . . . [Berlin 1998: 135]

George Strickland (AL) recalled that, "Dey fed us li'l niggers in wood troughs made of poplar. De cook in de big house cooked pots of greens an' po'd potlikker an' all in de troughs." Another who recalled trough feeding was Toy Hawkins (GA):

> Under a long shed built next to de kitchen was a long trough. At night dey crumbled cornbread in it, and poured it full of buttermilk. Grown folks and chilluns all gathered 'roun' dat old trough and et out of it wid deir wooden spoons. No Ma'am, dere warn't no fightin' 'roun' dat trough. Dey all knowed better'n dat.

Easter Jackson (GA) provided yet another account:

> Mistus would say, 'Where's dem chillun, Mammy?' "Lawdy, you never seed so many little niggers pop up in all yo' life-just 'peared lak de come right out o' de groun'. Sometimes dere 'ud be so many chillun, she'd have to break de biscuits to make 'em go 'roun' and sometimes when she's have an extry big basket, she'd say, 'Bring on de milk, and less feed dese chullun.' A big bucket o' milk would be brung and po'd in little troughs and de'd lay down on dey little stommacks, and eat jest lak pigs! But de was jest as slick and fat as yer please—lots fatter an us is now! And clean too. Old Mustus would say. 'Mammy, you scrub dese chillun and use dat "Jim-Crow." Lawd, chile! I done fergot you doan know what a "Jim-Crow" wus—dat's a little fine com' what'll jest natchully take the skin plum off yo' haid 'long wid de dirt.

Gus Feaster (SC) said that, on his plantation, men ate from one side of the trough while women ate from the other. The accounts are telling because southern whites would never have dreamt of eating out of troughs in the same manner as they forced upon the slaves.

Jewett and Allen (2004: 177) shared an ex-slave's humiliation at mealtime on a Missouri plantation: "To eat we had cornmeal and fried meat dat had been eaten by bugs. We had some gravy and all ate 'round de pans like pigs eating slop. And we had a tin cup of sour milk to drink." Booker T. Washington recalled that as a child, his family never ate together. He also shared his experience at mealtime:

> On the plantation in Virginia, and even later, meals were gotten by the children very much as dumb animals get theirs. It was a piece of bread here and a scrap of meat there. It was a cup of milk at one time and some potatoes at another. Sometimes a portion of our family would eat out of the skillet or pot, while some one else would eat from a tin plate held on the knees, and often using nothing but the hands with which to hold food. [Washington 1901: 9]

Such practices served to remind people on a daily basis of who was more important. In the narratives, the connection between trough feeding and hogs was not lost on the ex-slaves. Decades later, Amanda Ross (AR) described how it was on her plantation:

> When they fed the children, they cook the food and put it in a great big old tray concern and called up the children, 'Piggee-e-e-e-e, piggee-e-e-e-e.' My cousin was the one had to go out and call the children; and you could see them runnin' up from every which way, little shirt tails flyin' and hair sticking out. Then they would pour the food out in

> different vessels till the children could git around them with those muscle-shell spoons. Many of them as could get 'round a vessel would eat out of it and when they finished that one, they'd go to another one, and then to another one till they all got fed.

A poignant account came from Walter Jones (AR), who depicted mealtime at the troughs:

> Pretty well all the slaves lived in log cabins. Even in my time, there was hardly a board house in that county. The food the slaves ate was mostly bread and milk—corn bread. Old man Junell was rich and had lots of slaves. When he went to feed his slaves, he would feed them jus like hogs. He had a great long trough and he would have bread crumbled up in it and gallons of milk poured over the bread, and the slaves would get round it and eat. Sometimes they would get to fighting over it. You know, jus like hogs! They would be eatin and sometimes one person would find somethin and get holt of it and another one would want to take it, and they would get to fightin over it. Sometimes blood would get in the trough, but they would eat right on and pay no tention to it.

The narratives contain dozens of other references to trough feeding, further indicating that trough feeding was a common practice across the Antebellum South.

Infants and Small Nursing Children

Mothers of nursing infants either took them to the fields and placed them under trees to periodically feed them or would walk back to where they were being watched and nurse them (Genovese 1974). Planters shared their ideas as to how slave children were to be nursed. For example, *Hammond's Rules* for running a plantation stated:

> Sucklers are not required to leave their homes until sunrise, when they leave their children at the children's house before going to the field. The period of suckling is twelve months. Their work always lies within half a mile of the quarter. They are required to be cool before commencing to suckle—to wait fifteen minutes at least in the summer, after reaching the children's house before nursing. [Phillips 1966: 264]

Slave mothers would sometime prechew foods for their infants. For example, Bess Mathis (AR) noted that, "The women chewed for their children after they weaned on." Callie Williams (AL) shared the following memory:

> Callie said her mother was a field hand at first but later took care of the little pickaninnies of the slaves while their mothers worked. They had a special cabin used as a nursery with little homemade cradles, and their mothers came in about 10:00 o'clock each morning to nurse them, and Callie's mother had a pot of greens cooked and fed the pickaninnies some of the greens and potlicker and corn bread, while the babies got just potlicker and later in the afternoon all had mush and skimmed milk.

The WPA narratives and other historical accounts illustrate how owners attempted to monitor and control every aspect of the slaves' diets. These attempts to control meals and food preparation reaffirmed racial and socioeconomic differences between slaves and owners. Owners tried to regulate when, where, what, and how their slaves ate. Rations were a prime example of this control. For the most part, they were able to set some general parameters that were adhered to by the slaves. However, this was

not always the case. The narratives also reflect instances of slaves taking control of aspects of their diets and meals. They manufactured their own cookware and utensils and, at great risk, circumvented the rules of the plantations. They took control, to the degree they could, of their own meals and foodways. They slipped food from the big house, fought limitations on what and how they could feed their families, and otherwise created their own style of cooking and food preparation.

5

VEGETABLES

> The way they fed the children, they took pot-liquor or bean soup or turnip liquor or the juice from anything they boiled and poured it out in a great big wooden bowl and let all the children get 'round it like so many cats and they would just tip their hands in it and eat what they wanted.
>
> G. W. Hawkins (AR)

Vegetables and Slave Gardens

The basic and most substantial source of nutrition for slaves was vegetables (Joyner 1971; Savitt 1978). Most slaves had adequate supplies of vegetables, although the variety could differ greatly and at times be very monotonous. Appendix A provides examples of vegetables identified in the slave narratives. Some of the vegetables slaves consumed consisted of the throwaway foods from the plantation house, but others were raised on the plantation for them or in their private gardens. Their private vegetable gardens and plots were of great importance to slaves.

Many slaves were allowed to maintain their own gardens where they raised their own vegetables. As noted by Hilliard (1972) and Phillips (1966), slave gardens were widespread throughout the South. Some plantations had large gardens that were shared, whereas others had small plots of land tended by slaves. Most planters permitted their slaves to maintain small personal gardens to supplement their rations and reduce the cost of feeding slaves. Planters permitted older slaves to tend small gardens to help offset the cost of food and provide them with modest incomes by allowing the slaves to sell their surplus at local markets (Close 1997; Schwartz 2000; Whit 2007; Yentsch 2007). Both the slaves and planters benefited from these gardens and what was produced. In states like Texas, owners usually put in gardens of fruits and vegetables, but they also encouraged the slaves themselves to tend gardens of their own on small plots allotted to them to raise vegetables for personal use and sale (Campbell 1989).

Slave gardens provided lettuce, corn, black-eyed peas, cowpeas, crowder peas, legumes, cucumbers, dried horsebeans (fava beans), radishes, beets, mustard greens, turnip greens, sweet potatoes, string beans, snap beans, rice, peas, pumpkins, butter beans, onions, carrots, asparagus, artichokes, potatoes, squashes, okra, peanuts, cabbages, melons, and collards (Finkelman and Miller 1998; Morgan 1998; Phillips 1966).

Other Benefits of Slave Gardens

Owners in the Chesapeake area gladly allowed slaves to feed and clothe themselves (Berlin 1998). They allowed gardens to let slaves supplement their diets and consequently reduce the costs of rations and have a healthier labor force. Owners also thought that slave gardens reduced the theft of food on the plantation (Phillips 1966). Pulsipher (1990) concluded that planters thought slave gardens provided slaves with a psychological attachment to the plantation and were thus less inclined to escape.

The influential *De Bow's Review* recommended that for plantation management, planters should have gardens to help feed slaves. As a rule for sound plantation management, *De Bow's Review* (De Bow 1853: 178) recommended:

> A vegetable or kitchen garden will be established and well cultivated, so that there may be, at all seasons, an abundance of wholesome and nutritious vegetables for the negroes, such as cabbages, potatoes, turnips, beets, peas, beans, pumpkins, & c.

Deetz (1993) reported that plantation records indicate that slave plots were very common throughout the South. For example, in the Sugar Islands (the lower South), Phillips (1966: 64) states: "The Negroes raised their own yams and other vegetables, and doubtless pigs and poultry as well; and plantains were likely to be plentiful." Schwartz (2000: 191) provided other examples of slave gardens or plots for raising their own food:

> Householders also usually obtained small patches of land for growing food or, in some cases, crops for cash. An Alabama planter who allowed slaves to grow corn in what he called the 'negroes' field' allotted extra land to slave families. A Virginia planter permitted all slaves to raise poultry; those with families could raise hogs. Still another Virginia master gave each slave family land for raising poultry and vegetables, together with an annual cash payment of $10.00 if they grew their own food.

On plantations in middle Florida, slaves grew and sold crops with the permission of their masters (Rivers 2000). On the Kingsley plantation, slaves were permitted to fish, grow vegetables, and raise fowl and hogs for their own use (Gibbs et al. 1980). Slaves on Cannon's Point plantation in Georgia were allowed to plant on as much land as they wanted, which ranged from one- to two-acre plots where they grew the same crops as were rationed to them, corn, sweet potatoes, cowpeas, turnips, and greens (Otto and Burns 1983). Because many worked hard and had productive gardens, some slaves had better diets than poor white urban and rural residents (Genovese 1974).

Typically, owners allowed slaves to work their personal gardens on the slaves' free time. The amount of the "master's time" versus the "slave's time" was a point of contention on some plantations (Morgan 1998). Sometimes, owners allowed slaves in the task systems to work their own plots after they had made their daily quotas,

which gave some an incentive to finish their work fast to have free time to tend their gardens (Morgan 1998). Often, this free time was only after the plantation work was finished for the day. Willis Cofer (GA) stated, "Lots of them plowed and hoed by moonlight to make their own crops" (Killion and Waller 1973: 44).

Slaves were only permitted to work in their gardens in the after hours or when they had time off. On many plantations, Sundays were free time for slaves. They could rest or work on personal garden plots, if permitted by the planters. Duncan Gaines (FL) described how slaves worked for their personal benefit at night to buy luxuries and sometimes their freedom:

> Their masters being more or less kind, there was pork, chicken, syrup and other foodstuffs that they were allowed to raise as their own on a small scale. This work was often done by the light of a torch at night as they had little time of their own. In this way slaves earned money for small luxuries and the more ambitious sometimes saved enough money to buy their freedom, although this was not encouraged very much.

Working at night by firelight was also mentioned by Heard Griffin (GA):

> The Griffins were not liberal in feeding their slaves, but would not object to the raising a little corn, and a few vegetables. However, they had to work their gardens at night, by the light of fat burning wood.

The Role of the Market

Slaves with gardens would often sell or trade what they did not need at market (Otto and Burns 1983; Phillips 1966; Pulsipher 1990; Sobel 1987). During his tour of seaboard slave states, Olmsted (1856) described the practice of letting slaves sell and trade goods they had produced on their time at market. Besides personal use and consumption, this opportunity to go to market was another important purpose of the slave garden. The idea of accessing and utilizing a market would have been an easy adaptation for slaves to make because markets have a long tradition in African societies. In the New World, slaves were early participants in local markets. Early slaves and later generations were comfortable in bartering and other activities in colonial Maryland markets (Yentsch 1994). It is likely that the earliest slaves who were allowed to market by their owners served as models for later generations on how to participate in local markets.

Trading and selling at markets provided slaves with small amounts of money for their personal use. Works Progress Administration (WPA) respondent Callie Gray (MS) recalled:

> Uv course sometimes the women wanted some fancy folderols they couldn't git on the plantation. Ef it wus summertime they would pick blackberries, or wild grapes or persimmons and sell 'em in town on Sad'day afternoon.

They used whatever they earned to buy their freedom (the first generations of slaves in North America were allowed to do this until slave laws were enacted codifying the practice of slavery), supplies, utensils, and modest items such as marbles,

This lithograph depicting African Americans moving their wares to market was published in New York by Currier & Ives, circa 1870. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62–17676.

ribbons, cloth, and other extras. Some slaves were so successful at marketing vegetables, seafood, meats, baked goods, and other foods that they were able to gather enough to purchase their own freedom or that of others.

Beyond material and nutritional gains, gardens provided an opportunity for slave parents to be providers for their own families and exercise some degree of control over their lives (Blassingame 1979; Genovese 1974). In addition, gardens were an opportunity for slaves to benefit from their own labors and, to some degree, become independent of the planters. In some instances, slaves sold the products of their efforts to their planters. Much of what slaves grew or raised was sold to their owners to eliminate concern and prevent bad consequences (Morgan 1998). For example, James R. Sparkman, a rice planter from South Carolina, noted of his purchase of items from his slaves:

> As an illustration of the "indulgences" which my own people enjoy, I have during the past year kept an item of their perquisites from the sale (to me) of Eggs, poultry, Provisions saved from their allowance, and the raising of hogs, and it amounts in Money to upwards of $130, and in Sugar, Molasses, Flour, Coffee, handkerchiefs, Aprons, Homespun and Calico, Pavilion Gause, Tin Buckets, hats, pocket knives, sieves etc. to the am't of $110 more. One man received $25, and another $27, for hogs of their own raising and I had the satisfaction of seeing most of these am'ts spent in comforts and presents of their families. [Smith 2001: 166–167]

White (1985) has noted convincingly that slave gardens were especially important for female slaves. Gardens provided these women with a degree of assurance that

if their husbands, who were allowed to supplement their families' diets through hunting and fishing, were sold at market, then the remaining women could support their families through their gardens, thus making them somewhat economically independent.

Owner Restrictions on Slave Gardens

Some owners placed restrictions on what could be grown in gardens and the related market activities of their slaves. Cynthia Erwing (AL) shared just how restrictive owners could be in allowing slaves to grow their own food, in this case rice: "The slaves were only allowed to raise rice in the ditches, but they could have as much of that as they wanted." However, some did not have personal gardens but shared the owners' gardens, as reported by respondent Alec Bostwick (GA): "Slaves didn't have no gyardens of ley own. Old Marster had one big gyarden what all de slaves et out of." James Bolton (GA) echoed a similar arrangement on his plantation: "We didn' have no gardens of our own round our cabins. My employer—I means, my marster—had one big gyarden for our whole plantation and all his niggers had to work in it whensomever he wanted 'em to, then he give 'em all plenty good gvarden sass for theyselfs."

While some owners welcomed slave enterprise, others did not. Some owners feared the independence slaves expressed through the sales of their own goods. Owners registered concerns that such slave activities allowed slaves more access to liquor and made them too independent of the owner (McDonnell 2001). The success of African Americans in markets and a desire to control the activities of slaves led to laws restricting their market activities. This occurred in Maryland and South Carolina, as well as other areas (Yentsch 1994).

Vegetable Storage and Preservation

Because vegetables were either unavailable or at least scarce in the off season, plantations had to store or preserve vegetables to get through the winter months. Plantation residents canned, dried, or buried fruits and vegetables to preserve them for later use. Clayton Hobert (KS) shared, "We also made our own sorghum, dried our own fruits." He then added, "We usually dried all of our things as we never heard of such a thing as canning." But others did can, such as Susan Smith (IN), who identified all of the basic ways people stored vegetables and fruits:

> Some food was canned in tin cans and sealed with a canning wax. Preserves were made of the fruit. Vegetables and apples were buried. Some fruit and vegetables were dried.

George Thomas (IN) provided more detail on how fruits and vegetables were prepared for later use:

> Another interesting fact was how the people kept food for winter. Some fruit such as apples and peaches were dried. Corn was also dried. Cabbage, potatoes, turnips and apples were buried. These were first placed on the ground and covered with straw. This was covered with the dirt that was excavated in leveling a place for these vegetables. After this step is taken several shocks of fodder was placed over the mound and a ditch dug around it. This would keep the food from freezing even in the severest winter.

Examples of Vegetable Use in the Slave Narratives

Vegetables were either the main component of slave dishes or often mixed with meats. The slaves wasted very little of what they had. For example, the tops of turnips, dandelion greens, and beets, as well as new types of greens such as collards, kale, mustard, and pokeweed, were combined with lard from the slaughtered hogs and cracklin' from the skin to make greens.

One of the staples of the slaves' vegetable diets was "pot likker." Pot liquor was the liquid left over from boiling vegetables, occasionally adding meat (pork) to add flavor to the vegetable broth (Pyatt and Johns 1999; Schwartz 2000). It was one of the most common meals. It was especially a primary food eaten by slave children. Many of the WPA narratives mentioned "pot likker," usually in a favorable tone; for most slaves, "pot likker" and cornbread was a delicious dish.

The ingredients used to make "pot likker" varied by what was available. Thus, there is no standard list of vegetables or a recipe for making "pot likker." Leafy greens, poke, turnip greens, and cabbages were all popular vegetables that slaves used to make "pot likker," which had high nutritional value. Slaves served it with cornbread or corn pone. They broke up cornbread and dropped it in the "pot likker" or used it to soak up the liquid. Slaves also added fatty meats for flavor, but even so, it consisted mostly of vegetable broth. Needham Love (AR) noted the rarity of meat in "pot likker" on his plantation:

> They used to feed the children pot-liquor and bread and milk. Sometimes a child would find a piece of meat big as your two fingers and he would holler out, 'Oh look, I got some meat.'

The following sections comprise a partial alphabetical listing of some of the vegetables mentioned in the WPA slave narratives. A more comprehensive listing and uses can be found in Appendix A. Occasionally, recipes from the narratives or recipes likely recorded from the period are included.

Beans

Black-eyed peas, pigeon peas, lentils, and chickpeas (garbanzos) were brought by Africans to the New World, where varieties of red, black, and white beans were already growing and were added to the slave diet from among the more than one hundred varieties of beans. Beans were an important source of protein and fiber for West Africans long before they came to the New World. Slaves often dried beans for storage and preservation. Claude Augusta Wilson (FL) recalled how common beans were on the plantation as a slave food: "Corn bread, beans, sweet potatoes (Irish potatoes being unknown) and collard greens were the principal foods eaten." James Bolton (GA) mentioned beans in his narrative: "They was collards and cabbage and turnips and beets and English peas and beans and onions, and they was allus some garlic for ailments." Charley Watson (SC) identified beans as part of his diet: "Us was fed good on corn meal, hog meat, milk, butter, 'lasses, turnips, beans, peas and apples, never hungry." Betty Robertson (OK) noted the availability of beans in the spring: "The spring time give us plenty of green corn and beans too."

These slave references to beans are unclear as to what type of bean is being mentioned. However, the variety of bean was sometimes indicated in the narratives.

For example, Isaac Suits (SC) specifically mentioned lima beans: "They had plenty of common cooking, lima beans, and cornbread, and syrup, and things like that." Med Walker (SC) identified string beans: "e feed slaves on 'tatoes, rice, corn pone, hominy, fried meat, 'lasses, shorts, turnips, collards, and string beans." Sarah Thomas (MS) recalled butter beans: "They fed dem turnip greens seasoned wid barrel-pickled pork, corn bread, sweet potatoes, butter beans and old-fashioned 'cow peas,' and dem chillun was jest as fat as dey could be."

Cabbage

Cabbage was a multiple-purpose vegetable on southern plantations. Whites and African Americans alike were fond of cabbage. Slaves used it in a variety of dishes, such as "pot likker," but it was also used as a food in its own right. Slaves boiled it, fried it, and even used it as wrapping for baking or roasting other foods. The leaves kept in moisture and insulated the food. The narratives describe cabbage as being used to keep foods such as chicken from burning. Slaves would place cabbage leaves on the hearth of the fireplace and place foods on the leaves. They would wrap corn pone in cabbage leaves for the same purpose (Genovese 1974).

Because it is a hearty plant and can be grown in most areas of the South, cabbage finds representation across the narratives in a variety of states. For example, Moore (1989) noted that cabbage was popular and abundant on early Virginia plantations. She cited ex-slave Sarah Wooden Johnson (VA) as recalling a cabbage dish popular among slave children: "When she comes off the fire all chillum gits a spoon and eat out dis skillet . . . dat stuff is good!"

John F. Van Hook (GA) shared how abundant cabbage was on his plantation:

> The biggest, and maybe the best thing in the way of vegetables that we had then was the white-head cabbage; they grew large up there in Carolina where I lived. There was just one big garden to feed all the folks on that farm.

Although not indicating that the food was good, Anna Washington (AR) at least noted that it was abundant and cabbage was among the staples:

> When she came to Arkansas, they issued rations, but she never was issued rations before. When they issued rations, they gave them so much food each week—so much corn meal, so much potatees, so much cabbage, so much molasses, so much meat—mostly rubbish-like food. We went out in the garden and dug the potatoes and got the cabbage.

Collard Greens

Collards were a common dish during the period. Also called collard greens or borekale (*Brassica oleracea*), collards are various loose-leafed cultivars of the cabbage plant. The slaves preferred collards more so than whites because of the strong flavor of the greens (Taylor 1982). They originated in eastern Europe and western Asia and have been eaten for thousands of years. Collards spread from Africa to Europe centuries ago, and some say they were brought to North America by slaves, although other sources insist that collards were already growing prolifically in the South when the first slaves arrived in Virginia in 1619. Whatever the American introduction,

collards became a common plant in the cultivated gardens of slaves. Today, they are a staple of southern cuisine and soul food in the United States. Cornbread is a common accompaniment to collards and is used to soak up the collard broth, or "pot likker," which is rich in nutrients. Henry Barnes (AL) described how slaves had patches of collards in Alabama:

> De niggers was 'lowed to have a li'l patch of dey own, dat dey could wuk at night an' Sat'day evenin'! What dey make on dis patch was dey'n, an' Ole Marster pay 'em money for it. Nobody didn't make de niggers wuk dey patches—iffen dey want de grass to look 'em, dat's all right wid Ole Marster. Ole Marster have a big garden 'most big as a fiel', whar dey raise greens an' collards an' turnups fer de whole place.

A common way slaves prepared collard greens was to simply boil them in water with pieces of salt pork or bacon, if available. The salt pork or bacon was added to give the greens flavor.

Corn

Christopher Columbus was the first European to mention corn in his journals in 1492 (Willison 1964); however, it was a major food source for Native American populations before settlement of the New World by Europeans. Several historical sources identify corn as the mainstay of many slave diets (Hilliard 1972; Moore 1989; Morgan 1998, 2004; Sutch 1976). For example, the nineteenth-century English traveler Harriet Martineau traveled to the South and wrote that corn was more valuable than gold (Fishwick 1964). The initial settlers of the South learned how to cultivate corn from Native Americans (Taylor 1982). Corn had many advantages over other plants. It was able to produce about four times the food value of wheat, required one-tenth the amount of seed, and would produce results in about one-third of the time required by wheat (Taylor 1982). Corn was also a hardy plant that could thrive in a variety of soil and climate conditions (Willison 1964). Corn also offered an advantage in that other crops could be grown along with it, such as legumes that would climb the corn stocks and provide an additional source of vegetables (King 1995).

For some southerners and slaves, corn was almost the only food (Moore 1989). Heavy reliance on corn had its nutritional drawbacks. As noted in Chapter 2, overconsumption of corn can lead to disease, such as pellagra. In the South, the corn grown was almost exclusively white corn, which lacks the essential vitamin A (Kiple and King 1981).

Slaves found that corn was simple and easy to prepare. They could use a simple mortar and pestle or grindstone to make cornmeal, which could be easily made into corncakes. Slaves could boil cornmeal in water and make cornmeal mush, which was a common food served to slave children (Schwartz 2000).

Corn was used in a variety of dishes and baked goods including cornbread, corn muffins, corn pone, corn dodgers (shaped like elongated footballs), cornmeal mush (porridge), griddle cakes, or waffles. The word pone is derived from the Native American word "appone" meaning corn cake (Fishwick 1964; Zanger 2003). Cornmeal was also mixed with milk or water and put in a warm place to sour. It would then be served as "sourings." None of these preparations of corn required sophisticated recipes or cooking utensils.

In Florida, some slaves had small private plots of corn to supplement their rations (Rivers 2000). Slaves also used excess corn to feed their own hogs and poultry (Otto and Burns 1983). Others did not consume all of their rations and used extra cornmeal to feed chickens and hogs or trade for luxury items (Kiple and King 1981).

Cornmeal

Cornmeal was one of the most prevalent foods available to slaves, and whole kernel corn, or its meal, appears in most plantation rationing logs. Many of the recipes known by slaves incorporated cornmeal. In an 1850 letter, Emily P. Burke, a northern school teacher who taught in Georgia in the 1830s and 1840s, described the preparation of cornmeal by slaves on a plantation:

> I have, in a previous letter, spoken of the slaves grinding corn; this is done by hand-mills constructed of two round flat stones, the upper one being turned around upon the other by hand labor. One person can, through, with a good deal of difficulty, grind corn alone, but it is customary for two at a time to engage in this labor. [Rose 1976: 327]

Once the corn was ground, it was used in a variety of ways. Cornbread, corn pones, and cornmeal mush are three of the more common foods prepared with cornmeal. Frederick Douglass described in his 1845 autobiography how cornmeal mush was served in troughs. Uncle Bacchus White (VA) remembered his Aunt Fanny making mush. He provided a description that is an actual slave recipe for cornmeal mush:

Recipe—Corn Meal Mush

Aunt Fanny uster to make us chil'en what we called "mush." Hit is made ert corn meal. You take boiling water and pour 'hit o'er corn meal den it git real cold an' cut 'hit ert pieces, den cook it real brown on a griddle. Uncle Bacchus White (VA) [Perdue et al. 1976: 306]

Slaves incorporated cornmeal into many of their foods. Genovese (1974) noted that "coosh-coosh" was a popular Creole dish among slaves in Louisiana. "Coosh-coosh" was made by boiling cornmeal in salt water and stirring in milk, clabber, or syrup (molasses) and beef parts. Another cornmeal-based food was called the corn dodger. Corn dodger is a corn pone stick that was so hard when first baked that if it was thrown, the intended target dodged to keep from getting hit (Fishwick 1964). Patsy Jane Bland (Indiana) cooked corn dodger on a brick fireplace and "pawn hoss," which was made from cornmeal and bacon.

According to Solomon Northrup's slave narrative written in 1853, cornmeal was scorched in a kettle, boiled, and sweetened with molasses to make a coffee substitute. He later described how he ground corn into meal and stored it in a gourd. One way slaves altered the monotony of cornmeal was to make a dish called kush, which was spicy and seasoned with onions or peppers and cooked in a skillet (Escott 1979). Jewett and Allen (2004) also reported that kush was one of the favorite meals on plantations in North Carolina. Slaves made kush from cornmeal, onions, and seasonings mixed with water in a frying pan coated with pork grease.

Laura House's (AR) narrative identified three uses for cornmeal, corn pone, dumplings, and cornbread.

> Lawsy, honey, its been so long I can't member much bout plantation days. . . . Made corn bread and light bread in ovens too and I used to bake the best biscuits anybody ever et and I didn't put my scratchers in them neither. Old Miss taught me how. And we had lasses pone corn bread and them good old tater biscuits. We used to eat parched corn, and cornmeal dumplings was all the go back there.

Recipe—Cornmeal Dumplings

1 cup cornmeal	2 eggs
¼ cup all-purpose flour	½ cup milk
1 teaspoon baking powder	1 tablespoon melted bacon
¼ teaspoon salt	drippings

Place cornmeal in a large mixing bowl. Sift together flour, baking powder, and slat; mix into cornmeal. Beat eggs and combine with cornmeal mixture. Add milk and drippings. Using a large spoon, drop the batter onto the greens; cover tightly and simmer for 5 to 10 minutes or until done. [Tillery 1996: 127]

Hominy and Grits

Corn was also used to make hominy by soaking it in lye water, which removed the husk. Removing the germ and outer hull by this process makes hominy easier to digest than corn because it converts niacin and possibly other B vitamins found in corn into a form more easily absorbed by the body. Enslaved Africans took hominy and made grits by grinding the corn hauls and cooking them; grits is similar to *eb*, which is eaten in Africa. The word "grits" comes from the Middle English *gyrt* for bran, which is the outer skin of any whole grain. Hominy was a popular and common food among slaves and whites, and grits were served in a variety of ways, including frying or adding honey or spices. The slaves' hominy dishes differed little from those in West Africa (Moore 1989). They preferred white hominy (made from white corn kernels) and would complain if it was too yellow (yellow corn kernels) (Genovese 1974). Some would fry day-old grits until browned and then pour water over the grits to make a tea substitute (Pyatt and Johns 1999).

Betty Curlett (AR) described how hominy was made.

> They saved the ashes and put them in a barrel and poured water over them and saved the drip—lye—and made soap or corn hominy—made big pots of soap and cooked pots full of lye hominy. They carried corn to the mill and had it ground into meal and flour made like that too.

Recipe—Hominy

Another thing dey made dat was good was 'Lye Hominy'—It was made by putting oak ashes in a barrel wid holes in de bottom and pouring water over dem ashes and

whut dripped through made a strong lye. Den dey husked de corn and put it in dat lye to boil till it swell up and was tender and the husks come off and lef' the corn purty and white. Den dey washed it through sevral waters till it was clean. Sarah Thomas (MS)

Adeline Hodge (AL) mentioned how hominy was served with chicken:

> An' did dey raise chickens? You knows in Mississippi dat de minks war bad 'bout killin' dem. I 'members one time de minks got in de chicken house an' killed nearly every chicken on de place, an' ol' Mister Jones had de cook to clean an' cook dem, an' he cum out in de fiel' an' eat wide dem, to let de slaves know dat hit war all right. Den us had dem good ol' cushaws an' lye hominy, too.

The following recipe describes how to fry hominy. Although not a slave recipe, it would have come close to how they prepared hominy.

Recipe—Fried Hominy

Warm the boiled hominy; add a piece of butter, a little salt, half a pint of cream, two eggs, and flour enough to stiffin the mixture. Fry like mashed potatoes. Mrs. M. [Tyree 1879: 229]

Letting nothing go to waste, slaves even made use of the corn cobs, making soda out of the ashes from burnt corn cobs. Ida Rigley (AR) shared how cobs were used in this manner:

> I had a little basket. I picked up corn cobs. They burnt them and made corn cob soda to use in the bread and cakes.

Benny Dillard (GA) recalled how soda and salt were difficult to get during the Civil War.

> Durin' of de war time, soda and salt was both hard to git. Dey biled down de dirt from under old smokehouses to git salt, and soda was made out of burnt corncobs. You would be s'prised to see what good cookin' could be done wid dat old corncob soda.

Dave Walker (MS) had a similar experience with the shortage of soda during the war and the reliance on corn cobs:

> We couldn't git no salt. I have seed 'em dig de dirt out ob de smoke houses an' boil hit in wash pots to git salt. We couldn't git no soda, and hit was made by burnin' corn cobbs. Dey got short ob cookin' vessels in de kitchen an' couldn't buy none.

Cowpeas/Black-Eyed Peas

Cowpeas (*Vigna unguiculata*), also known as black-eyed, pigeon, or crowder peas in the New World, are a good source of protein. Cowpeas have an abundant amount

of methionine, an essential amino acid for human nutrition. West Africans grew cowpeas, and thus, those slaves coming directly from Africa would have been familiar with the plant as food (Moore 1989). Black-eyed peas are thought to have been introduced to America by slaves who worked the rice plantations. Cowpeas traveled from Africa to North America in holds of slave ships as food for the enslaved. Slave traders brought the cowpea from Africa to Jamaica around 1675 by carrying it as part of their ship stores for feeding their human cargoes. They also planted the seeds to grow food in Jamaica. The black-eyed pea spread to the rest of the West Indies by the early eighteenth century and probably reached Florida about 1700. It was grown in 1714 in North Carolina and by 1775 in Virginia. Many Antebellum southerners considered cowpeas a base food; after all, they were called cowpeas for a reason, and cattle fodder was their major use (Kiple and King 1981; Sutch 1976). Over time, black-eyed peas became more socially acceptable among whites and became a traditional dish served on New Year's Day to bring good luck. George Washington Carver instructed his students to plant cowpeas instead of cotton to replenish poor soils. His students were surprised and did not view cowpeas as having much value. After harvest, Dr. Carver invited students to a meal of meatloaf, pancakes, and potato casserole, all made with cowpeas (Tillery 1996). Cowpeas were commonly grown in slave gardens (Zanger 2003).

There were a number of ways to prepare black-eyed peas. Plantation cookbook author Mary Randolph (1824) provided one recipe for cowpeas: "Have them young and newly gathered, shell and boil them tender, pour them in a colander to drain; put some lard in a frying-pan, when it boils, mash the peas, and fry them in a cake of a light brown" (Moore 1989: 81). A popular black-eyed pea dish mentioned in the narratives was Hoppin' John, a common and popular dish among slaves, especially east of the Mississippi (Taylor 1982). The one-pot meal of Hoppin' John is of African origin (Singleton 1991; Thurman 2000; Zanger 2003). Common in the South, Hoppin' John was mainly associated with the Carolinas. It is a rich bean dish made of black-eyed peas cooked with spicy sausages, ham hocks, or fat pork, rice, and tomato sauce. There were many variations, such as in Alabama where it was made primarily with grits and peas and in South Carolina where it was made with rice and peas.

To make the dish, cowpeas would be boiled with rice and then meat, usually bacon or pork, would be added. Hoppin' John has origins in French, African, and Caribbean traditions. Adding pork to make the dish was a New World touch. In Africa, beef would have been used rather than pork, according to Hess (1992: 101). Over the years, Hoppin' John became associated with New Year's Day and, in some families, is the first dish eaten in the new year for good luck. The custom is that if it is served with collard greens, you might or might not get rich during the coming year. There are many theories on how Hoppin' John was named, such as children hopping around the dinner table before eating; the rare South Carolina custom of inviting a guest to eat by saying, "Hop in, John"; or a black man who was disabled and known as Hoppin' John who sold the dish on the streets of Charleston, South Carolina.

There are numerous recipes for Hoppin' John, and all of them include rice and black-eyed peas with some meat or herbs added for flavor. The following example recipe is taken from *The Historical Cookbook of the American Negro* (Thurman 2000: 2).

Recipe—Hoppin' John

1 lb. dried black-eye peas
8 slices of bacon, cut in small strips, or
4 ounces salt pork
1 teaspoon hot pepper sauce
1 $^1/_2$ cups chopped onion
2 $^1/_2$ quarts water
1$^1/_2$ cups chopped onion
2 buds garlic minced
1 tablespoon mixed herbs

Wash beans and soak in water overnight. Fry bacon over moderate heat until brown. Add onion and continue cooking until onion is tender. Add garlic, salt, pepper, hot sauce, herbs. In large pan combine soaked peas, water, bacon, and onion mixture. Cover pan, bring to boil. Simmer until beans are tender, about one hour. Stir in rice and cook under low heat 30 to 40 minutes or until rice is tender and fluffy. Spoon into large serving dish, garnish with chopped parsley.

Okra

Okra (*Abelmoschus esculentus*), also called *guibo* and *guimyombo*, or *quingombo* from the Bantu, originated in the geographical area of Ethiopia. From Ethiopia, okra made its way to North Africa, the eastern Mediterranean, Arabia, and India; it is uncertain how or when. Okra was probably introduced in the American colonies by the French in Louisiana in the early 1700s. Slaves transported it to North America and the Caribbean. Throughout the South, such as in Florida and Virginia, slaves planted plots of okra to supplement their rations (Moore 1989; Rivers 2000). Thomas Jefferson is known to have cultivated okra by at least 1809 (Moore 1989).

Slaves used okra in a number of dishes as a thickening agent for stews, soups, and other one-pot meals (Moore 1989). The one-pot meal and the traditional southern dish of gumbo were of African origin (Hess 1995; Singleton 1991). Hess (1995: 82) wrote, "Both words for the vegetable, gumbo and okra, are from West Africa, where it is indigenous, and we find okra stews wherever there were sufficient numbers of slaves to make their mark on the cookery." Gumbo was a soup or stew of okra and other vegetables mixed with a meat such as chicken, pork, shrimp, or crawfish. Sometimes, file or ground sassafras leaves were substituted in the South for okra as the thickening agent (Hess 1995).

Okra was eventually accepted by southern whites. Mary Randolph, a well-known cook, published the first Virginia cookbook titled *The Virginia Housewife* in 1824. She included a recipe containing okra for "Gumbo—A West India Dish." She apparently did not want to recognize the slave origins of gumbo, so she labeled it a "West Indies Dish," although she undoubtedly learned the recipe from slave cooks on the plantation:

> Gather young pods of ochra, wash them clean, and put them in a pan with little water, salt and pepper, stew them until tender, and serve them with melted butter. They are very nutritious, and easy of digestion. [Randolph 1824: 81]

Mary Randolph also included in her cookbook the following recipe:

Recipe—Okra and Tomatoes

Take a equal quantity of each, let the ochra be young, slice it, and skin the tomatoes; put them into a pan without water, add a lump of butter, an onion chopped fine, some pepper and salt, and stew them one hour. [Randolph 1824: 81]

Onion

Onions were frequently mentioned in the narratives. Slaves grew onions as a food but also thought onions had medical benefits (Covey 2007). Typically, slaves added onions to one-pot meals. Amanda Ross (AR) described how onions were a mainstay vegetable in her diet:

> For rations, we'd eat onions and vegetables. We et what was raised. You know they didn't have nothin' then 'cept what they raised.

Barney Alford (MS) described what happened when he was caught stealing onions:

> One time when dey sot out little onion plants in de garden, I stole a piece uf bread frum de big kitchen en slipped in de garden en pulled up lots uf onions en et dem, en when dey missed dem onions dey laid it rite on ter me en I kotched the whip hard.

Peas

Peas were an important vegetable in the Antebellum South. Usually called English peas, they were an early spring vegetable. General Robert E. Lee fed his troops with dried peas during the Civil War and gave the tiny legume credit for preserving his army (Taylor 1982). Davis (1999) reported that peas were one of the most common additions to the corn and pork diet of southern plantations. In many states, such as Florida, slaves had private plots of peas to supplement their rations (Rivers 2000). In her comments, Georgia Smith (GA) described how children picked peas and the relations between slaves and "poor white trash."

> Us chilluns had to pick peas; two baskets full 'fo' dinner an' two 'fo' night, an' dey was big baskets too. I 'member dere was a white widow 'oman what lived near our place, an' she had two boys. Mistus let dem boys pick 'em some peas w'en us would be pickin', an' us would run 'em off, cause us diden' lak' po' white trash. But Mistus made us let 'em pick all dey wannid.

Other examples of peas being mentioned in the narratives include the comments of Dina Beard (AR), who stated, "We raised plenty of whippowell peas," and added, "That was the only kind of peas there was then." Ruben Laird (MS) recalled, "Uncle Ruben states that barrels of peas were ground at the mill and crop made on bread made from peas, since no other food could be obtained until it was grown." Finally, Robert Shepherd (GA) described how pea cakes were made: "If us had any peas left from dinner and supper, Julie would mash 'em up right soft, make little cakes what

she rolled in corn meal, and fry 'em for breakfast. Dem sausage cakes made out of left-over peas was mighty fine for breakfast."

Pokeweed

Pokeweed was a common vegetable plant in the Antebellum South. Also known as "Cherokee Sallat," pokeweed was one of the first plants that sprouted greens in the early spring (Taylor 1982). Native Americans introduced whites and slaves to several edible greens including marsh marigold, milkweed, and pokeweed (Whit 2007). It was a great source of greens, especially the young shoots, which were preferred by both white and black southerners. Slaves boiled pokeweed and often mixed it with turnip greens because it was thought that the two vegetables enhanced each other's flavor. It should be noted that poke salad could refer to any number of greens, both domesticated and wild. Some southerners refer to poke salad as any wild green, such as dandelion, pigweed, cowslip, turnip tops, and land cresses (Fishwick 1964). Gus Feaster (SC) described cutting the plant, parboiling it, and then frying it in hot grease. It would then be seasoned with pepper and salt and eaten with onions. Sally Murphy (AL) made a reference to poke in her narrative: "Us went to de fiel's early in morning and picked us a mess of young hick'ry and oak leaves to scald and cook in de pot wid meat. Dey made good greens and us had poke salad, potato."

Potatoes

The potato was a Native American vegetable that had a relatively late arrival in the South (Taylor 1982). Early settlers transported potatoes back to Europe, and the potato was adopted in Ireland as an inexpensive food for the Irish poor working classes. It became known as the Irish Potato to distinguish it from sweet potatoes. The word tater is found in several West African languages (Garrett 1966). Because of the hot southern climate, potatoes typically had to be eaten when they were fresh, as they did not keep for extended periods of time (Phillips 1966). Some southern Antebellum farmers grew Irish potatoes to feed hogs (Sutch 1976). Alex Montgomery (MS) described how Irish potatoes were harvested:

> De only wurk I eber done fur old Marse Bill wus pickin' up tater when dey wus plowin' dem up; he had four hosses an' plows in dat patch an' a drove uf black chulluns pickin up taters an' pilin' dem in rows, an' den some men wid a wagon wud come an' haul dem to de big bard whar dey stored dem in tater banks wid pine bark an' pine straw. Some times dem tater wud rot an' den some time dey would keep good. I neber seed a Irish Tater till afte' I wus grown.

It was a common practice to wrap potatoes in cabbage leaves and roast them in hot coals. Mary Minus Biddle (FL) mentioned roasted potatoes and their popularity in her narrative:

> Potatoes were roasted in ashes. Oft' times Mary's father would sit in front of the fireplace until a late hour in the night and on arising in the morning the children would find in a corner a number of roasted potatoes which their father had thoughtfully roasted and which the children readily consumed.

Evelina Morgan (AR) mentioned how slaves on her plantation were allowed to grow lots of their own potatoes:

> My father worked on the farm. They fed the slaves meat and bread. What is all I remember—meat and bread and potatoes. They made lots of potatoes. They gave 'em what they raised. You could raise stuff for yourself if you wanted to.

Besides growing them, theft of potatoes was also mentioned in the narratives. Rachel Adams (GA) gave a colorful account of how she was scared into not stealing potatoes:

> I don't 'member much 'bout what us played, 'cept no way us run 'round in a ring. Us chillun was allus skeered to play in de thicket nigh de house 'cause Raw Head and Bloody Bones lived der. Dey used to skeer us out 'bout red 'taters. Dey was fine 'taters red on de outside and pretty and white on de inside, but white folks called 'em 'nigger-killers.' Dat was one of deir tricks to keep us from stealin' dem 'taters. Dere warn't nothin' wrong wid ten 'taters; dey was jus' us good and healthy as any other 'taters.
>
> Aunt Lucy, she was de cook, and she told me dat slaves was skeered of dem 'nigger-killer' 'taters and never bothered 'em much den lak dey does de yam patches dese days. I used to think I seed ha'nts at night, but it allus turned out to be somebody dat was tryin' to skeer me.

Potatoes found their way into a variety of slave dishes, even pies. While sweet potato pie is a well-known southern favorite, Irish potato pie was not that common in the South. However, ex-slave Millie Evans (AR) provided a description and this rough recipe:

Recipe—Irish Potato Pie

Boil potatoes, set off and let cool, then mash well and add one cup sugar, two eggs, butter size of an egg, milk, spice to suit taste, bake in pie crust. Irish potatoes make a better pie than sweet potatoes.

Laura House (AR) provided a recipe for pudding from potatoes:

Recipe—Potato Pudding

Lawsy, honey, its been so long I can't member much bout plantation days. But I members the children on the plantation would ring up and play ring games. And we used to have the best things to eat back in them days. We used to take taters and grate them and make tater pudding. Made it in ovens. Made corn bread and light bread in ovens too and I used to bake the best biscuits anybody ever et and I didn't put my scratchers in them neither. Old Miss taught me how. And we had lasses pone corn bread and them good old tater biscuits. We used to eat parched corn, and cornmeal dumplings was all the go back there.

And the following is a recipe mentioned in Ellen Gooden's (MS) narrative:

Recipe—Potato Pone

Grate raw potatoes into a bowl with a beaten egg, sweet milk, butter and a double grating of nutmeg, add one half cup of flour and one cup of sugar or one and one half cup of cane mollasses. Put in a skillit with a flat top cover with red hot coals. Bake until done. This is a grand dish said Callie Morris and all persons in Miss. like potatoe pone. Potatoe pone and cold sweet milk make a mighty good dinner. Sometimes you put parched shelled peanuts in it.

Red Pepper

Red pepper was introduced to southern cooking from slaves originating from Africa (Genovese 1974). Others have concluded that all peppers except black pepper originated with Native Americans (Taylor 1982). Regardless of origin, slaves used red peppers to season many dishes and foods. Peppers were known to have been grown by slaves in the Low Country of South Carolina as early as the eighteenth century (Morgan 1998). Slaves also used various peppers, including red peppers, for medical purposes (Covey 2007). Owners used red pepper to irritate wounds inflicted by whips on their slaves.

Red pepper was mixed by slave cooks with vinegar to create a barbecue sauce to flavor cooked meats. Slaves appreciated barbecue sauce because it helped mask the flavors of some of the lower grade meats that were common to the slave diet. Over time, the sauce became widely accepted regardless of the quality of meat used. Wesley Jones (SC) provided an account of barbecuing on the plantation. He recalled the ingredients used to make barbecue sauce and the meats, usually in large portions, that were used. He also described how smoke was used to enhance the process. Red and black pepper were both added to the sauce. He stated:

> At de Sardis sto' dey used to give big barbecues. Den days barbecues was de mos' source of amusement fer ev'ybody, all de white folks and de darkies de whole day long. All de fiddlers from ev'ywhars come to Sardis and fiddle fer de dances at de barbecues. Dey had a platform built not fer from de barbecue table to dance on. Any darky dat could cut de buck and de pigeon wing was called up to de platform to perform fer ev'ybody.
>
> Night befo' dem barbecues. I used to stay up all night a-cooking and basting de meats wid barbecue sass (sauce). It made of vinegar, black and red pepper, salt, butter, a little sage, coriander, basil, onion, and garlic. Some folks drop a little sugar in it. On a long pronged stick I wraps a soft rag or cotton fer a swab, and all de night long I swabs dat meat 'till it drip into de fire. Dem drippings change de smoke into seasoned fumes dat smoke de meat. We turn de meat over and swab it dat way all night long 'till it ooze seasoning and bake all through.
>
> Lawyer McKissick and Lawyer A.W. Thompson come out and make speeches at dem barbecues. Both was young men den. Dey dead now, I living. I is 97 and still gwine good. Dey looked at my 'karpets' (pit stakes). On dem I had whole goats, whole hogs, sheep and de side of a cow. Dem lawyers liked to watch me 'nint' dat meat. Dey lowed I had a turn fer ninting it (anointing it).

Needham Love (AR) described how his wife prepared red peppers: "She would go out and git some poke greens and pepper and things and cook them with a little butter." Willis Cofer (GA) and Emma Virgel (GA) both added red peppers to their roasted possum to enhance the flavor. Dosia Harris (GA) recalled how red pepper was used to season beef: "Sometimes dey kilt a cow and throwed it in a pot and biled it down wid dumplin's, seasoned hot wid red pepper." Finally, Lina Hunter (GA) referenced both red and black pepper:

> Us had to git up dirt under old smoke-houses and bile it down for salt. Dere was allus a little sugar 'round de sides of de syrup barr'ls, and us had to make out wid dat hot red pepper 'til atter de war was done over a good long time, 'fore dere was any more black pepper shipped in. Spite of all dat, Honey, dem was good old days.

Sweet Potato

The sweet potato was a common vegetable well known to Native Americans long before the settlement of the South by Europeans (Taylor 1982). Sweet potatoes thrived in poorer sandy soils and were thus very common among impoverished farmers and southern poor (Taylor 1982). Sweet potatoes were popular among slaves because they stored well over the winter months and were nourishing (Savitt 1978). On some plantations, sweet potatoes were issued in lieu of cornmeal during the winter (Phillips 1966). Owners and slaves also raised sweet potatoes to fatten up livestock such as hogs just before killing time (Kiple and King 1981; Sutch 1976). Hogs would be released into the sweet potato patches to glean out the unharvested tubers.

In the South, there were several varieties of sweet potato including the brimstone, Spanish, red, purple, and Carolina. Solomon Northrup's famous narrative, written in 1853, referred to the sweet potato as the "Carolina." Northrup (1853/1968) also described how sweet potatoes were preserved by placing them in the ground with a slight covering of earth or corn stocks. Even with this or other storage methods, a portion of them would eventually rot. Davis (1999) reported that sweet potatoes were one of the most common additions to the corn and pork diet of southern plantations.

It is wrong to conclude that Africans introduced sweet potatoes to the American diet. Sweet potatoes are a New World vegetable that looks very similar to the Old World yam. Slaves readily adapted to sweet potatoes as substitutes for their native yams because of their texture and other similarities (Zanger 2003). It was a small leap for slave cooks to incorporate the sweet potato into what had been traditional African foodways.

The most common way to prepare sweet potatoes was to roast them in a fire. The narratives contain references to roasted sweet potatoes. For example, Anthony Taylor (AR) mentioned his fondness of roasted sweet potatoes: "We would rake the fireplace and push the ashes back and then you would put the cake down on the hearth or on a piece of paper or a leaf and then pull the ashes over the cake to cook it. Just like you roast a sweet potato." Typically, slaves would place sweet potatoes directly in the coals of their fires, often wrapping them in cabbage or some other type of leaves. The roasting of yams in Africa would have looked very similar to the roasting of sweet potatoes in the South. The narratives indicate that roasted sweet potatoes were a common side dish that was served with roasted meats, such as opossum.

Millie Evans (AR) offered a recipe and list of ingredients for her sweet potato biscuits in her narrative.

Recipe—Sweet Potato Biscuits

Two cups flour. Two teaspoons of baking powder, pinch of soda, teaspoon of salt, tablespoon of lard, two cups of cooked, well mashed sweet potatoes and milk to make a nice dough.

A long-time southern favorite was sweet potato pie. Mrs. Abby Fisher, believed to have been a slave cook, published an early cookbook while living and cooking in San Francisco that has many recipes believed to have originated from original slave cooks who worked in the big house or cooked for their families. The following recipe is a general recipe for sweet potato pie, which remains a favorite among many contemporary African Americans.

Recipe—Sweet Potato Pie

Two pounds of potatoes will make two pies. Boil the potatoes soft; peel and mash fine through a cullender while hot; one tablespoon of butter to be mashed in with the potato. Take five eggs and beat the yelks and whites separate and add one gill of milk; sweeten to taste; squeeze the juice of one orange, and grate one-half of the peel into the liquid. One half teaspoon of salt in the potatoes. Have only one crust and that at the bottom of the plate. Bake quickly. [Fisher 1881: 26]

Note: A gill is equal to four fluid ounces or one-half cup.

Squash

Squash was a useful plant for slaves as a food and because its dried gourd served as a material to make cooking, storage, and eating utensils. Squash was also a common food for Native Americans, who introduced the vegetable to whites and African Americans (Taylor 1982). Slaves used the dried gourds of certain types of squash to make utensils and storage containers. There were not many references to squash as a food in the narratives. However, the narrative of Thomas Shack (FL) mentioned squash as a food of last resort for his family:

> The place was evidently one of the plantations near Tallahassee; Thomas remembers that as soon as he was large enough he helped his parents and others raise "corn, peanuts, a little but of cotton and potatoes. Squash just grew wild in the woods; we used to oat them when we couldn't get anything else much."

Tomato

Historically, the earlier settlers in the South viewed tomatoes as poisonous and did not incorporate them into their diets. For some southerners, tomatoes would not be considered a food until the twentieth century (Taylor 1982). This acceptance of the

tomato was late since Native Americans regularly cultivated and consumed tomatoes. The following recipe is from Tyree's 1879 southern cookbook, and although not a slave cookbook, it is likely that slaves could have prepared tomatoes in this manner.

Recipe—Fried Tomatoes

Slice tomatoes one-quarter inch thick. Put them in the skillet in which a spoonful of nice lard has been melted. After getting hot, the skins of the tomatoes may be removed: Sprinkle with salt and pepper, take the tomatoes out, thicken the gravy with a teacup of cream in which a teaspoon of flour has been stirred. Put the tomatoes in a dish and pour the gravy over them. Serve hot. Mrs. C.L.T. [Tyree 1879: 244]

Turnips

Europeans cultivated and consumed turnips long before they settled in the New World. White southern pioneers grew and ate turnips (Taylor 1982). Although turnips have been a traditional food, southern whites did not customarily eat the green tops until slaves introduced that use through their recipes (Moore 1989). Slaves grew turnips for both the roots and the greens, which are an excellent source of fiber and vitamins A and C.

Typically, turnips and greens were boiled for hours, sometimes flavored by salt pork or some other meat (Hilliard 1972). Slaves added turnips and turnip greens to a number of one-pot meals. Litt Young (TX) mentioned turnip greens in his narrative: "There was turnip greens, hog-jowl, peas, co'n bread, and milk by the barrels." Ike Simpson (TX) recalled that when they had greens at the big house on his plantation, the slaves got the pot liquor from the greens.

The following is a traditional southern recipe that could have been known to slaves. Whites considered hog jowls an inferior cut of meat but appropriate for slaves, even including them in rations to slaves because whites had their choice of better cuts. Working with what was available, slaves incorporated hog jowls into a turnip salad in the following recipe.

Recipe—(Hog) Jowl and Turnip Salad

The jowl, which must have been well smoked, must be washed clean, and boiled for three hours. Put in the salad (turnip Greens), an boil half an hour; if you boil too long, it will turn yellow. It is good broiled for breakfast with pepper and butter over it.

The jaw-bone should be removed before sending to the table; this is easily done by running a knife around the lip and under the tongue. The jowl and salad should always be served with fresh poached eggs. [Mitchell 1998: 27; cited from Tyree 1879: 130]

Anna Wright (NC) recalled fondly in her narrative eating turnip greens and cornmeal dumplings and boasted of their healthful benefits:

> Cornmeal dumplin's wus oiled in de turnip greens, collards, cabbages, an' so on, even ter snap beans, an' at supper de pot licker wus eat wid de dumplin's. Dat's why de folks wus so healthy.

A recipe for turnip greens was provided by Sally Green (MS):

Recipe—Turnip Greens and Dumplings

Take young tender turnip greens and remove all of the stems, wash thoroughly, put into a pot that meat, salt an ham hocks have been boiling and hour put in a pod of red pepper a little salt and black pepper. Let simmer an hour remove from fire put in corn meal dumplings using a thin cloth between the greens and the meal dumplings. Even cook until the dumplings are done. This dish is good for any body.

Yam

There are more than 150 different varieties of yam, a primary agricultural food in West Africa and New Guinea. The word *yam* is derived from *nyami*, a Wolof word meaning "to eat" or "to taste." Garrett (1966: 240) concluded that the name yam as applied to the sweet potato may be a corruption of the African word *wyam* that was brought to this country by Africans; he wrote, "*Nyam* was the word the Negroes use for true yam or large edible roots or tubers found in Africa."

Hall (2007) noted that yams were an ideal food for Africans and African American slaves because they gave relatively large yields and were a very reliable crop. In addition, yams in west coastal Africa had special spiritual and cultural significance. At harvest times, tribal leaders in some West African tribes sacrificed prisoners for the good of the yam crop and to pay spiritual homage. West African tribes believed that yams hummed to each other at night, were the most appropriate first solid food for infants, symbolized fertility, and otherwise held special significance; they were also used as currency (Mitchell 1993). Yams were frequently put on slave ships for the Middle Passage (Hall 2007).

Yams from Africa were available to slaves in the South and in the Chesapeake Low Country, and slaves were delighted to have yams included in their diets (Morgan 1998). The yam is the common name for members of the genus *Dioscorea* (family *Dioscoreaceae*). As noted previously, it is often confused with, but is different from, the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*). The African yam is a tuber, but the flesh is usually white and sometimes yellow to orange and has a grainy texture. One account of yams in the Low Country of South Carolina noted that the slaves were delighted with the introduction of yams into their diets (Morgan 1998). The typical slave preparation of yams, like sweet potatoes, throughout the plantation South was to roast or boil them, which were also the common methods used in West Africa (Mitchell 1993).

Other Vegetables

In the Low Country, chickpeas were a major element of slave diets, although no cites were made in the narratives (Morgan 2004). Eggplant, originating in India, was introduced to West Africa by Persian and Arab traders before the Middle Ages (Moore 1989). Also known as guinea squash, it was part of the slave diet in plantation Virginia (Moore 1989). Native Americans introduced pumpkin to the early settlers in the New World and South (Taylor 1982). There are very few mentions

of pumpkin in the WPA narratives, and the conclusion that can be drawn is that they probably were not a mainstay vegetable among slaves, presumably because of the African disdain for squash, and because there were a variety of other vegetables available to slaves, consuming pumpkin and other squashes was not a necessity for most.

6

MEAT

In de wintah, de marster would allus kills from three hundred ter four hundred hogs. We would have two killings de first in November, and de last one in January. We would kills from one hundred and fifty ter two hundred each time. Bout two or three weeks fore killin time, we would all gits out and round up what we wanted ter kill each time and puts dem in a big rail pen and feds nuff corn ter dem ter sorter harden de flesh and den go ter killin. Some would be killin and stickin, some would be scalding and scraping and some would be dressin dem, some cuttin em up and de women folks would be fixin de meat fer lard and renderin de lard. And some of de women would be fixin chitlins, hog head sauce, sausage and everything, dey all had a job till hit was ovah and we shore did have plenty of chitlins ter eat fer awhile. Den when times comes ter smoke de meat, we would haul in plenty of hickory wood ter smoke de meat wid. We had a big log smoke house and we would hangs hit full of meat and den builds a smoke fire in de middle of hit and den de men folks would work in shifts ter keep dis wood fire goin fer several days, den dis meat was ready ter hang up in another building made specially fer meat and we would calls hit de meat house. Ane de meat wouldnt spile either. Dis was done twice every wintah, once each hog killin. First we would eats all de chitlins den de marster would begins issuing out back bones ter each family til dey was gone and den along comes de spare ribs. Den he would usually issue each family a middlin or a shoulder a piece and by dat time hit was time ter kill de second time, and den dis was all ter go ovah again, but de overseah would issue meat each week ter each family as long as hit lasted. Each family got de same kind of meat each week. Iffen one got a ham dey all got a ham, iffen one got a middlin dey all got a middlin. All de ears and feet was pickled we eats dem too. Lard was issued out too, hit depended on de size of de family how much lard you got. Bigger families got more meat and lard. If dis meat runs out fore killin time, we would kill a beef or goats or some men would be sent out ter git some wild turkeys or deer and dey allus brings em back. We allus had plenty of meat ter eat. And marster Cole tried ter fix it so each person on de plantation got his share of de meat and lard.

Thomas Cole (TX)

Introduction to Meats on the Plantation

Pork was clearly the main source of meat for slaves (Hilliard 1972). In fact, prior to the Civil War, pork was the most important meat source in the United States for whites and blacks alike because it was plentiful and easy to preserve (Cusick 1995). Introduced to North America by the Spaniards, pigs are a naturally prolific animal and flourished in the temperate climate of the United States, becoming one of the first easily domesticated animals in American agriculture. Although rarely known in Africa due to the Muslim influence, slaves quickly adapted to eating pork because it was the meat most readily available to them.

Pork lent itself to smoking and salting, which were preservation techniques that were widely used before refrigeration. Slaves used smoked and salted pork odds and ends to season beans, greens, bread, and pastries. Pork was the most frequently rationed meat throughout the South and is the most commonly identified meat mentioned in the literature and by the slaves themselves. Other major domesticated meats of southern plantations included chicken, sheep, duck, turkey, and beef (Phillips 1966). Archaeological evidence has shown that domesticated animals provided the majority of the meat consumed by slaves (Deetz 1993; McKee 1988; Singleton 1995) and also indicates that slaves consumed a wide variety of meats. For example, McKee (1988) reported that the grounds surrounding a Virginia slave cabin from the Antebellum period produced bones from animals such as horse, sheep, goat, deer, opossum, rabbit, rat, squirrel, raccoon, crow, mallard, bird (unidentified), catfish, sturgeon, striped bass, snapping turtle, turtle (unidentified), oyster, freshwater mussel, marine clam, and shellfish (unidentified). In Georgia, archaeological evidence from slave quarters on Cumberland Island has identified a variety of meats including pork, chicken, wild birds, small mammals, shellfish, and catfish (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971). Campbell (1989: 136) noted that the slaves of Texas had access to "fresh or dried beef, poultry, wild game including venison, turkey, rabbit, squirrel and possum, as well as fish for those on plantations near streams or rivers."

Much of the Meat Was Raised on the Plantation

Driven by the belief that well-fed slaves worked harder and longer, Eugene Genovese (1974) concluded that plantation owners provided their slaves with more meat than laborers elsewhere. The quantity of this meat increased during the nineteenth century. Keeping with the philosophy that the plantation should be as self-sufficient as possible, much of the meat was raised on the plantation. Rev. Frank T. Boone (AR) shared:

> On our place no grown person was ever whipped. They was just like one family. They called grandmother's house the big house. They farmed. They didn't raise cotton though. They raised corn, peas, wheat, potatoes, and all things for the table. Hogs, cows, and all such like was raised. I never saw a pound of meat or a pack of flour or a bucket of lard or anything like that bought. We rendered our own lard, pickled our own fish, smoked our own meat and cured it, ground our own sausage, ground our own flour and meal from our own wheat and corn we raised on our place, spun and wove our own cloth.

Some owners allowed their slaves to raise some of their own livestock and poultry. Slaves on some plantations raised hogs and fowl not only for their consumption

but also to take to market. Hogs and domestic fowl provided slaves with a source of income. For example, Otto and Burns (1983: 191) reported that slaves in 1828 in Cannon's Point, Georgia, sold chicken eggs at 12.5 cents a dozen, chickens for the same amount, and other fowls at 20 to 25 cents each. Archaeological studies have found that they had chicken coops and rabbit hutches (Otto and Burns 1983). In South Carolina, slaves in the Low Country became so successful at raising their own hogs, horses, and cattle that the South Carolina legislature passed laws that made it lawful for whites to seize any slave livestock (Morgan 1998). The law was never fully enforced and was bypassed after much complaint.

Rationed Meat Was Inferior or Tainted

Whatever meat plantation owners made available to slaves was usually of poor quality and quantity. This is one of the reasons why slaves added so many spices to their dishes. When the chops, hams, and loins went to the big house, typically slaves got the leftover ears, tails, feet, fat, ribs, tripe, chicken feet, heads, tongues, and innards (Cusick 1995; Yentsch 2007). Knowing that the tastiest morsels of meat are those closest to the bone, African Americans created their famous pork recipes such as smoked ham hocks, pickled pig's feet, and barbecued ribs, as well as chitterlings, or chitlins, from the small intestine. There were exceptions, and there is archaeological evidence that the quality of meats differed among slaves dependent on their status. For example, on Thomas Jefferson's Virginia plantation, the quality of meat differed among slave quarters, suggesting that high-status slaves ate better than lower status slaves (Crader 1984). It is known that owners often provided old and diseased animals to slaves.

Archaeological evidence from multiple sites also confirms that slaves were often limited to the less desirable portions of meat (Bowen, 1992; Fountain 1995; Morgan 1998; Yentsch 1994). A term used in early Virginia and other southern areas for the inferior meat provided to slaves, such as calf hearts, livers, lungs (lights), and windpipes, was "pluck" (Moore 1989; Yentsch 1994).

Another term for pluck is offal, which is the entrails and internal organs of a butchered animal, such as a hog. Offal does not refer to a particular organ or organs but excludes muscles or bones. Whites in the plantation South considered offal to be "waste parts," such as the pancreas, soft organs, thymus, intestines, and so on, that should be discarded or fed to slaves. The slaves considered many organs identified as offal, such as tongue, calf's liver, intestines, brain, pig's large intestine, feet or trotters, gizzard (bird's crop), heart, head (of pigs or calves), kidney, liver, lights (lung), sweetbreads (thymus or pancreas), and tripe (stomach lining), to be delicacies, and they were common to the slaves' diets. Everything was used and nothing was wasted, and as one wag observed, slaves used everything on the hog from the "rooter to the tooter." Ironically, offal contains more nutrients, vitamins, minerals, and protein than more traditional portions of the animal (Savitt 1978). The use of the whole animal with nothing going unused was consistent with traditional African foodways (Whit 2007).

Testimonials on the quality of meat provided to slaves are found in historical documents, such as the African American newspapers of the period. For example, *The North Star* (Practicing Christian 1850) published an eyewitness account of slave fare. The author of the commentary described how, at market, packages of hams and sides of pork were sold that "were so rotten that the bones had become loose and

separated from the meat." He added, "when opened for examination of the Planter, the maggots would roll over the side of the cask upon the floor." In 1837 in New Orleans, the author witnessed the following:

> A planter from Mississippi bought eleven casks of smoked meat from a merchant in Lafayette street, which he had purchased the day before for one and a half cents per pound. He sold it to the planter for one and three-fourth cents, and when the casks were opened they were literally alive with maggots. After the purchase was made, the clerk, a fine, honest New Jerseyman, being astonished at what he had done in selling such stuff to be eaten by human beings, for he knew that a dog in New Jersey could not be found but what would turn from it, asked the planter why he bought such food for his negroes? The planter replied, that it was pretty hard times and cotton was low, and the boys do about as well on it as any. [Practicing Christian 1850]

It is well documented that throughout the year, slaves received the poorest cuts of meat. Ellen Cragin (AR) told of how her father stole hogs for his family, and she also provided a sense of how her family consumed the entrails of the hog.

> My father would kill a hog and keep the meat in a pit under the house. I know what it is now. I didn't know then. He would clean the hog and everything before he would bring him to the house. You had to come down outside the house and go into the pit when you wanted to get meat to eat. If my father didn't have a hog, he would steal one from his master's pen and cut its throat and bring it to the pit.
>
> My folks liked hog guts. We didn't try to keep them long. We'd jus' clean 'em and scrape 'em and throw 'em in the pot. I didn't like to clean 'em but I sure loved to eat 'em. Father had a great big pot they called the wash pot and we would cook the chit'lins in it. You could smell 'em all over the country. I didn't have no sense. Whenever we had a big hog killin', I would say to the other kids, 'We got plenty of meat at our house.' They would say back, 'Where you got it?' I would tell 'em. And they would say, 'Give us some.' And I would say to them, 'No, that's for us.' So they called us 'big niggers.

Mr. Norris (MN) echoed similar reliance on the poorer cuts of meat:

> An' 'bout our eatens, I forgot to tell you when we was talking 'bout that. When we killed hogs, the white folks got all the good part, least they thought that, and we got the neck bones an' ears, an 'snoots, an' tails, an' feet, an' the intrails (entrails); what they called the chitlings (chitterlings) The white folks didn't eat any of that stuff, 'till the last years, when hard times begin to hit 'em and they seen how we fared, now you can't get to the counters to get them things for the whites.

The provision of inferior and/or tainted portions of animals created a challenge for slave cooks who prepared foods for the other slaves. The practice of cleaving bones to release all of the nutrients, evidence of which has been found in some archaeological digs, suggests that slave cooks worked hard at getting the most out of marginal meats (Fountain 1995). Many slave cooks had free reign in preparing inferior meats and thus did what they could to make these meats more palatable. They seasoned, peppered, and otherwise did what they could to enhance low-quality meats. Whitehead (1992: 104) wrote:

> Excess fat, snouts, tails, ears, and intestines were the least desirable parts of the pig, and the slave cook turned them into tasty delicacies. Pork fat was not only good for frying

> and seasoning other foods, but its high salt content made it quite tasty. Moreover, for the agricultural worker, pork fat was a source of needed energy for the difficult work of the fields.

Some Slaves Received Little or No Meat

Although meat rationing was common practice, it is clear from the narratives that rations were occasionally reduced or not always available to slaves. On some plantations, meat rations were reduced during seasons of the year. For example, on Hugh Davis's plantation, meat rations were reduced over the summer months because vegetables were used as substitutes (Jordan 1948). The narratives give different impressions about meat. A case in point was Robert Nealy (IN), who shared how his owner, before slave sales, greased the children's mouths with meat skins to give the impression that they had been fed meat (Baker 2000). Others spoke directly about how scarce meat was on their plantations. One Works Progress Administration (WPA) respondent, Ducy Key (AR), reported how meat eating was discouraged:

> I never et much meat. I went to school and they said meat would make you thick-headed so you couldn't learn.

Israel Jackson (AR) mentioned that, "As for meat, we didn't know what dat was." Eli Smith (AL) also shared how meat was scarce:

> Us wus fed up at Master's house, out in de yard under a big tree, outer long poplar troughs and eat wid er wooden spoon, hit wus ash-cake wid milk over hit, den sometime us had pot-licker and giv de grown folks de greens, dey didn't never give us no meat and just sometimes did de grown folks have any.

Hog Preparation

During November or December, the common practice was to slaughter large numbers of hogs. This practice was referred to as hog killing time. Hogs were typically slaughtered early in the morning (Taylor 1982), and the process was for the men to stun the hogs with a sharp blow to the head and then slit their throats (King 1995). They then hung the carcasses in tree limbs or on platforms to drain the blood. After the carcasses were drained, the men dipped the hogs in boiling water to soften the bristles so they could more easily be removed. The hogs were then scraped with either a knife or spoon to remove the bristles (Taylor 1982). They were then butchered and prepared for the smokehouse, pickled, or boiled. Whites and slaves alike consumed substantial amounts of fresh pork during the process because much of the meat would have spoiled if not eaten.

Excess fat was rendered into lard, and lean pieces were made into sausage, souse, or headcheese. The solids left in the pot from the rendering of fat into lard were called cracklins' and were eaten as they were or were often mixed with cornmeal to make cracklin' bread (Taylor 1982). They cured the sides into bacon and shoulders or hind quarters into hams. Plantations took pride in curing meats and used a variety of techniques and spices. Planters used molasses, alum, ash, pepper, charcoal, honey, sugar, cornmeal, and other spices to season the meat (Hilliard 1972).

Alice Hutchesom (GA) described the process of hog killing on her plantation:

> De bestes' times was hog killin' times. Us chillun wukked den. Dey hung up de hogs all night and nex' day us out 'em, put 'em down in salt, and cooked up de lard. Us chillun got some of dem good old skin cracklin's when dey got brown.
>
> Atter Marster tuk de meat out of de salt, he put brown sugar and 'lasses on de hams and shoulders, sacked 'em up, and hanged 'em in de smokehouse. Den he say for us to git de fire ready. Us made a fire wid cottonseed to smoke de meat. Dat kep' it good, and it didn't git old tastin'. It was sho' good eatin' when you got some of dat meat.

Joseph Holmes (AL) offered another description of hog killing time:

> Now you axed about hog-killin' time? Dat was de time of times. For weeks de mens would haul wood an' big rocks, an' pile 'em together as high as dis house, an' den have several piles, lak dat 'roun' a big hole in de groun' what had been filled wid water. Den jus' a little atter midnight, de boss would blow de ole hawn, an' all de mens would git up an' git in dem big pens. Den dey would sot dat pile of wood on fire an' den start knockin' dem hogs in de haid. Us neber shot a hog lak us does now; us always used an axe to kill 'em wid. Atter knockin' de hog in de haid, dey would tie a rope on his leg nan' atter de water got to de right heat, fum dose red-hot rocks de hog would be throwed in an' drug aroun' a while, den taken out an' cleaned. Atter he was cleaned he was cut up into sections an' hung up in de smoke house. Lawcie, lady, dey don't cure meat dese days; dey jus' uses some kind of liquid to bresh over it. We useta have sho' 'nuff meat.

Since the meat owners provided slaves was routinely of poor quality, it was often more suitable to flavoring dishes. Unless eaten fresh, meat had to be prepared for storage. Much of the meat that was available to slaves was soaked in salt brine and then smoked or dried. Sometimes, meat was stored in ice. For example, Callie Gray (MS) described how ice was prepared and used for cold storage:

> Ef they thought meat wus going to spoil, they would hang it in the well to keep cool. We had ice all right, but we never thought of setting food on it and couldn't have ef we had wanted to 'cause the ice house wus too onconvenient. It wus built of two layers of brick with charcoal between and the only opening wus at the top. They would collect ice offen the lake and the ponds in winter and dump it in there and cover it with cotton seed. Den in the summer they would make ice cream with it and sometime they would pount it up and put on a sick person's head.

Smoking meat, especially pork, was important in most southern plantations. Hams were kept high and sausages even higher in the southern smokehouse (Joyner 1971). Cicely Cawthon (GA) indicated that hooks were located in the chimney where meat was hung to smoke. She added that they did not have ice so they killed more than they needed to take advantage of the smoking process (Killion and Waller 1973). Clayton Hobert (KS) recalled the smoking process:

> For our meat we used to kill fifteen, twenty, or fifty, and sometimes a hundred hogs. We usually had hickory. It was considered the best for smoking meat, when we butchered. Our meat we had then was the finest possible. It had a lot more flavor than that which

> you get now. If a person ran out of meat, he would go over to his neighbor's house, and borrow or buy meat, we didn't think about going to town.

Emma L. Howard (AL) told of how the smoke was created from the wood chips and leaves:

> When dey kilt de hogs for winter meat, dey took some of de hands out of de field an' let dem hope. We had a smokehouse full of hams and middlin's, an' when rainy spells came, us chillun would rake up chips an' leaves an' make a smudge of smoke to keep de meat sweet.

Fannie Dorum (AR) described the smokehouse and how the owner controlled the meat that was in it:

> They would kill hogs and the colored folks' meat would be put back of the white folks' meat in the smokehouse. They put the white folks' meat in the front and the colored folks' meat in the back. When you wanted something, you would go up to old master and say, 'My meat is out,' and they would give you some more out of the smokehouse.

Mary Minus Biddle (FL) noted that not only was pork smoked, but other meats as well:

> The meat used was pork, beef, mutton and goat. For preservation it was smoked and kept in the smoke-house.

Beef

Southerners raised cattle but not to the extent they did pork. Southern rearing and consumption of beef were limited for a number of reasons. According to Phillips (1966), beef and mutton were not plentiful because of poor grazing pastures. Hilliard (1972) concluded that beef was uncommon because it was difficult to preserve and did not match southern tastes. Some southerners believed that beef was less nutritious than pork (Taylor 1982) and was not highly regarded as a meat but did represent an alternative to pork (Savitt 1978). But in some areas, such as Florida, people raised and ate more beef (Rivers 2000). Others, such as Fogel and Engerman (1974), contend that beef was readily available on southern plantations and that slaves had adequate access to beef. Gibbs et al. (1980) also concluded that beef was more common than once thought.

What beef was available for consumption was usually consumed by a number of families and almost immediately, although some of it was dried to prevent spoilage. This was because beef did not pickle or smoke well. Even when it was dried, it was not particularly palatable (Kiple and King 1981). In addition, some thought that beef was inferior tasting and nutritionally deficient compared to other meats (Phillips 1966). Thus, pork was the preferred and more common meat among plantation slaves for these and other reasons as previously noted.

Examples of references to beef from the narratives include Hattie Douglas (AR), who spoke of preparing an entire cow and preserving the meat:

> Whenever he got a beef he'd get a whole one. Pickle some of it and jerk some.

Lottie Jones (TX) spoke of dried beef, which would have been easy to store and could be carried to the fields:

> Our master didn' whip us none, and give us good clothes to wear and good food to eat. We had plen'y all kinds of vegetables, hog meat and beef. De beef would be dried, and we would take it 'roun' with us and eat it. We called it our tobaccer.

Dosia Harris (GA) shared a simple method of boiling beef and adding red pepper and dumplings: "Sometimes dey kilt a cow and throwed it in a pot and biled it down wid dumplin's, seasoned hot wid red pepper." Finally, Ann Drake (MS) described how a whole cow was roasted in a pit and covered with a barbecue sauce:

> He hed er cow kilt an' roasted her; furst he hed a pit dug, an' den dat pit wus civer'd wid green poles, an' meat wus laid ober dat fire, an' old Sam an' old Levi hed pitchforks an' turn'd dat meat ober an ober till it wus nice an' brown, den dey put sauce on it.

Meat did not keep long unless it was smoked and cured, and some was stored in barrels for later use. Mary Davis (TX) provided an account of how beef was pickled in barrels:

> We'd take a barrel wid a good bottom, and den put chunks of raw meat into it. We'd mix some salt wid some saltpeter. Den we'd put a mixture of dat on de bottom. Den we'd put a layer of meat on dat, and den a layer of de mixture, till de barrel was filled. Den some rocks was put on top; dat helped to draw de blood out. Yo' could take a pinch of saltpeter and put it on a bone and all of de lean meat would turn red on it.

Chicken

Archaeological evidence indicates that fowl, including chicken, was not the most common meat eaten by slaves (Samford 1996). Rather, chicken and other fowl were primarily raised for their eggs (Singleton 1995). The WPA narratives also support the observation that chicken was not the most common meat available to slaves. However, chickens were often present on plantations and were consumed by slaves. For example, in Florida, some slaves raised chickens for personal consumption (Rivers 2000). In the Low Country, slave women engaged in raising poultry as early as 1730, and this practice was likely common in other regions of the South (Morgan 1998). As Taylor (1982) noted, many slaves were permitted to keep chickens and presumably occasionally ate them.

Many of the uses of chicken were mentioned by slaves in historical accounts. Roasting, boiling, and frying chicken were the primary ways it was prepared, but slaves identified other uses as well. In 1826, Harriet Jacobs wrote of the making of chicken pies (Lyons 1992). Zanger (2003) included a recipe for chicken broth that was attributed to slaves. As mentioned, roasting was a popular way to prepare chicken. The narratives contain references to roasting chicken, such as Harriet Cheatam (IN) who remembered roasting chicken:

> When we roasted a chicken, we got it all nice and clean, stuffed him with dressing, greased him all over good, put a cabbage leaf on the floor of the fireplace, put the chicken

> on the cabbage leaf, and put hot coals all over and around him, and left him to roast. That is the best way to cook chicken.

Will Sheets (GA) also recalled how chickens were roasted to make a special meal:

> Yes Ma'am, chicken dinners was sorter special. Us didn't have 'em too often. De cookin' was all done at de big house in a open fireplace what had a rack crost it dat could be pulled out to take de pots off de fire. 'Fore dey started cookin', a fire was made up ready and waitin'; den de pots of victuals was hung on de rack and swung in de fireplace to bile. Baking was done in skillets.

Harriet Cheatam (IN) described using cabbage leaves to roast chicken:

> When we roasted a chicken, we got it all nice and clean, stuffed him with dressing, greased him all over good, put a cabbage leaf on the floor of the fireplace, put the chicken on the cabbage leaf, than covered him good with another cabbage leaf, and put hot coals all over and around him, and left him to roast. That is the best way to cook chicken.

Fried Chicken

Besides roasting, slaves also fried chicken. Typically it was fried in lard, the only oil for cooking available to slaves. Alonza Fantroy Toombs (AL) stated, "Mass'm. white folks, Marse Bob was a good provider, too. Us niggers et at home on Sundays, an' us had fried chicken, pot pies, beef, pork, an' hot coffee." Tilda Johnson (MS) described her recipe on how to prepare fried chicken that included lemon juice and sugar to add flavor:

> Cut a chicken into large pieces, salt pepper and sprinkle with lemon juice. Dredge with flour that has a few grains of sugar in it. Fry with hot butter in a covered skillit. As each piece browns drop it into another covered skillit that has a little hot sweet milk in it. Let steam and serve.

There were countless ways that slaves fried chicken. The following recipe is likely from the period of slavery, as Abby Fisher was assumed to have learned how to cook as a slave.

Recipe—Fried Chicken

Cut the chicken up, separating every joint, and wash clean. Salt and pepper it, and roll into flour well. Have your fat very hot, and drop the pieces into it, and let them cook brown. The chicken is done when the fork passes easily into it. After the chicken is all cooked, leave a little of the hot fat ion the skillet; then take a tablespoon of dry flour and brown it in the fat, stirring it around, then pour water in and stir till the gravy is as thin as soup. [Fisher 1881: 19–20]

A popular dish of the period was known as Virginia or Brunswick stew, named after Brunswick County, Virginia. Zanger (2003) attributes the stew to a slave cook named Jimmy Mathews. Recipes and origins of this stew are subject to debate; however,

most recipes call for corn and beans with variations in the meat used, such as chicken or squirrel. The following recipe for Brunswick stew is from around 1862.

Recipe—Brunswick/Virginia Stew

Take two young chickens, cut them up, and parboil them; then peel and cook one quart of Irish potatoes; then peel and cut up one dozen large, ripe tomatoes; then cut the corn off one dozen soft roasting ears and mash it up; add to these one large onion, cut up fine. Put all in a stew pan and stew for two hours, stirring frequently to prevent burning. Extract the bones of the fowl; season with salt, butter and pepper, and serve hot. [Zanger 2003: 133]

Lard and Other Fats

With pork being omnipresent in much of the South, slaves used grease or lard in a variety of ways in cooking foods and also as a food in its own right. They used grease, tallow, fat, and lard to add flavor to a number of their foods. For slaves, little went to waste, including grease. Although frying as a cooking method was not common in Africa, slaves adapted to it because of the availability of these fats and soon favored it. They also used bread, pones, cornbread, or whatever they could to sop the grease or lard up. Elmo Steele (MS) described how grease was collected during cooking and eaten with the meat: "De meat was laid on de hot clay an' let to cook a few minutes an' turnt over wid sticks, de greese would drip down an' ketch dat an' eat dat wid de meat." Tines Kendricks (AR) mentioned how greased was sopped up with bread:

> Mars Sam, he stand by de pots handin' out de grub an' givin' out de bread an' he cuss loud an' say: 'Take a sop of dat grease on your hoecake an' move erlong fast 'fore I lashes you.'

Goat

Goat is a traditional meat for West Africans and would be easily accommodated by newly arrived slaves. Most African markets likely had goats for sale (Yentsch 1994). Mose King (AR) identified goat as part of the slave diet on his plantation: "We had meal, hogs, goat, sheep and cows, molasses, corn hominy, garden stuff." Rose Williams (TX) also ate goat: "We had pork, beef, goat, sheep, possum, rabbit and some fish, and all de vegetables we wanted, co'n bread ever day if we wanted it, and we wanted it ever day, ceptin twice a week, den we got biscuits." Ben Kinchlow (TX) mentioned that when fresh meat was wanted, goats were available:

> Sometime when we wanted fresh meat we went out and killed. We also could kill a calf or goat whenever we cared to because they were plenty and no fence to stop you.

Mary Minus Biddie (FL) shared that goat, along with other meats, was put in the smokehouse for preservation:

> The meat used was pork, beef, mutton and goat. For preservation it was smoked and kept in the smoke-house.

David Goodman Gullins (GA) made a reference to barbecued goat (kid) in his narrative: "Very often a beef was butchered, we had fresh meat, barbecued kids, plenty vegetables, in fact just plenty to eat, and the slaves fared well."

Lamb/Sheep

In addition to the mainstay of pork, occasional references were made to lamb and sheep, although lamb was not a common food for slaves. Typically, lamb was for the big house ovens, while goat was for slaves (Yentsch 2007). For slaves, sheep were not a common food but were often sheared for their wool. Some slave owners provided sheep to their slaves. Moore (1989: 73) reported an example from eighteenth-century Virginia plantation owner Joseph Ball who instructed his son to give "Old Ewes and Rams" or "Sorry Lambs" to the slaves. According to Moore (1989), Thomas Jefferson also recommended providing slaves with sheep to enhance their diets. Emma Turner (AR) noted how plentiful sheep were on her plantation: "Large herds of cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats provided a bountiful supply of both fresh and salt meats and fats." Laura Montgomery (MS) commented, "His smokehouse was full of meat; an' sometimes he would kill a sheep an' we had plenty milk an' bread."

Pork/Hog

During the Antebellum period, pork was the most important meat on all southern tables. Archaeological evidence indicates that pork was the most common meat eaten by slaves (Samford 1996). There were many reasons why pork was the most common and popular meat in the South, including that hogs were efficient in converting corn to meat, were ready to butcher in the fall or winter, ate virtually anything (such as vines, acorns, and so on), and could be penned. Pork was smoked or salted for storage (Taylor 1982). Moore (1989) found several references to the abundance of pork in eighteenth-century plantation Virginia. Frederick Law Olmsted (1863: 161) concluded that bacon was served at every meal in the Deep South. Hilliard (1972) reported that American pork consumption per capita was estimated to be three times that of Europeans. In the South, whites consumed even more pork and often ate it daily (Hilliard 1972). Slaves also ate piglets, referred to as shoats, which were typically roasted over a fire and sometimes barbecued.

Describing the use of hogs in the plantation South, Phillips (1966) reported that spare ribs and backbone, jowl and feet, souse and sausage, liver, and chiterlings were consumed by everyone on the plantation. Genovese (1974) noted that pork (hog) was the main source of meat for slaves but that it was consistently of low quality (poorer cuts). Slaves were given the parts of the hog that were most likely to spoil and the organ meats, ears, tail, lites (lungs), and chitterlings (Sellers 1950: 90–91). A major concern with locally raised pork was storage and preservation. According to Woofter (1969), fresh pork was consumed almost entirely in a limited season of late fall and early winter.

The practice of providing pork to slaves was so entrenched in southern plantation life that it was considered essential to the slave diet (Davis 1999). Some planters believed that fresh meat, such as beef, contributed to disease and that pork was a natural food for slaves (Kiple and King 1981). A common way pork was prepared was simply to roast the entire hog on an open fire. Henry Barnes (AL) described this way

to prepare pork: "En dey cook de hawgs whole, barbecue 'em an' fix 'em up wid a big apple in de mouf."

Bacon

With all of the smokehouses in the South, it should come as no surprise that bacon was available to many slaves. They ate it and used it to flavor many of their dishes, such as beans (Fishwick 1964). Bacon is mentioned in several of the WPA narratives. For example, Lewis Bonner (OK) stated, "We ate bacon, greens, Irish potatoes and such as we git now." Leitham Spinks (TX) also noted how bacon was plentiful: "Weuns have plenty ham an' bacon." Henry Brown (SC) mentioned that bacon was part of the weekly rations: "The colored people were given their rations once a week, on Monday, they got corn, and a quart of molasses, and three pounds of bacon, and sometimes meat and peas." Austin Smith (TX) recalled how bacon was brought to him for breakfast in the fields: "Had bread an' sirup an' bacon fer breakfus and diff'rn things for dinner." A final example is from Hannah Murphy (GA) who remembered:

> "Us got food fum de smoke-'ouse," she said. "De ole folks go dere to git food onc't ev'y week on what was call 'lowance night. Dey got bacon and meal."

Chitlings/Chitterlings/Chitlins

As has been noted, virtually nothing was wasted on the plantation, including the intestines of hogs. Pork chitterlings, or chitlins, although associated with African Americans and made from the small intestines of pigs, were consumed by all in the South (Hilliard 1972). Despite their origin and the fact that to prepare them requires great care and multiple cleanings of manure out of the intestines, resulting in a strong odor, chitlins were considered a delicacy by some southerners. Because of the odor during cleaning and cooking, chitlins traditionally were cooked outdoors at backyard hog killings in winter. After cleaning, slaves took the intestines and often dipped them in batter and then fried them until brown.

Initially, southern whites were not interested in eating chitlins. The narrative of Mr. Norris (MN) revealed how whites got the good parts but eventually, possibly from slave influences, developed a taste for chitlins:

> An' 'bout our eatens, I forgot to tell you when we was talking 'bout that. When we killed hogs, the white folks got all the good part, least they thought that, and we got the neck bones an' ears, an 'snoots, an' tails, an' feet, an' the intrails (entrails); what they called the chitlings (chitterlings). The white folks didn't eat any of that stuff, 'till the last years, when hard times begin to hit 'em and they seen how we fared, now you can't get to the counters to get them things for the whites.

Slaves became adept at using the ears, or maws, feet, and neck bones of pigs in other dishes because of the West African tradition of cooking all edible parts of plants and animals. This kind of food efficiency helped the slaves survive. Because chitlins were considered slave food, some African Americans today consider them demeaning, or offensive, and refuse to eat them. Others do not eat chitlins due to the odor and care

required in their cooking (Stradley 2004). Lulu Scott (IN) viewed them as a common food at Christmas time:

> Chris'mus time we'd hang up ow stockin's 'n' git uh glass-headed doll. 'n' we'd have black cake 'n' plum puddin'. Black cake uz like fruit cake 'cep'n' it didn' have no raisins uh nuthin it it. We had tu'key, chittlin's 'n' ever' theng; cook-a nuff to las' uh week.

Morris Shepard (OK) mentioned eating chitlins but getting sick from eating fresh pork. He also recalled getting grapes for his master to make a medical treatment for bowel ailments resulting from eating fresh pork:

> De hog killing mean we gits lots of spare-ribs and chitlings, and somebody always git sick eating too much of dat fresh pork. I always pick a whole passel of muakatines for old Master and he make up sour wine, and dat helps out when we git the bowel complaint from eating dat fresh pork.

Finally, Annie Stephenson (NC) described the availability of chitlins during hog killing time and how slaves were permitted to eat the "guts" of hogs almost immediately following their slaughter:

> Dey had plenty hogs an' dat wus a time when dey killed 'em. Dryin' up de fat for lard, trimmin' an' saltin' de meat an' chitlins. De hog guts wus called chitlins. Slaves wus allowed to eat meats as soon as de hogs wus gutted. Dey wus allowed to boil some lean parts of de meat an' eat it at de killint.

The following old recipe for chitterlings was taken from the first cookbook written by an African American. It is likely that the author made some modifications, which would be a common characteristic of many of the recipes identified in this book. Recipes were not an exact science for slave cooks; thus, differences exist. The following recipe was written almost 25 years after the Civil War, but it is probably typical of how chitterlings were cooked in the Antebellum period and most certainly has southern roots.

Recipe—Chitterlings

20 pounds chitterlings	2 tablespoons salt
3 large onions, quartered	1 teaspoon cayenne pepper
3 garlic cloves	$2\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoons black pepper
1 bay leaf	2 teaspoons bacon drippings
4 whole Anaheim peppers	4 quarts of water

Wash chitterlings in a large pot of warm water. Pull off all but a small amount of excess fat. Split the chitterlings open; remove all particles and debris. Clean thoroughly. Wash in several changes of water to ensure cleanliness. In a large pot with a tight lid, combine all ingredients and simmer, covered, for $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 hours or until tender. When done, cut into 1-inch pieces. [Tillery 1996: 93]

Ham

Southerners considered ham to be a choice meat, and almost all plantations had smokehouses in which to cure hams. People used a wide variety of ingredients for curing, such as honey, maple syrup, spices, molasses, and sugar. Some slaves indicated that ham was abundant on their plantations and that they had access to it. William M. Thomas (TX) stated:

> Us have dl de meat us want, mostest park and beef and mutton. Dey kills five hunderd hawgs when killin' time come, and make hams and bacon and sausages. If yous ever ate sich ham and bacon what am made by massa's butcher right dere on de place, you say dere never am sich.

Chaney McNair (OK) contrasted life under the depression compared to under slavery: "Only rich folks can buy ham now, and store ham ain't like what we used to have." Cy Hart (NC) remembered: "Mammy fried plenty of dat ham an' made lote of bread an' fixed dem coffee." Others chose to comment on how good ham was. Anna Wright (NC) recalled how good the ham gravy was:

> You wants ter know 'bout some ole slavery feeds, well I'll tell you what I knows. Did you 'ever hear of kushf Kush wus cornbread, cooked in de big griddle on de fireplace, mashed up with raw onions an' ham gravy poured over hit. You mought think dat hit ain't good but hit am.

Ham was sometimes reserved for special occasions, such as holidays. Julius Nelson (NC) linked ham with the holidays: "On holidays we sometimes had chicken pie an' ham an' a lot o' other food." However, others slaves commented on how ham was not available to slaves. Ruben Woods (TX) said, "No dey didn't gib em nothin like dat ham and such."

Ophelia Jimeson (SC) recalled:

> De big house all dicorate an' shining, an' strain wid de company dat come. We eberyone hab plenty to do, an' us feet jes tickle de flo (floor) when dat music stat (start) to sigh. An' de smell ob dem turkey!—Dem ham, and chicken pie! An' de snow white cake pile up wid dem red barries mek we eye so (sore) alooking an' we stomach ache for de taste ob dem tings. But we colored people know when dak (dark) come obber eberyt'ing de big fire going to be light out dere so dem dat dance kin dance, an' dem dat sing kin stretch dey boice (voice) mos' to Hebben, but dat de time little gal when Hebben is come down to we. Eberybody happy, eberybody full ob wittles (victuals), ebery gal got 'e man. Dat peace on ert (earth). An' den I say: 'Mammy, don't you cry, ain't us got we two, an ain't you done told God to brung we some tatuh (potato) an' graby.'

Finally, hams were viewed as valuable by both southern whites and slaves. The following account by Sallie Smith (AL) reveals how a slave stole a bunch of hams, including one from the ex-slave's family:

> One day my pa missed a ham, he worried 'bout dat ham, wonderin' what lazy person stole dat ham when de could hav' had hams of de own. Way late on he misses 'nother ham. How he worries whole heap 'bout dis. Dese was big hams, big as de was good.

> Well, he had not stop worryin' 'bout dis ham when bless de Lawd he misses anudder ham when all of us gits tebble worried so we all 'sides we gwineter watch this thing out, so we does. Long as we watch de smoke house nut'in happen. One day de boys plowing in de field, de see ol' Bruno diggin' way at sumpin' in de groun' but when de go near ol' Bruno he stops and look lak he ain' never been diggin' and go runnin' barkin' 'way off somewhere else. Well a mind tell de boys to watch ol' Bruno. So de boys de hide and watch ol' Bruno and what did they see? Ol' Bruno pull out a ham out de groun' which he had hid. On 'vestigatin' de foun' the three hams and a bucket of lard which Bruno had hid dare for his self. He figgerin' to keep from being hungry.

Hogshead

People referred to a wooden barrel as a "hogshead." Hogsheads were often used to store and ship food and drink. Thus, references to hogsheads can be found in literature and historical sources. A barrel of bacon was referred to on the Cannon's Point plantation in Georgia as a "hogshead" of bacon (Otto and Burns 1983). More Bonks (AR), Mack Brantley (AR), and Ike Simpson (TX) used the term in this manner: "If you wouldn't git finished wid what you doin' you was tied on a hoghead barrel or a log an' whipped."

Southerners and slaves also referred to hogshead as the actual head of a hog. Keeping with the general idea that nothing goes to waste, hog heads were also treated as food. The heads of animals were a preferred food by African Americans in the colonial Chesapeake region and remained popular into the twentieth century (Yentsch 1994). References to hogheads in the WPA narratives include Tom Mills (TX) who stated, "We called hogshead cheese 'souse.'" Souse is another term for head cheese. Easter Brown (GA) refers to hogshead as a dish in her narrative comment:

> What did us have to eat? Lordy mussy! Mist'ess! us had everything. Summertime dere was beans, cabbage, squashes, irish 'tatoes, roas'en ears, 'matoes, cucumbers, cornbread, and fat meat, but de Nigger boys, dey was plum fools 'bout hog head. In winter dey et sweet 'tatoes, collards, turnips and sich, out I et lak de white folkses.

Aunt Arrie Binn (GA) also identified hogshead in her narrative:

> Aunt Arrie told of their life on the plantation and it was not unlike that of other slaves who had good masters who looked after them. They had plenty to eat and to wear, Their food was given them and they cooked and ate their meals in the cabins in family groups. Santa Claus always found his way to the Quarters and brought them stick candy and other things to eat. She said for their Christmas dinner there was always a big fat hen and a hoghead.

Finally, Ezra Adams (SC) provided another reference to "hoghead," a meat dish that he clearly identified later in his narrative as one of his favorites:

> If you wants to know what I thinks is de best vittles, I's gwine to be obliged to omit (admit) dat it is cabbage sprouts in de spring, and it is collard greens after frost has struck them. After de best vittles, dere come some more what is mighty tasty, and they is hoghead and chittlings wid 'tatoes and turnips.

Hog Jowl

Hog jowls, or jaws, were generally considered to be waste but worthy to give to slaves. Jowls were typically removed from the head and cured like bacon. A popular southern dish was to serve jowls with peas and greens on New Year's Day to bring good luck (Taylor 1982). For example, Henry Garry (AL) referred to hog jowl as being a special treat at New Year's: "She neber fail to hab cown-fiel' peas an hawg-jowl for dinner on New Yeah's Dey." William McWhorter (GA) linked a dish of hog jowl and peas with New Year's Day and good luck:

> New Year's Day was de hardest day of de whole year, for de overseer jus' tried hisself to see how hard he could drive de Niggers dat day, and when de wuk was all done de day ended off wid a big pot of cornfield peas and hog jowl to eat for luck. Dat was s'posed to be a sign of plenty too.

Henry Barnes (AL) indicated how much he loved chitlins and hog jowl, which were abundant during hog killing time:

> Sometimes I wishes dat I could be back to de ol' place, 'cuz us did have plenty to eat, an' at hog-killin' time us had mor'n a plenty. Ole Marster kill eight or ten set-down hawgs at one time, an' de meat, an' de lard an' de haw jowl an' de chitlin's—mm-mmm, I kin see 'em now.

Lizzie Farmer (OK) mixed hog jowl with vegetables in a one-pot meal: "When we went to cook our vegetables we would put a big piece of hog jowl in de pot." Willis Winn (TX) recalled a similar use of hog jowl in a one-pot meal: "A big iron pot hung out in the yard for to bile (boil) greens, hog jowl and sich like."

Hog Maw

In the same vein that nothing went to waste, slaves adopted a dish made from the stomach of the hog known as hog maw. Hog maw is very similar to the Scottish haggis. The hog's stomach served as a casing for the mixture. Slaves made hog maw by stuffing a cleaned hog stomach with the internal organs of cattle, sheep, or hog mixed with spices such as pepper, onion, oatmeal, suet, and salt. Sometimes green peppers, celery, and other vegetables were added (Mitchell 1998).

Sausage

Because they typically were limited to the poorest scraps of meat, slaves created ways to make the pork more palatable, and one of these was to make sausage to improve the taste. Sausage typically had to be eaten fairly soon because it did not keep well in the southern climate. The narratives do not identify what ingredients were used to make sausage but do reference it being made during hog killing time, ground, and placed in the smokehouses. Randal Lee (FL) remembered, "When killing time came he was given time to butcher it and grind all the sausage he could make to food his family." Polly Turner Cancer (MS) indicated that sausage was plentiful: "We sho had plenty t'eat; dey wud kill hogs an' make sausage, an' dey wud tak de guts an' turn dem an' stuff dem wid sausage; we wud hav' more meat dan you cud

put in two rooms lak dis." However, this was not always the case. Agatha Babino (TX) recalled that slaves on her plantation were not provided sausage: "Marster kill hogs and had plenty of sausage but de slaves got none."

Sweetbreads

Southerners and slaves used the thymus glands of animals as food. They considered the glands a delicacy and called them sweetbreads. Mariah Snyder (TX) underscored how, as a slave, she thought sweetbreads were a delicacy: "We rode our 'horse' from one house to another looking for sweetbread." She then added, "We do anything for some sweetbread." Tyree's 1879 cookbook has a period recipe for sweetbreads that, although not attributed to ex-slaves, would be similar to the manner in which they were prepared by slaves. William Oliver (SC) stated, 'We'd eat peas, rice, cornbread, rye bread, sweetbread." Sweetbreads could be from other animals than hogs. Julia Blanks (TX) referenced sweetbread in her narrative:

> You take and clean a stick and you put on a piece of meat and piece of fat till you take and use up the heart and liver and sweetbread and other meat and put it on the stick and wrap it around with leaf fat and then put the milk gut, or marrow gut, around the whole thing. They call that macho (mule), and I tell you, it's good. They make it out of a goat and sheep, mostly.

Recipe—Sweetbread of Hog

This nice morsel is between the maw and ruffle piece inside of the hog. Put them in soak for a day; parboil them and then gash them and stew them in pepper, butter, one teacup of milk and a little vinegar. Or they are very nice fried or broiled. [Tyree 1879: 123]

Sheep/Mutton

The WPA narratives contain little reference to the use of sheep/mutton by slaves presumably because most scholars believe that sheep were not an important source of meat for most slaves. However, a few narratives provide clues that it was sometimes available.

Mose King (AR) stated, "We had meal, hogs, goat, sheep and cows, molasses, corn hominy, garden stuff." Emma Turner (AR) recalled, "Large herds of cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats provided a bountiful supply of both fresh and salt meats and fats."

Turkey

Both domestic and wild turkeys were available to slaves. George Braddox (AR) described how domestic turkeys joined those in the woods:

> They had mixed stock of chickens and guineas—always had a drove of turkeys. Sometimes the turkeys would go off with wild turkeys. There were wild hogs and turkeys in the woods.

Turkeys were considered by many slaves to be a meat for special meals. Henry Johnson (MO) recalled from his boyhood as a slave in Virginia that he went to great lengths to steal and kill one of his master's turkeys and then make it look like the bird died of natural causes so his family could enjoy a fine meal:

> Dey raised turkeys in de 500 lots and never did give us one. So we wanted one so bad once, I put corn underneath de cabin and a turkey, a great big one, would come under our cabin to sat dat corn. One day when I got a chance I caught dat old gobbler by de neck and him and me went round and round under dat old cabin house. He was de biggest strongest bird I ever see, I was only a boy but finally I beat. I twisted his neck till he died. Den I took out up to de big house, fast as anything, to tell my old miss one of our finest turkeys dead. She said stop cryin' Henry and throw him under de hill. I was satisfied. I run back, picked dat ole bird, taken all his feathers to de river and throwed dem in. Dat night we cooked him, and didn't we eat somethin' good. I had to tell her 'bout dat missin' bird cause when dey check up it all had to tally so dat fixed dat.

Other Meats or Meat Products

Other meats are identified in Appendix B, and some examples of these meats or meat byproducts include bone marrow (Thomas Ruffin, AR), beef broth (Millie Evans, Mary Gaines, AR), chicken heads (Amanda Elizabeth Samuels, IN), fatback (mentioned by several respondents), horse (Isaac Potter, MS), mule (Henry Warfield, MS), ox roast (Alice Baugh, NC), pea fowl (Betty Curlett, AR, and Charlie Hudson, GA), fried liver (Nellie Smith, AR, and Henrietta Williams, SC), pork rinds (Charley Roberts, FL), and salt herring (Ben Brown, OH).

7

WILD GAME AND FISH

> The woods was full of game, deer, bears, wild cows, panthers, turkeys, geese, ducks, possums, rabbits, squirrels, birds and everything. Them wild ducks would stay around on the lake with the tame ducks. The leader kept his sharp eyes set and if you don't slip up on him, he will see you and when he do, he give one quack, and like a flash of lightning them ducks is gone. 'Bout the only thing my young Master thought about was hunting. When I was big enough, he took me with him. Me and him sure had good times. We has killed turkeys in the new plowed field. The wild cows and deer would come to the houses to get water and it wasn't nothing to see bears every day. We had a big central garden out of which vegetables was gathered for us to eat. Besides this we had corn bread, 'lasses, and white bread every Sunday.
>
> Mark Oliver (MS)

Wild Game and the Plantation South

The South teemed with abundant wild game during the Antebellum period, and within this context, it should come as no surprise that much of this game was harvested and consumed by slaves. Slaves hunted fowl, deer, raccoons, alligators, crabs, oysters, opossums, and other wild game to supplement their diets (Hilliard 1972). Archaeological evidence from virtually every plantation dig site has found a variety of wild game remains in the slave quarters (Fairbanks 1984; Fountain 1995; McFarlane 1975; Morgan 1998; Otto and Burns 1983; Samford 1996; Yentsch 2007). Some historians, such as Fountain (1995: 72), have concluded that slaves made "substantial efforts to supplement their daily food intake by hunting and fishing." Other historians, such as Otto and Burns (1983), echo Fountain's observation that supplementing rations was an important aspect to slave hunting and fishing. Game meat was second only to pork in popularity among slaves (Joyner 1971). However, there is some evidence that wild game and plants played only a small role in the diet of slaves. Summarizing archaeological evidence from several plantation digs, Samford (1996: 96) stated that wild game represented less than "5 percent of the

meat" at Monticello and "29 percent" from Mount Vernon. Given the sometimes sparse provisions given by owners, many slaves found it necessary to hunt, trap, or fish to increase the amount of meat in their diets. This fact was not lost on ex-slaves in their narratives. For example, George Eason (GA) provided a sense of awareness that hunting and fishing were important supplements to slave rations; he stated, "At other times they increased their food by hunting and fishing."

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives contain many references to wild game and its preparation as food, which is documented in Appendices C, D, E, and F. Daniel Webster Burton, born a slave in 1848 on a plantation in the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, referenced the abundance of wild meat:

> There was an abundance of game in this country at that time, such as deer, wild turkey, bear, wolves, panther and small game too numerous to mention and we never knew what it was to want for fresh wild meat of our own choice.

Dosia Harris (GA) also provided a sense of the abundance of wild game and a few recollections about how it was prepared:

> Possums! You jus' makes my mouth water, talkin' 'bout 'possums. Folks thought so much of deir 'possum dogs dem days dey fed 'em 'til dey was jus' fat and lazy. Dey cotched de 'possums, singed and scraped de hair off of 'em, finished dressin' 'em and drapped 'em in de pot to bile 'til dey was tender. Den dey put 'em in bakin' pans and kivvered 'em over wid strips of fat meat and baked 'em jus' as nice and brown, and if dey had good sweet 'tatoes, dey roasted 'em in de ashes, pealed 'em, and put 'em on de big old platters wid de 'possums. Rabbits was plentiful too and I loves 'em 'til dis good day. Most of de young tender rabbits what dey cotched was fried, but if dey brung in some old tough ones dey was throwed in de pot wid a piece of fat meat and biled 'til dey was done. Squirrels was cooked jus' lak rabbits. Dere was plenty of fish down dar in Greene County whar us lived, but I never did eat 'em. Slaves would wuk all day and fish all night, but you never did ketch Dosia foolin' 'round no fish ponds. Slave famblies was 'lowed to have little gyarden patches if dey wanted 'em. I ricollect how I used to go to de gyarden in de winter and cut down collards atter frost had done hit 'em and fetched 'em to de house to be biled down for dinner.

Ruben Fox's (MS) comments underscored the important role wild game played in the slave pantry:

> The biggest fun what the men had on the place was going hunting. Game wasn't scarce like it is now, and they could keep the kitchen supplied with everything such as coons, possums, squirrels, and rabbits. Once I went hunting and killed a rabbit just as he was coming out of a hole in the grave yard. Everybody what ate a piece of that rabbit got sick.

Hunting/Trapping

Some of the WPA narratives indicate that slaves were allowed to hunt and trap. Trapping and netting were ideal because both allowed slaves to tend to other chores and then collect what they could during their free time. In the colonial Chesapeake region, slaves were permitted to use guns to hunt (Morgan 1998; Yentsch 1994). Archaeologists have found evidence of guns, lead shot, and other items associated with firearms in slave quarters on some plantations (Otto and Burns 1983). Although

Table 7.1 Variety of Wild Game Meats

Mammals	Opossum, rabbit, domestic rabbit, squirrel, raccoon, North American mink, striped skunk, river otter, domestic and feral pig, white-tailed deer, domestic cattle, and goat or sheep
Reptiles	American alligator, snapping turtle, mud turtle, eastern box turtle, diamondback terrapin, cooters and sliders, chicken turtle, gopher turtle, Atlantic loggerhead, Atlantic ridley, and Florida soft-shell turtle
Birds	Wood ibis, white ibis, blue-winged teal, mallard, lesser scamp, sparrow hawk, domestic chicken, turkey, clapper rail, long-billed curlew, herring gull, and common crackle
Fish	Requiem shark, stingray, Atlantic sturgeon, long-nosed gar, ladyfish or ten-pounder, white catfish, sea catfish, gaff-topsail catfish, sheep head, silver perch, weakfish, kingfish or whiting, Atlantic croaker, black drum, red drum, mullet, and southern flounder

these activities benefited some slaves, some if not most of what slaves were able to hunt or trap went to their owners' tables (Taylor 1982). A wide variety of wild game was available in the South for gathering. According to Phillips (1966), wild game, such as squirrels, opossums, wild turkeys, ducks, geese, deer, bears, rabbits, doves, quail, fish, terrapin, turtles, and other game, was abundant in and around the plantations. Although uncommon, even buffalo was available in parts of the South, such as in Mississippi and Kentucky, but had disappeared from this part of the country by the end of the eighteenth century (Taylor 1982). Much of the hunting, such as that for opossums, occurred at night because some of the game was nocturnal, and slaves, with the exception of house slaves, were free from labor only in the evenings. Trapping was also a common activity due to the nocturnal nature of much of the wild game and the free time available for slaves to set and recover traps (Gibbs et al. 1980). Nicey Pugh's (AL) narrative spoke of trapping wild turkeys:

> Aunt Nicey said, "Joe would build a trap dat was covered over an' den wud dig a hole under one side an' prop de trap up, den he wud sweep a long path clean leading tuh de trap, and place corn all along dis path, so de turkeys would eat right up to de trap and den goin tuh git de odder corn inside, den de trap wud spring down an' shet de turkeys inside, an' dey would nebber look down tuh come out de hole, but wud look up an' try tuh git out dat way."

Susan McIntosh (GA) also remembered trapping game as an alternative to hunting:

> We had rabbits, but they was most generally caught in a box trap, so there warn't no time wasted a-huntin' for 'em.

Slaves used other methods to capture wild game. James Bolton (GA) said that slaves were not allowed to have guns but the planter allowed them to borrow his dogs to run down rabbits. He also noted that groups of slaves would run down other critters, such as opossums (Killion and Waller 1973).

Gibbs et al. (1980: 222–223) compiled an archaeological table that lists some of the sources of meat, domestic and wild, that were identified in refuse from slave cabins in coastal Georgia. Table 7.1 provides a sense of the wide variety of meats that were consumed by slaves there.

The remains represent a wide variety of animals, domestic and wild. Scholars have found similar patterns of variety in other regions of the South. In Florida, some slaves hunted animals such as rabbit, squirrel, alligator, turkey, and opossum to supplement their diets (Rivers 2000).

The slaves prepared wild game in the same ways they prepared domesticated animals. Because some of the game had strong scent glands, slaves had to avoid or remove the glands before cooking. Most wild game, such as squirrel, rabbit, and turkey, was fried. Squirrel meat is tough and typically required more cooking. Often slaves would toss wild game into their one-pot meals. For example, critter stew was a mixture of dove, rabbit, squirrel, and sausage that was prepared as if it were a gumbo (Pyatt and Johns 1999).

Georgia Baker (GA) provided a sense of how opportunistic slaves were on her plantation. They hunted, gathered, ran down, or did what they could to acquire wild game:

> George and Mack was de hunters. When day went huntin' dey brought back jus' everything: possums, rabbits, coons, squirrels, birds, and wild turkeys. Yessum, wild turkeys is some sort of birds I reckon, but when us talked about birds to eat us meant part'idges. Some folkses calls 'em quails. De fishes us had in summertime was a sight to see. Us sho et good dem days. Now us jus' eats what-some-ever us can git.

Ester Green (AL) shared how hunting supplemented slave food rations on her plantation:

> Massa rationed out de food every week and we usually got a peck of meal. We had plenty of 'taters and peas and other vegetables dat we growed on de place. At Chris'mas time, we was give meat and molasses to make cakes. Us always had plenty of plain food. And too, de men would go huntin' at night and come back wid lots of big fat 'ossums and rabbits by de dozen, and mos' of de time, dey would even catch a coon. And old Ben, a nigger who had turkey traps, was always 'ringin' in lots of dem big fat birds.

Jeff Stanfield (VA), born in 1837, detailed how opossum hunts occurred:

> Possum hunting did not begin until the frost bit the persimmons on [a] cool October night. The boys would make a big fire out of doors and stretch around it with the dogs to tell yards and prepare for the hunt. As the talk went on, the dogs would creep closer and closer, until they could stand it no longer; then they would jump up barking and whinning and looking up in the trees. They would start off with horns blowing, dogs yelping and lightwood knots burning and sometimes would treet six or more possums and hunt until day break. Uncle John thinks possum meat is the best kind of meat, and if you ever eat it, tou never forget it, for the recollection stays in your mouth. [Perdue et al. 1976: 278]

John F. Van Hook (GA) shared a similar account of opossum hunting:

> Marse George had a good 'possum dog that he let his slaves use at night. They would start off hunting about 10 o'clock. Darkies knew that the best place to hunt for 'possums was in a persimmon tree. If they couldn't shake him out, they would out the tree down, but the most fun was when we found the 'possum in a hollow log. Some of the hunters

> would get at one and of the log, and the others would guard the other end, and they would build a fire to smoke the 'possum out. Sometimes when they had to pull him out, they would find the 'possum in such a tight place that most of his hair would be rubbed off before they could get him out. Darkies hunted rabbits, squirrels, coons, all kinds of birds, and 'specially they was fond of going after wild turkeys. Another great sport was hunting deer in the nearby mountains. I managed to get a shot at one once.

A good dog was essential in hunting raccoon, opossum, rabbit, and other wild game. William Brown (AR) told of his mother's hunting dog following emancipation and how important the dog was to his family:

> My mother had eight children to feed. After the emancipation she had to hustle for all of them. She would go up to work—pick cotton, pull corn, or what not, and when she ease home at night she had an old dog she called 'Coldy'. She would go out and say, 'Coldy, Coldy, put him up.' And a little later, we would hear Coldy bark and she would go out and Coldy would have something treed. And she would take whatever he had—'possum, coon, or what not—and she would cook it, and we would have it for breakfast the next morning.
>
> Mother used to go out on neighboring farms and they would give her the scraps when they killed hogs and so on. One night she was coming home with some meat when she was attacked by wolves. Old Coldy was along and a little yellow dog. The dogs fought the wolves and while they were fighting, she alipped home. Mart morning old Coldy showed up out almost in two where the wolves had bitten him. We bandaged him up and took care of him.

Not All Owners Allowed Hunting or Fishing

Some owners did not permit their slaves to hunt or fish (Joyner 1971). They either did not want slaves to have access to weapons or felt a loss of control by allowing them the liberty to hunt or fish. Sometimes, they restricted hunting to only the older slaves (Close 1997). Caroline Malloy (GA) noted how hunting and fishing were not permitted on the plantation:

> All the food was raised on the plantation. The slaves were not allowed to hunt and fish.

G. W. Pattillio (GA) also commented that fishing and hunting were prohibited on his plantation:

> Master Ingram placed signs at different points on his plantation which read thus: "Paterrollers, Fishing and Hunting Prohibited on this Plantation." It soon became known by all that the Ingram slaves were not given passes by their owner to go any place, consequently they were known as "Old Ingram's Free Niggers."

Lark Jones (IN) also noted that hunting was prohibited on his plantation:

> There was a farm, owned by a prosperous slave holder, that would have been a good hunting ground; however, the owner would not permit any hunting on his farm in his lifetime.

James Bolton's (GA) narrative underscored the fact that despite some owners' attempt to deny permission to hunt, have guns, or use dogs, the slaves were nevertheless successful in subverting these limitations and acquired wild game on their own:

> We had plenty of 'possums and rabbits and fishes and sometimes we had wild tukkeys and partidges. Slaves warn't spozen to go huntin' at night and everybody know you can't ketch no 'possums 'ceppin' at night! Jus' the same, we had plenty 'possums and nobody ax how we cotch 'em!" James laughed and nodded. Now, 'bout them rabbits! Slaves warn't 'lowed to have no guns and no dogs of they own. All the dogs on our plantation belonged to my employer—I means, to my marster, and he 'lowed us to use his dogs to run down the rabbits. Nigger mens and boys 'ud go in crowds, sometimes as many as twelve at one time, and a rabbit ain't got no chance 'ginst a lot of niggers and dogs when they light out for to run 'im down!
>
> What wild critters we wanted to eat and couldn't run down, we was right smart 'bout ketchin' in traps. We cotch lots of wild tukkeys and partidges in traps and nets.

If slaves were allowed to hunt, they had to stay on their plantation or have a pass. Patrollers, who were forerunners to the Ku Klux Klan in their behavior and intimidation tactics, traveled throughout the countryside looking for slaves without passes. Those found without a pass were punished by patrollers when they were caught. When asked about hunting and fishing, Annie Davis (AL) said they "could hunt and fish on the plantation all they wanted, but had to get a pass to go outside and if they slipped off and the 'patrollers' caught them, they sure were in for a good beating." Callie Williams (AL) provided a similar description of how slaves needed passes to hunt or fish:

> If the slaves wanted to go hunting at night for 'possums or coons, or to go fishing on Sundays, they had to get a pass from the overseer. Sometimes if the slaves wanted to get word to the slaves on another plantation they stole off at night, running the chance of being caught by the patrollers, but the negroes had the inherited instinct of forest life and could get by the patrollers, unless they had the dogs with them.

Bear

Bear was an important source of food and fat for cooking food in the frontier South (Taylor 1982). Before the establishment of pork, bear fat was almost the only source of fat for cooking in the early South. Bear meat was salted, made into hams and steaks, and used in other dishes. Bear fat was also used to fuel lamps. Willis Winn (TX) noted the abundance of bears and other game: "Wild game was all over the country; buffalo, bears, panther, deer, possum, coon and squirrels most run over you in the woods." John Rawls (GA) noted how often slaves ate bear meat: "Many bear infested the region they lived in, and 'Uncle' John says that the slaves often had bear meat." Della Fountain (OK) also recalled how plentiful bears were and the fondness her family had for the meat:

> Dere was lots of wild game near our home. I 'member father and two more men going out and killing size deer in jest a little while. Dey was plentiful, and so was squirrels,

> coon, possums and quall. Dere was lots of bears, too. We'd be in de field working and hear de dogs, and father and de boys would go to 'em and maybe dey'd have a bear. We liked bear meat. It was dark, but awful good and sweet.

Deer

The forests of the old South abounded with wild deer (Taylor 1982). The white-tailed deer was the most common. Cody Pierce (GA) referred to deer in his narrative:

> Not only were the slaves required to work but the young men of the "big house" also had their duties. In the summer they went fishing. While this sport was enjoyed, it was done on an extremely large scale in order that everyone should have an adequate supply of fish. The streams abounded in all kinds of fish, and nets were used to obtain large quantities necessary. In winter hunting was engaged in for this same purpose. Rabbits, squirrels, etc., were the usual game, but in addition the trapping of wild hogs was frequently indulged in. The woods contained many of these animals which were exceptionally vitious. The hunters, however, trapped them in much the same way that rabbits are now caught, without injury to the flesh, Deer were also plentiful and venison enjoyed during its season. Horned snakes were the greatest impediments to more abundant hunting.

Komeline Waddille's (AR) narrative mentioned fried venison: "While the men were feeding the stock and providing temporary quarters, the women assisted the slaves in preparing the evening meal, of hoe-cake, fried venison and coffee." Cull Taylor (AL) remembered how men would go out and hunt for deer:

> I 'members how de men would go out nights an' hunt de possums an' de coons, and wild cats. Dey den would sometimes go deer an rabbit huntin' in de daytime; an', too, dey would set traps to ketch other varmints.

Wayman Williams (TX) remembered how deer was skinned and the meat stored for the winter: "We would skin de deer an cut hit up an cure hit fer de winter meat." John Harrison (OK) noted the abundance of wild game including deer: "Wild turkey, quail, rabbit, squirrel, mink, muskrat, deer, wild pigeon, and some bear, and buffalo." Dave Walker (MS) nostalgically remembered having deer along with some of his other favorites: "I can still taste dat good ole egg bread wid rich creamy milk, plenty o' sweet 'taters, eggs, an' all kinds o' meats, pok', deer, mutton an' beef."

Duck

Duck remains have been found in archaeological digs in several plantations (Samford 1996). Ducks were hunted in the wild but also raised on plantations for eggs and food. Mark Oliver (MS) told of wild and domesticated ducks commingling on his plantation:

> Them wild ducks would stay around on the lake with the tame ducks. The leader kept his sharp eyes set and if you don't slip up on him, he will see you and when he do, he give one quack, and like a flash of lightning them ducks is gone.

Bert Luster (OK) mentioned duck with other wild game and noted how slaves ate what the owners ate:

> We ate nearly ever'thing dey ate. Dey ate turkey, chickens, ducks, geese, fish and we killed beef, pork, rabbits and deer.

Clara White (TX) recalled, "W'en day hab time de slaves hunt' an' fish an' git wild tukkey, deer, squirrel, 'possum, 'coon, and duck to eat."

Opossum/Possum

Opossum was abundant in the South and popular among southern whites and African Americans. Archaeologists have often found opossum remains near the slave quarters (Otto and Burns 1983; Samford 1996). Because opossums were nocturnal, they were an ideal animal for slaves to hunt because they came out when the slaves were home from the fields. They were easy to tree and, because they feigned death, were effortless for hunters to capture. Early white southern settlers preferred opossum over other meats because they had a lot of fat, which made them full of flavor (Taylor 1982). The famous slave Solomon Northrup (1853/1968), who was enslaved in Louisiana for 12 years, wrote that nothing was as delicious as the opossum. They were typically prepared by roasting and served with sweet potatoes and brown opossum gravy. Many slaves considered opossum a delicacy. For example, Susan McIntosh (GA) commented:

> Seems like vittuls don't taste as good as they used to, when we cooked like that. 'Possums, Oh! I dearly love 'possums. My cousins used to katch 'em and when they was fixed up and cooked with sweet potatoes, 'possum meat was fit for a king.

Tom Singleton (GA) had similar feelings about eating opossum:

> Oh! don't talk 'bout dem 'possums! Makes me hongry just to think 'bout 'em. One night when pa and me went 'possum huntin', I put a 'possum what us cotched in a sack and flung it 'cross my back. Atter us started home dat 'possum chewed a hole in de suck and bit me square in de back.

In Virginia and probably other states, hunters would sometimes capture live opossums and fatten them up for later consumption by feeding them persimmons, hoe cakes, and other foods (Moore 1989). Elisa Garey (GA) described her memories of hunting opossum:

> It warn't nothing for us to catch five or six 'possums in one night's hunting. The best way to tote 'possums is to split a stick and run their tails through the crack, the fling the stick across your shoulders and tote the 'possums along safe and sound. That way they can't bit you. They's bad about gnawing out of sacks. [Killion and Waller 1973: 68]

Charlie Hudson (GA) recalled how young children were not always welcome during opossum hunts and sometimes would be diverted. He stated:

> Grown boys didn't want us chillum going along 'possum hunting with them, so all right, they took us way off crost the fields 'till they found a good thick clump of bushes,

> and then they would holler out that there was some mighty fine snipes around there. They made us hold de poke [bag] open so the snipes could run in. Then they blowed out their lightwood knot torches and left us chillum holding the poke whilst they went on hunting 'possums. [Killion and Waller 1973: 79]

According to Solomon Northrup's slave narrative written in 1853, opossums could be a treat. Northrup (1853/1968: 153) wrote, "The flesh of the coon is palatable, but verily there is nothing in all butcherdom so delicious as a roasted 'possum. They are a round, rather long-bodied little animal, of a whitish color, with a nose like a pig, and caudal extremity like a rat." Others shared his opinion of opossum as food, such as Easter Brown (GA) who said, "I sho does lak 'possums and rabbits." Slaves would sometimes dry and smoke opossum, similar to the way hams were prepared.

Hilliard (1972) concluded that the preferred cooking method for opossum was roasting and serving it with sweet potatoes. Genovese (1974: 546) wrote, "From one end of the South to the other, the slaves prepared opossum in roughly the same way: parboiled and then roasted with lard or fatback." He also noted that opossum was often prepared with sweet potatoes. Charlie Hudson (GA) shared, "Oh! I was fond of 'possums, sprinkled with butter and pepper and baked down 'till de gravy was good and brown" (Killion and Waller 1973: 79). Genovese (1974: 546–547) shared the following slave song about opossum:

> Well, 'possum meat's son nice an' swet,
> Carve 'im to de heart;
> You'll always find hit good ter eat.
> Carve 'im to de heart.
>
> Refrain: Carve dat 'possum,
> Carve dat 'possum, chillum.
> Carve dat 'possum,
> Oh, carve 'im to de heart.
>
> De way ter cook de 'possum nice,
> Carve 'im to de heart,
> First parable 'im, stir 'im twice,
> Carve 'im to de heart.
>
> Den lay sweet taters in de pan,
> Carve 'im to de heart;
> Nuthin' beats dat in de lan',
> Carve 'im to de heart.

Rachel Adams (GA) recalled how her mother would prepare opossum: "They catched plenty of possums and after they was kilt. Ma would scald them and rub them in hot ashes and that clean't them just as pretty and white" (Killion and Waller 1973: 4). Charlie Hudson (GA) remembered how opossum was prepared with butter and pepper:

> Oh! I was fond of 'possums, sprinkled wid butter and pepper, and baked down 'til de gravy was good and brown. You was lucky if you got to eat 'possum and gnaw de bones atter my Ma done cooked it.

William Byrd II (VA) reported that his mammy would roast opossums until brown and make an opossum gravy. Then she would serve them with sweet potatoes (Moore 1989). Frances Willingham (GA) also provided an example of serving opossum with sweet potatoes:

> I'se seed Ma clean many a 'possum in hot ashes. Den she scalded him and tuk out his innards. She par-boiled and den baked him and when she fetched him to de table wid a heap of sweet 'taters 'round him on de dish, dat was sho' somepin good to eat. Daddy done his fishin' in Muddy Crick 'cause slaves warn't 'lowed to leave de plantation for nothin' lak dat.

Others also linked opossum with sweet potatoes. For example, Bert Mayfield (KY) mentioned: "The possums were baked in the ovens and usually with sweet potatoes in their mouths."

Della Buckley (MS) gave a different method of preparation that also made gravy:

> Firs', you gits the boy ter clean him fer you, scrape him 'til he git white. Then you soaks him all night in salten water; take him out in the mornin' an' dreen him an' wipe him off nice an' dry; then you par-boils him a while. Then you takes him out an' grease him all over with butter an' rub flour all over him an' rub pepper in with it. Then you bas'e him with some er the juice what you par-boiled him in. Then you puts him in the stove an' lets him bake. Ever' time you opens the stove do', you bas'es him with he gravy. Peel yo sweet pertaters an' bake along with him 'til they is nice an' sof' an' brown like the possum hisse'f. Sprinkle in flour ter thicken yo gravy jes' like you was makin' reg'lar chicken gravy. When he's nice an' brown, you puts a pertater in he mouf an' one on each side, an' yo possum is ready ter eat.

Robert Laird (MS) described how opossums were hunted and then eaten:

> Day is one thing I would love fer folks to know an' dat is how de colored folks lak to take deir dogs at night an' go out in de swamps an' tree a possum. Dats' times wid de dogs a barkin' an' de moon a shinin' an a possum up a tree or in a stump hole. When de possum is kotched he will cull up, he is den put on de end ob a pole, he stays all culled up an' holds on tight. Yo' can throw dat pole 'cross yo' shoulders an' go home an' bake dat possum on de hot coals in de fire place wid sweet 'taters an coffee. Dat is a eatin.

Rabbit

Rabbit was another of the more common sources of wild meat mentioned in the narratives and was a very popular food among slaves. Rabbit was trapped and hunted on some plantations (Otto and Burns 1983; Taylor 1982). They were very abundant, relatively easy to hunt or trap, and easy to prepare. Slaves could fry, boil, or roast rabbit and put rabbit meat into one-pot meals. Callie Elder (GA) shared the variety of ways rabbits were prepared:

> Don't say nothin' 'bout dem rabbits for dere warn't no end to 'em, Rabbits stewed, rabbits fried, and rabbits dried, smoked, and cured lak hog meat! I at so many rabbits when I was young I can't stand to look at 'em now but I could eat 'possums and gnaw de bones all day long.

Henrietta Williams (AR) described how frequently rabbits were served at meal times:

> Rabbits had a scant time. The boys would go out and track six or eight rabbits at a time. We had rabbits of all descriptions. We had rabbits for breakfast, rabbits for dinner, rabbits for supper time. We had fried rabbits, baked rabbits, stewed rabbits, boiled rabbits. Had rabbits, rabbits, rabbits the whole six or eight weeks the snow stayed on the ground.

Because rabbits were not generally reared on plantations, hunting, trapping, or catching them was necessary. Hunting dogs often played a role in hunting rabbits. Charlie Hudson (GA) recalled rabbit hunting with dogs:

> They catched rabbits with dogs. Now and then, a crowd of Niggers would jump a rabbit when no dogs around. They would throw rocks at him and run him in a hollow log. Then they would twist him out with hickory wisps . . . rabbits was most generally fried. [Killion and Waller 1973: 79]

He also described how slaves caught and then fried rabbits:

> Dey cotch rabbits wid dogs. Now and den, a crowd of Niggers would jump a rabbit when no dogs was 'round. Dey would tho' rocks at him and run him in a hollow log. Den dey would twiss him out wid hickory wisps (withes). Sometimes dere warn't no fur left on de rabbit time dey got him twisted out, but dat was all right. Dey jus' slapped him over daid and tuk him on to de cabin to be cooked. Rabbits was most gen'ally fried.

Will Sheets (GA) recalled rabbits being stewed or boiled, sometimes with dumplings:

> Us cotched rabbits three and four at a time in box traps sot out in de plum orchard. Sometimes us et 'em stewed wid dumplin's and sometimes dey was jus' plain biled, but us laked 'em bes' of all when dey was fried lak chickens.

Uncle Dave and Aunt Lillian (GA) also mentioned using dogs and noted the seasonality of hunting rabbits:

> He owned several good dogs and caught from three to five rabbits every morning before breakfast during every month in the year except those months which "doan have no R in 'em" (May, June, July and August). Rabbit was his main meat food that particular year.

Toy Hawkins (GA) also stewed rabbits with dumplings:

> Us got 'possums and rabbits de best ways us could—cotch 'em in traps, hit 'em wid rocks, and trailed 'em wid dogs. Us lakked 'possums baked wid 'tatoes, but most of de rabbits was stewed wid dumplin's. All our cookin' was done on big open fireplaces. Dey didn't fry nothin' dem days; leastwise dey never give de slaves no fried victuals.

Raccoon

As popular as opossum was, raccoon was preferred by some slaves over opossum (Genovese 1974), and others, such as some slaves in colonial Maryland, preferred

raccoon and opossum to pork (Yentsch 1994). Archaeologists have often found raccoon remains near the slave quarters (Samford 1996). Raccoons were more difficult to hunt because, unlike opossums, they climbed higher in the trees and were bigger and faster. Hunting raccoons required a fast dog with a good sense of smell. Mrs. Lancy Harris (Washington, DC) mentioned both rabbit and raccoon:

> I done all the cooking for Aunt Kate—ash cake, ho-cake. William Joiner used to fetch possums, coon and sometimes raccoon and rabbit and I used to do the cooking. My husban' and I used to pick cotton every day. When fodder time come I work Sunday. Some Sunday I worked my own garden.

John Hill (GA) shared, "Coon meat is most as good as lamb if you is careful to take out de musk sacs when you dress 'em to cook." Ellen Gooden (MS) offered:

Recipe—Raccoon

Oh! said Ellen you don' see many coons now a days but den you'd catch em any day. I'se de best coon cooker dere is when I gits me a fine fat coon and he is dressed clean, den I rubs him all over in fine ground red pepper duckes him wid salt puts just a little water in my black iron pot and steams him 'bout two hours, takes him often de fire, sprinkles him wid vinegar, a dash of sugar, puts flour, butter, plenty black pepper on him and as he browns I pour on him hot water to make plenty good brown gravy. I has my rice in a nodder pot and when dey is all done I lays a row of rice around him in a large pan or platter, pours de gravy over de rice; chile let me hush cause you nor me can't stand no more of dat. [Ellen Gooden, MS]

Squirrel

Squirrel was one of the most common wild game meats for early white settlers and found its way into many stews (Taylor 1982). Archaeologists have found squirrel remains near slave quarters (Samford 1996). Squirrel was tough and had to be thoroughly cooked, which may have led to cooks using it in stews. Genovese (1974) noted that squirrel pie served with dumplings was considered a delicacy among slaves. WPA respondent Granny Lee (MS) stated, "Game was plentiful too and squirrels were a great dish." She then provided the following recipe for squirrel pie.

Recipe—Squirrel Pie

Steam six squirrels 'til tender, remove from pot, season with salt, pepper and butter. Make a little thickening outen flour and sweet milk. Turn a bowl in the middle of a deep pie n, put the mixture in and cover with a short crust of pastry. Cover pastry with butter. Put on heavy top of skillit and cook slowly in front of an open fire place. [Granny Lee, MS]

In the South, squirrel broth or pie with dumplings was considered a delicacy (Hilliard 1972). An appropriate period recipe for squirrel that might have been similar to how slaves would have prepared it is a recipe for barbecued squirrel. Tyree's *Housekeeping in Old Virginia* (1879) provided the following recipe.

Recipe—Barbecued Squirrel

Put some slices of fat bacon in an oven. Lay the squirrels on them and lay two slices of bacon on the top. Put them in the oven and let them cook until done. Lay them on a dish and set near the fire. Take out the bacon, sprinkle one spoonful of flour in the gravy and let it brown. Then pour in one teacup of water, one tablespoon of butter, and some tomato or walnut catsup. Let it cool, and then pour it over the squirrel. [Tyree 1879: 108]

Terrapin/Turtle

Turtles or terrapins were available to slaves as game. Archaeologists have found snapping turtle remains in their digs of slave quarters (Samford 1996). A dish called calabash was made from cooking a special type of turtle in the shell (Pyatt and Johns 1999). The yellow-bellied terrapin was a favorite ingredient for calabash. It was common in some regions for folks to keep turtles in a cooter pond that was often covered with wire to keep turtles in and predators out. Ruben Fox (MS) recalled how he sold terrapin soup:

> When ever I wanted to make two bets, all I had to do was catch me a nice big terrapin. The white folks loved terrapin soup, and they would always buy them from me. All of us was allowed to keep any money we made.

Recipe—Terrapin Stew

Always have two female terrapins, and put them alive in boiling water. Let them remain for 15 minutes and then take the shells from them, being careful not to break the galls. Clean the entrails from the meat, and scrape the black skin from the feet with a knife. Half a dozen terrapins will serve twelve persons. After thoroughly cleaning the terrapins, lay them in clear water for ten minutes, and then put them in a kettle to stew with half a pint of water, and stew very slowly for about three hours. Boil half a dozen eggs hard, and rub the yelks to a powder. Then add half a pound of best butter to the eggs and beat together until it becomes a cream. To this cream add one pint of sherry wine and mix it well. Then add this preparation to the stew very gradually, stirring well, so as to thoroughly mix it in. While the stew is cooking, mix a teaspoonful of best mustard to a tablespoonful of wine and put in. Slice one lemon and add to stew just before dishing it up for table. Three hours is sufficient time to cook it. You had better put the wine in the stew and not mix it with the eggs, for fear you may not mix it in right and that there may be no mistake. With the above directions you have a perfect stew, A teacupful of sweet cream is an improvement, if you like it; also a dozen grains of allspice. Salt and pepper to taste. [Fisher 1881: 59–60]

A woman plucks a turkey for a special occasion, perhaps Thanksgiving. This circa 1900 photograph by Alfred S. Campbell, a celebrated pioneer of art photography and a technical innovator, depicts a necessary step in poultry preparation virtually unchanged from the Antebellum period and common afterward wherever home-raised flocks supplied the family table. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-100216.

Turkey (Wild)

Turkeys were both wild and domesticated in the South. Wild turkeys were an important source of meat for southern pioneers (Taylor 1982) and would have been available as food for slaves as well. Wild turkeys continued to be available through the Civil War but were eventually replaced by domesticated breeds (Taylor 1982). George Braddox (AR) mentioned domesticated turkeys in his narrative:

> They had mixed stock of chickens and guineas—always had a drove of turkeys. Sometimes the turkeys would go off with wild turkeys. There were wild hogs and turkeys in the woods.

Other Wild Game

The narratives include other references to wild game that were available to slaves. Some of these are presented in Appendix F. For example, Dan Bogie (KY) recalled having ground hog, which was baked for a meal:

> Most of the cooking was in an oven in the yard, over the bed of coals. Baked possum and ground hog in the oven, stewed rabbits, fried fish and fired bacon called "streaked meat" all kinds of vegetables, boiled cabbage, pone corn bread, and sorghum molasses.

Gus Clark (MS) identified rattlesnake as a food that tasted just like chicken:

> A heap of big rattlesnakes lay in dem canebrakes, an' dem niggers shoot dey heads off an' eat 'em. It didn' kill de niggers. Dem snakes was fat an' tender, an' fried Joe lak chicken.

Wild hogs thrived in the favorable climate and abundant forage of the South (Taylor 1982). Feral pigs were also common throughout the South. Domesticated hogs would head off into the woods and were able to thrive in the lush forests and swamps. Bill Simms (KS) described how wild hogs were common game:

> On the plantation we raised cows, sheep, cotton, tobacco, corn, which were our principal crops. There was plenty of wild hogs, turkey, and deer and other game. The deer used to come up and feed with the cattle in the feed yards, and we could get all the wild hogs we wanted by simply shooting them in the timber.

Fish and Fishing

Enslaved African Americans "consumed sizable portions of nondomestic animals, particularly along the southeastern coast, where food resources abounded in the ocean, marshes, and tidal creeks" (Singleton 1995: 125). Along the coast, slaves fished throughout the year. In the Chesapeake and Low Country of Maryland, slaves turned to the sea and rivers to supplement their need for meat (Morgan 1998). Savitt (1978) noted that for the slaves of Virginia, fish provided a major source of nutrients. He also noted that Virginia planters purchased and preserved fish for their slaves.

Slaves knew how to fish and used three basic methods. They used nets, traps, and hooks. According to Taylor (1982), most fish were taken by traps and nets. Historians have noted that a variety of fish found their way into slave diets, such as drumfish (Phillips 1966), bowfish (Taylor 1982), catfish (Deetz 1993; Taylor 1982), "blackfish," trout (Rivers 2000), and garfish (Taylor 1982), to name a few. The Portuguese have a long-standing love of bacalhau, or salt cod, which they fondly call *fiel amigo* (faithful friend). Although cod is not a fish native to Portuguese shores, it was very popular in that country. As a commodity, it was traded by the Portuguese for African slaves and then fed to slaves in the New World.

Many slaves fished and hunted for food during their free time (Blassingame 1979). Archaeologists have often found lead fishing weights, fishhooks, fish scales, and other fishing items near the slave quarters at various slave archaeological sites (McFarlane 1975; Otto and Burns 1983; Samford 1996). In addition to hook and line, some slaves in Georgia used wooden basket traps (Killion and Waller 1973). William Wheeler (MS) shared a creative way to fish while working in the fields:

> We use to put a bell on a trot line, Miss when we was workin' close to a fishin' place. When dat bell would ring we would know we had done cotch a fish. Yas'm we did that all de time. Had good luck, too.

The abolitionist Frederick Douglass recalled that his grandmother was skillful in making nets for catching herring and shad. Numerous WPA narratives also referred to fish and fishing. For example, James Bolton (GA) shared:

> Long Crick runned through our plantation and the river warn't no fur piece off. We sho' did ketch the fishes, mostly cats, and perch and heaps and heaps of suckers. We cotch our fishes mos'n generally with hook and line, but the carpenters on our plantation knowed how to make basket traps that sho' nuff did lay in the fishes! God only knows how long it's been since this old nigger pulled a big shad out of the river. Ain't no sheds been cotch in the river round here in so long I disremembers when!

Thomas Cole (TX) described going fishing:

> Us chilluns bout eight years ole went fishin lots after our chores was done and we allus brought back plenty of fish and fishin was good back in dem ole streams. We nearly kept dem in fish all de time and sometimes we would all go fishin on Satidy evenin and Satidy nights ceptin marster and his wife and mah mother. De drivah and de marster boys would go wid us and stay all night and Sunday we would bring all the fish back, and de marsters boys would go and then we would have a wagon load of fish and Sunday we shore would have a big fish fry, all de plantation would have a good time eatin fish. We didnt haves ter git off de plantation ter ketch all dese fish either, der was a good rivah dat runs right through dis place.

Nicey Pugh (AL) suggested that fish were abundant in the slave diet:

> When I was a little pickaninny I worked in Massa Jim's house, sweepin' an' a-cleanin'. Us slaves had to be up at de house by sunup, build de fires an' git de cookin' started. Dey had big open fireplaces wid potracks to hang de pot on. Dats whar us boiled de vegetables. An' honey, us sho had plenty somp'n' t'eat: greens, taters, peas, rosenyurs an plenty of home killed meat. Sometimes my oldest brother, Joe West, and Friday Davis, anudder nigger, went huntin' at night an' kotched mo' possums dan we could eat. Dey'd kotch lots of fish; 'nuf to las' us three days.

Henry Bohannon (AL) echoed Pugh's observation that fish were plentiful: "Henry was too young to hunt but he went fishing almost every day." He added, "Fish were plentiful." John F. Van Hook (GA), after noting that fishing occurred at night, also recalled how fish were prepared over open fires in spiders, skillets, and ovens:

> Marse George was right good about letting his darkies hunt and fish at night to get meat for themselves. Oh! Sure, there were lots of fish and they caught plenty of 'em in the Little Tennessee and Sugar Fork Rivers and in the numerous creeks that were close by. Red horse, suckers, and salmon are the kinds of fish I remember best. They were cooked in various ways in skillets, spiders, and ovens on the big open fireplace.

Charlie Hudson (GA) described going fishing: "After dinner on Saturdays all of us took our hooks, poles and lines down to Dry Creek, when it was the right time of the year to fish" (Killion and Waller 1973: 79). He added, "Sometimes they stewed fish for the old folks to eat, but young folks loved them fried best."

Catfish

Catfish were abundant in many southern lakes, streams, and rivers and thus would have been a common food for both slaves and southern whites (Taylor 1982). Although catfish is relatively free of bones, catfish bones were found to be a significant portion of the bones found at the Wilcox plantation in Virginia. As Deetz (1993) noted, the presence of this particular fish in the diet implies that a notable amount of slave free time must have been spent fishing because catfish must be caught by hook and not by net. Deetz (1993) suggests that the amount of bone deposits indicates that catfish were a significant portion of the slave diet, at least on the Wilcox plantation.

Southerners boiled and baked catfish in clay, but the most common cooking method was to fry it in fat (Taylor 1982). A very common way to prepare catfish was skinned, covered with cornmeal, and fried. Anna Parkes (GA) shared how catfish were prepared on her plantation:

> Catfishes won't counted fittin' to set on de Jedges table, but us Negroes was 'lowed to eat all of 'em us wanted. Catfishes mus' be mighty skace now kaze I don't know when ever I is seed a good ole river catfish a-flappin' his tail. Dey flaps dey tails atter you done kilt 'em, and cleaned 'em, and drap 'em in de hot grease to fry. Sometimes dey nigh knock de lid offen de fryin' pan.

Callie Elder (GA) shared another way to cook fish covered in cornmeal:

> Marse Billy let grandpa go fishin' and he was all time bringin' back a passel of minnows and other fishes. Us rubbed 'em down wid lard and salt and pepper, den rolled 'em in cornmeal and baked 'em.

Bert Mayfield (KY) shared how the fish were covered with cornmeal and fried:

> The little boys would fish, bringing home their fish to be scaled by rubbing them between their hands, rolled in meal and cooked in a big skillet. We would eat these fish with pone corn bread and we sho' had big eatins.

Clara Davis (AL) provided the variations of cooking catfish with tomatoes and potatoes or baking them in tomato gravy with sweet potatoes:

> The writer asked her how the ex-slaves cooked the cat fish, and she replied: "Well, honey, some niggers just skin dem an' fries de steak part, while odders cut dem up fine an' stews dem wid 'taters and tumatters an' seas'ning. Mah ma wud bake dem wide tumatter gravy an' sweet 'taters."

Slaves often prepared catfish by coating it with cornmeal and then frying the fillets in lard or fat.

Conch

Conches were available in coastal regions of the South. Many of the references to conches in the narratives referred to their use by owners and overseers as horns. They would blow into the shells to beckon slaves. Aunt Ellen Godfrey (SC) mentioned

African American women cleaning herring on the Chowan River in North Carolina, from a wood engraving accompanying "The Fisheries of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, North Carolina. Illustrated by Porte Crayon," published in *Harper's Weekly* on September 28, 1861. The article is based on excerpts from "North Carolina Illustrated," a much longer piece published in the March 1857 *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* and likewise attributed to "Porte Crayon." *Heading Herring* differs somewhat from the engraving of the same name in the earlier publication. "Porte Crayon" was the pseudonym of David Hunter Strother (1816–1888), then regarded as the leading writer-illustrator for *Harper's*. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-49921.

boiling conch in her narrative: "Conch? (whelk) Many times! Take 'em. Bile 'em. Grind 'em up." Sabe Rutledge (SC) identified some wild foods including conch, which he indicated was ground up with onion and pepper:

> Wrap it in brown paper, mostly. Cows free in woods. Alligator tail good. Snail built up just like a conch (whelk). They eat good. Worms like a conch. Bile conch. Git it out shell. Grind it sausage grinder. Little onion. Black pepper. Rather eat conch than any kind of nourishment out of salt water.

Herring

Evidence of herring being part of the slaves' diet has been found in archaeological sites near the slave quarters (Samford 1996). George Washington provided herring to his Mount Vernon slaves on a regular basis. Much of the herring eaten by slaves would have been provided to them by owners and would have been pickled or otherwise salted and stored in barrels. In coastal areas, herring was part of the daily fare for

some slaves. Dennis Simms (MD) shared, "Our food consisted of bread, hominy, black strap molasses and a red herring a day."

Rezin Williams (MD) stated:

> Usually when servants or slaves in those days found themselves happy and contented, it was because they wore born under a lucky star. An for eating, they seldom got chicken, mostly they ate red herring and molasses—they called black strap molasses. They wore allowed a herring a day as part of their food. Slaves as a rule preferred possums to rabbits. Some liked fish best. Williams' favorite food was cornpoons and fried liver.

In regions where herring was not available, owners either purchased barrels of salted herring for their slaves or slaves went to markets and bought them. John Belcher (MS) remembered how his father went to Georgia to bring back salt and herring:

> My pappy used to go in a wagon to the Georgia coast and sometimes all the way to the Florida coast, to the fisheries to get salt that had been taken from the ocean water. 'bout dat time salt was real scarce and we payed three or four cents a pound for a barrel for dis salt. Dey bought herring and other fine fishes for two cents apiece at de same places.

Oysters

Along the coastal and river areas, oysters were important and easy to acquire. Zanger (2003) describes how slaves were known to collect oysters and peddle them door to door to earn money. Savannah Rice (AL) shared how she used to buy oysters from the boats: "Another thing I members was dey would bring 'Apalac' barrels of oysters for one dollar a barrel, and us would buy as many as we could eat for a dime." Elmira Hill (AR) stated, "My father used to ketch oysters and fish." Georgia Johnson (GA) identified a number of sea and coastal animals in addition to oysters in her narrative: "Her said dey et all sorts of fishes; just went to de beach and got crabs, oysters, and swimp (shrimp) wid de hulls still on 'em, but when her done et some hog meat at Marster's plantation, her said hit sho' was good."

Perch

James Bolton (GA) caught a variety of fish including perch: "We sho' did ketch the fishes, mostly cats, and perch and heaps and heaps of suckers." Jeptha Choice (TX) mentioned fishing on Saturdays: "Saturday afternoons we would go fishin' down in the creek, and it wasn' no job to get a mess of cat fish or perch or silver slides for supper." Cody Peirce (GA) remembered catching fish as a child and how he and a group of children enjoyed perch and other fresh fish on a day of religious fasting:

> On one occasion the group arrived at the Cody estate on fast day. The boys having been on one of their secret fishing trips had caught so many perch that they were not able to consume them on the banks, so had smuggled them to the kitchan, coaxed the cook to promise to prepare them, and had also sworn her to absolute secrecy regarding their origin. Although the kitchan was not directly connected with the "big house", the guests soon detected the aroma of fresh fish and requested that they be allowed to partake of this delicacy. When the boys, as well as the servants, heard this, they became panicky for

> they feared the wrath of the master. But the catch was so heartily relished that instead of the expected punishment, they were commended and allowed to fish on the next day of fasting.

Shrimp

Georgia Johnson (GA) identified shrimp as one of the coastal animals collected for food:

> Her said dey et all sorts of fishes; just went to de beach and got crabs, oysters, and swimp (shrimp) wid de hulls still on 'em, but when her done et some hog meat at Marster's plantation, her said hit sho' was good.

Sam Polite (SC) spoke of netting shrimp: "But sometime you kin t'row out net en ketch shrimp." Mary Scranton (TX) recalled how shrimp were used to make gumbo:

> I sho' know how t' mek gumbo. You put in d' pepper 'n' onion. You don' put in no garlic, dat too strong. 'N' den you brown d' rice right brown t' mek a good gumbo. Den you put w'at you wanter in it—chicken 'r' shrimp 'r' meat.

Other Fish and Marine Animals Identified in the Narratives

Many other species of fish and marine animals were identified in the narratives, and their availability and use by slaves were regional in nature, as with the availability of many other foods as previously noted. For example, using nets, slaves could have caught mullet in Georgia (Otto and Burns 1983). Daphne Williams (TX) also recalled having mullet available in Florida: "Dey uster ketch mullet an' trout out on dem fishin'trip." Bottom feeding suckers were also mentioned in the narratives. Typically, suckers have been considered as inferior fish, but among slaves, they were considered a game fish and food. John F. Van Hook (GA) noted:

> Suckers were plentiful and easy to catch but they did not give you the battle that a salmon or a red horse could put up and that was what it took to make fishing fun. We had canoes, but we used a plain old flat boat, a good deal like a small ferry boat, most of the time. There was about the same difference in a canoe and a flat boat that there is in a nice passenger automobile and a truck.

Salmon was not a common food for slaves. However, there was one mention of salmon in the narratives by John F. Van Hook (GA). Van Hook spoke of his pursuit and catching of a salmon:

> "We caught real salmon in the mountain streams," John remarked. "They weighed from 3 to 25 pounds, and kind of favored a jack fish, only jack fishes have duck bills, and these salmon had saw teeth. They were powerful jumpers and when you hooked one you had a fight on your hands to get it to the bank no matter whether it weighed 3 or 25 pounds. The gamest of all the fish in those mountain streams were red horses. When I was about 9 or 10 years old I took my brother's fish gig and went off down to the river. I saw what looked like the shadow of a stick in the clear water and when I thrust the gig at it I found mighty quick I had gigged a red horse. I did my best to land it but it was too strong for me and pulled loose from my gig and darted out into deep water. I ran fast

> as I could up the river bank to the horseshoe bend where a flat bottom boat belonging to our family was tied. I got in that boat and chased that fish 'til I got him. It weighed 6 pounds and was 2 feet and 6 inches long. There was plenty of excitement created around that plantation when the news got around that a boy, as little as I was then, had landed such a big old fighting fish."

Mary Gomez (FL) reported that trout was part of the slave diet (Rivers 2000). Julia Blanks (TX) described what could be called big fish frys among slaves:

> The men used to go up to the lake, fishin', and catch big trout, or bass, they call 'em now; and we'd take big buckets of butter—we didn't take a saucer of butter or a pound; we taken butter up there in buckets, for we sure had plenty of it—and we'd take lard too, and cook our fish up there, and had corn bread or hoe cakes and plenty of butter for ever'thing, and it sure was good. I tell you—like my husband used to say—we was livin' ten days in the week, then.

Henry Barnes (AL) mentioned gar, jack, carp, and trout in his narrative:

> Talkin' 'bout fishin', I 'members when us would be plowin' down by de river, when it come dinner-time an' whilst de mules eatin', us go down to de river an' fish. Den ev'ry Sat'day evenin's us'd fish. Us ketch trout, gyar, jack, an' carp. May was when de carp bite. Dey was so fat den dat you could cook em by deyse'f widout no grease.

Green Willbanks (GA) identified "hornyheads" and perch:

> We fished in the cricks and rills 'round the plantation and brought in lots of hornyheads and perch. You never saw any hornyheads? Why they is just fish a little bigger and longer than minnows and they have little herns on their heads. We caught a good many eels too; they look like snakes, but folks call them eels. I wasn't much 'quainted with them fish they brought from way down South; they called them mullets.

Silvia King (TX) shared that eel was fried:

> Did you ebber fry an eel? You habn't? Well, I tells you dis fer er fac', you kin fry de pieces ob dat ole eel, an' come you let de meat git cold, an' hit'll git all raw an' bloody agin'. Effen you put er piece of an eel in er fryin' pan, de foots er comin' out (appear) sho' jes' soon as dat meat git hot.

Valmar Cormier and Mary Moses (TX) indicated they did not eat eel because it resembled a snake, but they did eat raw snails:

> We nebber did eat eel cause it look too much like snake. Snails us jes' go'd through de woods an' pick dem up an' eat dem jes' like dat.

Mary Scranton (TX) described how she used and cooked crawfish:

> I uster cook crawfish too. You tek d' tail from dat crawfish. You cook d' tail 'n' use dat w'ite meat under d' tail. Fix it like gumbo 'r' mek a stew. Sometime' some people put in t'maters, 'n' some people don' put in no t'maters at all. I uster cook all kin's 'r' fish 'n' crawfish 'n' eel.

As much as slave diet was dominated by domestic pork and foods made from cornmeal, when it came to wild game and fish, there was nearly as much variety as nature herself provided. As with their other life experiences, slaves combined necessity with opportunity to create meals from wild game that was sometimes merely edible but was often delectable and became celebrated dishes of southern cooking, some of which have been handed down to the present day.

8

DAIRY

> Us lived in a mud and log house, one room and er large fireplace. Us had er good time den, ef us jest had er knowd hit, 'cause us sho wus fed good. Dey had long old wooden troughs, dey poured our milk and bread in and us et it wid wooden spoons and when dey called, 'Chillun, chillun, bread,' us burnt de wind, 'cause we wus always hongry.
>
> Jane Holloway (AL)

> I never could drink milk or eat butter, so on more than one occasion other people would try to influence my mistress and tell her that if I belonged to them they would make me drink milk or beat me. She never noticed any of their remarks; but always gave me the same food that she ate.
>
> Miltck Hammond (GA)

The Plantation Dairy and Slaves

The most important beverage for slaves was water, which was sometimes stored in cisterns (Finkelman and Miller 1998). A good source of water was essential for the plantation and well-being of those living there, and it was generally obtained from wells, springs, and streams. Milk, however, was also an important drink and source of nutrition for many slaves, although milk and dairy products were not part of the traditional West African diet and many initial African American slaves were not able to digest dairy products because of lactose intolerance. Appendix G presents examples of dairy products mentioned in the Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives.

Animal protein has never played a major role in West African nutrition, and a major theory behind that is the effect of the tsetse fly, a bloodsucking insect responsible for African sleeping sickness in animals as well as in man (Glasgow 1963). In much of West Africa, the tsetse fly was so prevalent that it made raising cattle and other large animals nearly impossible, and therefore, many West Africans were limited to keeping a few goats, chickens, and dogs, and occasionally a pig.

Bovine milk was thus excluded from West African diets, which may be a reason for the high frequency of lactose intolerance among blacks of West African origin. Most slaves in the United States were descended from various West African tribes, and such intolerance occurs among people with a history of low milk consumption (Rotberg 2000). Symptoms of lactose intolerance include diarrhea, bloating, stomach ache, and cramps (Kiple and King 1981). Because lactose intolerance becomes more pronounced with age, some suggest that its incidence may have reached 100 percent in some southern regions (Kiple and King 1981; Moore 1989). Lactose intolerance was reflected in the comments of ex-slave Reverend Oliver Nelson (IN) who worried that the biblical depiction of heaven being the land of milk and honey would upset his stomach (Baker 2000: 197).

Dairy products are good sources of calcium, and fortunately for lactose-intolerant slaves, dairy products were not the only source of this nutrient; sweet potatoes and black-eyed peas are also good sources and were readily available to slaves. As many generations of slaves passed in the South and exposure to cow's milk became more common, succeeding generations of African Americans became more tolerant of milk and other dairy, and many WPA narratives suggest that dairy products, especially sweet milk and butter, were enjoyed by slaves who had access to them. And a sizable number did have that access in the years before the Civil War. As author and food historian Heidi Haughy Cusick (1995) noted, a typical daily slave menu in Georgia meant milk and bread for breakfast and milk and bread for supper with a noon meal of black-eyed peas and cornbread.

As has been noted throughout the narratives, food was a means of controlling slaves. Dairy production and ownership were no exception. Frank A. Patterson (AR) provided an account of how owners attempted to control their slaves' dairy production by controlling how many chickens they could raise (eggs) and allowing access to milk for slave children but not allowing their parents to own cows. The theme of control and insubordination of slaves rings through his comments:

> Some few of them had chickens that was allowed to have them. Some of them had owners that wouldn't allow their slaves to own chickens. They never allowed them to have hogs or cows. Wherever there was a family that had a whole lot of children they would allow them to have a cow to milk for to get milk for their children. They claimed the cow, but the master was the owner of it. It belonged to him. He would just let them milk it. He would just let them raise their children off of the milk it gave.

Milk

The Antebellum South was "notorious" for its low milk production (Kiple and King 1981: 83). This was partially due to the practice of allowing cattle to roam untended, and thus, they were not available or were too wild for milking. Some larger plantations had special milk houses used as dairies. Rev. Frank T. Boone (AR) described the dairy house and how raw milk was processed:

> The smokehouse was off by itself. Milk was off by itself too. The dairy house was where you kept the flour and sugar and preserves and fruit and pickles and all those kind of things. No food was kept in the house. The milk house had shelves all up in it and when you milked the cows the pans and bowls and crocks were put up on the shelves. Where it was possible the milk house was built on a branch or spring where you could get plenty

> of cold water. You didn't milk in the milk house. You milked in the cow pen right out in the weather. Then you carried it down to the milk house and strained it. It was poured out in vessels. When the cream rose it was skimmed off to churn for butter.

What little milk was available was of low quality. Cattle in some regions that roamed free were not considered to be good "milkers." When milk was taken from the cow, it was almost always consumed immediately, especially in spring and summer months, to avoid spoilage (Taylor 1982). Most often, lactating cows were only milked in the spring season or not at all, which compounded the lack of availability (Sutch 1976).

In Texas, milk was the most common drink (Campbell 1989). However, the narratives paint a mixed picture of milk's availability. Many of the narratives suggest that milk was very abundant on some plantations, which seems to contradict some of the literature on this subject. For example, Abe Kelley (MS) stated, "They milked ten or fifteen cows on the place, so us had plenty of milk to drink." Others also recalled that milk was the one dairy item that was readily available. Cicely Cawthon (GA) recalled that slaves on her Georgia plantation brought their cups to the dairy to get milk (Killion and Waller 1973). These cups held between a quart and a half gallon. Milk and cornbread were staples for children on many plantations. Cull Taylor (AL) referenced milk as an alternative to "pot likker" for children:

> Dere was wooden troughs different heights for de different age chillun, an' dose troughs was scrubbed as white as cotton mos'. When meal time come, dey would crumble up cornbread wid pot licker, or milk an' gib to de youngest ones. An' dey had plenty ob milk, I 'members de big milk diary, an' smoke house on de place, an' when de Yankees come through dey went into de dairy an' drank all de milk dey wanted.

Another example from the narratives indicating that milk was plentiful, at least for children, was from James Brittian (MS), who said, "Us children loved milk better than anything. We were given all the sweet milk and butter milk we could drink." Mahalia Shores (AR) stated, "We had all the meat we could eat and all the milk we could drink all the time." Lina Hunter (GA) gave a similar account:

> For supper chillun jus' had milk and bread, but dere was allus plenty of it. Marse Jack had lots of cows, and old Aunt Mary didn't have no other job but to churn enough so dere would allus be plenty of milk and butter, 'cause Marse Jack had done said milk was good for chillun and dat us was to have it to drink any time us wanted it.

Finally, the narrative of Henry Kirk Miller (AR) illustrates how often milk was provided to slaves over the course of a day:

> In those times the white people had what was known as the white people's house and then what was known as nigger quarters. The children that weren't big enough to work were fed at the white people's house. We got milk and mush for breakfast. When they boiled cabbage we got bread and pot-liquor. For supper we got milk and bread. They had cows and the children were fed mostly on milk and mush or milk and bread. We used to bake a corn cake in the ashes, ash cake, and put it in the milk.

If milk was available, it could be very limited for working adults. For Heard Griffin (GA), milk was part of the daily work routine, albeit part of an insufficient breakfast:

> Long before day light, the master would come to the slave quarters and call each person one by one, "Get up, Get up." Very soon every one was up and fully dressed ready to begin the day's work. First, however, they drank one or two glasses of milk and a piece of corn bread, which was considered breakfast. Whether this amount of food was sufficient for a morning's meal didn't matter to their master.

Other narratives indicate that milk was rare if not absent from slave diets. Some research indicates that milk was occasionally provided to slave children but not adults (Finkelman and Miller 1998). Ex-slave Charlie Davis (SC) said that slaves did not get milk except for clabber (sour and thicker than buttermilk):

> Dey live mighty near like us, but didn' have no flour bread to eat en didn' get no milk en ham neither cause dey eat to dey own house. Didn' get nothin from de dairy but old clabber en dey been mighty thankful to get dat.

Many of the narratives and others suggest that on the whole, milk and butter were in short supply (Woofter 1969). Med Walker (SC) echoed how scarce milk was and how lower quality dairy products were the only ones available to slaves on his plantation:

> Master didn't 'low de chillun to be worked. He feed slaves on 'tatoes, rice, corn pone, hominy, fried meat, 'lasses, shorts, turnips, collards, and string beans. Us had pumpkin pie on Sunday. No butter, no sweet milk but us got clabber and buttermilk.

For some, milk became even more difficult to come by during the Civil War. Will Shelby (TX) noted how scarce milk became at the close of the war:

> Bout the close of the war, t'ousands of sojers pass' the place goin' back Norf. Dey was t'ree or mo' day' passin' and us couldn' git no milk durin' dat time. Eb'ry time us go to milk, dey'd tek the milk and drink it befo' us could git to the house wid it.

Ex-slaves mentioned other milk products, such as buttermilk, butter, and clabber milk, as being available to slaves, albeit not always on a regular basis. In Florida, some slaves seldom received rations of milk but occasionally did have buttermilk. Southern planters advised that slaves should not have sweet milk but only soured milk or buttermilk (Moore 1989).

Butter

Many poor southerners seldom had butter, and it was even more uncommon among slaves (Taylor 1982). However, some of the ex-slaves mentioned having plenty of butter. To make butter, slaves needed to churn whole milk. Some of the narratives described how butter was churned, often by women or children. For example, Fannie Alexander (AR) described how children churned butter:

> The churns was up high—five gallon churns. Some churns was cedar wood. The children would churn standing on a little stool. It would take two to churn. They would change about and one brushed away the flies.

Polly Turner Cancer (MS) told of how, on her plantation, churning milk occurred throughout the work day beginning early in the morning: "De milkers got up at sun up to milk de cows an' dey wud churn five times a day."

After butter was churned, because of the heat and humidity of the South, it was typically consumed before it could spoil. However, some were able to preserve butter. Ex-slave Della Briscoe (GA) described how butter was stored on her plantation:

> Refrigeration was practically unknown, so a well was used to keep the butter fresh. This cool well was eighty feet deep and passed through a layer of solid rock. A rope ladder was suspended from the mouth of the well to the place where the butter was lowered for preservation.

Alex Trimble (TX), similar to Della Briscoe, also noted that butter was kept cool in wells. He told of how butter was lowered in a well in a bucket to prevent spoilage:

> Dey uster had lots of cows and all de milk and butter anybody want. Dey had a big bucket hangin' in de well. Dey put de butter in dat in de summer time to keep it from meltin'. How dey kep' it from sp'ilin'? Why, dey et it up, dat's how dey keep it from sp'ile.

Some slaves did have butter, at least as children. Sarah and Tom Douglas (AR) both noted that, "All we little black chillun et out of the boilin' pot an every Sunday mornin' we had hot biscuit and butter for breakfast." R. S. Taylor (NC) recalled having plenty of butter: "We had plenty of something to eat, beans, peas, butter milk and butter and molasses and plenty o' flour." Nellie Smith (GA) observed that, "Evvy big plantation raised its own cows for plenty of milk and butter, as well as lots of beef cattle, hogs, goats, and sheep."

Emma Weeks (TX) reported how her family had excess butter. She recalled how her mother would take the butter they made to sell:

> We had enough milk fo' makin' butter fo' us, and, about once a week, Mammy'd take about ten pounds of butter to town to sell. I think dat she got two bits a pound fo' dat butter. She didn't sell de butter to stores, but would go in a buggy and take it to certain folks' houses.

But others, such as Peter Blewitt (MS), remembered that butter was not abundant for slaves. He shared, "Dey give us milk to drink but no butter."

Buttermilk

Buttermilk was mentioned in the narratives as being available to slaves on some plantations. The common practice on the plantation was not to separate all of the butter from the milk but rather to drink whole buttermilk. Buttermilk was also available because some slaves did not have the equipment or the free time necessary to separate the butter from the milk for themselves (Hilliard 1972). A typical meal for slaves was buttermilk poured over cornbread, prepared by either themselves or their owners. For example, ex-slave John Wesley Ellis (FL) recalled being served buttermilk in a trough with bread (Rivers 2000). Ex-slave Robert Shepherd (GA) went so far

as to mention that buttermilk over cornbread was the only meal available in the evenings for children on his plantation (Killion and Waller 1973). Robert Shepherd (GA) shared:

> Aunt Viney crumbled up dat bread in de trough and poured de veg'tables and pot-likker over it. Den she blowed de horn and chillun come a-runnin' from evvy which away. If us et it all up, she had to put more victuals in de trough. At nights, she crumbled de cornbread in de trough and poured buttermilk over it. Us never had nothin' but cornbread and buttermilk at night. Sometimes dat trough would be a sight, 'cause us never stopped to wash our hands, and 'fore us had been eatin' more dan a minute or two what was in de trough would look lak de red mud what had come off of our hands. Sometimes Aunt Viney would fuss at us and make us clean it out.

Randall Lee (FL) reported that buttermilk was very common: "Syrup water and plenty of sweet and butter milk rice and crackling bread are other foods which were plentiful around the cabin of Randall's parents." Charles Crawley (VA) also reported that buttermilk was abundant during slavery: "We had plenty of feed sech as 'twas cornbread, butter milk, sweet potatoes, in week days."

Clabber Milk

When milk was not drunk when it was fresh, it was set aside until the cream rose to the top. The remainder of the milk curdled and was called clabber milk. Lucy Brooks (MD) recalled that clabber milk was common daily fare for her in Maryland: "I hab mostly clabber, fish and cornbread." Hemp Kennedy (MS) noted that clabber milk was one of the few foods available during the Civil War: "When de War was right on us, grub was scarce an' sometimes little niggers only had clabber milk an' dey at it in de trough wid de pigs, an' sometimes dey only had pie crusts an' bread crusts at night when dey et on de cabin flo'." Finally, one last example is from the narrative of Martin Graham (AL) who spoke of having clabber milk:

> Us cooked on de fireplace in three legged spiders set over hot coals, dey cooked light-bread, ash-cakes cooked in collard leaves and den us would drink butter milk and eat clabber.

Clabber milk, in many circles, would be considered spoiled milk, and often, that is all it was. As a reflection of hunger, the ex-slave Rev. Eli Boyd (FL) described how he became sick from clabber milk:

> They gave me a bucket of thick clabber to take to the hogs. I was hungry and took the bucket and sat down behind the barn and ate every bit of it. I didn't know it would make me sick, but was I sick? I swelled up so that I all but bust. They hed to doctor on me. They took soot out of the chimney and mixed it with salt and made me take that. I guess they saved my life, for I was awful sick.

Cheese

Cheese is seldom mentioned in the narratives. The majority of slaves would not have had much access to cheese in their diets, but some did (Taylor 1982). There

were a few exceptions when slaves ate cheese, such as during Christmas. Will Sheets (GA) recalled how cheese was given to slaves at Christmas: "What us laked best 'bout Chris'mas was de good old hunk of cheese dey give us den and de groundpeas." Cheese was also part of the Christmas celebration for Alex Montgomery (MS), who stated, "An' round Christmas times dey got cheese, an' when dar wus a beef kilt all de slaves got deir share." Wash Wilson (TX) noted that dairy cows were absent in Texas but were abundant in Louisiana and were used to make butter and cheese: "In Texas fer meny er year folks didn't hab no milk cows. But back in Louisiana, dey had plenty an' made butter an' cheese fer everybody."

Jefferson L. Cole (OK) described how they made cheese on his plantation:

> I used to help with the making of home made cheese. We'd milk the cows of a morning, and fill a large pot with the sweet milk. We'd let it set, and then we'd put in a stuff we called "cow rennet" that curdled the milk like alum does. We would have a round, clean plank for the bottom of the cheese, and we'd take cheese cloth and hoops and put the cheese in a press, giving it a round form like the yellow cheese you see in butcher shops nowadays called "Longhorn" cheese. The press had an arm, a sort of lever. We'd hang weights on the arm, and leave the cheese to set. By the next morning it was made.

Custard

Some of the narratives identify custard as occasionally available to slaves. One example was Charlotte Beverly (TX) who referred to custard in her narrative:

> We hab butter milk 'n' custard made outn' clabber. Dey beat up d' clabber wid buttermilk 'n' flavor it 'n' put it in a crus'.

Millie Ann Smith (TX) said, "The wimmen cooked up chicken stews, tater (potato) custard, pies, cakes and all kinds of meats and vegetables."

Savannah Rice (AL) shared her recipe for making custard. It cannot be determined from her interview if she was providing a slave or contemporary recipe:

Recipe—Custard

Now, cakes is real common now. Let me tell you bout my pies. De reason folks don't make good pies is case deys scared to use de stuff. Dis is de way I makes lemon pie. I pint milk, three yokes of de yallow, and a hold cup sugar in dat yallow and a tablespoon full of corn starch. Whip hit light and I means light, and add hit to de hot milk. Put jist de end of a pinch of a teaspoon full of butter in de milk. Then de rang (meringue) is de three whites lef ober from de yallows. You whip dat light and add four tablespoon fulls of sugar. Put hit in de crust and brown lightly. [Savannah Rice, AL]

Eggs

Chickens were abundant in the South and were part of the slave diet as noted in Chapter 6. Slaves often raised chickens for meat and eggs and often sold chicken eggs

to their owners or at market to make money (Taylor 1982). Frederick Law Olmsted's (1856/1904: 209) grand tour of the South noted how slaves in Alabama would come on board the boats in the evenings to sell their eggs: "Whenever we landed at night or on Sunday, for wood or cotton, many negroes would come on board from the neighboring plantations to sell eggs to the steward." Some sold their eggs to their masters. Ellen Calphell (GA) mentioned this practice:

> Every slave family had de garden patch, and chickens. Marstar buy eggs and chickens fum us at market prices.

One of the most common ways eggs were prepared was to simply roast them in the shell. The convenience of simply placing eggs in a fire and letting them cook was not lost on many slave cooks. Acie Thomas (FL) told of his experience as a child of managing all of the nests on the plantation. One senses that many eggs from stray fowl were roasted on the spot by slaves in the fields or woods. Acie indicated that this particular chore, because of the inherent benefits, was not overlooked by children:

> When Acie "got up come size" he was required to do small tasks, but the master was not very exacting. There were the important tasks of ferreting out the nests of stray hens, turkeys, guineas and geese. These nests were robbed to prevent the fowls from hatching too far from the hen house. Quite a number of these eggs got roasted in remote corners of the plantation by the finders, who built fires and wrapped the eggs in wet rags and covered them with aches. When they were done a loud pop announced that fact to the roaster. Potatoes were cooked in the came manner and often without the eggs. Consequently these two tacks were never neglected by the slave children. Cotton picking was not a bad job either—at least to the young.

Eggs were not limited to chickens; some eggs were from turkeys and other domesticated and wild fowl, and these were also gathered and consumed by slaves. Sophie D. Bell (AR) listed a variety of eggs eaten by slaves: "We had duck eggs, guinea eggs, goose eggs, and turkey eggs." Julia Cole (GA) shared how children were rewarded for finding turkey eggs:

> Chillun didn't have much to do. Us loved to hunt for turkey nests 'cause dey give us a teacake for evvy turkey egg us fotched in. Chillun at in de yard at de big house, whar dey give us plenty of meat and cornbread wid good vegetables for dinner.

Ice Cream

Ice cream was available before the Civil War, as were commercial freezers to make it (Taylor 1982). George Washington was known to have had a type of freezer for making ice cream. Although very uncommon, ice cream was occasionally available to a few slaves. For example, Callie Gray (MS) affirmed that she had it:

> We had ice all right, but we never thought of setting food on it and couldn't have ef we had wanted to 'cause the ice house wus too onconvenient. It wus built of two layers of brick with charcoal between and the only opening wus at the top. They would collect

> ice offen the lake and the ponds in winter and dump it in there and cover it with cotton seed. Den in the summer they would make ice cream with it and sometime they would pount it up and put on a sick person's head.

Cora Gillam (AR) referred to an alternative ice cream and what it was made from: "In winter, they would beat up eggs and milk and snow together and call it ice cream."

9

GRAINS, CEREALS, AND BAKED GOODS

> Heavy iron skillets with thick lids were much used for baking, and they had ovens of various sizes. I have seen my mother bake beautiful biscuits and cakes in those old skillets, and they were ideal for roasting meats. Mother's batter cakes would just melt in your mouth and she could bake and fry the most delicious fish. There was no certain thing that I liked to eat more than anything else in those days. I was young and had a keen appetite for all good things. Miss Fannie and Miss Susan often made candy and it was so good I could have eaten all they made, had they given it to me. My father hired his time out; he made and sold gingercakes on the railroad.
>
> Minnie Davis (GA)

> When once a week came "Johnny Seldom"—as the hot biscuits made of wheat flour were called in Old Missouri—all other kinds of bread faded into nothingness. Two kinds of biscuits were typically Missourian—the large, fluffy, high biscuits—which looked like an undersized sofa pillow—and beaten biscuits, small, crisp, delicious—the grandfather of all afternoon tea refreshments. No "Po' white trash" can make beaten biscuits. Indeed, much of the finest flavor of all cookery belonged intuitively to the Negro. How the Negro cook managed to get biscuits steaming hot from the cook-room a quarter of a mile distant through the open yard to the dining room table has always been a mystery. She did it, howaver, and successfully.
>
> Alex Bufford (MO)

Grains and Cereals Used by Slaves

Baked goods and especially breads were highly prized by slaves (Joyner 1971), who made breads and baked goods out of whatever grains or vegetables they could access. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives contain numerous references to baked goods and foods made from various grains, but as would be expected with the omnipresence of corn throughout much of the South, most of these references involve cornmeal and cornbread. As Taylor (1982: 83) noted, "The slave's bread was cornbread."

Slaves relied mostly on cornmeal for baking, but other seeds, grains, and ingredients were used in place of or in combination with corn and specifically cornmeal. For examples of the grains used by slaves, see Appendix H, and for examples of baked goods, see Appendix I. On occasion, when flour supplies were exhausted, slaves made breads from dried beans, rice, potatoes, or mashed peas, making dough out of these ingredients and shaping it into flat loaves that were fried or baked.

Cornmeal

As noted in Chapter 5, corn was the main vegetable/grain of the Antebellum South and a major food of most slaves (Hilliard 1972). It was incorporated into a vast number of meals in one form or another, including various forms of hominy, mush, or grits. Slaves also baked or fried cornmeal into cornbread, corn pone, dodgers, ash cake, Jonny cake, hoe cake, hushpuppies, and other goods.

Cornbread

The most common bread to slaves was cornbread, which was often broken into milk or buttermilk, constituting a daily meal for many slave children (Taylor 1982). According to Hilliard (1972), cornbread is unquestionably the bread of the South. It was popular because it was cheap and could be made in many different forms. Cornbread could be baked into high-rising, fluffy loaves or simply fried for a fast meal. Slave cooks often cooked pork, bacon, and other meats first and then made cornbread in the same pot. This allowed the fat from the meat to be absorbed by the cornbread, which imparted texture and flavor (Schneider and Schneider 2000).

The following is a recipe for cornbread that is not from the narratives but is from Abby Fisher's 1881 cookbook and is representative of a typical cornbread recipe. The slaves did not have much access to flour or sugar and would have used substitutes such as honey, molasses, shorts, or seconds in their recipes. The amounts of ingredients indicated in the recipe were likely estimated by slave cooks based on their experience, which was shared from generation to generation.

Recipe—Plantation Cornbread

Half tablespoonful of lard to a pint of meal, one teacup of boiling water; stir well and bake on a hot griddle. Sift in meal one teaspoonful of soda. [Fisher 1881: 11]

The narratives contain numerous references to cornbread and other cornmeal-based baked goods. Hannah Jones (AL) mentioned cornbread in her recollection of food:

> We had good beds and plenty vittels to eat: greens, cawn bread, meat an'all kinds of sweets. Some time de men folks would ketch a 'possum or rabbit. Marster had a big vegetable garden an' we was 'lowed to help our selves f'um dis here garden.

Claude Augusta Wilson (FL) acknowledged the important role cornbread played in his life and provided this description of how it was made:

> Cornbread was made as it is today, only cooked differently. The corn meal after being mixed was wrapped in tannion leaves (elephant ears) and placed in hot coals. The loaves would parch to a crisp and when the bread was removed it was a beautiful brown and unburned.

Millie Evans (AR) shared a modification to the standard recipe for cornbread by adding persimmons to the cornmeal. Slaves in regions of the South that grew persimmons sometimes incorporated them into their diets and recipes.

Recipe—Persimmon Cornbread

Sift meal and add your ingredients then your persimons that have been washed and the seeds taken out end mash them and put in and stir well together. Grease pan well and pour in and bake. Eat with fresh meat. [Millie Evans, AR]

Corn Pone

Corn pone was typically made from cornmeal, salt, and water. Some slaves would add milk, buttermilk, shortening, and/or eggs as modifications to the basic recipe. There were also variations to the basic corn pone, such as scratchback. Scratchbacks were corn pones dropped from spoons onto buttered tins. Because they retained their rough tops, they would "scratch" the top of the mouth when eaten, thus originated the name scratchback (Fishwick 1964). Slaves sometimes made mush from cornmeal and called it pone bread, a mush cake similar to mush patties baked in Africa for centuries. Corn pone's hard outside texture served a useful purpose. Its hard surface made it easy to brush off the ashes from fires. In his narrative, Chency Cross (AL) described corn pone:

> Nex' thing I knowed, here come my mistis, an' she say: 'Now Cheney, I wants some pone bread for dinner.' Dem hick'ry coals in dat fire place was all time ready an' hot. They wouldn't be no finger prints lef' on dat pone when Cheney got th'ew pattin' it out neither. Better not! Look lack dem chillun jes' couldn't git 'nuff of dat hard corn bread.

Aunt Betty Cofer (NC) indicated that corn pone was pretty common during her meals: "They only had ash cakes (corn pone baked in ashes) without salt, and molasses for their dinner, but we had beans an' grits an' salt an' sometimes meat."

Crackling Bread

Crackling bread is a variation of cornbread. Crackling, or cracklin', bread with sweet potatoes was reportedly the favorite meal of the famous 1831 slave insurrection leader Nate Turner (Thurman 2000). After hog killing, slaves used bits of fat left over from the rendering process called cracklings to make crackling bread. Crackling bread was made of cornmeal mixed with the crisp tidbits left from frying the lard (Phillips 1966). It looked like cornbread and took advantage of the flavor stemming from the hog fat. Rachel Harris (AR) linked the rendering process to the making of crackling bread when she stated, "It was just as good as crackling bread which was made from rendering lard." Bill Heard (GA) tied crackling bread with hog butchering and implied

rendering: "De mostest fresh meat sich as chit'lin's, haslets, pig foots, and sausage, wid good old collard greens, cracklin' bread, and hot coffee." Simon Phillips (AL) had fond memories of crackling bread when he said, "The food consisted of turnip greens, meat, peas, crackling bread and syrup, and plenty of it." He then added, "Not since those days have I had such good food." Aleck Woodward (SC) echoed a similar fondness for crackling bread: "Us niggers didn't get white flour bread, but de cracklin' bread was called on our place, 'de sweet savor of life.'"

Recipe—Crackling Bread

2 cups cornmeal	1 teaspoon salt
1/2 cup flour	1 1/4 cups warm water or milk
1 cup fresh cracklings	

Mix well and sift dry ingredients, add cracklings and stir. Add water or milk and stir until mixture can be handled well. Form into pones and place into baking pan. Bake at 425 for 25 minutes or until brown. [The National Council of Negro Women 2000: 74]

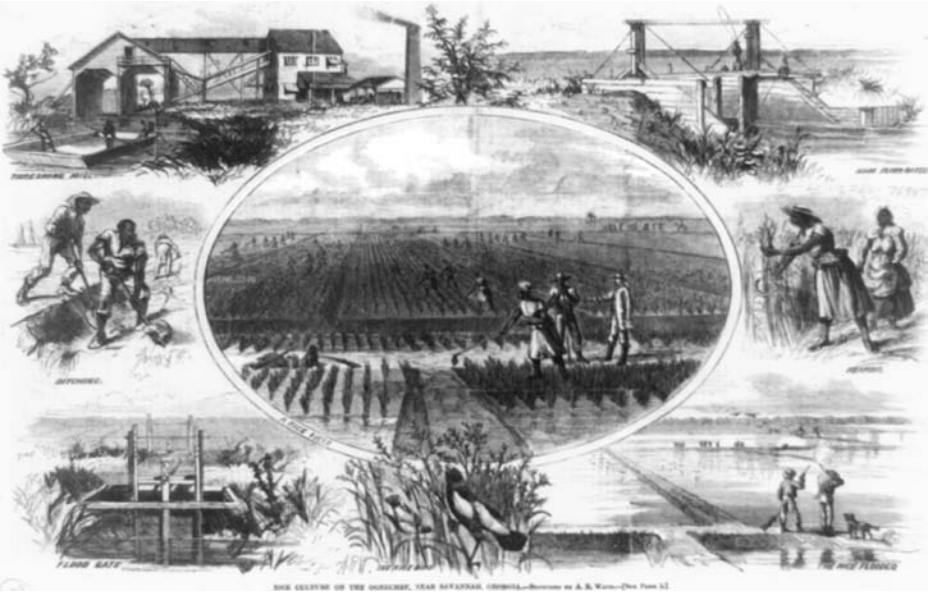
Cottonseed

Slaves in most regions of the South were literally surrounded by cotton fields and thus took advantage of this abundance and sometimes incorporated cottonseed into their foodways and diets, although the extent of the practice is unknown. Cottonseed was used to make a medicinal tea that was used for fevers, worms, and chills but was not considered to be a source of nutrition when used in this manner (see Sol Walton, AL). However, cottonseed was treated as a food by some slaves. For example, Doc Quinn (AR) referred to this incorporation in his narrative and described how the seeds were combined with cornmeal. Quinn indicated that cottonseed was a preferred food among the slaves on his plantation. He went so far as to link slave productivity to eating cottonseed blended with cornmeal:

> The cotton-seed would be dumped into a huge pot, and boiled for several hours, the seed gradually rising to the top. The seed would then be dipped off with a ladle. The next and final step would be to pour corn-meal into the thick liquid, after which it was ready to be eaten. Cotton-seed, it must be remembered, had little value at that time, except as livestock feed.
>
> "Yes suh, Cap'n," the old negro went on to explain. "I has never eaten anything whut tasted any better, or whut would stick to your ribs like cotton-seed, and corn-meal cake. Rich? Why dey's nuthin dat is more nutritious. You never saw a healthier or finer lookin' bunch of negroes dan was on Colonel Hervey's place."

He then added:

> "I 'member one time tho' when he changed us off cotton-seed, but we didn't stay changed fo' long. No suh. Of all de grumblin' dem nigg ers did, becase dey insides had got so used to dat cotton-seed and corn-meal dey wouldn't be satisfied wid nothing else.



According to the article with which it appeared in the January 5, 1867, *Harper's Weekly*, this composite depiction of wet rice agriculture on the Ogeechee River near Savannah, Georgia, shows, "in the centre, the rice fields with the hands at work, and around it the threshing-mill, the main flood-gate, one of the smaller gates, or trunks, a flooded field, ditching, reaping, etc." "The Rice Bird" shown at the center bottom was the bobolink, regarded as a particular scourge of rice plantations. In rural areas freed African Americans had few opportunities to break free of their pre-Emancipation economic circumstances, and many continued to work on plantations. The engraving was based on sketches by artist Alfred R. Waud. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-93554.

> One mornin' when about forty of us niggers had reported sick, de Mahster came down to de qua'ters. 'Whut ailin' ye' lazy neggers?" he asked. Dem niggers los' about fifty pounds of weight apiece, and didn' feel like doin' anything. "Mahster," I say. "Iffen you'll have de wimmen folks make us a pot full of dat cotton-seed and corn-meal, we'll be ready to go to work.' And as long as I work fo' Colonel Harvey, one uv de bes' men whut ever lived, we always had cotton-seed and corn-meal to eat."

Plantation owners sometimes used cottonseed to feed animals, and the feed mixture would sometimes wind up being eaten by slaves out of desperation. George Womble (GA) recalled eating a mixture of cattle feed and cottonseed. He was quoted by his interviewer for the narratives: "Some of the times he did not have enough food to eat and so when the time came to feed the cows he took a part of their food (a mixture of cotton seed, collard stalks, and small ears of corn) and ate it when night came."

Rice

West Africans grew rice (*Oryza sativa* or *Oryza glaberrimi*), and slaves would have been familiar with the plant as food in rice-growing and -trading regions (Moore 1989; Whit 2007). Slaves with African origins introduced many of the ideas on

how to cultivate and harvest rice to the rice-growing regions of the South (Zanger 2003). Much of the rice, when unhusked, was known as "paddy" to southerners (Otto and Burns 1983). Rice was thought to be imported in 1685 from the island of Madagascar to South Carolina. By 1700, a rice economy had been born in South Carolina (Edelson 2006), and it was promoted by whites there as a replacement for corn (maize). White southerners viewed cornmeal used to make bread as a poor substitute for wheat. Europeans strongly preferred rice or wheat-based breads to breads made from corn. The problem was that wheat did not grow very well in the southern humid climate and was quick to rot or mold. Early colonists in South Carolina turned to rice as a substitute for wheat because it helped whiten flour for breads (Edelson 2006).

In rice-growing regions of the South, rice was a big part of the slave diet, particularly damaged and low-quality rice (Hillard 1985). Early slaves in South Carolina complained of a maize (corn) gruel named "loblolly" because of its texture, taste, and varied temperature when served and the monotony of having it on a daily basis (Edelson 2006). In addition, maize or corn was low in protein and generally viewed by many as unpalatable. Rice provided an alternative starch-based food to their diet, which the slaves could season to fit their own tastes. Some historians contend that enslaved Africans first showed white Americans how to cultivate rice. It can certainly be said that Africans improved rice cultivation by showing white rice farmers the technique of wet-rice agriculture that they brought with them from Africa. According to John Michael Vlach (1978), "South Carolina's early economic success owed a great deal to the contributions of black slaves and their agricultural knowledge—especially in the area of rice cultivation." By 1740, rice had become a major staple in the South Carolina farming and slave-based economy. In Florida, some slaves had private plots of rice to supplement their rations (Rivers 2000).

Slaves used rice as a fundamental ingredient in a few of their one-pot meals. The one-pot meal of red rice appears to be of African origin (Singleton 1991). In Georgia and other states, rice pileau or perlou, which was comprised of boiled rice with fish, game meat, or vegetables, would have been standard slave fare (Otto and Burns 1983). In some regions, such as the Sea Islands and the coastal lowlands of South Carolina and Georgia, African Americans called Gullahs or Geechees were strongly associated with the rice in their diets. Moore (1980: 480) noted that a folk definition of Geechees was, "The people who eat rice daily for dinner."

Frederick Law Olmsted (1856/1904) described the preparation of rice and a rice dish he discovered in his mid-nineteenth-century tour of the slave states. He did not specifically indicate whether slaves prepared this dish, but it is likely that they did. He wrote:

> Rice is increased in bulk, by boiling, 150 per cent, and in weight, 100 per cent. Wash it thoroughly in cold water; have your pot of water (two quarts for every half-pint of rice) boiling—add salt at discretion; and put rice in, and stir it while boiling; let it boil four minutes (some say ten, and some say fifteen); let it remain twenty minutes, and then dish it up. Each grain, by this method, will be swollen and soft, without having lost its individuality and the dish will be light, palatable, and nutritious. Those who prefer a sodden, starchy, porridge-like mess, may boil it longer, and neglect to steam it. A very delicate breakfast-roll is made in Georgia, by mixing hominy or rice, boiled soft, with rice-flour, and milk, in a stiff batter, to which an egg and salt may be added. It is kept over night in a cool place, and baked, so as to be brought hot to the breakfast table. [Olmsted 1856/1904: 111–112]

Two dishes that were prepared by slaves include a traditional African dish called cala and a dish called Limpin' Susan, for which there are several variations. Cala is a sweetened rice cake, and in Georgia, it was sometimes called saraka. According to Holloway (2007), in the 1930s, a woman born into slavery remembered her mother making the cakes:

> Yesium. I membuh how she made it. She wash rice, ann po off all duh watah. She let wet rice sit all night, and put in mawtuhm an beat it tuh paste wid wooden pastle. She add honey, sometime shuguh, add it in floot cake wid uh kams. Saraka, she call um.

A more common southern recipe than cala and one that would have been familiar to slaves was Limping Susan or Limpin' Susan, which is a lesser known cousin of Hoppin' John because it used okra in place of field peas and bacon instead of other kinds of pork fat. Nevertheless, well known throughout the South, the following recipe for Limpin' Susan is from Mitchell's (1998) collection of slave recipes and is only one of several variations.

Recipe—Limpin' Susan

4–6 strips of bacon	2 cups chicken broth
1 cup okra, sliced	1 cup uncooked rice
Salt and Pepper	

In a deep skillet fry the bacon until nearly crisp. Add the okra, and cook until barely tender. Slowly pour in the broth, add the rice, salt and pepper, and bring to a boil. Cover, reduce heat and simmer until the rice is tender, about 20 minutes. [Mitchell 1998: 22]

Sesame Seeds and Oil

Sesame (*Sesamum indicum*) seed, also called benne seed or benni seed, was brought by West Africans to South Carolina. Slaves raised large crops of sesame, being fond of the plant's nutritious seeds for making soups and puddings (Morgan 1998). They made sesame crackers and wafers (Mitchell 1998). They also used sesame oil for cooking and lighting lamps within private estates as well as on the public roads. Genovese (1974) noted the use of sesame seeds and oil in slave cooking. Although it is widely known that slaves from Africa introduced sesame to the New World, there are no specific mentions of sesame or benne seeds in the WPA narratives.

Sorghum/Millet

Guinea corn, sorghum, or millet was used to feed chickens, fowl, and slaves. Several species of sorghum, commonly known as little millet or guinea corn, and millet also flourished in parts of the South, such as Virginia (Moore 1989: 75). Sorghum and millet (*Sorghum vulgare*) are indigenous African crops that were transported to North America in the early seventeenth century by African slaves. Millets are some of the oldest groups of cereal crops in Africa south of the Sahara (Hall 2007). Sorghum and millet are grains that originated from West Africa (Morgan 1998) and are often used interchangeably, even though they are distinctive plants. West Africans were

very familiar with sorghum, such as the Shona people from the area of modern day Zimbabwe who traditionally prepared a thin sorghum gruel called bota that was fed to babies (Gelfand 1971). Wild species of sorghum have been documented as far back as 8,000 years ago in southern Egypt and the Sudan. Sorghum is grown for cereal grain, animal fodder, and sweetener and to brew alcoholic beverages. In the Antebellum South, sorghum stalks were boiled to produce an economical, molasses-like table syrup, which along with cane syrup, was a common food sweetener. After the Civil War, sugar became more available and affordable to all southerners to sweeten foods.

Slaves boiled sorghum to make porridge. Because people of European heritage in the South generally preferred white over whole wheat bread, they grew white rice as a substitute for wheat. In the South Carolina rice-growing region, white planters disliked slaves planting sorghum because it infiltrated their white rice fields and because its red color spoiled the appearance of flour made from rice (Edelson 2006).

Molasses

Molasses made from sugar cane or sorghum was a popular sweetener in the Antebellum South. Common to many slaves' tables, molasses contained iron and helped meet daily caloric requirements (Savitt 1978). The molasses made from sugar was considered to be superior to that made from sorghum, which could have a bitter taste.

Some planters provided ample amounts of molasses to their slaves, believing that it was healthy. Others thought it would lead to dirt eating, especially among children, and limited its use by rationing (Kiple and King 1981). Slave children considered molasses a special treat (Taylor 1982). It was usually the main sweetener for Texas slaves (Campbell 1989: 136). George Womble (GA) noted that molasses was the only sweetening agent on his Georgia plantation (Killion and Waller 1973). Booker T. Washington (1901) recalled how black molasses was used by southern whites to sweeten coffee and tea during the Civil War because of sugar shortages. Frederick Law Olmsted (1856/1904: 317) observed how molasses syrup was abundantly available to slaves in Louisiana:

> They were also allowed to drink freely of the hot *sirop*, of which they were extremely fond. A generous allowance of *sirop*, or molasses, was also given out to them, with their other rations, every week during the winter and early summer. In extremely hot weather it was thought to be unfavorable to health, and was discontinued.

Robert Barr (AR) referred to molasses made from sorghum: "We made our sorghum cane molasses." Fanny Johnson (AR) recalled how abundant molasses was on her plantation and how she scraped it from the storage barrels:

> We had lots of barrels of Louisiana molasses. We could eat all we wanted. Then the barrels was empty, we children was let scrape them. Lawsey, I used to get inside the barrel and scrape and scrape and scrape until there wasn't any sweetness left.

Nancy Smith (GA) also mentioned barrels of molasses in her narrative and the perceived merits of it for children: "Marster allus kept jus' barrels and barrels of good old home-made 'lasses sirup,' cause he said dat was what made slave chilluns grow fast and be strong."

Slaves also used molasses to make candy, and either type, sugar cane or sorghum, was ideal for making pulled candy. The following recipe is from Mitchell's book (1998) on slave cooking. The recipe comes close to how whites and slaves would have made pulled molasses candy.

Recipe—Molasses Taffy

2 cups molasses
1 cup sugar
2 teaspoons butter
1 tablespoon apple cider vinegar
2 tablespoons lemon juice
A few grains of salt
¼ teaspoon baking soda

In a large pot the molasses and sugar until a small portion of it forms a soft ball when dropped in icy cold water. Add the butter, vinegar, lemon juice, and salt. Boil again until a little bit will harden when dropped in cold water. Remove from the heat and quickly stir in the soda. Mix well, and pour the candy on a greased pan, platter, or marble slab. When the taffy is cool enough to handle, cut into sections, grease your hands and start pulling the candy out in a rope, then folding it back together. (This incorporates air into the taffy.) When the candy is light in color and stiff, cut it into bite size pieces (Scissors work nicely for this) or twist it into the lengths you desire. Wrap each piece in wax paper. [Mitchell 1998: 31–32]

Wheat

Wheat flour was also present in the Antebellum South. Some plantations provided their slaves with white flour, shorts, seconds, and buckwheat (Joyner 1971). Shorts were a byproduct of wheat milling consisting of bran, germ, and flour (Savitt 1978). However, wheat flour was not readily available to slaves (Taylor 1982). Much of the flour rationed to slaves was of lesser quality. According to Yentsch (2007), planters frequently distributed the coarsest flour, shorts, and dredgings to slaves. White milled wheat flour was generally preferred by whites, and they reserved it for themselves and not slaves. Lizzie Williams (MS) mentioned getting seconds as part of her rations:

> Heep o' times we'd eat coffee grounds fo' bread. Sometimes we'd have biscuits made out o' what was called de 2nd's. De white folks allus got de 1st's. De slaves didn't have no gardens but ole Missus give us onion tops out o' her garden.

Camilla Jackson (GA) remembered bread that was made from "shorts" or "seconds." "Shorts" was the name given to a second grade of flour, similar to whole wheat. The first grade was always used in the master's house. Annie Price (GA) provided an example: "On Sunday they were given a kind of flour commonly known as the 'seconds' from which biscuits were made." Martha Spence, born in 1856 in Tennessee, recalled how her widowed slave father fed his children and what they ate. She was a slave in both Tennessee and Texas and referenced "shorts" and its use in "black biscuits":

> Fathaw, poor soul, was a big bodied man. I remember how on Sunday mawnin's when we didn't have nothinb' to do, he'd git out ob bed in our log cabin, make a big fire, and tell us:

> Jiminy-cripes! Yo' chillum stay in yo' beds. I'll make de biscuits.

> He would too. I still laugh when I think about dem big rye biscuits dat was so laghe, dat we called 'em "nigger Heels." Dey sure was big biscuits, but dey was good. Some ob dem big biscuits was made out ob black shorts but dey was good, too.

Kiple and King (1981) observed that wheat bread, although available, was not that common because most of the South lies below the wheat-growing region. They also contend that wheat production, even in states where it was grown, such as Arkansas, was insufficient to provide enough for slaves and that most wheat went to white tables. On rare occasions when wheat flour was available to slaves, it was likely consumed in biscuits during special occasions. For some, however, like Callie Elder (GA), wheat bread was for special occasions or Sundays. She stated, "grown folks was fed cornbread and meat with plenty of vegetables in the week days and on Sunday mornings they give them wheat bread, what was something slaves didn't see no more 'till the next Sunday" (Killion and Waller 1973: 61).

Slaves considered wheat flour a delicacy, and it was rarely available to them unless they bought it with their own money (Campbell 1989). Wheat flour was used to make biscuits and waffles, whereas corn was used to make hominy, grits, muffins, batter cakes, spoon bread, hoe cake, and corn pone (Phillips 1966). Some owners, however, provided wheat flour to their slaves as rations. For example, Norman Burkes (AR) recalled receiving flour on Saturdays: "And they'd issue flour on Saturday so they could have Sunday morning biscuits."

Slaves generally considered white bread, made with wheat flour from which the bran and germ have been removed, to be very special. Henry Green (AR) noted that it was not available to slaves. Instead, he said, slaves only had access to cornmeal and "shorts" for baking their breads:

> Us didn't know whut white bread was in de old days, hardly, 'ceptin sometimes 'roun de marster's kitchen er nigger wud git er hold of er biscuit. All de bread dat de slabe niggers git wud be made outen cornmeal er dem brown shorts whut de marsters gib 'em in de rashions.

Ellen Cave (IN) said the slaves on her plantation ate mostly bran bread and food sneaked to them from the owner's children (Baker 2000).

Irene Coates (FL) recalled how bread was made from a mix of wheat and corn husks. The cooks mixed the husks with the wheat flour to stretch how far the flour would go, thereby using as food the husk, which would otherwise go to waste. Irene Coates implied in her comment that this led to the theft of food because of the inadequacy of this type of bread. Slaves were given fat meat and bread made of husk of corn and wheat, which, she said, caused them to steal food, and when caught, they were severely whipped.

Note on Homemade Soda

Soda was important in many baked items, especially some breads, but it was not readily available to slaves, so they had to come up with substitutes, such as the ash from fruits or vegetables. Slaves used homemade soda to get their dough to rise. For example, Emma Hurley (GA) made soda from burnt watermelon rinds:

> There warn't no soda neither, so the white folks took watermelon rinds, fixed 'em keerful like we does for perserves, burned 'em an' took the ashes an' sifted 'em an' used 'em fer soda.

Ida Rigley (AR) made soda from a more common method of using corn cob ashes:

> I had a little basket. I picked up corn cobs. They burnt them and made corn cob soda to use in the bread and cakes.

Example Recipes and Foods Made from Grains and Cereals

The narratives make many references to grains and cereals. Both were essential to the diet of slaves. Some of the more common narrative references are presented in the sections that follow.

Ash Cake

The narratives provide many references to baked goods, and ash cake was a common baked good for slaves and was mentioned in several instances in the WPA narratives. The ash cake likely derived its name from either the ashes from which it was baked or the fact that ash cakes typically were coated with a thin dusting of ash on their crusts. Ash cakes and the ways slaves made them were similar to traditional West African baking methods of foods such as fufu, a common food throughout Africa and the New World. Fufu consisted of a mixture of yams, plantains, and cassava roots (manioc, tapioca) cut into pieces and boiled together. In the South, fufu was a mixture of cornmeal and flour poured into a pot of boiling water. Slaves used this fufu mixture to make "hot cakes" in the fields, which were sometimes called ash cakes or hoe cakes. Eventually, these cakes became pancakes and hotwater cornbread.

Since most cooking in Africa was done on open fires or in fireplaces, baking ash cakes was a natural cultural transference of skills and foodways for slaves. Opinions differ on how palatable ash cakes were. The abolitionist Frederick Douglass (1855: 68), in his autobiographical *My Bondage and My Freedom*, clearly found ash cakes to be not very tasty. He wrote:

> The dinner of the slaves consisted of a huge piece of ash cake and a small piece of pork, or two salt herrings. Not having ovens, nor any suitable cooking utensils, the slaves mixed their meal with a little water to such thickness that a spoon would stand erect in it; and, after the wood had burned away to coals and ashes they would place the dough between the oak leaves, and lay it carefully in the ashes, completely covering it; hence the bread is called ash cake. The surface of this peculiar bread is covered with ashes to the depth of sixteen part of an inch, and the ashes certainly do not make it very grateful to the teeth, nor render it very palatable.

Others disagreed with Mr. Douglass's assessment of the ash cake. The African American journal *The National Era* (1855: 132) commented:

> We must, however, enter our protest against one sentiment expressed by Mr. Douglass, on the ash cake question. We regard him as unsound and unreliable on that point, as Southern men we enter our protest against his Northern "ism."

George Pretty (FL), a free man born in 1852, described how ash cakes were also cooked in the North. His account mirrors how many slaves may have prepared ash cake:

> The north being much colder than the south naturally had long ago used coal for fuel. Open grates were used for cooking Just as open fireplaces were used in the south. Iron skillets or spiders as they called them, were used for cooking many foods, coats, vegetables, pies puddings and even cakes were baked over the fire.
>
> The old familiar, often referred to as southern ash cake, was cooked on the hearth under the grate, right in Altoona, Pennsylvania. The north because of its rapid advance in the use of modern ways of cooking and doing many other things has been thought by many people to have escaped the crude methods of cooking, but not so. George told how a piece of thick paper was placed on the hearth under the grate and corn dough put upon it to bake. Hot ashes were raked over it and it was left to cook and brown. When it had remained a long enough time, the ashes were shaken off, the cake brushed clean with a cloth and no grit was encountered when it was eaten.

The narratives contain several other recipes and methods for making ash cakes. Mollie Tate (IN) described how her mother made ash cakes from salt, cornmeal, and water and then covered the cakes in ashes. Harriet Cheatam (IN) recalled:

> We often made ash cake. That's made of biscuit dough. When the dough was ready, we swept a clean place on the floor of the fireplace, smoothed the dough out with our hands, took some ashes, put them on top of the dough, then put some hot coals on top of the ashes, and just left it. When it was done, we brushed off the coals, took out the bread, and brushed off the ashes. Child, that was bread!

Molly Ammond/Ammonds (AL) provided a different method of making ash cakes that would vary on Sundays:

> Us useta cook on de fireplace. Us would cook ash cakes. Dey was made outen meal, water and a little pinch of lard; on Sundays dey was made outen flour, buttermilk an' lard. Mammy could rake all de ashes out de fireplace, den kivver de cake wid de hot ashes an' let it cool till it was done.

Many other narratives cited making ash cakes as well, including those of Millie Evans (AR), Beverly Jones (VA), William Wheeler (MS), Sarah Thomas (MS), Robert Shepherd (GA), Aunt Susan Kelly (VA), Anna Peek (GA), and Hamp Kennedy (MS), among others. Ash cake recipes are common in the narratives, suggesting that they were a staple of slave diets.

Hoe Cake

The hoe cake refers more to the slaves' use of shovels or hoes to make cornbread than a specific baked item. Hoe cakes were common fare in the plantation South (Phillips 1966) and were common to both poor southern whites and African Americans. They were made by mixing cornmeal with water and some salt and then forming the mixture into small cakes (Pyatt and Johns 1999). It was called hoe cake

because slaves often used the blades of their field hoes to cook the cakes (Zanger 2003). Moore (1989) noted that not all hoe cakes were made on hoes; some were made in iron pans. Zanger (2003) pointed out that unlike today's hoes, those in the past had larger blades and shorter handles, making them more favorable to cooking hoe cakes. Sometimes butter was put on the hoe cakes (Pyatt and Johns 1999), but this was a practice more common to southern whites than slaves (Zanger 2003). Soda, an ingredient common to many hoe cake recipes, would not have been available to many slaves; thus, slaves would substitute ashes from certain plants, such as corn cobs, as was done by Native Americans.

Anstin Pen Parnell (AR) provided a detailed account of how hoe cakes were made right after the Civil War but failed to include any reference to hoe or shovel blades in the description. This suggests that ash and hoe cakes were essentially synonymous, with one placed in ashes alone or protected with leaves and the other placed on the blade of a hoe or shovel. The narrative of Anstin Pen Parnell (AR) refers to the making of hoe or ash cakes as an "art."

> My father rented it from the big man named Alf George for whom he worked. Mr. George used to come out and eat breakfast with us. We'd get that hoecake out of the ashes and wash it off until it looked like it was as clean as bread cooked in a skillet. I have seen my grandmother cook a many a one in the fire. We didn't use no skillet for corn bread. The bread would have a good firm crust on it. But it didn't get too hard to eat and enjoy.
>
> She'd take a poker before she put the bread in and rake the ashes off the hearth down to the solid stone or earth bottom, and the ashes would be banked in two hills to one side and the other. Then she would put the batter down on it; the batter would be about an inch thick and about nine inches across.
>
> She'd put down three cakes at a time and let 'em stay there till the cakes were firm—about five minutes on the bare hot hearth. They would almost bake before she covered them up. Sometimes she would lay down as many as four at a time. The cakes had to be dry before they were covered up, because if the ashes ever stuck to them while they were wet, there would be ashes in them when you would take them out to eat. She'd take her poker then and rake the ashes back on the top of the cakes and let 'em stay there till the cakes were done. I don't know just how long—maybe about ten or twelve minutes. She knew how long to cook them. Then she'd rake down the hearth gently, backward and forward, with the poker till she got down to them and then she'd put the poker under them and lift them out. That poker was a kind of flat iron. It wasn't a round one. Then we'd wash 'em off like I told you and they be ready to eat.
>
> Two-thirds of the water used in the ash cake was hot water, and that made the batter stick together like it was biscuit dough. She could put it together and take it in her hand and pat it out flat and lay it on the hearth. It would be just as round! That was the art of it!

For other examples in the narratives, see Beverly Jones (VA) or Elizabeth Sparks (VA). Abby Fisher included in her book, *What Mrs. Fisher Knows about Old Southern Cooking, Soups, Pickles, Preserves, etc.* (1881), a recipe for hoe cake that some believe may be the most authentic slave recipe for hoe cake (Zanger 2003).

Recipe—Plantation Corn Bread or Hoe Cake

Half teaspoon of lard to a pint of meal, one teaspoon of boiling water; stir well and bake on a hot griddle. Sift in meal one teaspoon of soda. [Fisher 1881: 11]

Breads

Only very wealthy southerners owned and used stoves. Many whites and African Americans used cooking utensils and open fires to bake breads. Slaves typically did not own or have access to stoves or ovens in their own quarters. Of course, slaves cooking for the big house would have limited access to stoves and ovens. Consequently, they baked goods in pots, pans, spiders, fires, fireplaces, or other simple stoneware. Using these utensils, there were a variety of ways that slaves made bread. Sam and Louisa Everett (FL) described how spiders were used to make bread:

> Biscuits were a luxury but whenever they had white bread it was cooked in another thick pan called a "spider."
>
> This pan had a top which was covered with hot embers to insure the browning of the bread on top.

Willis Cofer (GA) provided another account of baking bread:

> White folkses and Niggers all went to de same camp meetin's, and dey brung plenty 'long to eat—big old loafs of light bread what had been baked in de skillets. De night before dey sot it in de ovens to rise and by mawnin' it had done riz most to de top of de deep old pans. Dey piled red coals all 'round de ovens and when dat bread got done it was good 'nough for anybody. De tables was loaded wid barbecued pigs and lambs and all de fried chicken folkses could eat, and all sorts of pies and cakes was spread out wid de other goodies.

Spoon Bread

The narratives seldom mention spoon bread, but it is known that slaves made and ate it. Spoon bread is a slight variation of standard cornbread. Della Buckley (MS) bragged about her spoon bread and how her owner had her serve it to his guests: "When Boss's gent'mun friends comes from New York an' Baltimore, they brags right smart on my spoon-bread an' sech."

Recipe—Spoon Bread

2 cups water	1 tablespoon sugar
1 cup cornmeal	1/2 teaspoon salt
3 eggs beaten	1 cup heavy cream
2 teaspoons baking powder	2 tablespoons butter, melted

Preheat oven to 350 degrees F. In a medium saucepan, mix water and cornmeal. Bring to a boil and cook 5 minutes. Cool to lukewarm. Add eggs and remaining ingredients.

Beat thoroughly; pour into a well-greased pan and bake 30 to 40 minutes or until puffed and golden. [Tillery 1996: 93]

Recipe—Persimmon Loaf

Take de seed outen de simmon, cover de fruit wid sugar. Take one cup of flour and one cup of sugar to every four cups of persimmons. Add a little butter and an egg well beaten. Bake in the oven. Slice when cold. Hit goes well wid meats an makes nice sandwiches. [Millie Young, Cedar Grove, MS]

White Bread

Although cornmeal was the main source of dough for baking, in some instances, slaves made white bread. For example, Douglas Parish (FL) noted that flour was sometimes used in lieu of cornmeal:

> The food was cooked in the fireplace in large iron pots, pans and ovens. The slaves had greens, potatoes, corn, rice, meat, peas, and corn bread to eat. Occasionally the corn bread was replaced by flour bread.

To many slaves, white bread was a luxury, typically reserved for southern whites; however, there were exceptions. For example, Acie Thomas (FL) mentioned that white bread was consumed by slaves on his plantation.

> There was always plenty of everything to eat for the slaves. They had white bread that had been made on the place.

Van Moore (TX) remembered that white bread was reserved for Sundays:

> I remembers, too, come Sunday mornin', old Mis' Cunningham would fill up a big wood tray with flour an' grease an' hog meat, so we could have biscuits an' white bread on Sunday. Mamma say dat back in Virginny, dey calls biscuits 'knots' an' white bread 'tangle-dough'.

There was a range of ways in which slaves combined bread with other foods. According to Schwartz (2000), some slaves ate a food referred to as "cush," which was bread mashed into gravy. Research also indicates two types of dishes pronounced "cush," but neither of them was described as bread mashed into gravy. The first was spelled with a "k," *kush*, which was a dish of cornmeal, onions, red pepper, salt, and grease. The other was cush-cush, or *couche-couche*, which was a Cajun dish made by frying or boiling cornmeal or cornbread that was sweetened and served as a cereal with warm milk or café au lait.

Slaves made bread in a variety of ways. For example, G. W. Hawkins (AR) recalled how bread was made on his plantation:

> For stoves they used an iron pot on a big fire. In the kitchen, they had a fireplace built ten feet wide. They had things they called pot racks hung down from the chimney, and they would hang pots on then. They put the pots on those hooks and not on the logs. When they baked bread they would use iron skillets—North Carolina people called them

> spiders. They would put an iron lid on them and put fire over the top and underneath the skillet and bake good bread. I mean that old-time bread was good bread. They baked the light bread the same way. They baked biscuits once a week. Sunday mornings was about the only time you over got them.

Biscuits/Light Bread

Southern whites and African Americans considered biscuits made from wheat flour as a special treat. Southern whites preferred white flour to whole wheat, as it was preferred among Europeans. Some planters distributed white flour biscuits to their slaves on special occasions and on Sundays. They also used biscuits as rewards to children, as did slave cooks. Zanger (2003) reported that the earliest printed recipe for what was to become known as "Maryland Beaten Biscuits" was from around 1824. Southerners considered biscuits to be a delicacy. Mose Davis (GA) shared his memory of the special treat biscuits were on his plantation:

> The only difference between Week-day and Sunday diet was that biscuits were served on Sundays. The children were given only one biscuit each. In addition to the other bread was considered a delicacy.

Benny Dillard (GA) shared a similar sentiment toward biscuits: "Us had biscuit once a week, dat was Sunday breakfast, and dem biscuits was cakebread to us." Squire Irwin (MS) stated, "On Sunday we had white bread. We liked that light bread and butter better than anything." Henry Kirk Miller (AR) remembered biscuits as a special treat at Christmas and a reward for slave children:

> The chickens used to lay out in the barn. If we children would find the nests and bring the eggs in our missis would give us a biscuit, and we always got biscuits for Christmas.

Willis Cofer (GA) indicated that biscuits or light bread made with shortening and served with butter were served only on Sundays (Killion and Waller 1973). Willis implied that Sundays were special days on the plantation. On other plantations, biscuits were more available. The following recipe from Abby Fisher's cookbook is close to how slaves would have made light bread.

Recipe—Light Bread

Half yeast cake to two quarts of flour, teaspoonful of salt, one dessertspoonful of butter or lard. Dissolve yeast in warm water; make up over night at 10 o'clock; make dough soft and spongy, and set to rise in a warm place. Next morning work the dough over until it becomes perfectly light, adding flour so as to keep it from sticking to the hands, then put to rise in your baking pan, and when it rises bake in a hot oven until thoroughly done. [Fisher 1881: 11–12]

Potato Biscuit

Slaves sometimes used potatoes as a substitute for wheat flour and cornmeal. The starch contained in potatoes lent itself to being a substitute for wheat flour. Slaves made potato cakes, griddle cakes, potato bread, and biscuits. Slaves also made potato

bread by boiling potatoes until done, mashing them, and then adding grease and cornmeal. They baked this mixture until it was ready to serve. Millie Evans (AR) offered the following recipe for potato biscuits.

Recipe—Potato Biscuit

Two cups flour. Two teaspoons of baking powder, pinch of soda, teaspoon of salt, tablespoon of lard, two cups of cooked, well mashed sweet potatoes and milk to make a nice dough. [Millie Evans, AR]

Cakes

A few ex-slaves mentioned a variety of cakes in their narratives. As was the case for biscuits and white bread, the slaves viewed cake as a luxury baked good. Some of their references indicate that they made cakes for their owners' special occasions but failed to indicate that they also enjoyed these cakes. Nellie Smith (GA) provided a story of her aunt who had garnered a solid reputation as a cake baker:

> Why, Child, two of the best cake-makers I ever knew used them old ovens for bakin' the finest kinds of pound cakes and fruit cakes, and evvybody knows them cakes was the hardest kinds to bake we had in them days. Aunt Betsey Cole was a great cake-baker then. She belonged to the Hulls, what lived off down below here somewhere but, when there was to be a big weddin' or some 'specially important dinner in Athens, folks 'most always sent for Aunt Betsey to bake the cakes. Aunt Laura McCrary was a great cake-maker too; she baked the cake for President Taft when he was entertained at Mrs. Maggie Welch's home here.

Flannel Cake

The following recipe is from Tyree's *Housekeeping in Old Virginia* published in 1879. Although not specified in the narratives, the recipe is very likely correct for the period and had ingredients that would have been available to slaves.

Recipe—Flannel Cake

1 quart flour
1 pint meal
1 teacup milk
1 teacup yeast
3 eggs
2 teaspoons salt

Beat well together and it rise till usual time in a warm place. [Tyree 1879: 51]

Gingerbread and Ginger Cake

Gingerbread (ginger cake) is a dark molasses cake flavored with the powdered root of the ginger plant. It is thought to have originated in the Congo and been transported

to North America by enslaved Africans. Booker T. Washington, in his autobiography *Up from Slavery*, shared his memories as a slave child seeing the planter's young mistresses and some guests eat ginger cakes in the yard. Washington (1901: 10) wrote, "At that time those cakes seemed to me to be absolutely the most tempting and desirable things that I had ever seen; and I then resolved that, if I ever got free, the height of my ambition would be reached if I could get to the point where I could secure and eat ginger cakes in the way I saw those ladies doing."

Neal Upson (GA) referred to trading biscuits for gingerbread (Killion and Waller 1973). Mahalia Shores (AR) remembered how ginger cakes were made for the children: "Wednesday and Saturday the cook made ginger cakes for the little children."

Dosia Harris (GA) recalled how ginger cakes were served with molasses:

> What did us have t'eat? Oo-o! Dey give us plenty good victuals. Dere was bread and meat; peas, greens, and other vegetables; all de milk us wanted, and sometimes dere was good old ginger cakes made wid sorghum syrup.

Slaves also sold ginger cakes to earn money. Heard Griffin (GA) described how it worked:

> Occasionally on other plantations, slaves were allowed to earn money by selling vegetables, chickens, etc. However on the Griffin Plantation they could only sell home made "gingercakes" for which a five-cent piece of paper money was received in return.

The following are two period representative recipes for ginger cakes.

Recipe—Ginger Cake

1 teaspoon baking soda	$2\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoons ground ginger
$\frac{1}{4}$ cup warm water	$\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon ground cinnamon
1 cup sorghum molasses	$\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon ground allspice
$\frac{3}{4}$ cup sugar	$\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon ground nutmeg
1 teaspoon salt	4 cups cake flour, sifted
Pinch of pepper	

Preheat oven to 350 degrees F. In a large bowl, dissolve soda into the water, then add remaining ingredients in the order given. Add additional flour if necessary to give the dough the desired consistency for rolling. Divide the dough in half and roll out to a $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thickness and cut out cakes with a small teacup or glass. Or you can roll them into small round balls about the size of a walnut. Place the cakes on a baking sheet and bake 10 to 15 minutes or until a toothpick comes out clean. [Tillery 1996: 93]

Recipe—Ginger Cake

One pint molasses, one quart flour, one-half teacup brown sugar, one teacup butter, one tablespoon cinnamon, two tablespoonsful ginger, one teacup sour milk. With it mix a teaspoonful soda and three eggs. Cream butter and sugar together, then add

molasses, then flour, then eggs, then milk, then ginger and cinnamon; stir thoroughly and put to bake in oblong pans. [Fisher 1881: 32]

Jonny/Johnny Cake

Jonny or Johnny cakes, a type of unleavened cornmeal pancake somewhat similar to fried polenta, were known among slaves and southern whites. Zanger (2003) attributed Jonny cakes to a possible Rhode Island slave cook named Phillis who became a well-known cook for this and other recipes, including the one for Jonny cakes found in Zanger (2003: 120–121). Mary Randolph's (1824) popular cookbook, *The Virginia Housewife*, provided a recipe for Johnny cake, journey cake, or rice journey using rice flour instead of cornmeal. She did not attribute this recipe to its slave origins.

Recipe—Johnny Cake/Journey Cake

Boil a pint of rice quite soft, with a tea-spoonful of salt; mix with it while hot a large spoonful of butter, and spread it on a dish to cool; when perfectly cold, add a pint of rice flour and half pint of milk—beat them all together till well mingled. Take the middle part of the head of a barrel, make it quite clean, wet it, and put on the mixture about an inch thick, smooth with a spoon, and baste it with a little milk; set the board aslant before clear coals; when sufficiently baked, slip a thread under the cake and turn it: baste and bake that side in a similar manner, split it, and butter while hot. Small hominy boiled and mixed with rice flour, is better than all rice; and if baked very thin, and afterwards toasted and buttered, it is nearly as good as cassava bread. [Randolph 1824: 113]

Millie Evans's (AR) narrative also included the following recipe for Johnny cake:

> Two cups of meal, one half cup of flour about a teaspoon of soda, one cup of syrup, one-half teaspoon salt, beat well. Add teaspoon of lard. Pour in greased pan and bake. Watern milk added?

Millie then described eating Johnny cakes:

> Old Mistress wud give us this corn bread johnny cake about four o'clock in de evening and give us plenty of buttermilk to drink wid it. Dey had a long trough. Dey kep' hit so clean fur us. Ev'xy evening about four dey would fill de trough full up milk and wus abut 100 of us chilluns. We'd all get round de trough and drink wid our mouth and hold our johnny cake in our han's. I can jes see mahself drinkin now. It wus so good.

Molasses Cake

One of the favorite baked items mentioned in the narratives was molasses cake. Molasses-based sugar was sometimes more available to slaves than sugar from cane. Molasses provided the basic flavor and coloring for molasses cake. Slaves and

southern whites used molasses as a sweetener in many kinds of cakes. Alex Montgomery (MS) recalled that molasses was part of every cake he had as a slave. He shared:

> . . . we had thick black lasses an' sometimes we got a piece uf bread an' dug a hole inside uf it an' den filled dat hole wid lasses, an' dat wus jes' like cake to us. All de cake we eber had to eat wus made wid meal an' lasses.

Fannie Clemmons (AR) recalled molasses cake in her narrative: "We always cooked on fireplaces and our cake was always molasses cakes." George Womble (GA) mentioned how Sundays were special because enough additional flour and molasses were rationed out to allow for making cakes. Womble stated, "The only variation was on Sunday when they were given the seconds of the flour and a little more molasses so that they might make a cake." Walter Leggett (TX) also referred to molasses cake as something for special occasions: "We had a church at Captain Burn's place and in the yard they had long tables and they'd nuf vittles for a hog killin'; pork, barbecue, fried chicken, molasses cake, big as a wash tub and spongy, then sweet 'taters puddin'."

Sarah Felder (MS) mentioned how molasses cake was seldom available to slaves on her plantation: "Sumtimes he wud gibe his han's nouf flour to mek a lasses cake but we didn't git dat offen." One additional example is from Harriet Miller (MS), who described how molasses was mixed with cornmeal to make a cake: "Sum times dey wuld mix meal en 'lasses up en baked it fur a cake, en den dey hed to mix meal en pumpkin ter gedder fur bread."

The following recipe for molasses cake, according to Mitchell, is an authentic slave recipe, although most slaves would not have measured the amounts so accurately or had all of the listed ingredients. They would have estimated amounts and substituted ingredients with what they had.

Recipe—Molasses Cake

2 cups all-purpose flour
1 teaspoon baking powder
1 teaspoon ginger
2 eggs
½ cup soft shortening
¼ cup milk
1 cup molasses

Mix the first three ingredients. In a separate bowl beat together the remaining ingredients. Combine the two mixtures, stirring well. (Add a little more milk if needed to make a thick, but pourable batter.) Pour into a greased 9×13-inch pan, and bake at 375 degrees for about 50 minutes or until done. [Mitchell 1998: 30]

Pound Cake

In 1857, the slave Harriet Jacobs wrote of making pound cake in a letter to her mother. Slaves would have considered pound cake, because of its ingredients, a special treat. Phil Town (GA) also mentioned pound cake in his narrative but not whether

he had the opportunity to eat it. He stated, "Pound cake was another favorite and she insisted that a pound of butter and a dozen eggs be used in each cake." Eliza White (AL) also recalled loving pound cakes and how they were made: "We had the most good to eat, no sich cakes now days as had then, great big thick pound cake, baked in the oven on the coals."

Crackers

Harriet Jacobs, in her 1857 narrative *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl Written by Herself*, recalled her enslaved grandmother baking crackers in the evenings for sale in order to purchase her children's freedom. She provided her grandchildren portions of these crackers, as well as cakes and preserves. In an 1825 letter to her mother, Harriet described how she made crackers. She wrote of first sifting flour and dumping everything in a big bowl and then rolling the dough out. The recipe called for "1 pound of flour, 1 pony glass of sugar, 4 good pinches of salt, butter the size of an egg, and ½ glass of milk." Her letter described mixing these together, rolling them out, cutting the dough into crackers, pricking with a fork, and finally baking in a hot oven until golden (Lyons 1992: 8).

Solomon Jackson (AL) spoke of slave children being spoiled in the big house by the owner's spouse giving them treats, such as crackers: "She didn' make none of us chillun work in de field neither, an' usses slept right in de house whar all er de crackers an' cheeses an' sugar was at." Mattie Brown (AR) also recalled eating soda crackers: "We had big white rice and big soda crackers and the best meat I ever et."

Dumplings

A dumpling is essentially a ball of dough that has been boiled in a liquid, such as broth or water, until done. Dumpling doughs were mixed with various meats, seasonings, and vegetables. Millie Evans (AR) shared a recipe for a beef dumpling in her narrative:

Recipe—Beef Dumpling

Take the brough (meaning broth) from boiled beef and season with salt, paper and add you dumplins jus as you would chicken dumplins.

Pick and wash beet tops just as you would turnip greens and cook with meat to sesson. Season to suit taste. This makes the best vegetable dish. [Millie Evans, AR]

Louise Prayer (AR) described cornmeal dumplings made from scalded cornmeal.

> We lived on the Williams' place. All belonged to the same people. They give us plenty to eat such as 'twas. But in them days they fed the chillun mostly on bread and syrup. Sometimes we had greans and dumplin's. Jus' scald some meal and roll up in a ball and drop in with the greens.

Finally, William Wheeler (MS) shared how dumplings were made similar to hoe cakes and were seasoned with pepper grass and meat skins. The latter ingredient was indicative of how slaves had to rely on whatever they could get:

> Pepper grass washed rale clean boiled down rale low with meat skins den add meal dumplins. You made dese dumplins like hoe cake, shaped de dumplins wid you hans. Dis is fine, Miss.

Pies

Slaves made a variety of pies, sometimes out of fruit and other times out of meats and vegetables. Charlie Davenport (MS) recalled meat pies being served on Sundays: "On Sundays us always had meat pie or fish or fresh game an' roasted taters an' coffee." Savannah Rice (AL) spoke of eating robin pie, which was made from robins. Kate Thomas (GA), Phil Town (GA), Julius Nelson (NC), Joana Owens (KY), and Fannie Smith Hodges (MS) mentioned chicken pies, and Granny Lee (MS) and Ellen Gooden (MS) both mentioned pies made from squirrels. See the recipe for squirrel pie in Chapter 7.

Besides squirrels, meat from other animals was made into pies, and naturally, slaves made fruit pies. Gus Feaster (SC) spoke of apple pie, as did Isaac Stier (MS); Isaac also mentioned raisin pie. The narratives also include references to pumpkin pies, such as those made by Mary Colbert (GA), Med Walker (SC), and Alex Montgomery (MS). Mandy Hadnot (TX) and Lance Holt (TX) remembered peach pies. Other fruit pies include persimmon pie, which was identified by Cora Armstrong (AR) and Millie Evans (AR), the latter of whom provided the following recipe for persimmon pie:

Recipe—Persimmon Pie

Make a crust like you would any other pie crust and take your persimmons and wash them. Let them be good and ripe. Get the seed out of them. Don't cook them. Mash them and put cinnamon and spice in and butter. Sugar to taste. Then roll your dough and put in custard pen, and then add the filling. Then put a top crust on it, sprinkle a little sugar on top and bake. [Millie Evans, AR]

Other Grain-Based Foods

Other grain-based foods and drinks were mentioned in the narratives, and other grain- and cereal-based foods are identified in Appendices H and I. Some examples include Lulu Scott's (IN) recollection of black cake, fruit cake, and plum pudding, which were served at Christmas:

> Chris'mus time we'd hang up ow stockin's 'n' git uh glass-headed doll. 'n' we'd have black cake 'n' plum puddin'. Black cake uz like fruit cake 'cep'n' it didn' have no raisins uh nuthin it it.

Cody Pierce (GA) identified shortening bread in his narrative: "A diet of bread—called 'shortening bread,'—vegetables and smoked meat were usually consumed."

Grains and cereals were added to one-pot meals as thickeners and were mixed with meats and vegetables in countless ways. For example, Della Briscoe (GA) shared how wheat mush and dried beef was prepared:

> One of Della's grandmother's favorite recipes was made of dried beef and wheat. The wheat was brought from the field and husked by hand. This, added to the rapidly boiling beef, was cooked until a mush resulted, which was then eaten from wooden bowls with spoons of the same material. White plates were never used by the slaves.

10

FRUITS, NUTS, AND COFFEE

> Master had a large apple orchard in the Tar River low grounds and up on higher ground and nearer the plantation house there was on one side of the road a large plum orchard and on the other side was an orchard of peaches, cherries, quinces, and grapes. We picked the quinces in August and used them for preserving. Marster and Missus believed in giving the slaves plenty of fruit, especially the children.
>
> Mary Anderson (NC)

> When Hettie was twelve years of age she and another young girl were in the orchard gathering apples for their mothers when they were hailed by some young white men. The girls climbed to the ground and asked what the strangers were wanting at their home. The young men seized the girls, threw them into the wagon and carried them to Kentucky and there they entered bondage on the McClain estate.
>
> Hettie McClain (IN)

Fruits

Today when we think of southern states such as Florida and Georgia, fruit growing comes to mind. Plantation orchards provided slaves with some fruits such as apples, plums, peaches, cherries, quinces, and grapes (Joyner 1971). Examples of fruits mentioned in the Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives are contained in Appendix J. Some fruits were grown on plantations for the owners' use and occasionally for consumption by slaves. However, in the Antebellum South, fruit appears to have played a minor role in slave diets. There is little evidence that slaves cooked with fruits in their cabins. What fruit they consumed was either prepared in communal kitchens or eaten raw (Taylor 1982). Taylor (1982: 41) wrote, "Except in sparsely settled Florida and Texas and in southern most Louisiana, the antebellum South produced little in the way of citrus fruits." This was partially due to the heavy forestation of the South because land had to be cleared for berries and other wild fruits to grow. In some regions, the soils were not conducive to growing fruit. For

example, along the Rice Coast of Georgia and Carolina, the soil was unfavorable to fruit trees, and they were few (Phillips 1966). Wild fruits, such as berries, plums, and other spring fruits, did not thrive in the frontier South until it became more settled with people and more land was cleared (Taylor 1982). Clearly, fruit was less prominent than vegetables in the diets of slaves throughout the South (Moore 1989). Hence, fruits were infrequently mentioned in the narratives.

This is not to say that some fruits were not seasonably available. According to Phillips (1966), from June to September, blackberries, dewberries, strawberries, wild plums, and fox grapes were available to slaves, and persimmons were available in the autumn. In the sugar-growing regions, fruits such as oranges and figs were abundant. In the Piedmont region, figs, apples, pears, quinces, and peaches were plentiful. Some of the slave narratives reflect an abundance of fruit. For example, Jefferson Franklin Henry (GA) said:

> The orchards was full of good fruit sich as apples, peaches, pears, and plums, and don't forgit them blackberries, currants, and rigs what growed 'round the aidge of the back yard, in fence corners, and off places.

The narratives of Amanda McCray (FL) and Stephen Harvell (FL) also describe the growing of fruit for personal use.

Some fruits were considered off limits to slaves and grown for the big house. For example, Moore (1989) noted that pears were for the house and not slaves in early Virginia. He also found that other fruits, such as peaches, melons, apples, and mush melons, were readily available to Virginia slaves.

It is important to note that the narratives convey a strong sense of how special fruits and nuts were to slaves. On some plantations, the narratives indicate that owners provided fruits and nuts during special occasions, such as Christmas or at weddings. Rachel Sullivan (GA) seemed to be excited about how her owner gave out nuts and fruit during Christmas:

> Oh yas'm. No matter where Marster wus—crost de water er annywhere he send us a barrel o' apples, and chestnuts—dey had chestnuts in dem days—and boxes o' candy. He sont 'em to 'Manuel and Mr. DeLoach to gib out.

Georgia Baker (GA) also suggested that fruits and nuts were plentiful at Christmas: "Dere was allus plenty of pecans, apples, and dried peaches too at Christmas." Fannie Clemmons (AR) also recalled that a variety of fruit was available at the holiday: "At Christmas time we got candy and apples, but these oranges and bananas and stuff like that wasn't out then. Bananas and oranges just been out a few years."

Finally, the narratives mention that wild fruits were gathered and collected by slaves for their personal consumption or for sale. Slaves and their children ventured into the woods and brush to gather wild fruits and berries when in season.

Preparation of Fruit

Unless immediately consumed, fruit had to be preserved in some manner to prevent spoilage. In the South, fruit was dried, canned, or brandied for use in the off season

(Joyner 1971). It should be noted that fruit preservation by canning was not reliable prior to the Civil War because earthenware was not dependable. Following the Civil War, glass jars would become more available and allow for the expansion of preserving and canning fruit (Taylor 1982). The narratives suggest, if frequency of mention is an indication, that slaves were not that involved in canning for themselves. Susan Smith (IN) indicated to her WPA interviewer that she was interested in how food was stored in the winter. She noted that some "food was canned in tin cans and sealed with a canning wax." She also indicated that, "Vegetables and apples were buried," and that "Some fruit and vegetables were dried." However, the narrative of Clayton Holbert (KS) is more reflective of the rarity of canning in the lives of slaves:

> We also made our own sorghum, dried our own fruits. We usually dried all of our things as we never heard of such a thing as canning.

Drying

One of the principal ways of preserving fruit was to dry it and some of the narratives describe or refer to this method. For example, Stephen Varner (AL) mentioned drying fruit and vegetables for winter: "Other things that they had to eat was green vegetables in summer and dried vegetables and fruit in winter." Clark Hill (AR) recalled:

> It was my job to sweep the yard, keep smoke on the meat and fire under the kiln. Yes meal Old master had a big orchard and he dried all the fruit in the kiln—peaches, apples, and pears.

Georgia Telfair (GA) commented about drying fruits for the winter: "Us saved heaps or dry peas an' beans, an' dried lots of peaches an' apples to cook in winter." Orris Harris (MS) stated:

> We hed lots an' lots uf apples; old Mistiss wud have 'em peele an' put outern in de sun ter dry, an' sum times I wus tole ter stand dar an' keep de flies offen dem. I hed er long peach tree switch an' I hed ter keep dat ober de apples all de time. Sum times I wud jes slip er piece uf apple. Mistiss wud make pies out uf dem apples.

Charity Jones (MS) provided a similar account of her job as a slave child to shoo away flies from the drying apples:

> Old Missus would cut apples an' peaches every year an' put dem on a scaffold in de yard ter dry an' put me an' some other chulluns ter mind de flies off'n dem an' we better not let a fly light on 'em.

Emeline Moore (NC) recalled drying apples and peaches for later use:

> Back in dose time dey wasn't no way to put away fruit and things fo' winter like dey is today. In de fall of ae yeah it certainly was a busy time. We peel bushels of apples and peaches to dry.

Zanger (2003) identified an old slave recipe for preparing peach chips from the 1840s in Nellie Custis Lewis's *Housekeeping Book* that was attributed to "Old Letty":

Recipe—Old Letty's Peach Chips

Pare and slice moderately thin your peaches. Fill your skillet with them, sprinkle over a half a pound of sugar, just boil them stirring well until scalded through—then take them out with your skimmer and fill your skillet with more peaches. Scald those thro' well and fill again. Sprinkle in half a pint of sugar as often as your syrup is sour, add half a pint of sugar until all your peaches are scalded. As they are taken out of the skillet spread them on pewter dishes, and put them into the Sun; as you turn them over sprinkle them with sugar every day until perfectly dry, then put them in your pot with sugar sprinkled between the layers—tie up for use. A peck of peaches will scald one pound of sugar—not soft peaches or too ripe. If liquor is left, you can add more sugar or fresh peaches. [Zanger 2003: 128]

Storage in Straw or the Ground

In the South, some people stored fruit and vegetables for later use under straw or in the ground. Ed McCree (GA) provided some insight in his narrative on how fruit was stored on the plantation for winter holidays by storing fruit in straw:

> Dere was plenty of home-made candy for de chilluns' Santa Claus and late apples and peaches had done been saved and banked in wheat straw to keep 'em good 'til Christmas. Watermelons was packed away in cottonseed and when dey cut 'em open on Christmas Dey, dey et lak fresh melons in July. Us had a high old time for a week, and den on New Year's Day dey started back to wuk.

Sina Banks (OK) described covering fruits and vegetables in dirt and hay to avoid freezing:

> He had a big orchard with apples, peaches and plums. We never could use all of them and there was always apples left on the trees to freeze and I was glad for I sure did like frozen apples. When apple picking time came uncle and the boys would put hay on the ground and pile the apples in a heap on this hay. They then would pile more hay and dirt on them till the apples were covered. When the weather got colder uncle would walk around and look at the sky and say, "Boys we are in for a spell of bad weather and we must cover the apples and vegetables deeper." They would bring their picks and shovels and cover them up deeper. They kept potatoes, cabbage, collards, and turnips in heaps this way. Parsnips were left in the ground and it was a job to dig them out of the frozen ground. I've done it lots of times, but I hated that job.

One final example is from the narrative of Susan Dale Sanders (KY), who placed apples in a deep pit that was covered in straw:

> We had a apple house we used to fill every full with the best apples. The ole master sho' had a apple fa'm. Inside of the house then was a big hole in the ground, dug deep, and we use to fill it full of apples, then cover it over with a straw, and O Lawd, we would have apples all wint'r when the snow lies deep on the ground; sure I wish then old days back.

Stealing Fruit

With fruit orchards being present on some plantations and restrictions also being in place, some slaves would steal fruit from their masters. It was simply too tempting and convenient for some and certainly justified in the minds of many. Paul Smith (GA) mentioned how slaves stole fruit from a neighboring apple orchard:

> Talkin' 'bout being skeered, dere was one time I was skeered I was plumb ruint. Missy, dat was de time I stole somepin' and didn't even know I was stealin'. A boy had come by our place dat day and axed me to go to de shop on a neighbor's place wid him. Mistess 'lowed me to go, and atter he had done got what he said he was sont atter, he said dat now us would git us some apples. He was lots bigger dan me, and I jus' s'posed his old marster had done told him he could git some apples out of dat big old orchard. Missy, I jus' plumb filled my shirt and pockets wid dem fine apples, and us was havin' de finest sort of time when de overseer cotch us. He let me go, but dat big boy had to wuk seven long months to pay for dat piece of foolishment. I she didn't never go nowhar else wid dat fellow, 'cause my good old mistess said he would git me in a peck of trouble if I did, and I had done larn't dat our mistess was allus right.

Slaves who stole fruit from plantation orchards ran the risk of being punished if they were caught. Typically, those caught were whipped. Prince Johnson (MS) told of how he was swatted for stealing apples:

> One day Marster's chillun an' de cullud chillun slipped off to de orchard. Dey was jus' a-eatin' green apples fas' as dey could when 'long come de master, hisse'f. He lined 'em all up, black an' white alike, an' cut a keen switch. Twant a one in dat line dat didn' git a few licks.

George Rogers (NC) shared a similar experience as a slave child: "I have never seen him really whup a slave any more dan he whupped his own chilluns." He added, "He whupped us all together when we stole watermelons and apples."

Apples

Apples originated in England and were transported to the New World (Taylor 1982). If not immediately consumed, apples could be dried, made into preserves, or fermented into cider or vinegar for later use by slaves or whites. Southerners would frequently use excess apples to feed hogs. Henry Barnes (AL) noted that apples were so abundant on his plantation that people and animals could not consume them all: "Us had a big orchard wid apples an' peaches an' pears, more'n us an' de hawgs togedder could eat up." For some ex-slaves, apples seem to have been plentiful and a common food, at least when they were in season. For others, apples were scarce and reserved for special occasions, such as holidays and ceremonies. Many of the narratives seem to hold apples in high esteem as a special and coveted fruit. For example, Joseph Holmes (AL) fondly remembered what he referred to as cheese apples in his narrative: "Bout de fruit; it makes my mouth water to think about dem cheese apples, dat was yaller lak gold, an' dose Abraham apples, an' de cherry tree as big as dese oaks here."

Besides eating them off the tree, slaves used apples in a number of dishes. For example, slaves baked apples in open fires. Mollie Hardy Scott (AR) stated, "Bake

apples in front of the fire on de hearth." Slaves also fried apples, as mentioned by Mary Mitchell (AR), "Summertime, Miss Lelia would plant plenty of fruit, and we would have fried apples, stewed peaches and things."

Ebenezer Brown (MS) spoke of apple cider that was made by his master and apparently shared with his slaves: "Den Marse Bill made cider outern de apples an' dat wus good." Susan High (NC) also identified apple cider, probably hard and alcoholic, in her comment, "Dere wus a lot o' things to drink, dey said, cider, made from apples, whiskey, an' brandy." Abraham Coker (TX) stated, "Down on dem lahge plantations in Georgia, de folks would scoop up apples and peaches and make cider and brandy out ob 'em."

Southerners, including slaves, made vinegar from apples. Millie Evans (AR) described how they made apple vinegar on her plantation:

> We made vinegar out of apples. Took over ripe apples an ground 'em up an put 'em in a sack an let drip. Didn' add no water an when it got through drippin we let it sour an strained en let it stan for six months an had some of the bes vinegar ever made.

Vinegar has more references as a medicine than as a food, although it was occasionally used in cooking (Covey 2007). Very few narratives referred to vinegar as a food. Southerners, both white and African American, used apple vinegar when baking desserts, such as pies. Vinegar pie, a southern dish, may have been made by some slaves for their owners and possibly for their own families. Vinegar pie was made from apple vinegar, sugar, butter, and flour (Pyatt and Johns 1999).

Berries

Wild berries grew throughout the South, and slaves incorporated them into their diets. For example, Alice Baugh (NC) recalled how her uncle lived off of wild berries as an escaped slave:

> My uncle was raised in a cave an' lived on stold stuff an' berries. My cousin runned away 'cause his Marster was mean ter him, but dey put de blood hounds on his trail, ketched him. Atter he got well from de beatin' dey i?? him, dey sold him.

The narratives include references to unidentified types of berries, such as the narratives of Sol Webb (AL), Komma Morrie (AR), Acie Thomas (FL), Mary Joiner (MS), John William Matheus (OH), and Virginia Yarbrough (TX). Some narratives identify specific berries, such as dewberries (Abraham Chambers, AL), wild berries (Charles Grandy, VA), and pokeroot berries (Charlie Sandles, TX).

Blackberries were also identified in the narratives, and slaves would have had access to wild blackberries. For early pioneers in the South, blackberries were likely the most widely eaten wild fruit because of their abundance and taste (Taylor 1982). For example, Winger Vanhook (TX) identified blackberries and other types of berries in his comments: "Blackberries, dewberries an raspberries all grow wild on wore out hill sides." He also added, "Dere ud be eight an ten acres patches ob wild black berries an wild strawberries."

Dewberries were also abundant throughout much of the South. Jim Archer (MS) remembered dewberries, when in season, being a big part of his diet:

PICKING HUCKLEBERRIES.—[DRAWN BY C. S. REINHART.]

This wood engraving of African American and white children picking huckleberries by Charles Stanley Reinhart (1844–1896), published in *Harper's Weekly* on September 1, 1877, can be assumed to show an activity common in the Antebellum period and afterward. The tension evident in the face of one of the African American children as he looks at a clearly privileged white child both undercuts the bucolic nostalgia of the scene and plays to racial stereotypes. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-845.

> He was too young during the War between the States until the center of conflict moved to Vicksburg. He was large enough then to go to the plantation nearby where his white folks had retreated for safety. It must have been in summer (probably 1863) for dewberries were in bloom. He recalls most vividly eating those dewberries.

Finally, another berry available was the huckleberry. Ida Rigley (AR) shared, "We had a huckleberry patch." Richard Kimmons (TX) proclaimed his fondness for huckleberry pie: "I shore did like huckleberry pie and chicken pie." He then bemoaned to the WPA interviewer, "Guess yo' all don' hab no huckleberries here in Texas; dey shore plentiful back in Missouri."

Cherries

Cherry trees grew wild and were also planted throughout much of the South. In addition to producing cherries, cherry trees were also viewed as having medicinal value. Slaves frequently incorporated cherry tree bark into their folk remedies (Covey 2007). Owners would have their slaves pick cherries. An account by Upton Neal (GA) referred to picking cherries for this purpose:

> One day Miss Serena put me in de cherry tree to pick cherries for her, and she told me not to eat none 'til I finished; den I could have all I wanted, but I didn't mind her and

> I et so many cherries I got sick and fell out of de tree. Mist'ess was skeered, but Marse Frank said: 'It's good enough for him, 'cause he didn't mind.'

Joseph Holmes (AL) mentioned a variety of cherries that were available to him in Virginia: "I's eaten many a big sugar and sweetheart cherry." He then added, "But dere was another kind called de Gorilla dat growed as big as de yaller plums down dis way."

Grapes

The narratives make many mentions of grapes and grape vines throughout the South. Owners grew grapes in arbors on the plantation grounds. The woods were also full of wild grapes. References to grapes include Cull Taylor (AL), Callie Gray (MS), Mary Ander (NC), and John Harrison (OK). Callie Gray (MS) recalled as a slave child picking and selling wild grapes: "Ef it wus summertime they would pick blackberries, or wild grapes or persimmons and sell 'em in town on Sad'day afternoon." August Smith (MO) told of how he hid from bushwhackers and lived in the woods for four days living off of wild grapes and hazelnuts:

> Well I did, I run down in that field and am going yet. I stayed out in that woods for four days and nights, with nothing to eat but what wild grapes and hazel nuts I could find.

John Williams (MS) suggested that grapes were abundant on his plantation: "Mr. Davis only raised truck on de place, corn, peas, potatoes, and other vegetables, besides dey had plenty of grapes and figs and fruit of other kinds." Mary Ander (NC) mentioned having access to a variety of fruit and grapes from the owner's vines:

> Marster had a large apple orchard in the Tar River low grounds and up on higher ground and nearer the plantation house there was on one side of the road a large plum orchard and on the other side was an orchard of peaches, cherries, quinces and grapes. We picked the quinces in August and used them for preserving. Marster and missus believed in giving the slaves plenty of fruit, especially the children.

Rachel Cruze (OH) told of how the slave men on her plantation were allowed to take food and occasionally grapes to their wives living on neighboring plantations on Saturdays:

> Many slaves had a wife on a neighboring farm, and Miss Nancy was always good about seeing that the men quit work at 12 o'clock on Saturday; then they'd get their selves cleaned up and go to visit their wives until Sunday night. She always sent along with each man, as a present to his wife, food of some kind. Sometimes it would be meat, or butter, or sweet potatoes, or maybe grapes—but something always sent with the man for his wide. Miss Nancy said she didn't want anyone feeding her niggers. If any of the men had truck patches they were welcome to work these on Saturday afternoons.

Mitchell attributes the following recipe for fruit fritters to slaves in her collection of slave recipes. Very few slaves would have had access to all of the ingredients, such as powdered sugar and fruit sauce, mentioned in the recipe. What is more likely is that some slaves deep fried battered fruit in a similar manner.

Recipe—Fruit Fritters

To prepare the batter:

> 1 cup flour, 1 teaspoon sugar, $^1/_2$ teaspoon of salt, 2/3 cup of milk, 2 eggs, well-beaten. Mix the flour, sugar, and salt. Add milk slowly and then gradually add the eggs.

To complete the fruit fritters:

Cut fruit (apple, peach, apricot, pear banana, or other fruit) in pieces, dip in the fruit fritter batter above and fry in deep hot (375 F.) fat or butter about 3 to 5 minutes or until golden brown. Then remove with skimmer, and place on crumpled soft paper to drain. Sprinkle with powdered sugar and serve with lemon or other fruit sauce. [Mitchell 1998: 20]

Oranges

Some parts of the South are well known for orange and other citrus trees. In Florida, some slaves had orange trees to supplement their rations (Rivers 2000). However, for many slaves, oranges were a rare treat. For example, oranges were associated with Christmas by Marion Johnson (AR). Frances Willingham (GA) also only knew of oranges around Christmas:

> Christmas times, chilluns went to bed early 'cause dey was skeered Santa Claus wouldn't come. Us carried our stockin's up to de big house to hang 'em up. Next mornin' us found 'em full of all sorts of good things, 'cept oranges. I never seed nary a orange 'til I was a big gal.

Hattie Jefferson (MS) spoke of not knowing about oranges until she became an adult:

> Marse Hillery had a big apple an' peach orchard an' we uster steal all we cud tote off frum dat orchard an' some-times we got whuppins fur dat. I neber seed a orange till I wus grown.

Starvation for some ex-slaves was significant following the Civil War, as illustrated in the following account involving orange peels. Minnie Green (GA), who just started walking during the Civil War and was too young to be a slave, provided a post–Civil War sense of how, for some, oranges were a delicacy and even the peels could be cherished when you were hungry enough to chase a pig after an orange peel:

> Minnie is not an ex-slave, for she was "jes walkin" when the war was over. Her parents were given their freedom in May but stayed on with Judge Green until fall, after the wheat cutting. The family moved to a two story house "out Meriwether Road" but didn't get along so well. Minnie was hungry lots and came to town to get scraps of food. When she was a "good big girl" she came to town one day with her hair full of cukle-burrs, dressed in her mother's basque looking for food, when she saw a man standing in front of a store eating an orange. She wanted that peeling. No one kept their cows and pigs up and when the man threw the peeling on the ground a sow grabbed it. Minnie chased the pig right down Hill Street, was hollering and making plenty of noise, when a lady,

> "Mis' Mary Beeks," came out and asked her "what's the matter?" "Right then and there I hired myself out to Miss Mary, and she raised me.

Peaches

Peaches thrived in the upper South and were also grown near the Gulf (Taylor 1982). They originated in the Middle East, and the Spanish introduced them to the South. Peaches were planted by Native Americans before the European colonization of the northern United States. Charity Jones (MS) recalled a peach orchard on her plantation and how the slaves never went hungry: "Dey had apple trees an' peach trees an' plums, an' we had cows an' plen'y milk. We was never hongry." R. C. Smith (OK) also recalled a peach orchard on his plantation.

Carrie Hudson (GA) described how she and other slaves quilted and were given peach pies in the winter:

> De quiltin's was in de cabins, and dey allus had 'em in winter when dere warn't no field wuk. Dey would quilt a while and stop to eat apple pies, peach pies, and other good things and drink a little liquor.

Peaches were used to make peach brandy, and the leaves of peaches were thought to be an effective medicine for a number of ailments. The leaves were often boiled with other ingredients to make cold remedies, such as teas, ointments, purges, cough syrups, and the like (Covey 2007). Other references to peaches are identified in the appendices. Abby Fisher, in her late-nineteenth-century cookbook, gave instructions about how to preserve peaches. Undoubtedly, slaves working in the kitchens of the big house would have been familiar with the basic steps of making preserves, including cutting the fruit, adding sugar, boiling the mix, and storing the preserves in containers. The extent to which slaves made preserves for their own consumption in their own quarters is unknown but can be assumed to have been uncommon, but this is not to say that some slaves did not have any access to preserves.

Recipe—Peach Preserves

Always preserve the cling peaches and none other. Cut your peaches in two or four pieces just as you like, and have one pound of granulated sugar to one pound of peaches; that is to say, if you are going to preserve ten pounds of peaches have ten pounds of sugar, and put the sugar on the peaches the day before preserving; then next day pour juice off peaches and put peaches on to boil, when it boils, put the peaches in this boiling juice, let them stay for five minutes, then take them out and lay them on a dish for five minutes, then put them back in the boiling syrup again for five minutes, and repeat or continue taking them out and putting them back every five minutes, for one hour, when they will be preserved. [Fisher 1881: 62]

Persimmons

Persimmons grew wild in the South and were more often a food of opossums rather than people (Taylor 1982). Persimmons were easily harvested by picking them off the

ground or shaking the tree (Willison 1964). They were sour and made people pucker up when eaten fresh. Nevertheless, persimmons were occasionally incorporated into the slave diet. They grew wild in southern woods, and slaves used them in a range of dishes and drinks. Anthony Abercrombie (AL) described how persimmons were harvested:

> One day I went to dem same woods to get some 'simmons. Another nigger went wid me, and he clumb de tree to shake de 'simmons down whilst I be pickin' 'em up. 'Fore long I heared another tree shakin' every time us shake our tree, dat other tree shake too, and down come de 'simmons from it. I say to myself, 'Dats Joe, 'cause he likes 'simmons too,' den I grab up my basket and holler to de boy in de tree, 'Nigger turn loose and drap down from dar, and ketch up wid me if you can. I's leavin' here right now, 'cause Old Joe is over dar gettin' 'simmons too.'

Two of the drinks made from persimmons were wine and beer. West Turner, who had been a slave in Louisiana, provided the following instructions for making persimmon beer:

> We made persimmon beer, too. Jest stuck our persimmons in a keg with two or three gallons of water and sweet potato peelings and some hunks of corn bread and left it there until it began to work.

Millie Evans (AR) also offered a recipe for persimmon beer:

> Persimmon Beer Gather your persimmons, wash and put in a keg, cover well with water and add about two cups of meal to it and let sour about three days. That makes a nice drink. Boil persimmons just as you do prunes now day and they will answer for the same purpose.

Charlie Davenport (MS) recalled persimmon wine: "Old mammy nearly always made a heap o' dewberry an' 'simmon wine."

Recipe—Persimmon Beer

1 bushel of ripe persimmons. Pick out de seeds. Take 1/2 bushel of meal, and 1/2 bushel of sweet potatoe peelings. Line a keg wid corn shucks, shake dem out rale clean first, Den pour in de meal, potatoe peelings, and persimmons which has all been mashed together rale good. Cover wid water. Bore a hole in de keg to draw out de beer. Mash up some corn bread in a cup and fill it up with dis beer and it is fine! [William Wheeler, MS]

Marion Johnson (AR) described how persimmons were associated with opossums and how they were used to make pies:

> We'd catch the possum an' then we'd help ourselves to the 'simmons. Mentionin' 'simmons, my mammy sure could make good pies with them. I can most taste them yet and 'simmon bread too.

Plums

Wild plums were common in parts of the South and thrived when forested areas had been cleared (Taylor 1982). The narratives indicate that plums must have been abundant because there are many references to plum thickets and bushes. There are fewer mentions of plums as food, although it would make sense that they would have been used as such by slaves. Tillie Powers (TX) remembered plums:

> Den dere an de hawgs, chickens, sheep an' sich wid a big o'cha'd whar deys have de peaches, pears, pluns, an' apple trees. Neahly ever'thing weuns eats an' weahs, am raised on de place.

Other references from the narratives to plums include Joseph Holmes (AL), Cull Taylor (AL), Jefferson Franklin Henry (GA), Ann Drake (MS), Charity Jones (MS), Mary Ander (NC), Sina Banks, (OK), and George Briggs (SC).

Watermelons

Watermelons (*Citrullus vulgaris*) were part of the West African diet and were quickly embraced by many southern settlers (Moore 1989). For some areas of Africa, watermelons were an important source of water during the dry season. The fruit spread from Africa to the New World via the transatlantic slave trade, where it also served as an important source of water and nutrition for slaves in the field. To this day, watermelon remains a southern favorite among African Americans and whites alike. Slaves often planted watermelons in the fields so they could enjoy them in July and August, the two hottest months of the year. Owners often allowed slaves to maintain small patches of watermelons for their own consumption or to grow melons for sale at market. Henry C. Pettus (AR) described how he was permitted to grow melons for personal use:

> We had a watermelon patch and sometimes sold Dr. Palmer melons. He let us have a melon patch and a cotton patch our own to work. Mother worked in moonlight and at odd times. They give that to her extra. We helped her work it. They give old people potato patches and let the children have goober rows.

Lewis Brown (AR) told of how he would occasionally drop a watermelon so he could eat it on the spot.

> I was born in 1854 and co'se I wasn't big enough to work much in slavery times, but one thing I did do and that was tote watermelons for the overseer and pile 'em on the porch.

> I 'member he said if we dropped one and broke it, we'd have to stop right there and eat the whole thing. I know I broke one on purpose so I could eat it and I 'member he made me scrape the rind and drink the juice. I know I eat till I was tired of that watermelon.

Clark Hill (AR) noted the abundance of watermelons as a slave child:

> Then he had lots a watermelons too. When they got ripe they'd get all the childun big enough to tote a melon and we'd carry 'em to the house.

Nuts

Before the Civil War, southern forests were full of chestnuts, black walnuts, chinquapins (similar to chestnuts), and hickory nuts (Taylor 1982). Examples of nuts mentioned in the WPA narratives are contained in Appendix K. Phillips (1966) found that slaves consumed hickory nuts, walnuts, chestnuts, and chinquapins on a regular basis. George Taylor (AL) provided a sense of the different types of nuts that were part of his diet in the big house:

> I neber did eat at home wid mah folks, 'ca'se I nussed in de big house, an' ebery time dat de white chillun eat, I had to eat, too. Dere was plenty ob peanuts, walnut, an' ches' nut trees on de place, an' us could eat all de nuts us wanted; and den de slaves had dere own gardens if dey wanted to.

The variety of nuts obviously was greater for slaves living in the big house, but other slaves had access to nuts as well. For example, John Harrison (OK) noted that nuts were plentiful, at least in the fall: "There were plenty of nuts in the fall of the year. Hickory nuts, walnuts, and pecans." Clara Mcneely Harrell (MO) also remembered a variety of nuts being gathered in the fall: "Dey was lot's a nut trees roun' dere an in de fall o' de year we'ens usta gather lotsa nuts—hicker' nuts, walnuts, and' dey was hazel nuts too."

Chestnuts, Hazelnuts, Hickory Nuts, and Walnuts

Slaves gathered chestnuts, hazelnuts, and hickory nuts from the woods, typically on their own free time. For example, Edwin Walker (MS) shared that, "Us was chillun o' nature, jest took everthing as hit come; played in de streams an' in de trees, hunted birds nest, jumped grape vines an' swung on 'em. In de fall o' de year we went to de woods fer chestnuts an' chinkapens." Hanna Fambro (OH) recalled having Christmas off and going to the woods to gather chestnuts: "We had dat day off, an' I 'member we'd go up in de woods a-huntin' fo' chestnuts and chinkapins." Polly Turner Cancer (MS) shared that her owner gave his slaves Sundays off to gather chestnuts and hazelnuts to sell at market:

> Ole marster uster to let us gather chestnuts an' hazle-nuts on Sundays and den when de wagons was goin' to Memphis we wud put our sacks on dem an' dey wud sell dem fur us an' let us have de money; we wud generally spen hit fur lockets an' finger rings; I spec dey was brass, but we was jus' as proud ov dem as dey was pyor gol.

Rachel Sullivam (GA) recalled how her owner provided his slaves with chestnuts and other treats as a child:

> Us was chillun o' nature, jest took everthing as hit come; played in de streams an' in de trees, hunted birds nest, jumped grape vines an' swung on 'em. In de fall o' de year we went to de woods fer chestnuts an' chinkapens.

Slaves incorporated hazelnuts and hickory nuts into their diets. For example, Jennie Butler (AR) mentioned hazelnuts in her narrative: "We ate bananas, oranges, hazelnuts, apples, fruit for every month in the year for breakfast, batter cakes, egg bread."

Virginia Yarbrough (TX) described how as a child, she and others gathered hickory nuts and walnuts: "On Sundays we'd strike out for the big woods and we'd gather our dresses full of hickory nuts, walnuts and berries and a sour apple called 'maypop."

Last, but certainly not least, were references to walnuts. Charlie Davenport (MS) recalled as a slave child searching the woods for walnuts: "Us little tykes would gather black walnuts in de woods an' store 'em under de cabins to dry." Aunt Clara Walker's (AR) account provided many references to foraging in the woods for black walnuts and other wild nuts and fruits:

> The children ran like pigs every morning. The pigs ran to at acorns and the children—white and black to pick up chestnuts, sealy barks and hickory nuts. There were lots of black walnuts. "We had barrels of nuts to eat all winter and the mistress sold some every year at Nashville, Tennessee. The woods were full of nut trees and we had a few maple and sweet gum trees. We simmered down maple sap for brown sugar and chewed the sweet gum. We picked up chips to simner the sweet maple sap down. We used elder tree wood to make faucets for syrup barrels. There were chenquipins down in the swamps that the children gathered." Henry Walker said that they were sent upon the hills to find ginsing and often found long beds of it. They put it in sacks and a man came and bought it from the mistress.

Rachel Harris (AR) recalled walnuts being added to ash cakes: "They made ash cakes and put black walnuts in it." Charlie Davenport (MS) remembered gathering walnuts as a small slave child, a common task for small children: "Us little tykes would gather black walnuts in de woods an' store 'em under de cabins to dry." He then added, "At night when de work was all done en de candles out we'd set around de dyin embers en eat a pan of cracked walnuts pickin de meat out wid horseshoe nails." Finally, another example is Louise Neill's (TX) narrative in which she recalled, "We would go out and pick black haws, huckleberries and black walnuts an'what a feast we would have."

Pecans

Some plantations had pecan groves, and along the Gulf Coast, pecans were common (Phillips 1966). Pecan trees could also be found in the woods and specifically near the swamps. Olivies Elanchand (TX) mentioned how pecans were near the swamps and were plentiful: "We have plenty to eat and peaches and muscadines and pecans, 'cause there right smart woods and swamp there." Fanny Johnson (AR) told of how she and other slave children would gather pecans from the swamps and sell them to people on the river boats:

> Like there was lots of pecans down in the swamps. The boyy, and girls too for that matter, was allowed to pick them and sell them to the river boats what come along. The men was let cut cord wood and sell it to the boats.

Peanuts

Origins of the peanut and associated terms used by various peoples to refer to it differ among food historians. The peanut, also known as the goober pea, is a species of the legume family, and although botanically a fruit, in a culinary sense, it is often considered a nut, even though it is not a true nut. The peanut is thought to have been first domesticated in South America in prehistoric times and was introduced to

Africa in the 1500s, presumably by European traders and colonists (Zanger 2003). The Bantu term *nguba* is associated with the term goober, which is another term for peanut. Another word for peanut is *pinder* from the Congo word *mpinda*. The first known records of the word are in Jamaica in 1707 and in South Carolina in 1848. Pinder Town is the name of a place in South Carolina. Peanuts were used to feed slaves almost from the earliest days of the European slave trade. Before 1800, in the Caribbean and in the British colonies of North America, slaves grew peanuts on small garden patches. White colonists do not appear to have consumed peanuts directly, but they used peanuts to fatten swine and poultry (Smith 2002).

Slaves used peanuts in a number of dishes as a thickening agent for soups and other one-pot meals. Slave women boiled peanuts in the shell and made a paste that was added as a thickening agent for stews (Moore 1989). Peanut or ground nut soup has been attributed to slaves (Zanger 2003). Peanut oil was first introduced by enslaved Africans in the American South, especially in deep-fat frying, a cooking style that originated in western and central Africa.

In the decades following the Civil War, Professor George Washington Carver realized the importance of the peanut to southern agriculture and the African American diet, and he played a significant role in developing the many uses of the peanut. In all, Carver developed over two hundred uses for the peanut and several others for the important sweet potato.

The narratives contain references to peanuts and goobers. For example, Matilda Mckinney (GA) described how slave children pilfered peanuts from the owner's storage: "The smaller children had additional delicacies, for they early learned that the house where produce was kept had holes in the floor which yielded peanuts, etc, when punched with a stick." Sabe Rutledge (SC) spoke of harvesting peanuts in the fall on the plantation. William Dunwoody (AR) recalled his owner feeding the slaves the foods they raised, including goober peas: "My old master raised corn, potatoes—Irish and sweet—, goober peas (peanuts), rye, and wheat, and I can't remember what else." Ida Rigley (AR) shared, "We had goobers and a chestnut grove." Slaves parched peanuts as a substitute for coffee. For example, John Crawford (TX) mentioned peanuts being used in this manner: "We drank meal-bran and peanut coffee and cottonseed tea." Finally, Will Sheets (GA) spoke of his fondness of "groundpeas" in his narrative:

> Don't you know what groundpeas is? Dem's goobers (peanuts). Such a good time us did have, a-parchin' and a-eatin' dem groundpeas! If dere was oranges us didn't git none.

Coffee

Coffee was a popular drink during the Antebellum period in the North and South. Coffee or kaffa was originally eaten and not drunk in Ethiopia and was sometimes mixed with fat (Garrett 1966). The narratives mention coffee as a popular beverage among slaves and whites alike. Some owners even provided their slaves with coffee (Taylor 1982). Salena Taswell (FL) remembered how on her plantation coffee was available:

> Do you remember making imitation or substitute coffee by grinding up corn or peanuts?

> No, we always had the best of Java coffee. I used to grind it in the coffee mill for my Massy.

Prior to the war, the traveler Frederick Law Olmsted (1856/1904: 317) observed how coffee was openly available to slaves in Louisiana: " . . . and hot coffee was kept constantly in the sugarhouse, and the hands on duty were allowed to drink it almost *ad libitum*." However, shortages of coffee are a more common theme in the narratives. The ample references to substitutes and alternatives to coffee beans, such as parched corn, indicate that coffee was not as freely available throughout the South as Olmsted wrote.

The situation changed during the Civil War. Troops on both sides loved coffee, but getting it was problematic, especially for the Confederates. As a commodity almost entirely imported, in the North, coffee remained relatively available during the war. But in the South, southerners, including African Americans, turned to substitutes made from a variety of alternatives because coffee became increasingly scarce due to the Federal blockade. Once Federal troops captured New Orleans and some of the Atlantic seaports in the spring of 1862, coffee became even more scarce in the South. Slaves who had limited or no access to coffee relied on alternatives made from vegetables, tree barks, or other substitutes. Grains such as wheat, nuts, or vegetables such as corn, cowpeas, and sweet potatoes were parched and then used as coffee substitutes. Whites also made coffee substitutes from these sources.

Slaves and whites alike frequently relied on parched cornmeal to replace coffee. Rev. Squires Jackson (FL) recalled, "Sometimes coffee, made out of parched cornmeal, was added as an extra treat." Douglas Parish (FL) had a similar recollection: "The slaves drank an imitation coffee made from parched corn or meal." Other examples of substitutes include William Wheeler's (MS) mention of berries:

> We used to gather huckleberries, put dem in a skillet, parch em real brown. Den beat em up fine wid a hammer and use this fer coffee. We used to drink bran coffee, too. Dis was made by parchin' corn takin' de husks and making into a brew.

Emma Hurley (GA) mentioned parching okra as a substitute coffee:

> Coffee giv' out an none could be bought so they took okra seeds an' parched 'em good an' brown an' ground 'em an' made coffee out'n 'em. Some folks made coffee out'n parched ground wheat too. Everybody had to do the best they could in them times.

Callie Gray (MS) remembered stretching what coffee was available by mixing it with grain:

> We didn't have no parched coffee in them days, Marse Jeemes bought it green, a barrel at a time. Every Sad'day, they measure out two gallons and we parch it in a big iron pan over the coals, stirring it all the time to keep it from gitting too brown. Den we grind it in the coffee mill and we always mix rye with it for the nigger's coffee.

In regions where coffee was grown, slaves drank the real thing. In other areas, they used substitutes for coffee (eratz) made from burnt cornmeal, roasted bran, okra, grains, or potato peelings (Finkelman and Miller 1998; Kiple and King 1981). With coffee at thirty dollars a pound at the beginning of the war and four hundred dollars at the end, it is difficult to envision that slaves had much or any access to real coffee (Williams 2005). Genovese (1974) mentioned cotton seeds being roasted and used as a substitute.

One WPA respondent, Rivana Boynton (FL), was asked, "So you remember making imitation or substitute coffee by grinding up corn or peanuts?" She responded, "No. We had real coffee." On some plantations, the planters and slaves both lacked coffee. This was the case for George Womble (GA) who, after sharing that his masters and the slaves did not have real coffee, recalled, "They all drank a type of beverage that had been made by parching bran or meal and then boiled in water" (Killion and Waller 1973: 118).

Slaves and whites alike would parch corn to make artificial coffee. Patience Campbell (FL) mentioned, "Coffee was made from parched corn or meal and was the chief drink." Rachel Harris (AR) had a similar recollection: "Parch meal or corn and make coffee." Matilda Brooks (FL) also remembered making coffee from parched corn. In the narrative of Heard Griffin (GA), he remembered that parched corn was a good substitute for real coffee: "Real coffee was an unheard-of luxury among slaves: so scorched or corn meal served the purpose just as well."

Besides corn, okra seeds (Rachel Harris, AR), parched peanuts (Mary Minus Biddle, FL), and sweet potatoes (Ida Rigley, AR) were parched for coffee. Samuel Simeon Andrews (FL), recalled several substitutes for coffee: " . . . during the Civil War, wheat, corn and dried potatoes were parched and used." Kiziah Love (OK) remembered using parched bran or rye and sweet potatoes, and Henry Warfield (MS) recalled coffee substitutes made from oak or hickory tree bark.

A Note on Teas

The narratives contain several references to teas. Appendix M contains references to the variety of plant and nonplant ingredients used by African American slaves to make teas. In most instances, slaves prepared teas not as beverages but for medicinal purposes. For example, boneset, mint, hog hoof, sassafras, sage, burdock, chinaberry, coon root, catnip, feverweed, elderberry, and other teas were used as spring tonics, cure alls, or specific remedies for slave ailments (see Covey 2007).

As has been noted in this chapter, much of the availability to slaves of some fruits and nuts was predicated on certain times of the year, partly because of general availability and preservation and storage concerns, but also because much of this type of foodstuff was considered by both plantation owners and slaves to be special in nature and, thus, reserved for special occasions. Further discussion of this aspect of fruits and nuts and how and when they were consumed by slaves is contained in Chapter 11.

11

CELEBRATIONS, SPECIAL OCCASIONS, AND THE WAR

De older boys and gals had big frolics, 'specially in de fall of de year. Sometimes dey be on our plantation, and agin dey be on neighboring ones. When dey have 'em close home, some of us lil' niggers would slip off and git in de corner or up in de loft of de house and spy on 'em. Dey cotch us sometimes and thrash us out. One game dey played was 'please and displease'. When de gal say, 'What it take to please you?' de boy say, 'A kiss frum dat purty gal over dar'. Yes, dey played 'hack-back', too. Dat's when dey faced each other and trotted back and forth. Lawd, dey sho had some awful times dancing and cutting jigs. Twan't much drinking, 'cepting on de side.

White ladies didn't go to de frolics, but some of de white men did. De partollers was allus around to see dat everybody had passes, and if dey didn't have 'em dey was run back home. Sometimes de overseer was dar, too. Lawd, dey sho did kick up de dust at dem frolics. De music was mostly made by fiddles, and sometimes dey had quill blowers. De quills was made frum cane, same as de spindles was but dey was cut longer and was different sizes. All de quills was put in a rack and you could blow any note you wanted to off of dem. Boy, I sho could blow you out of dar wid a rack of quills. I was de best quill blower dat ever put one in a man's mouth. I could make a man put his fiddle up; hit you so hard wid Dixieland dat I knock you off de seat. Gals wouldn't look at nobody else when I start blowing de quills.

Dar was also heaps and lots of other big affairs 'sides de frolics. De cornshuckings—Lawd a-mercy, you ain't seen nothing. Niggers frum all over de place shucking corn and somebody setting on one of de big piles calling de cornshucking song, jes' like dey do in de square dance. Dat kept 'em happy—everybody jine in de chorus. A jug of liquor sot at de bottom of de pile; everybody try to be first to get to de liquor. Lawd, dey holler and take on something awful when dey get to de bottom. White folks have big supper ready; liquor, brandy and everything. Dem was de times; pick up somebody and kivver 'em up wid de shucks. Had cotton pickings, too. Dat work not so fast but we had good times. Sometimes dey be on our plantation; den we sometimes go to other places.

Didn't need no passes when a bunch of slaves went to other plantations to dem big gatherings. 'Rangements was already made so de patrollers wouldn't bother nobody.

> Dat policy didn't hold fer de frolics, though. Sho had to have a pass frum de marse if you went.
>
> George Fleming (SC)

> But hit warn't all bad times 'cayse us did hab plenty to eat, an' 'specially at hog killin' time. Dey wuld hab days ob hog killin' an' de slaves w'uld bake dere bread, an' cum wid pots, pepper, salt, an' atter cleanin' de hogs, dey w'uld gib us de livers, and lights, an' us wuld cook dem ober a fire out in de open an' hit sho' war good eatin'. De usual 'lowance a week ob pickled pork war six or seven pounds, an' if you had a big family ob chillun dey gib you more. Den dey gib you a peck ob meal, sweet 'taters, sorghum syrup, an' plenty ob buttermilk. An' at Christmas times, dey gib you extra syrup to make cakes wid an' sweet 'taters to make 'tater pone. An', Lor', dey w'uld hab big cribs ob pun'kins, hit makes my hongry to think 'bout dem good ol' pun'kin pies.
>
> Adeline Hodge (AL)

Exceptions to the Routine of Slave Diets

The routine and sameness of slave diets, either what they obtained on their own or were provided by owners, were occasionally interrupted by special short-term occasions and holidays that provided the opportunity to sample and enjoy foods and quantities of food not typically available. These celebrations varied from plantation to plantation and were special occasions for slaves and their owners by offering interludes when some of the social barriers between slaves and their owners were relaxed, if only temporarily. The fact remains, however, that owners never surrendered their higher status or control over slaves. Holidays and celebrations generally meant that slaves received additional or special foods (King 1995). For example, at harvest time, corn shucking, log rolling, hog killing, weddings, and holidays, owners allowed their slaves to celebrate with big feasts and dances (Genovese 1974; Joyner 1984, 1991).

The significance of these breaks in the slaves' routine should not be underestimated. For slaves, celebrations of any kind, formal or informal, offered a break from the normal rations and the opportunity to enjoy foods that were above and beyond their regular fare. In addition, at least superficially, they had the opportunity, albeit limited for many, to spend time with owners and overseers under relaxed norms and rules of social conduct. While slaves on small farms essentially lived with their owners, bigger plantations were more sharply divided along social class lines. Most importantly, celebrations and holidays afforded slaves the opportunity to come into contact with slaves from other plantations, sometimes without fear of the patrollers or any negative repercussions from owners. These social contacts and those within the confines of the plantation undoubtedly contributed to the slaves' sense of community, and as with social interaction within any other society, food played an important role when slaves came together.

Since many of these celebrations involved the movement of slaves off their own plantations and their circulation in and among the larger community, we would be remiss if we did not at least acknowledge the Antebellum patrol system. Slave patrols, which were legitimized in statute by most slave states, were the chief way in which southern states enforced the institution of slavery. The patrols apprehended runaways, monitored the rigid pass requirements for blacks traversing the countryside, broke up large gatherings and assemblies of blacks, visited and searched slave quarters randomly, inflicted impromptu punishments, and as occasion arose, suppressed insurrections (Hadden 2001). Slave patrols, which with good reason instilled fear

among slaves, were made up of state militia members and slaveholders themselves. In most states, service on the patrols was mandatory, although only a few mandated salaries for the patrollers. The patrols met their demise during the Civil War, but the system's legacy produced postwar southern vigilante groups, including the Ku Klux Klan.

W. L. Bost (NC) said it very succinctly, "the paddyrollers they keep close watch on the pore niggers so they have no chance to do anything or go anywhere. They jes' like policemen, only worser."

However, Alice Baugh (NC) recalled being treated well at Christmas and that her plantation master made sure his slaves were given passes to be out during the holiday:

> Marster Charlie an' Missus Mary was good ter de hundred slaves what belonged ter 'em. Dey gib 'em good houses, good feed, good clothes an' plenty uv fun. Dey had dere co'n shuckin's, dere barn dances, prayer meetin's an' sich like all de year, an' from Christmas till de second day of January dey had a holiday wid roast oxes, pigs, turkey an' all de rest o' de fixin's. From Saturday till Monday de slaves was off an' dey had dere Sunday clothes, which was nice. De marster always gib 'em a paper so's de patterollers won't git 'em.

Slaveholders viewed celebrations as opportunities to display their benevolence toward their slaves. While most of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives reflect back on these periodic celebrations with great fondness, not everyone was enamored by the owners' acts of apparent kindness during these events. The influential abolitionist Frederick Douglass (1845) and others took issue with this beneficence and characterized these events as fraudulent, wrong, and inhumane. Douglass saw these events as owners manipulating their slaves to get them to comply with the rigors and abuses of slave life and to encourage them to work harder for the overall benefit of the owners. Owners also hoped that these kindnesses at celebrations would promote loyalty to them and reduce runaways.

It is also wrong to assume that all of the narratives mention celebrations and holidays as events in which slaves were allowed to participate, because at some plantations, there were no special events or holidays that they were allowed to be celebrated by slaves. Some owners were selfish, cruel, frugal, and uncaring toward their slaves. For example, Mollie Edmonds (MS) noted that even at Christmas slaves were not allowed to celebrate and had to sneak off to entertain themselves:

> There warn't never no trouble on the place between the white and the colored. We didn't have no celebrations of any kind not even on Christmas. The only church meetings was off to us self when the white folks didn't know nothing about it. We never had a corn shucking and they didn't allow no dancing. Some of the niggers would slip off and go to dances on other places when they felt sure they wouldn't get caught.

Sweets, Sweeteners, and Alcohol

Slaves enjoyed sweet treats, sweeteners, and alcohol when they could get them, just as southern whites did. However, for slaves, sweets and drink were generally reserved for special occasions such as holidays, although on occasion, they were available at other times of the year. A listing of examples of sweeteners and other

special foods is located in Appendix L. The following sections identify some of the references to sweets and liquor found in the narratives and other literature. More detailed discussions of individual holidays and special occasions and how they were observed in the southern plantation social order follow these sections.

Candy and Candy Pulls

Although uncommon, candy was identified in the narratives as a treat. For example, the narratives mention pulled candy as a treat slaves made and consumed on special occasions. Slaves and whites made pulled candy from sorghum syrup that had been cooked down to an almost candy stage. Then two individuals, often a boy and girl, would dip their hands in lard so the candy would not stick to their hands. They then pulled a loaf of the sticky syrup between them over and over until the loaf turned light in color. It was then set aside to cool and harden. Owners sometimes sponsored candy pulls as a special occasion for their slaves (Joyner 1971).

Minnie Davis (GA) recalled, "On Saturday nights the young folks and a few of the older folks danced. Some of them got passes from Marse John so they could visit around. They popped corn, pulled candy, or just sat around and talked."

The narrative of Georgia Telfair (GA) told of candy pulling and the fun it was for her:

> De bigges' fun us had was at candy pullin's. Ma cooked de candy in de wash pot out in de yard. Fust she poured in some home-made sirup, an' put in a heap or brown sugar from de old sirup barrel an' den she oiled it down to whar if you drapped a little of it in cold water it got hard quick. It was ready den to be poured out in greasy plates an' pans. Us greased our han's wid lard to keep de candy from stickin' to 'em, an' soon as it got cool enough de couples would start pullin' candy an' singin'. Dat's mighty happy music, when you is singin' an' pullin' candy wid yo' bes' teller. When de candy got too stiff an' hard to pull no mo', us started eatin', an' it sho' would evermo' git away from dar in a hurry. You ain't nebber seed no dancin', what is dancin', lessen you has watched a crowd dance atter dey et de candy what dey done been pullin'.

Minnie Hollomon (AR) fondly remembered pulling candy: "Dancing, candy pulling, quilting,—that was about the only fun they would have." Mary Minus Biddie (FL) also identified candy pulling as one of the special occasions: "The only amusement to be had was a big candy pulling, or hog killing and chicken cooking."

Another type of candy was gum drops. Lewis Jefferson (MS) recalled how gum drop candy was provided during Christmas:

> When Christmas wud come Marse wud give de slaves a big drink on Christmas mornin' an' let dem have chicken fur dinner, an' I allus got a big apple an' some nuts, an' I remember gittin' some gum drop candy one time. When I chewed dat candy I could chew most uf de day, fur it stayed wid yo'.

Honey

Some southerners maintained beehives, and some slaves harvested wild honey. Slaves also thought that honey had medicinal value, and it was sometimes incorporated into their folk remedies, occasionally to make the folk medicine more palatable

(Covey 2007). Honey does have some medicinal value and is a good source of nutrition. Alice Baugh (NC) remembered the significance of honey at her plantation:

> De fruits from de big orchard an' de honey from de hives was et at home, an' de slave et as good as his marster et. Dey had a whole heap o' bee hives an' my mammy said dat she had ter tell dem Lees when Mis' Mary died. She said how she was cryin' so hard dat she can't hardly tell 'am, an' dat dey hum lak dey am mo'nin' too.

Uncle Dave and Aunt Lillian (GA) mentioned honey in their narratives: "His people used to find a great many bee trees in the woods and collect large quantities of wild honey." Katie Rye (AR) had honey after moving from the big house: "The slaves was only allowed biscuit on Christmas and sometimes on Sundays but we had beef and plenty of honey and everything after we moved from the big house."

Sugar

Sugar was a major crop in some regions of the Antebellum South. Raising and harvesting sugar cane was dangerous and hard work. Cutting the cane stocks with sharp blades often resulted in accidental cuts that would become infected. Once cut, the sugar canes were crushed and refined into sugar. The initial syrup, created by boiling, was black and had to be refined into white sugar. Southerners during the period referred to this refining of the black syrup into white sugar as "got the niggah out" (Shange 1998: 43). Milton Ritchie (AR) spoke of working in the sugar cane mill:

> We raised sugarcane, hogs, corn, and goobers. The sugar-cane had no top. I got a whooping every Monday. Mama whoop me. We go drink sugar-cane juice in the trough at the mill. We got up in there with our feet. They had to wash out the troughs. It was a wood house. It was a big mill. He sold that good syrup in Atlanta. It wasn't sorghum.

Acie Thomas (FL) shared a similar account of the sugar mill and how the cane juice was made into syrup:

> The cane was ground on the plantation and converted into barrels of syrup and brown sugar. The cane grinding season was always a gala one. There was always plenty of juice, with the skimmings and fresh syrup for all.

Sugar represented a source of quick energy for many slaves (Whitehead 1992), although many did not have ready access to it (Yentsch 2007). Slaves considered sugar a luxury, as reflected by the tone in which they describe in the narratives the rare occasions when they ate it. Most slaves had very limited access to sugar in their diets. Fannie Clemmons (AR) experienced sugar, but only that made from molasses and not from sugar cane. She observed:

> And sugar—we did not know about that. We always used sugar from molasses. I don't think sugar been in session long. If it had I did not get it.

John Hill (GA) also noted how scarce sugar was in his diet. He referred to an unknown substance he labeled "sea sugar" and also mentioned how rare white sugar was:

> Dem chicken pies an' dem good old 'tato custards, 'bout one an' a half inches thick, made wid sea sugar, dey make your mouf water just to talk 'bout 'em. What was sea sugar?

> Why it was dat crawly, kind of grayish, lookin' sugar us used den. I was grown 'fore I ever seed no sho' 'nough white sugar.

Others found it necessary to occasionally take sugar from the owner's pantry. Such was the case with David Lee (FL) who would grab a handful when the opportunity presented itself:

> Missus, she had a big barrel ob lumpy sugah in de pantry. De doo' was ginnerly liked, but sometimes when hit was hopen, ah'd go in an' take a han' fu'.

He then gave another account of stealing sugar:

> Ah 'membah once, ah crawled in tru de winder and mah Missus she s'picionated ah was in dare eatin' sugah, so she called. "David, you anser me, you all's in."

However, there were exceptions to the rarity of sugar. For example, Mary Jane Jones (MS) recalled what might be considered to be notable rations of syrup and sugar per child every Sunday:

> I et sweets, too. My mother used to draw eleven pints of sugar and eleven pints of syrup fur her eleven head of children every Sunday morning.

When slaves mentioned syrup, they were referring to either cane or molasses syrup. Mary Jane Hardridge (AR) identified the use of syrup in cake and pudding: "We used all brown sugar from syrup that turned to sugar. . . . My ma used to cook the best old syrup cake and syrup potatoes pudding."

Maple Syrup

In the northern part of the South, southerners tapped maple trees and used them to make maple syrup (Taylor 1982). Although not common in the narratives, there were references to slaves eating or manufacturing maple syrup. For example, Bert Mayfield (KY) described a maple grove on his plantation that was used to manufacture maple syrup or what he called "tree molasses":

> Marse Stone had a big sugar camp with 300 trees. We would be waked up at sun-up by a big horn and called to get our buckets and go to the sugar camps and bring water from the maple trees. These trees had been tapped and elderwood spiles were placed in the taps where the water dripped to the wooden troughs below. We carried this water to the big poplar troughs which were about 10 feet long and 3 feet high. The water was then dipped out and placed in different kettles to boil until it became the desired thickness for "Tree Molasses". Old Miss Polly would always take out enough of the water to boil down to make sugar cakes for us boys. We had great times at these "stirrin' offs" which usually took place at night.

Clayton Hobert (KS) also recalled groves of maple trees used in the same fashion:

> We made our own maple syrup from the maple sugar trees. This is a lot better than the refined sugar people have nowdays, and is good for you too. You can't get this now though, except sometimes and it is awfully high priced.

One final example was the narrative of Dan Bogie (KY), who described the production of maple syrup on his plantation:

> Old master would call us about 4 o'clock, and everybody had to get up and go to "Stirring". Old Marse had about 30 or 40 sugar trees which were tapped in February. Elder spiles were stuck in the taps for the water to drop out in the wooden troughs, under the spiles. These troughs were hewed out of buckeye. This maple water was gathered up and out in a big kettle, hung on racks, with a big fire under it. It was then taken to the house and finished upon the stove. The skimmings after it got to the syrup stage was builed down and made into maple sugar for the children.

Spirits

For thousands of years and in nearly every civilization, alcohol has been produced from fermenting various cereal grains. Alcohol was prevalent throughout the Antebellum South, mostly as wine, whiskey, brandy, or corn liquor. In general, owners did not encourage their slaves to drink alcohol. Some owners prohibited, restricted, or otherwise controlled it, whereas others provided it to their slaves for special occasions such as Christmas, Fourth of July, corn shuckings, hog killing time, and the like. Evidence from archaeological sites indicates that slaves also purchased and made their own alcohol. Bottles have been found in slave quarters that would have been used to store purchased alcohol (Otto and Burns 1983). For example, Fannie Dorum (AR) described how her father acquired and purchased brandy for himself and other slaves:

> Brandy was kept in the storehouse too; but they didn't give that to the colored folks—they didn't give any of it to them. My daddy used to make it and buy it from the white folks and slip and sell it to the colored folks. He didn't tall the white folks who he was gettin' it for.

Abram Harris (AR) mentioned how, on his plantation, the owner occasionally allowed his slaves to have a little brandy:

> Marster hed er big fruit orchard. Jes all kines er fruit wud be in dat orchard, en when dey ripe, Marster send loads den apples en peaches down ter de still whar he had dem made up in ter Brandy en put in de kegs en barrels en brought bak home when hit done. Heap er times dat I 'members he call de folks up ter de bak gallery en sey, 'Cum on up here folks en git yo all er dram'. Dats whut he say.

Corn Liquor

Corn was the preferred ingredient for making whiskey in the South (Finkelman and Miller 1998). Southern distillers would take about two bushels of corn and mix it with about fifty gallons of water. Some would add yeast to speed the process, but yeast was not required. The resulting mash would be run through a still and produced highly alcoholic whiskey. Some slaves distilled their own whiskey when they could. Some owners would provide their slaves with corn whiskey during special occasions. Slaves and whites alike both used whiskey as a medicinal, usually as a pain killer (Covey 2007).

Although whiskey was not an everyday drink for slaves, it was occasionally available, particularly on special occasions. However, some jurisdictions made it illegal

to give or sell whiskey to slaves (Taylor 1982). Slaves drank allotments of whiskey during cold weather and during special events (Genovese 1974). Joyner (1971) noted that one master was known to provide his slaves with a glass of whiskey every night to ward off disease.

Minnie Davis (GA) recalled how whiskey was available to slaves during special occasions but only in limited amounts:

> New Year's Day was no different from other days, except that Marse John gave the grown folks whiskey to drink that day like he did on Christmas morning. They couldn't risk giving slaves much whiskey because it made them mean, and then they would fight the white folks. They had to be mighty careful about things like that in order to keep down uprisings.

Heard Griffin (GA) shared a similar experience: "On Christmas the master, called each slave and gave him a dram of whiskey."

Frank Gill (AL) identified three alcoholic beverages as being provided during Christmas—beer, wine, and whiskey:

> Christmas time was de bes' ob all, 'ca'se us allus had a big dinner, an' de Ol' Marster gib de women calico dresses an' shoes, an' de men shoes an' hats, an' would gib us flour, an' sugar, molasses, an' would buy beer, whiskey an' wine.

WPA respondents mentioned whiskey more often than any other alcoholic beverage. While whiskey was readily available to many slaves, it was a consumable that came with a high price for overindulgence. Slaves who drank to excess often were beaten by their owners as a result. In her narrative, Emma Blalock (NC) remembered well the punishment for drunkenness:

> Dey whupped Uncle Bert 'cause he stayed drunk so much. He loved his licker an' he got drunk an' cut up bad, den dey whupped him. You could git plenty whiskey den. Twon't like it is now. No sir, it won't. Whiskey sold fur ten cents a quart. Most ever' body drank it but you hardly ever seed a man drunk. Slaves wus not whupped for drinkin'. Dere Marsters give 'em whiskey but dey wus whupped for gittin' drunk.

Others allowed slaves to drink but only under the owner's supervision. For example, Frederick Douglass (1845) noted that slaveholders wanted to see their slaves drunk but only under their oversight. Douglas concluded that slaveholders allowed slaves to get very drunk during celebrations to reinforce the notion that their freedom would lead to depravity.

Some slaves made whiskey for their own consumption or to sell at market. Rebecca Hooks (FL) recalled how her father made corn whiskey on his time off so he could purchase the things they wanted or needed, such as books.

The narratives also contain references to beer and wine. Jim Allen (MS) described how beer and whiskey were drunk on Saturday nights: "Sometimes we worked on Sat'day a 'ternoon, owin' to de crops; but women all knocked off on Sat'day a'ternoon." He added, "On Sat'day night, we mos'ly had fun, playin' an drinkin' whiskey an' beer—no time to fool 'roun' in de week time." Beer was not that common because it tended to spoil. Southerners made beer from grains and from fruit, such as persimmons. Beer made from persimmon was mentioned by Charlie Hudson (GA),

Annie Huff (GA), Phil Town (GA), and Rezin Williams (MD). Charlotte Raines (GA) mentioned locust beer, which was made from locust seeds according to Cull Taylor (AL). Jessie Rice (SC) made both persimmon and locust beer: "Yes sir, if I's handy to locust I makes locust beer; den if I's handy to 'simmons, why den I makes 'simmon beer."

Wine kept longer in the southern heat and humidity than beer, but it was generally reserved for special occasions and was associated by some with the sacrament of Holy Communion. Will Parker (TX) referred to wine at his wedding: "We had a big supper and lots of wine but we didn't dance 'case I belonged to the Baptist Church." Harriet Jones (TX) linked wine and cider to the special occasion of Christmas. Saturday nights, for Wash Ingram (TX), were special, and slaves were provided whiskey, wine, and brandy: "Dey would give us whiskey, wine and cherry brandy, but dare wasn't no shootin' or gambling."

It should be noted that many owners prohibited the consumption of alcohol by their slaves. Some feared insurrection; others feared property loss, loss of control, or loss of productivity; or alcohol was prohibited for religious or moral reasons. Julia Bunch (GA) noted how her owner did not allow slaves to have alcohol:

> De slaves from all de plantations 'round come to our corn shuckin's. Us had 'em down in de orchard. Lots of white folks comed too. Dey kilt hogs and us had a big supper and den us danced. Nosir, dere warn't no toddy, Marse didn't b'lieve in dat, out dey would beat up apples and us drinked de juice. It sho' was sweet too.

Minnie Davis (GA) summed up why some owners did not provide whiskey to their slaves: "They couldn't risk giving slaves much whiskey because it made them mean, and then they would fight the white folks." She then added, "They had to be mighty careful about things like that in order to keep down uprisings."

Christmas

During the course of the year, on some plantations, there were celebrations that temporarily altered the types of foods available to slaves. Christmas was one of the most important annual celebrations of the Antebellum South. Slaves and their owners throughout the South considered Christmas a special time and tradition (Joyner 1971; King 1995; Rivers 2000). In addition to the symbolism and spiritual meaning, Christmas on many plantations meant additional rations, special treats, and gifts. It also meant additional time off from the fields (Genovese 1974). Food was a large part of the Christmas celebration, as some owners issued extra provisions and food, such as beef (Flanders 1933). Others prepared whole hogs, peach cobbler, apple dumplings, and other foods and allowed the slaves to get drunk (Blassingame 1979). In Florida, slaves on medium-sized and larger plantations came to expect Christmas gifts, extra rations, and time off from work (Rivers 2000).

The autobiographical narratives written prior to the Civil War contain references to Christmas on plantations. For example, ex-slave Charles Joyner shared his recollections of Christmas in Georgia:

> Christmas am the day for the big time. A tree am fix, and some present for everyone. The white preacher talk 'bout Christ. Us have singing and 'joyment all day. Then at night, the big fire builded, and all us sot round it. There am 'bout hundred hog bladders save

> from hog killing. So, on Christmas night, the children takes them and puts them on the stick. First they is all blowed full of air and tied tight and dry. Then the children holds the bladder in the fire and pretty soon, "BANG!" they goes. That am the fireworks. [Joyner 1991: 81]

In her famous 1857 written narrative, Harriet Jacobs described the celebration of Christmas:

> Christmas is a day of feasting, both with white and colored people. Slaves, who are lucky enough to have a few shillings, are sure to spend them for good eating; and many a turkey and pig is captured, without saying, "By your leave sir." Those who cannot obtain these, cook a 'possum, or a raccoon, from which savory dishes can be made. My grandmother raised poultry and pigs for sale; and it was her established custom to have both a turkey and a pig roasted for Christmas dinner. [Jacobs 1857/1987: 119]

Solomon Northrup's written slave narrative, first published in 1853, described some of the preparations for a Christmas meal:

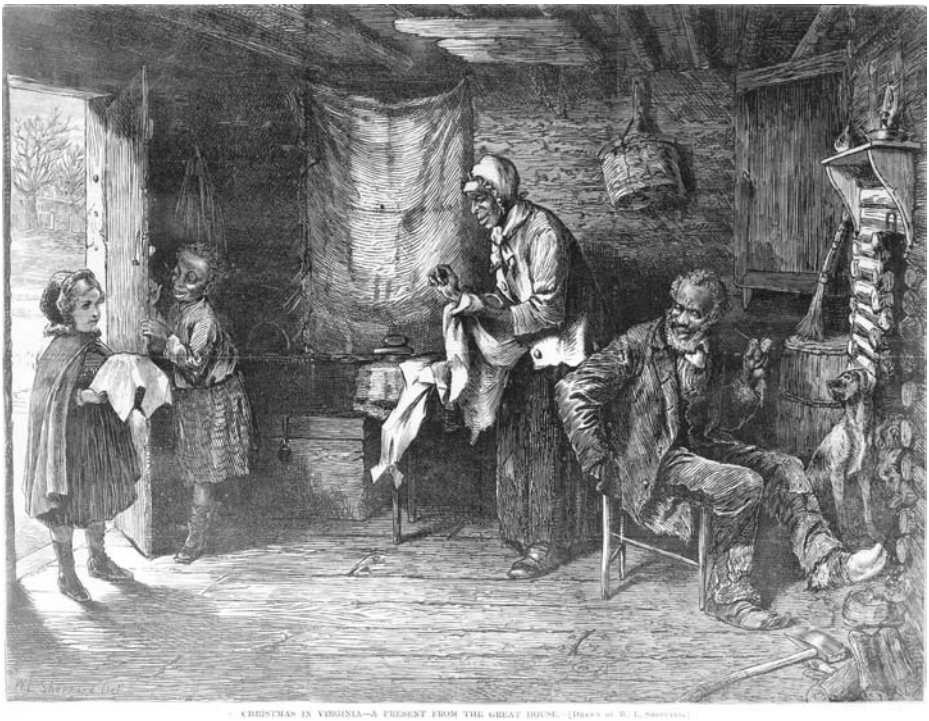
> The table is spread in the open air, and loaded with varieties of meat and piles of vegetables. Bacon and corn meal at such times are dispensed with. Sometimes the cooking is performed in the kitchen on the plantation, at others, in the shade of wide branching trees. In the latter case, a ditch is dug in the ground, and wood laid in and burned until it is filled with glowing coals, over which chickens, ducks, turkeys, pigs, and not unfrequently the entire body of a wild ox are roasted. They are furnished also with flour, of which biscuits are made, and often with peach and other preserves, with tarts, and every manner and description of pies, except the mince, that being an article of pastry as yet unknown among them. Only the slave who had lived all the years on his scanty allowance of meal and bacon, can appreciate such suppers. [Northrup 1853/1968: 164]

Several descriptions of the Christmas holiday are also found in later WPA narratives. One southern tradition held that slaves could request gifts or treats from their masters on Christmas morning. To that end, Charlie Hudson (GA) remembered the delight of that tradition:

> Christmas us went from house to house looking for locust and persimmon beer. Chillun went to all the houses hunting gingerbread. Ma used to roll it thin, cut it out with a thimble and give a dozen of them little balls to each child. Persimmon beer and gingerbread! What big times us did have at Christmas.

Georgia Baker (GA) also had fond memories of Christmas:

> Christmas Day: Oh, what a time us Niggers did have dat day! Marse Lordnorth and Marse Alec give us evvything you could name to eat: cake of all kinds, fresh meat, lightbread, turkeys, chickens, ducks, geese, and all kinds of wild game. Dere was allus plenty of pecans, apples, and dried peaches too at Christmas. Marse Alec had some trees what had fruit dat looked lak bananas on 'em, but I done fergot what was de name of dem trees. Merse Alec would call de grown folkses to de big house early in de mornin' and pass 'round a big pewter pitcher full of whiskey, den he would put a little whiskey in dat same pitcher and fill it wid sweetened water and give dat to us chillun. Us called dat 'toddy' or 'dram'. Marse Alex allus had plenty of good whiskey, 'cause Uncle Willis made it up for him and it was made jus' right. De night atter Christmas Day us pulled



CHRISTMAS IN VIRGINIA—A PRESENT FROM THE GREAT HOUSE.—[DRAWN BY W. L. SHEPPARD.]

This wood engraving depicting Christmas gift-giving on the post-emancipation plantation was made from a drawing by William Ludwell Sheppard (1833–1912) and appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, December 30, 1871. By this time a nostalgic view of master-slave relations had already taken hold in some quarters of the South. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62–30813.

> syrup candy, drunk more liquor, and danced. Us had a big time for a whole week and den on New Year's Day us done a little wuk jus' to start de year right and us feasted dat day on fresh meat, plenty of cake, and whiskey. Dere was allus a big pile of ash-roasted 'taters on hand to go wid dat good old baked meat. Us allus tried to raise enough 'taters to lest all through de winter 'cause Niggers sho does love dem sweet 'taters. No Mam, us never knowed nothin' 'bout Santa.

Susan Castle (GA) gave a similar account of the Christmas celebration:

> Christmas was somepin' else. Us sho' had a good time den. Dey give de chilluns china dolls and dey sont great sacks of apples, oranges, candy, cake, and evvything good out to de quarters. At night endurin' Christmas us had parties, and dere was allus some Nigger ready to pick de banjo. Marse Thomas allus give de slaves a little toddy too, but when dey was havin' deir fun if dey got too loud he sho' would call 'em down. I was allus glad to see Christmas come. On New Year's Day, de General had big dinners and invited all de high-falutin' rich folks.

In many parts of the South, it was customary for slaves to be invited to the big house on Christmas as part of their celebration. Henrietta McCullers and Julius

Nelson, both from North Carolina but who served on different plantations, recalled the custom. First from Henrietta:

> At Christmas time we had a party at de big house. Mis' Betsy had sabed a bushel er so o' de lates' apples an' she made a big dish of lasses candy an' we popped pop corn an' wus happy. Mis' Betsy always give us some clothes an' we had a feas' all through de week or holidays.

And then Julius Nelson:

> On holidays we sometimes had chicken pie an' ham an' a lot o' other food. Dem wus de happy times, 'specially on Christmas mornin' when we all goes ter de big house ter celebrate an' ter git our gif's. Dey give us clothes, food, an' fruit. One Christmas we had a big tub of candy, I reckolicts.

Cicely Cawthon (GA) remembered the bounty of Christmas:

> Them Christmas days was something else! If I could call back one of them Christmas Days now, when I went up to the house and brung back my checkered apron full! . . . Great big round, peppermint balls! Big bunches of raisins, we put aprons full on the bed and then went back to the house to get another apron full.

Josephine Hamilton (AR) recalled all of the special treats on her plantation:

> At Christmas time, we had heaps to eat, cakes, homemade molasses candy that you pulled, popcorn, horse apples which was good, mo' better'n any apples we get these days.

Annie Stanton (AL) remembered the gifts that were provided to slaves on her plantation: "At Christmas times de overseer called all de men and women in an' gib each woman a dress, a head a handkerchief, an' tuh de men he gave a hat, knife, an' a bottle of whiskey." Mose Davis (GA) spoke of the dancing and singing that occurred on Christmas: "On the Fourth of July or at Christmas Colonel Davis always had a festival for all his slaves. Barbecue was served and there was much singing and dancing."

Barbecues were common during many of the slaves' special occasions throughout the year and were associated with celebrations in the narratives. Barbecues were a convenient way for southerners to utilize recently butchered meats before they spoiled as well as gather people together. In addition, Yentsch (2007) noted that besides the celebratory nature, barbecues were highly public performances and were frequently described in detail in the narratives. The actual barbecuing of meats at these public events was exclusively a role played by males.

For some, drinking alcohol was an important aspect of Christmas and other celebrations. On some Alabama plantations, between Christmas and New Year's Day, slaves could drink whiskey and wines without being whipped (Jewett and Allen 2004). Owners provided large amounts of whiskey, wine, or beer to slaves, perhaps with the idea that such drinking might alleviate some of the tension between them and their slaves, at least for a day or two. Rev. Wade Owens (AL) mentioned wine in

his narrative: "Us had good time on Chris'mas, give us toys, syrup candy, bread an' grape wine." Nicey Pugh (AL) shared that beer was provided: "At Christmas time, Massa would have a bunch of niggers to kill a hog an' barbecue him, an' de womens would make' lasses cake, an' ole massa Jim had some kinda seed dat he made beer outen, an' we-alls drank beer 'roun' Christmas."

Not all owners were so gracious, and it must always be remembered the slaves had worked all year for the benefit of the owners, so a Christmas day off with additional, yet still meager, rewards was small compensation for the work they had performed and the tough and sometimes brutal life they had endured at the hands of their owners and overseers throughout the year.

Corn Shucking

Southerners having celebrations during harvest time was consistent with West African cultural traditions of celebrating the seasons with harvest rites. In the South, corn shucking time was a traditional rite of early autumn (Sobel 1987). Annual harvest festivals, feasts, and holidays would have fit with the world view of the initial African American slaves and later generations born in North America or the Caribbean.

The fall season meant extra work for the slaves, as it was the time of harvest. Even though it was extra work in the evenings, corn shucking was one of the most popular times of celebration for male slaves (Genovese 1974). The planters provided several incentives for slaves to encourage them to shuck corn and plant new crops, such as cash awards, whiskey, big feasts, and other rewards (Blassingame 1979). For the slaves, because everyone, including whites, joined in the heavy drinking, there was always a chance that the field hands would not have to work in the field the next day due to hangovers of owners and overseers (Escott 1979). Corn shucking events, although work, were opportunities for many to sing, dance, eat, drink, and otherwise carry on. Occasionally, slaves from neighboring plantations would be invited to participate, which provided an opportunity to socially mix with outsiders. Some corn shucking events evolved into dances and, thus, opportunities to meet other slaves (Schwartz 2000). In addition, corn shucking was important to all involved because it prepared the corn that sustained the plantation food stores for people and livestock.

Singing while shucking corn lifted spirits and kept slaves on task. The lyrics of one old slave corn shucking song were:

> Massa in the great house, counting his money,
> Oh, shuck that corn and throw it in the barn.
> Mistis in the parlor, eating bread and honey,
> Oh, shuck that corn and throw it in the barn. [Genovese 1974: 318]

James V. Deane (MD) provided an account of corn shucking and singing on his plantation:

> At corn shucking all the slaves from other plantations would come to the barn, the fiddler would sit on top of the highest barrel of corn, and play all kinds of songs, a barrel of cider, jug of whiskey, one man to dish out a drink of liquor each hour, cider when wanted. We had supper at twelve, roast pig for everybody, apple sauce, hominy, and corn bread. We went back to shucking. The carts from other farms would be there to

Illustrating a scene from Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, this c. 1852 woodcut engraved by Whitney, Jocelyn, & Annin from a sketch by Felix O. C. Darley (1822–1888) presents slaves singing in chorus while shucking corn. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62–30849.

> haul it to the corn crib, dance would start after the corn was stored, we danced until daybreak.

Rev. Squire Dowd (NC) recalled the gaiety during corn shucking time and the sometime blurring of the normal lines of distinction in the work relationship between slave and overseer:

> We had a big time at cornshuckings. We had plenty of good things to eat, and plenty of whiskey and brandy to drink. These shuckings were held at night we had e good time, and I never saw a fight at a cornshucking in my life. If we could catch the master after the shucking was over, we put him in a chair, we darkies, and toted him around and hollered, carried him into the parlor, set him down, and combed his hair.

Henry Green (AR) also gave a sense of the festive nature of corn shucking, while also noting that there was a lot of work involved:

> Dey used ter hab dem big corn shuckin's too in de old days. De corn wud be piled up in er pile es big es er house en all de han's wud be scattered out roun' dat pile er corn shuckin' fas' as dey cud, en atter dey done shucked dat pile er corn, ole marster wud hab two big hogs kilt en cooked up in de big pots en kittles, en den dem niggers wud eat en frolic fer de longes', mekin music wid er hand saw en er tin pen, en er dancin', en laffin, en cuttin' up, till dey tired out. Dem was good days, Boss Man. I sho wish dat I cud call dem times bak ergin.

Competition among individuals and groups of slaves was encouraged and characterized many of the corn shucking events. Prizes were often awarded to those who shucked the most corn, as noted by Bob Young (SC):

> At the many corn-shuckings and cotton pickings there were frolics or dances by the young folks, with suppers and whiskey. Prizes were given for the ones shucking the most corn.

Polly Shine (TX) also described how her owner manipulated his slaves by providing incentives to get them to shuck faster and be more productive:

> Well Maser would let us negroes have corn-shucking there once and awhile as a get together for the slaves. He would invite all slaves for miles around as we shucked the corn, shelled and sacked it, that is the way Maser sold his corn. He would get plenty of corn shelled as we put what we shelled in a different sack, and the one that shucked and shelled the most corn he would give him some kind of present, and that would make the negro work that much harder to win that present as well as talk and have a good time laughing and taking on.

Hog Killing Time

Hog killing time, which was typically held in the fall at the first frost, was an important time of year on the plantation (Phillips 1966). Owners waited until the cooler months of the fall or even as late as January to slaughter their hogs to keep meat from spoiling (Jewett and Allen 2004). Hog killing was the time of year when most of the meat that was used throughout the rest of the year was slaughtered and put into the smokehouse. Large numbers of hogs were processed at this time. Because ice for food storage was a rarity, it was crucial that a quick, efficient, and productive process was in place to prepare adequate quantities of meat and to avoid spoilage. Virtual assembly lines were set up; both owners and slaves had an interest in seeing that this was successful because meat processed during this time fed all plantation residents.

After all of the hogs were prepared, owners and slaves would celebrate with a big feast and frolic, frequently together. Plantation owners, as with other celebrations, provided extra food to slaves during hog killing time. On some plantations, slaves were given parts, such as spare ribs, chitterlings, sausage, and backbones (Flanders 1933; King 1995). Hog shoulders, sides, hams, and lard were saved, but other parts, such as internal organs, were consumed immediately by slaves (Phillips 1966). Anna Peek (GA) provided a graphic account of what happened at hog killing time on her plantation:

> Big iron pots and heavy tables were moved out doors; darkies were everywhere because they knew when it was all over they would have a big treat. Some scrubbed wooden tables and the hand sausage mill, some were put to crushing rock salt—everyone took a hand in the hog killing time, even the smaller darkies, they trotted back to and from the rock furnace with baskets of chips and arm loads of wood.
>
> They would take the hog, plunge it head first into the scalding water of the big iron pot, quickly swing it over, catch the front legs, dip the other end in, throw it over on a low platform. Others with a long knife or old blades from the scythe held in both hands

> quickly scraped off all the steaming bristles, one would split the hind leg of each hog and slipped a seasoned hickory stick under the strong sinews to hold the leg apart. Then up went the hog, to hang from a strong bar, fastened between two trees. Aunt Anna would take the pig tails and roast the tiny sweet morsels in the ashes and have a grand feast.

Annie Huff (GA) also told of how hog killing occurred on her plantation:

> At hog killing time, huge containers of water were heated in the yard. When it reached the desired temperature, the hogs were driven to a certain spot where they were struck a hard blow on the head. When they fell, they were stuck with a very sharp knife, then scalded in the boiling water. The hair and dirt were then scrubbed off and they were a pretty light color as they hung from a rack to he dressed. When the work was completed, the guests cooked chitterlings and made barbecue to be served with the usual ginger cake and persimmon beer. They then dressed in their colorful "Sunday" garments, dyed with maple and dogwood bark, to engage in promenades, cotillions, etc., to the time of a quill instrument.

Henry Barnes (AL), born in 1858, remembered:

> Sometimes I wishes dat I could be back to de ol' place, 'cuz us did have plenty to eat, an' at hog-killin' time us had mor'n a plenty. Ole Marster kill eight or ten set-down hawgs at one time, an' de meat, an' de lard an' de haw jowl an' de chitlin's–mm-mmm, I kin see 'em now.
>
> What a set-down hawg? Hit's a hawg what done et so much corn he got so fat dat he feets can't hol' him up an' he jes set on he hin' quarters an' grunts an' eats an' eats an' grunts, 'til dey knock him in de head.

Finally, Glascow Norwood (MS) described hog killing time on his plantation:

> I liked de bustle ob hog killing time where dey would hab big fires a burning 'round de pots to heat de water to scald de hogs. After dey was scraped dey was strung up to be dressed, dey would be long rows ob 'em. Den dey would be put on long tables under de trees and cut up. De meat den was hung in smoke houses and smoked.

Independence Day

The Fourth of July, or Independence Day, was celebrated on many plantations. However, Frederick Douglass held disdain for the Fourth of July since the principles of freedom and justice embodied in the Declaration of Independence were not extended to slaves. In his famous speech to a Rochester, New York audience on July 5, 1852, he said, "This Fourth of July is *yours*, not *mine*. You may rejoice, I must mourn."

Henry Bland (GA) recalled that slaves did not have to work on the Fourth of July: "Besides these days when no work was required, there was the Fourth of July and Christmas on which the slaves were permitted to do as they pleased." Outdoor barbecues appear to have been a common venue for the events. Ike Thomas (GA) referred to a barbecue on the Fourth: "Before the war the negroes had a big celebration on the 4th of July, a big barbecue, ball game, wrestling matches, lots of music and

singing." Josh Horn (AL) gave one account of the Fourth of July celebration on his plantation:

> We's having a barbecue on de fo'th of July and us wants you to come down to it, if Alice gits along well, and I's gwine tell you 'bout Rod and Big John, and John Graverson when dey runned away and about how old man Jim Devers, Alice's step-pa, hid em in de cave under he house whar dey had as nice hams as I ever et, co'se a little tainted, but sho was good. Dem niggers was fat as beavers, jes' settin' dar eatin' dat meat.

Virginia Harris (MS) spoke of a joint effort by neighboring plantations that took two days to prepare:

> On the 4th of July, a big barbecue was held. Weeks before hand preparations for it was started. All three places got together, for it, but they didn't have no outsiders. The crops was laid by, by the 4th, so we didn't have nothing to study about but having a good time. When corn shucking time came we had another big party. A prize was gived to whosoever shucked the most corn. Sometime the prize would be a quart of whiskey, and sometime two or three dollars. When shucking was over, we had cake and candy to eat. There was a gang of children on them places. They had a good time playing their games, same as children do now. There was songs they sang with their ring games. I didn't joint that, 'cause I never could sing, not even when I is off to myself.

Frolics

Southerners used the term "frolic" to represent parties, dances, and otherwise fun occasions. Typically, frolics involved feasts, dancing, and often drinking alcohol. Food was a big part of frolics. For example, Temple Wilson (MS) recalled that food was plentiful: "Sometimes dey would cook up a heap o' good grub an' dance an' frolic a bit, but if it was during de hard wuking parts ob de year, an' dat was mos' all de time, den dey jes went on wid out de frolicing part." Sarah Benton (AL) also spoke favorably of frolics:

> All us had good dances en frolics on Sadday nights, Mr. Pat Moore used ter watch too, us had ter wurk on Saddays jest de same as eny other day, nother good frolic us had wus on Xmas and hav parties en dances and my, de times uf dem cornshuckings, nother sech hollering and drinking, as yer ever seed.

Mary Jane Simmons (GA) responded to the question of whether she had engaged in frolics and then was asked to describe them:

> The only frolics I remember were the quilting parties held when the crops were laid by for the women and the log rollings held for the men. These were always held at the same house, for then the woman would take the dinner and the men would work all day rolling logs and after dinner was served, the women would quilt.

Frolics, similar to corn shucking and other events, were opportunities for slaves from different plantations to get together socially. Chris Franklin (TX) told how slaves could, with a pass, attend frolics at other plantations:

> De slaves used to have balls and frolics in dey cabins. But iffen dey go to de frolic on 'nother plantation dey git de pass.

Some ex-slaves felt that they did not have time for frolics. Henry Brown (SC) noted that, because rations were meager, "Men didn't have time to frolic 'cause they had to fin' food for the fembly; master never give 'nough to las' the whole week."

Log Rolling

When logs were harvested in areas of the South where logging was common, celebrations would sometimes result. The narrative of Carrie Hudson (GA) described log rolling:

> Logrollin's was de most fun of all. De men and 'omans would roll dem logs and sing and dey give 'em plenty of good eats, and whiskey by de kegs, at logrollin's. De Marsters, dey planned de cornshuckin's, and cotton pickin's, and logrollin's and pervided de eats and liquor, but de quiltin' parties b'longed to de slaves. Dey 'ranged 'em deir own selfs and done deir own 'vitin' and fixed up deir own eats, but most of de Marsters would let 'em have a little somepin' extra lak brown sugar or 'lasses and some liquor.

Another reference to log rolling was provided by Frank Gill (AL), who stated:

> Talking 'bout log rollin', dem was great times, 'ca'se if some ob de neighborin' plantations wanted to get up a house, dey would invite all de slaves, men and women, to come wid dere masters. De women would help wid de cookin' an' you may be shore dey had something to cook. Dey would kill a cow, or three or four hogs, and den hab peas, cabbage, an' everything lack grows on de farm. An' if dere was any meat or food lef' dey would gib dat to de slaves to take home, an' jes' b'fore dark de o'seer or Ol' Marster would gib de slaves all de whiskey dey wanted to drink. Sometimes atter de days work, dey would hab a frolic, such as dancin', an' ol' time games.

Cynthia Erwing (AL) recalled how slaves from other plantations came together for log rolling:

> The slaves on one plantation always did all the work, except at log rolling time, then the neighboring plantations would come or send all their slaves to help. Then the Marster would have plenty to eat.

Quilting

Quilts were an important part of pioneer life, including in the South. Women who were slaves would gather in similar fashion as other pioneer white women and make quilts to be used on the plantation or sold. These social gatherings were sometimes accompanied by small celebrations, some of which typically involved food and drink. For example, Laura Thornton (AR) recalled:

> Folks would give quiltings. They don't think about quilting now. They would quilt out a quilt and dance the rest of the night. They would have a big supper at the quilting. Nice time too. They would kill a hog and barbeque it. They would cook chicken. Have plenty of whiskey too. Some folks would get drunk. That was whiskey them days.

Dellie Lewis (AL) noted that whites and slaves quilted together and a big supper for all would follow:

> Us had quilting bee's wid de white folks, an' iffen a white gent'man thowed a quilt ober a white lady he was 'titled to a kiss an' a hug 'um her. Atter de celebratin' we all had a big supper.

Cora Gillam (AR) likened a quilting to a party similar to the types whites had:

> The colored folks had parties as well as the white folks. On our place, the slaves had a regular band: fiddler, banjo player, tamborine player. They played any kind of song. They would play for the dances. The folks would give quiltings and after they got through, they would eat. They served heavily. Lord: the people would make cakes and wine and most any kind of eating—pies, potato and pumpkin. They could always fix up a nice dinner because they raised stuff on their farms. In those days, people made what they called float—they used eggs and milk. It was a kind of boiled custard. In winter, they would beat up eggs and milk and snow together and call it ice cream.

Mary Wright (KY) portrayed quilting as a major event with music, dancing, and plenty of food:

> I remember wen we uster hev big time quilting on dem days we she had a big time fore we start in de morning wid a qater melon feast, den weuns quilt erwhile den a big dinner war spread out den after dinner we'd quilt in the evening den supper and a big dance dat night, wid de banjo a humming an us niggers a dancing, "Oh, Lawdy wat good days dem war."

Saturday Nights

In addition to celebrations, on many plantations, Saturday nights were times when some slaves were permitted to have time off from work and celebrate. Saturday night dances or parties were allowed on many plantations for those who wanted to have them. Owners even provided whiskey and extra food for these Saturday occasions. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, it was basically illegal for slaves to drink or dance on the plantation, except for Christmas or funerals, without the planter's permission (Stuckey 1987). Therefore, from that point until slavery ended, slave celebrations needed the owner's approval or they went underground.

Bert Strong (TX) spoke of Saturday nights on his plantation: "My old Master give the chil'ren a candy pulling every Saturday night and had them wrestling and knocking each other about." He then added, "The big fo'ks had dances and parties." Anne Rice (SC) also remembered good times on Saturdays: "On Saturday afternoons we had frolics, sometimes frolics 'till Sunday daylight, then sleep all day Sunday."

Weddings

Weddings were often a time of rejoicing on the plantations, both for the owners' families and for slaves. Weddings could be big feasts for all of the attendees, sometimes including slaves. The level of slave participation in plantation weddings ranged from total involvement to only servitude. For some white weddings, slaves were allowed

to participate in the event and eat whatever they wanted. Other weddings were segregated affairs where whites and slaves did not commingle but kept to themselves.

A few of the ex-slaves described their experiences at weddings in the narratives. The narrative of Charlie Hudson (GA) is an example of a white wedding where it is unclear whether he and other slaves were permitted to share in the foods they had prepared:

> Whenever any of our white folks' gals got married dere was two or three weeks of celebratin'. What a time us did have if it was one of our own little misses gittin' married! When de day 'rived, it was somepin' else. De white folks was dressed up to beat de band, and all de slaves was up on deir toes to do evvything jus' right and to see all dey could. Atter de preacher done finished his words to de young couple, den dey had de sho' 'nough weddin' feast. Dere was all sorts of meat to choose f'um at weddin' dinners—turkeys, geese, chickens, peafowls, and guineas, not to mention good old ham and other meats.

Georgia Telfair (GA) described her wedding and the foods present:

> Us got married in de new kitchen an' it was plum full, 'cause ma had done axed 76 folkses to de weddin'. Some or 'em was Joe's folkses, an' us had eight waiters: four gals, an' four boys. De same Preacher Brown what baptized me, married us an' den us had a big supper. My Missus, Lula Weir, had done baked a great big pretty cake for me an' it tasted jus' as good as it looked. Atter us at all us could, one or de waiters called de sets for us to dance de res' of de night. An' sich dancin' as us did have! Folkses don't know how to dance dat good no mo'. Dat was sho' nurf happy dancin'. Yes Ma'am, I ain't nebber gonna forgit what a gran' weddin' us had.

Upton Neal (GA) recalled when his sister was married:

> When my sister got married, us sho did have a grand time. Us cooked a pig whole wid a shiny red apple in its mouth and set it right in de middle of de long table what us had built out in de yard. Us had evvything good to go wid dat pig, and atter dat supper, us danced all night long. My sister never had seed dat man but one time 'fore she married him.

Maggie (Bunny) Bond (AR) shared memories of her wedding and some of the foods present:

> Miss Laila made my cake. She wanted my gold band ring to go in it. I wouldn't let her have it for that. Not my ring! She put a dime in it. Miss Maggie Barrow and Mrs. Maggie Hatcher made two baskets full of maple biscuits for my wedding. They was the best cake. Made in big layers and cut and iced. Two laundry baskets full to the brim.

Impact of the Civil War on Plantation Foodways

Just as celebrations provided a break from routine plantation life, the Civil War also impacted these routines. There is little question that the war had a major impact on the southern economy and corresponding foods available to both whites and slaves. Whereas celebrations and special events added, albeit meagerly, to the slaves' diets, the Civil War took a major toll on the availability of many foodstuffs. The

Confederacy entered into the war without much thought as to how it would feed its civilian population, let alone its troops and slaves. A number of factors influenced the availability of food, such as the Union coastal blockade, which limited shipping and thus food imports in the South. The blockade also severely hindered exports of cotton and other commodities from the South, which crippled the Confederacy and its ability to be recognized as a sovereign by foreign nations. Furthermore, the armies on both sides plundered local food sources and reserves whenever they could. Smokehouses, corn cribs, fields, and livestock were all raided to support troops. To make matters worse, some southern planters became reluctant to devote their efforts to more food production. The scarcity of food supplies during the war led to inflated food prices. For example, Williams (2005) reported that butter rose from twelve cents a pound at the beginning of the war to over a dollar at the end. Corn that was two dollars a bushel in 1863 was fourteen dollars by 1865. Bacon increased from twelve cents a pound to four dollars at the end of the war.

Slaves were not the only ones touched by the war. Inflation hit the families and widows of Confederate soldiers particularly hard (Taylor 1982). Prisoners of war on both sides, especially Union soldiers in Confederate camps, suffered the most. Some individual regions were hit particularly hard by the war. For example, African Americans, and some whites as well, who had migrated to southwestern Georgia toward the end of the Civil War literally starved to death for the lack of food (Mohr 1986).

Slaves suffered increasingly as the war progressed and experienced less and less meat in their diets. Frank Magwood of South Carolina recalled in his narrative that, "Where Sherman's army stopped and ate and fed their horses the Negroes went and picked up the grains of corn they strowed there and parched and ate them."

However, Booker T. Washington believed that whites suffered more than slaves during the war. He suggested that slaves were so accustomed to corn and pork and little else that when coffee, sugar, tea, and other foods became scarce, they were relatively unaffected by such shortages compared with southern whites (Washington 1901: 10).

There is evidence that southern meat supplies during the Civil War were decimated. A case on point is Sherman's march to the sea, where his troops laid waste to everything in their path from Atlanta to Savannah. But there is also evidence that the loss of livestock, draft animals, and corresponding meat supplies may not have been as significant to slaves as once thought. Ransom and Sutch (1975) could not find much evidence that southern agriculture and meat supplies were that significantly reduced during and following the war. They point to the fact that the South recovered rapidly following the war, even with the emancipation of the slaves.

African American women cooked for soldiers on both sides during the Civil War. For example, even though she received Union rations, to avoid suspicion, Harriet Tubman worked at night making pies, gingerbread, and root beer to sell (Forbes 1998). Military rations were so bad that soldiers on both sides welcomed the culinary talents of free and enslaved African American women. Forbes (1998) wrote that a captured Union soldier shared his experiences of buying apple and blueberry turnover pies from African American vendors. Selling food on the side was a common practice among slaves during the war.

Slaves would sometimes become involved in a sort of "black market" of stealing and selling food for war deserters. Although a boy during the Civil War, former slave Rev. Squire Dowd (NC) recalled:

> The darkies also stole for deserters during the war. They paid us for it. I ate what I stole, such as sugar. I was not big enough to steal for the deserters. I was a house boy. I stole honey. I did not know I was free until five years after the war.

Demands for food and salt by the Confederate Army during the war severely impacted the food supplies of southern society, including slaves (Mohr 1986). The decline in the availability of salt had severe implications for the South because salt was critical for the preservation of pork and other meats that were used to feed soldiers. After the Union destruction of the salt mining operations on Avery Island, Louisiana, in 1863, southerners were restricted to salt licks, evaporation of sea water, and other inadequate sources of salt.

Many of the narratives make reference to the war, Yankee and Confederate soldiers, and how the war affected slave food supplies. It is evident that regardless of whether they were Union or Confederate, the day the soldiers arrived created lasting memories on the plantation owners and workers and generally in a negative way with respect to food. Many of the WPA respondents had vivid recollections of the specific day the Yankees came. Many of these recollections included references to food, including cooking, pilfering, wasting, destroying, stealing, and plundering. Some of the respondents remembered being left without any food. Henry Warfield (MS) provided an account of how tough things were on his plantation during the war:

> Henry says his "eatings were scarce in those days prior to July 4, 1862. We et mule meat, saltless pone bread, and drunk coffee made of oak and hickory bark without sugar. Often we et raw meat, hogs, calves, or anything that we could plunder and get and raw meat makes men mean. I have seen men after eating raw meat pick up little children and shove dem gin a tree and bust em into. We used to plunder and take things from men, but de Southern soldiers wouldn't harm a chicken belonging to a 'widow woman' but would often steal things and take to her."

Charley Roberts (FL) commented on feeding troops during the war:

> We have to milk the cows and carry the milk to the Confederate soldiers quartered near us. At that time, I can 'member of the soldiers comin' 'cross the Savannah River. They would go to the plantations and take all the cows, hogs, sheep, or horses they wanted and "stack" their guns and stay around some places and kill some of the stock, or use the milk and sat corn and all the food they wanted as they needed it. They'd take quilts and just anything they needed.

The day the Yankees came created fear in many slaves because they had been told how terrible northerners were by their owners and overseers. Southern propaganda demonized the Yankees as devils and evil beings that would harm and perhaps even defile them. Richard Franklin (OK) thought the Yankees would kill him: "I went back home for I thought the Yankees would kill me, because my master told me that the Yankees were bad people." Jennie Small (OH) acknowledged that, "We were always taught to fear the Yankees." Some slaves, such as Chane Littlejohn (NC), thought Yankees actually had blue bellies. James Gill (AR) had been told of how Yankees had horns and how he was surprised to discover they did not:

> But de Yankees, dey didn' know dat we was Confedrits, dey jus' reckon we like most all de res' of de niggers. Us was skeered of dem Yankees though 'cause us chillun cose didn'

> know what dey was and de oberseer, Jim Lynch, dey done tole us little uns dat a Yankee was somepin what had one great big horn on he haid and just one eye and dat right in de middle of he breast and, boss, I sure was s'prized when I seen a sure 'nough Yankee and see he was a man just like any er de res' of de folks.

Henry Barnes (AL) recalled:

> Den, I 'members atter I growed up dey tell 'bout how de Yankees comin' here an' how dey pester de white folks an' de niggers, too. Broke in dey smoke-houses, burn 'em up an' t'row t'ings away an' lef' nobody nuttin' to eat. I don't 'member dat 'cuz I was too li'l.

Steve Jones (TX) described how he feared Yankees as they approached his plantation:

> I'se member one day when I was with Maser feeding the mules we was going to a place out close to Chattnooga and we heard the canons roaring. Maser says: did I'se knows what that racket was—and I'se says no. He say that is them blue bellies coming after you, that's what they called them Yankees. I'se so scared he couldn't get me way from his coat-tail. When the Civil War ended I'se in Richmond, Virgina, when Vicksburg surrendered. The day we is sot free it was bout 8 o'clock in the morning. Maser told my papa we could go anywhere where now we wants to go cause we is freed.

Margaret Hughes (SC) told of how she was scared but her aunt was not:

> When I used to hear de older niggers talking 'bout de Yankees coming, I was scared, 'cause I thought it was some kind of animal they was talking 'bout. My old aunty was glad to hear 'bout de Yankees coning. She just set and talk 'bout what a good time we was going to have after de Yankees come. She'd say; 'Child we going to have such a good time a settin' at de white folks table, a eating off de white folks table, and a rocking in de big rocking chair.'

Minnie Hollomon (AR) shared how her plantation was plundered for food by Federal troops:

> I heard auntie talk about the soldiers come and make them cook up everything they had and et it up faster 'en it took 'er to fix it ready for 'em to guttle down. Dems her very words. They took the last barrel or flour and the last scrap er meat they had outen the smokehouse.

Sally Nealy (AR) shared a similar experience: "When the Yankee soldiers come through old mistress run and hide in the cellar but the Yankees went down in the cellar too and took all the hams and honey and brandied peaches she had." Ann May (MS) gave a flavor of the times and how some were left with little to eat:

> When the Yankees came to the white folks houses they killed all the hogs, chickens, cows and carried away all the flour, sugar and left us mighty little to eat. They carried off the fine horses too. Mistress would not talk sassy to them because she was afraid they would burn her house. They did burn some white folks houses.

The Yankees were not necessarily always respectful of or concerned with the well-being of the slaves they were liberating. In fact, some Union troops engaged in shameful behavior using food to demean slaves. Tiney Shaw (NC) was only a

child when Yankee soldiers came through the plantation where he lived, and when interviewed, he recalled the humiliation both he and his mother suffered at the hands of the Federals as they tried to help feed the soldiers:

> Me an' my mammy was sittin' by de fireplace when de Yankees come. I crawled under de wash bench but de Yankee officer drug me out an' he sez, 'Go fetch me a dozen aigs, an' I wants a dozen now, mind yo'.
>
> I looked till I found twelve aigs an' I started ter de house wid 'em, but bein' so excited I drapped one uv dem an' cracked it. I was sceered stiff now sho' nuff, an' I runned inter de back do' an' crawled under de bed. De officer seed me do' an' he cracks his whup an' makes me come out den he sez, 'Nigger what's dat out dar in dat barrel in de hallway?
>
> I sez, 'Lasses sir', an' he sez 'draw me some in dis cup.' "I draws 'bout a half a cupful an' he sez, 'Nigger dat ain't no 'lasses,' an' he cracks his whup ag'in. "I den draws de cup full as it could be an' he tells me ter drunk it. "I drinks dat whole cupful uf 'lasses 'fore he'll lemmie 'lone. Den I runs back ter my mammy. "Atter awhile de Yankee comes back an' sticks his haid in de do' an' he 'lows, 'ole woman, yo' 'lasses am leakin'.
>
> Sho' nuff it was leakin' an' had run all down de hall an' out in de yard, but he done pull de stopper out fer meanness so he could laff at mammy when she waded through dat 'lasses. Dey laffs an' laffs while she go steppin' down through de 'lasses lak a turkey walkin' on cockleburs.

Dilly Yellady (NC) said, "Yes, de Yankees freed us but dey lef' nuthin' for us to live on." Mrs. Mary Wood (VA) recalled how the Yankees also treated slave children in the following account: "Yankees search cellars; rolled all 'lasses barrels out and poured hit all out on de ground and called all de little slave nigger chillum to lick 'lasses off de dirty ground." Josie Martin (AR) described how an elderly couple lost their hog to the Yankee troops:

> I used to run from the Yankees. I've seen them go in droves along the road. They found old colored couple, went out, took their hog and made them barbecue it. They drove up a stob, nailed a piece to a tree and stacked their guns. They rested around till everything was ready.

Concealing food from the Yankees was critical for some, and slaves and their owners both did what they could to keep troops from finding stashes of food. For example, Callie Gray (MS) described how she and others were able to hide their turkeys:

> The Yankees stole the corn and wheat and drove off the horses and mules and killed the hogs and sheep, and took all the chickens, but we sho saved the turkeys. We could hear the Yankees coming, and we dropped corn under a old house and when the turkeys all wus under the house, we nailed planks 'round the bottom. Then we swept away all the tracks. Yes, we sho saved the turkeys. I remember seeing 'em kill a hog, cut off his head and split him open down the middle, then they took out his intrels and dropped him in a tole sack and carried it off.

Gabe Emanuel (MS) remembered stealing back food from the Yankees:

> I 'member one time de Yankees camp right in de front yard. Dey took all de meat we done had in de curin' house, out to de camp. Well suh! I done decide by myse'f dat no Yankee gwine eat us meat. So dat night I slips in dey camp an' stole back dat meat from dem

> thievin' sojers an' hid it, good. Dem men was sho' plenty mad de nex' mornin'—Ho! Ho! Ho! Dey never did fin' dat meat.

Not all interaction between Union soldiers and slaves ended negatively. The other basic scenario in the narratives was that during their plundering, some Yankee troops would share their takings with the slaves. For example, Sarah Harris (NC) remembered, "I can see how de chickens and guineas flew and run from 'em." She then added, "De Yankees killed 'em and give part of 'em to the colored folks." Jim Treat (OK) recalled Yankees distributing food to slaves but also destroying much of it:

> The next morning after the Yankees camped at our house the captain put me and my brother on a horse and told us to go show him where old man Kelso lived. When we got there the old man was setting in the yard in the shade and the cap'n ordered his men to go to the smokehouse and bust it open. You never saw the like of fine meat. He divided it out among the slaves. There must have been at least a thousand pounds of flour they busted the ends out of the barrels and just scattered it all over the place. Next they emptied three hogsheads of lard. There was about twenty barrels of New Orleans molasses, they split the barrels and let the syrup all spill. You never saw such a mess of flour, lard and syrup. They got on their horses and went on their way and old man Kelso didn't say a word.

Obviously much has been written over the years about all aspects of the Civil War and its effects on the country. In terms of the narrower construct of this book, it needs only be said that the war created great hardship for whites and blacks alike in terms of food, goods, and supplies available in the South. We have briefly discussed who was hurt more by these shortages, but across the South, the shortages combined with the political tensions between the North and South during the war gradually began to change forever the relationship between whites and blacks and, in particular, how food was produced and consumed in the southern economy.

12

CLOSING OBSERVATIONS

Numerous scholars have documented the ways African culture thrived despite the repression of slavery and strongly influenced the dominant white culture of the plantation South (Blassingame 1979; Genovese 1974; Patterson 1982; Rawick 1972). For example, John Blassingame's book *The Slave Community* (1979) concluded that slaves gained great strength and mental independence from their own community. Many of the findings contained in this book are consistent with observations by previous authors. Besides meeting their need for nourishment, food served as a focal point for social relations at many levels within the slave community. Often, food was an avenue by which slaves exercised choice and control over their lives, by making recipes, preferences, and foodways distinctly their own, despite the constraints of slavery. In a similar vein, Edelson (2006: 67) wrote, "Making food, eating food, and expressing preferences about it were arenas in which the enslaved controlled the character of their material lives." Food, he observed, was a mechanism for expressing humanity under the most trying circumstances of slavery.

Charles W. Joyner (1984) echoed a similar conclusion that food played a role in slave culture well above and beyond mere subsistence. He noted that food had enormous importance to slaves culturally in what foods they selected to eat and how it was prepared. The choices slaves made regarding their food and its preparation were critical to their sense of identity.

Food preparation and consumption brought slaves together and helped solidify group identity and their sense of membership and community. They gathered to share whatever food they had, a tradition that continues today both in the African American community and society at large. The narratives reveal not only the recollections of the injustices of slavery relative to food, such as rationing, but also fond memories of meals together and of favorite foods. These foods have survived the test of time and continue to find their way onto tables throughout much of the world.

Final Notes on the Narratives and Food

It is evident from the narratives that slaves were not content to rely on what rations their owners provided. They supplemented rations of domestic meat, mostly pork, with wild game, including deer, raccoon, opossums, rabbits, turtles, squirrels, turkeys, and other game. They fished southern lakes, streams, and ponds for catfish, herring, and other fish. They took to the woods and rivers, beaches, and seas to hunt, gather, fish, run down, and trap what they could to supplement their meat rations. Archaeological evidence and testimonies from the narratives indicate that virtually any wild animal was considered food with few exceptions.

The narratives also confirm that slaves on many plantations supplemented their rations of corn with a variety of vegetables cultivated from their own family gardens, which produced a whole host of fruits and vegetables including lettuce, black-eyed peas, cucumbers, various varieties of beans, radishes, beets, various greens, sweet potatoes, pumpkin, onions, carrots, asparagus, artichokes, squash, okra, peanuts, cabbage, and melons.

Owners were all over the spectrum regarding the control they exercised over their slaves' efforts at self-determination in the quantity and quality of food they obtained. Some owners openly encouraged their slaves to find alternative food sources to help them cut costs, even going so far as to loan their dogs and even their guns or accompany their slaves into the wild to hunt. However, owners also placed restrictions on when the slaves could hunt, trap, or fish. They permitted slaves to hunt and fish only after their work was done in the fields or on non-workdays.

At the same time, other owners were less gracious and controlled their slaves by prohibiting them from hunting or fishing. Economic advantage aside, they barred them from carrying weapons, such as guns, to pursue game. There was a general discomfort among owners in having their slaves be familiar with the use of weapons and guns. But the control went beyond weapons, as some owners prohibited their slaves from fishing as well. To control the food supply was to control the slaves. The more dependent slaves were on the owner for their food, the more control and power the owner had over them.

The same went for the slave vegetable gardens, which also posed a dilemma for white plantation society. On the one hand, owners wanted to minimize their operating expenses, including the provisioning of slaves, and the slave-owned gardens certainly reduced operating costs and contributed to a better nourished and, hence, more productive slave workforce. Some owners also believed slave gardens reduced the pilfering risk to plantation food supplies and kept slaves occupied in their gardens rather than in unconventional activities such as running away or committing crimes. To the owners, slaves laboring in their gardens kept them out of mischief during their free time. Finally, some owners even found it beneficial to purchase produce from their own slaves, presumably out of convenience or lower cost.

However, there was also a downside to owners of having slaves maintain successful gardens and the enterprise thereof. Those slaves with productive gardens became less dependent on the owners' meager rations. Remember, for owners, rations were an important source of socioeconomic control over slaves. Rationing reaffirmed the social order of plantation society and the lower status held by African Americans. Slave gardens and, for that matter, slave economic enterprises posed a real threat to social control. But where they existed, the personal gardens were important sources of nutrition and self-assertion for slaves.

Evolution in Diet from African to African American

At this point, it would be helpful to briefly review a quasi-chronology of how the diet and foodways of Africans evolved from the beginning of slavery through the Civil War, focusing as we have throughout the book on the changes that occurred for African Americans in the United States.

The African diet prior to the fourteenth-century arrival of European explorers was mostly vegetarian, and meat was used sparingly, usually to flavor vegetable and grain-based one-pot meals. Various grains such as rice, millet, or sorghum were commonly used by Africans, and their native foods included legumes, yams, watermelon, pumpkin, okra, leafy greens, and nuts and seeds. Overall, it was a simple but healthful diet and one that was satisfying to native Africans.

Changes to the diet of newly enslaved Africans began almost immediately on the miserable Middle Passage voyages across the Atlantic. Slaves were generally fed little, and many suffered from malnutrition during the crossing because they were not provided a balanced diet. Deficiencies of vitamins D and C were common, leading to diet-related illnesses such as scurvy and rickets.

In the early years of slave introduction to the North American colonies, African slaves had a healthier diet than their owners, who ate mostly fatty foods with little or no vegetables and lots of sweets and alcohol. At this time, slaves subsisted on mostly vegetarian meals of legumes, grains, vegetables, and greens—meals that were not greatly different than what they were accustomed to in Africa.

As decades passed and slavery, which at first was an uncertain combination of forced labor and indentured servitude, became more institutionalized and codified into law, slave diets and foodways changed once again. Rationing from owners to slaves of cornmeal and pork or dried fish became a way of life. Fresh vegetables that were available in Africa gave way to foods thrown away by the occupants of the big house. Tops of turnips, beets, and dandelions were added to collards, and new types of greens such as kale, cress, mustard, and pokeweed began to appear in slave diets.

In just a few decades after the Spanish introduced pigs to the Caribbean and later to North America, pork became readily available to slaves because many plantation owners raised hogs. In a short time, lard and skin cracklins' from the hog began to flavor vegetables and breads consumed by slaves. As part of the social strata, slaves were left to consume what whites did not want, and it was at this time that hog parts such as pig's feet, ham hocks, chitterlings, pig ears, jowl, tripe, and cracklin' became part of the slave diet.

The slave diet further evolved when slaves came into plantation houses to serve as cooks for the masters and their families. With a variety of new ingredients at their fingertips and a well-tuned African sense toward spices, slave cooks began to make delicious meals that were enjoyed by both whites and slaves. Fried chicken began to appear on tables along with sweet potatoes, which had replaced the African yam. Slave cooks turned regional fruits like apples, peaches, and berries into puddings and pies. Opossum, although not a favorite of whites, was certainly a meat of choice among slaves, and some of the cooking techniques learned in the big house were applied to opossum in the slave cabins.

As slaves became the primary cooks in the big house, not only their diets changed, but their masters' diets changed as well. Mary Tolford Wilson (1964) concluded that the slave-owning class peacefully integrated slave foods such as okra, cowpeas, peanuts, and sesame seeds into their foodways.

When slaves were first emancipated, the African American diet changed little at first. Many former slaves took jobs as sharecroppers, and their diets once again depended on foods provided by another. As sharecroppers, however, African Americans often had more time to hunt and fish and grow gardens than they did as slaves to supplement their diets.

To this day, we all experience the rich history of slave cooking and food. In recent times, there has been a popularization of traditional foods known to slaves by giving it names such as "soul food" (Joyner 1971), although to be clear, the term "soul food" did not appear until the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. Prior to that and even today, many refer to "soul food" and southern food as interchangeable terms. "Soul food" does preserve some of the original foods known to Africans and slaves (Zanger 2003), including foods derived from corn, pork, squash, beans, pumpkin, sweet potatoes, and various greens, and sweet drinks.

Charles Joyner (1971: 172) wrote, "slave food obviously had a great impact, an impact which suggests where one of these cracks in the 'closed system' of slavery might have been as well as why food of this type is revered today as a symbol of racial identity." He concluded that it would be wrong to romanticize the recollections of foodways for those living under the cloak of slavery. Joyner noted that slaves had very little to say about what they ate, but when they mention food in the narratives, they often recall the foods they ate with fondness. Food provided them with a vehicle of self-expression and independence from the dominant plantation owners, and it represented the essence of the slaves' struggle for control and survival.

Health Consequences of Traditional Southern Food

As has been noted, Africans arrived in North America with simple cultural ways and preferences in diet that were quite healthy and nourishing. The diet of most West Africans was high in vegetables, greens, and grains, and meat and fats were used sparingly. Salt was used mostly as a preservative, not necessarily to season food. Sweets and alcohol were uncommon.

Not long after their descent into slavery, the diet of African Americans began changing in marked and what today would be considered unhealthful ways, and these changes have endured for many to the present. From the earliest colonial times, slaves were introduced to food sources much different than their native ones and, as a result of the adaptability called for in those times, became not only tolerant of new foods but quite accustomed to them, so much so that they came to enjoy many of their new foodways.

Meat became a much greater influence in the diet, particularly pork. Slaves received the fattier, less desirable cuts of the hog, while their owners took the leaner parts for themselves. Pork fat in the form of "fatback," salt pork, or streak-o-lean became necessary ingredients as seasoning in vegetables or stewing of greens or beans. Organ meats high in cholesterol such as liver, kidneys, brains, and chitterling became commonplace at the slave table and later as "soul food" favorites.

Salt, when it was available, became much more than a preservative for slaves; it became a way to season and make more palatable the less desirable cuts of meat and the wild game and fish available to them.

Cane sugar and sweeteners made from syrups of cane and sorghum molasses and honey became acquired and relished tastes of slaves when they were available. During the Antebellum period, slaves in the hot and humid fields of the South became

accustomed to high amounts of sugar in teas and lemonades. Dr. Tony L. Whitehead, professor of medical anthropology at the University of Maryland, in his 1992 article "In Search of Soul Food and Meaning: Culture, Food and Health," posits that foods high in salt and fat, such as dried beef and pork and pork smoked in salt brine, and highly sugared foods and drink were favored by slaves not only for taste, but also out of biological and physiological necessity to adapt to long hours of work in the plantation fields. Sugar provided a source of quick energy crucial to otherwise poorly fed slave workers, and it is believed that fat and salt contributed to the ability to sustain long hours in the fields.

Today many public health experts across the United States have published findings linking a variety of chronic illnesses for which African Americans are at higher risk than other ethnic groups to lifestyles that, among other things, include eating the much-loved traditional southern foods dripping in pork fat and loaded with salt and sugar. It has been estimated that hypertension affects one out of three African Americans in the United States, putting them at 60 percent greater risk of death and disability from stroke and heart disease than non–African Americans, according to the *Black Women's Health Book*, edited by Evelyn C. White (1994). Diabetes and coronary artery disease are among other diet-related illnesses that afflict African Americans with greater prevalence than others. Given a history of unhealthy foods available to slaves and to their ancestors in the years following emancipation, the biggest challenge for African American cooks today, as stated by Whit (2007: 55), is as follows: "The most serious creative nutritional work remaining for today's African Americans is decreasing the high fat content of traditional soul food."

Traditional southern food evolved from a time when blacks and whites alike were up at dawn and worked long hours at hard labor. African Americans today, like many others, ride in cars or buses, sit at desks all day, and get little if any exercise. One of the cornerstones of the black influence on cooking dating back to Africa has been creativity, especially with the use of herbs and spices. There are some authors now, such as Jessica B. Harris, who are writing books celebrating the heritage of African American cooking and foodways with recipes that transform many southern dishes into more healthful meals by using polyunsaturated vegetable oils in place of bacon drippings and herbs and spices so that less salt can be used.

Closing Comment

Eating and the nutrition it provides is one of the most basic behaviors necessary for survival. What we eat and how much affect how we feel. Food should make us feel good, and eating should be a pleasurable experience. A great number of complex factors come into play to influence eating, including cultural, evolutionary, social, family, and individual factors, even though, for a majority of us, it is the most natural and least concerning thing we do every day to survive. Not so for slaves.

Slavery imposed a great deal of hardship and disruption onto the lives of millions of individuals in countless ways, but one of the most basic and pervasive deprivations it caused was the way in which it altered the fundamental behavior of eating for everyone caught in its web.

In this book, we have described the changes in diet that began almost immediately when Africans were taken into slavery. We have discussed the nutritional requirements for hard working hands in the field and the control issues of food rationing asserted by whites over their slaves. Given the demands of laboring long hours in

extreme heat and humidity, often inadequate amounts of food provided, imbalanced diets in terms of nutrition, and the lack of empowerment to control what was happening with their diets, it is all the more remarkable that slaves survived in this environment. And yet in some cases, as testament to the human spirit, the narratives suggest that they even thrived by adapting to new foods, sometimes made from the poorest quality ingredients, and by clinging to a sense of family and community by sharing at least one meal a day together.

It is for us to appreciate the millions of hardworking Africans turned slaves who became African Americans and who not only survived one of the worst social injustices of humankind, but also left us a legacy of one of the most varied and inspired foodways of the world.

APPENDICES

FOODS IDENTIFIED IN THE WPA NARRATIVES

These appendices identify foods that were mentioned by WPA respondents during their interviews. Each table shows the type of food, state where the respondent was interviewed, and the name of the respondent. Respondents identified these foods in their interviews as items that they ate or had access to by virtue of working on the plantation. The foods they identified as being specifically for the plantation owners are not included in these appendices. It would have been inaccurate to assume that slaves would have eaten all of the foods available on the plantation, as some were reserved for the exclusive use of whites. As complete as these appendices are, they do not reflect all of the foods consumed by slaves nor do they indicate how frequently they were eaten by slaves.

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Appendix A

VEGETABLES

Vegetables (Unspecified)

AL: Stephen Varner; *AR:* T.W. Cotton, G.W. Hawkins, Mose King, Claiborne Moss, Amanda Ross; *FL:* Rivana Boynton, Rev. Young Winston Davis, Sam and Louisa Everett, Willis Williams; *GA:* Celestia Avery Henry Bland, Della Briscoe, Mariah Calloway, Barry Clay, Cody Pierce, Julia Cole, Mose Davis, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), George Eason, Callie Elder, Martha Everette, Alice Green, David Goodman Gullins, Dosia Harris, Amanda Jackson, Julia Brown, Jennie Kendricks, George Lewis, Amanda Mcdaniel, Matilda Mckinney, Richard Orford, Anna Peek, Annie Price, Beverly Pullin, Easter Reed, Shade Richards, Aunt Farebe Rogers, Julia Rush, Robert Shepherd, Mary Jane Simmons, Georgia Smith, Nellie Smith, Cordelia Thomas, Phil Town, Green Willbanks, Olin Williams, George Womble, Henry Wright, Dink Walton Young; *IN:* Susan Smith; *KY:* Dan Bogie, Will Oats; *MD:* James V. Deane, Annie Young Henson, Rev. Silas Jackson, Mary Moriah, Anne Susanna James, Richard Macks; *MN:* Laura Thompson; *MS:* Julia Cox, Louis Davis, Lucy Donald, Simon Durr, Frank Hughes, Abe Kelley, Ruben Laird, Mark Oliver, Joe Rollins, Mattie Stenston, Lorena Thomas, Callie Washington, Lincoln Watkins, Steve Weathersby, Polly Turner Cancer; *NC:* Willie Cozart, Anna Wright; *OH:* Henry Bedford, Florence Lee; *OK:* Joe Bean, Eliza Bell, Ed Butler, Polly Colbert, Eliza Evans, Lizzie Farmer, Octavia George, Mattie Hardman, Mattie Logan, Amanda Oliver, Salomon Oliver, Red Richardson, Sweetie Ivery Wagoner, Tom Woods, Annie Young; *SC:* Anne Bell, Samuel Boulware, Henry Brown, C.B. Burton, Laura Caldwell, John N. Davenport, Janie Gallman, Simon Gallman, Fred James; *TX:* Frank L. Adams, Stearlin Arnwine,

Lizzie Atkins, Lou Austin, Henry Baker, Harriet Barnett, Sarah Benjamin, Charlotte Beverly, Betty Bormer, William Branch, Donaville Broussard, Fred Brown, Cato Carter, Henry Childers, Harriet Collins, Jake Compton, Campbell Davis, Tob Davis, Mollie Dawson, J.H. Day, John Day, Jake Desso, George Earle, Louis Evans, John Finnely, Louis Fowler, Jim Franklin, Mattie Gilmore, Andrew Goodman, Lucendy Griffen, Mandy Hadnot, James Hayes, Phoebe Henderson, Nellie Hill, Bill Homer, Mary Homer, Scott Hooper, Alice Houston, Anna Humphrey, William Irving, Carter J. Jackson, James Jackson, John James, Joseph James, Lydia Jefferson, Thomas Johns, Lewis Jones, Lizzie Jones, Lottie Jones, Martha Jones, Sam Kilgore, Richard Kimmons, Silvia King, Anna Lee, Walter Leggett, John Love, Eva Martin, Isaac Martin, Louise Mathews, John Mcadams, Ann Mickey, A.M. Moore, William Moore, Mandy Morrow, John Mosley, Calvin Moye, Hannah Mullins, Florence Napier, Bell Nelson, Joe Oliver, James Polk, Melinda Pollard, Henry Probasco, Jenny Proctor, Andrew Pullen, Eda Rains, Joe Rawls, Elsie Reece, Walter Rimm, George Rivers, Mariah Robinson, Ransom Rosborough, Charlie Sandles, Dorsey Scott, George Selman, Polly Shine, Betty Simmons, George Simmons, Ike Simpson, Amos Sims, James W. Smith, Millie Ann Smith, Tucker Smith, Patsy Southwell, Leithan Spinks, Guy Stewart, Mollie Taylor, Jake Terriell, Allen Thomas, Penny Thompson, Sam Jones Washington, Emma Watson, Alice Wilkins, Lou Williams, Millie Williams, Rose Williams, Soul Williams, Stephen Williams, Wayman Williams, Willie Williams, Emma Countee Wilson, Mary A. Wilson, Robert Wilson, Caroline Wright, Virginia Yarbrough, Teshan Young

Artichokes — *SC:* Violet Guntharpe

Beans (Unspecified) — *AL:* Delia Garlie; *AR:* Cornelia Ishmon; *FL:* Claude Augusta Wilson; *GA:* James Bolton, Easter Brown, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Robert Henry, John Hill, John F. Van Hook, Julia Larken, George Lewis, Shade Richards, Robert Shepherd, Nancy Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Telfair, Boudry (no last name); *IN:* Edna Boysaw, Adeline Rose Lennox, Rosaline Rogers; *KY:* Annie B. Boyd; *MS:* Tilda Johnson, Mandy Jones; *MO:* Tishey Taylor; *NC:* Aunt Betty Cofer, Essex Henry, Fannie Moore, Julius Nelson, R.S. Taylor; *OH:* Ben Brown, James Campbell, Jefferson Cole; *OK:* Eliza Evans, Octavia George, Hal Hutson, Mattie Logan, Red Richardson, Betty Robertson, Mollie Watson; *SC:* Millie Barber, Phillip Evans, John Franklin, Silas Glenn, Jim Henry, William Oliver, Med Walker, Charlie Watson; *TX:* Stearlin Arnwine, Darcus Barnett, William Branch, Alice Cole, Hattie Cole, Ed Domino, Mattie Gilmore, Albert Hill, Rosina Hoard, Scott Hooper, Lizzie Hughes, Anna Humphrey, Moses Hursey, Susan Merritt, Anna Miller, Vina Moore, Calvin Moye, Isom Norris, Daniel Phillips, Betty Powers, George Sells, Millie Ann Smith, Leithan Spinks, Millie Williams, Rose Williams, Emma Countee Wilson, Teshan Young

Beans (Dried)	*OK:* Polly Colbert, Lucinda Vann
Beans (Parched for coffee)	*TX:* Gus Johnson
Beans (Snap)	*NC:* Anna Wright; *OK:* Lizzie Farmer; *TX:* Lucinda Elder
Bean Soup	*AR:* G.W. Hawkins; *FL:* Charley Roberts; *OK:* Hal Hutson
Beets	*AR:* Millie Evans; *GA:* James Bolton; *SC:* Isiah Jeffries; *TX:* Daniel Phillips
Black-Eyed Peas	See Cowpeas
Butter Beans	*AR:* Lizzie Hawkins; *GA:* Georgia Baker; *MS:* Chaney Mack, Adaline Montgomery, Sarah Thomas
Cabbage	*AL:* Carrie Davis, Frank Gill; *AR:* Jennie Worely Gibson, Henry Kirk Miller, Caspar Rumple, Anna Washington; *FL:* Ambrose Douglass; *GA:* James Bolton, Easter Brown, Susan Castle, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Carrie Hudson, Lina Hunter, Alice Hutchesom, Georgia Johnson, Ed Mccree, Alec Pope, Will Sheets, Nancy Smith, Emma Virgel; *IN:* Harriet Cheatam, Lulu Scott, George Thomas; *KY:* Dan Bogie, Bert Mayfield; *MS:* Julius Jones, Mandy Jones, John Matthews; *MO:* Letha Taylor Meeks; *NC:* Julius Nelson, Anna Wright; *OH:* Ben Brown, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison; *OK:* Sina Banks, Jefferson Cole, Eliza Evans, Lizzie Farmer; *SC:* Gordon Bluford, Laura Caldwell, Silas Glenn, Gable Locklier, Walter Long, Amelia Barnett; *TX:* Charlotte Beverly, Gus Bradshaw, Martha Spence Bunton, John Crawford, Lizzie Hughes, Calvin Kennard, Calvin Moye, Virginia Newman, Will Parker, Daniel Phillips, A.C. Pruitt, Joe Rawls, Abram Sells, John Sheed
Cabbage (Boiled)	*TX:* Lizzie Hughes
Cabbage (In fish stew)	*SC:* Ophelia Jemison
Cabbage (Sourkraut; sauer kraut)	*IN:* Lulu Scott; *OH:* Florence Lee; *TX:* Lizzie Jones
Cabbage (Whitehead)	*GA:* John F. Van Hook
Cane Root	*SC:* Violet Guntharpe
Carrots	*IN:* Lulu Scott; *SC:* Isiah Jeffries; *TX:* Lucinda Elder, Will Parker
Collards	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Carrie Davis, Martin Graham, Frank Menefee, Sol Webb; *AR:* Rachel Harris, Hannah Hancock, Thomas Ruffin, Mollie Hardy Scott; *FL:* Willis Dukes, Duncan Gaines, Claude Augusta Wilson; *GA:* James Bolton, Easter Brown, Bryant Buff, Minnie Davis, Dosia Harris, Bill Heard, Jefferson Franklin Henry, John Hill, Charlie Hudson, Alice Hutchesom, Georgia Johnson,

Julia Larken, Ed Mccree, William Mcwhorter, Alec Pope, Will Sheets, Robert Shepherd, Robert Shepherd, Nancy Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Telfair, Addie Vinson, Emma Virgel; *MS:* Charlie Davenport, John Matthews, Aunt Jane Morgan, Ben Richardson, Joe Rollins, William Wheeler; *MO:* Letha Taylor Meeks; *NC:* Hannah Crasson, Roberta Manson, Julius Nelson, Anna Wright; *OK:* Sina Banks, Polly Colbert, Eliza Evans, Mollie Watson; *SC:* Frank Adamson, Charley Barber, Millie Barber, Josephine Bristow, Caleb Craig, Simon Gallman, Silas Glenn, Aunt Ellen Godfrey, Charlie Grant, Madison Griffin, Gable Locklier, William Oliver, Sam Rawls, Dan Smith, Jessie Sparrow, Med Walker, Pauline Worth; *TX:* Harrison Boyd, Jeff Calhoun, Julia Frances Daniels, Katie Daniels, Will Parker, Louvinia Young Pleasant, Joe Rawls, John Sneed, Aleck Trimble, Wash Wilson

Corn

AR: Betty Curlett, William L. Dunwoody, Mrs. Lou Fergusson, Henry Green, Rachel Harris, Rachel Hankins, G.W. Hawkins, Rebecca Brown Hill, Elizabeth Hines, Minnie Hollomon, Warren Mckinney, Emaline Meland, Mary Mitchell, Rev. Frank T. Boone, Milton Ritchie, Mollie Hardy Scott, Aunt Clara Walker; *FL:* Josephine Anderson, Samuel Simeon Andrews, Rivana Boynton, Douglas Parish, Thomas Shack, Claude Augusta Wilson; *GA:* Easter Brown, Willis Cofer, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Elisha Doc Garey, Heard Griffin, John Hill, Lina Hunter, Alice Hutchesom, Frances Kimbrouch, Julia Larken, Alec Pope, Shade Richards, Aunt Farebe Rogers, Will Sheets, Robert Shepherd, Nancy Smith, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Telfair, Cordelia Thomas, Emma Virgel, John Watts, George Womble, Dink Walton Young, Boudry (no last name); *IN:* Patsy Jane Bland, Adeline Rose Lennox, George Thomas; *KS:* Bill Simms; *KY:* Annie B. Boyd; *MD:* Mary Moriah, Anne Susanna James, Phillip Johnson; *MS:* Albert Cox, Pet Franks, Callie Gray, Virginia Harris, Lewis Jefferson, Mandy Jones, Victoria Randle Lawson, Harriet Miller, Lizzie Norfleet, Joe Rollins, Smith Simmons, Benjamin Whitley Smith, Elmo Steele, Lincoln Watkins, Mollie Williams; *MO:* Minksie (Minksy) Walker; *NC:* Joe High, Chane Littlejohn, Frank Magwood; *OH:* James Campbell; *OK:* Sina Banks, Prince Bee, Ed Butler, Polly Colbert, Jefferson Cole, Martha Cunningham, Lucinda Davis, Johnson Thompson, Annie Young; *SC:* William Ballard, Henry Brown, C.B. Burton, Gus Feaster, John Franklin, John Glover, Adeline Grey, Madison Griffin, Violet Guntharpe, Zack Herndon, Tom Johnson, Cabe Lance, Sam Mitchell, Betty Robertson, Sam Polite, Joe Rutherford, Sabe Rutledge, Prince Smith, Mary Smith, George Woods; *TX:* Andy J. Anderson, Amelia Barnett, Darcus Barnett, Harriet Barnett, Minerva Bendy, Ellen Betts, Olivier Blanchard, Charley Bowen, Harrison Boyd, William Branch, Clara Brim, Donaville Broussard, Steve Brown, Madison Bruin, Ellen Butler, Dave L. Byrd, Simp Campbell, Jack Cauthern, Clara Chappel, Henry Childers, Alice Cole, Jake

Compton, Valmar Cormier, Uill Daily, Julia Frances Daniels, Carey Davenport, Tob Davis, Carey Davkhport, Mollie Dawson, J.H. Day, John Day, Lucinda Elder, Louis Evans, John Finnely, Louis Fowler, Pauline Grice, Josh Hadnot, Alice Harwell, Sarah Hatley, James Hayes, Phoebe Henderson, Lee Hobby, Bill Homer, Lizzie Hughes, Anna Humphrey, Bettie White Irby, William Irving, Hannah Jameson, Zeno John, Thomas Johns, Anderson Jones, Martha Jones, Sam Kilgore, Ben Kinchlow, Nancy King, Lu Lee, Hagar Lewis, Henry Lewis, Lucy Lewis, Sue Lockridge, John Majors, Isaac Martin, Louise Mathews, John Mcadams, John McCoy, Harriett Millett, Tom Mills, Florence Napier, Jonny Bibles, Mary Nickerson, George Owens, Henry Owens, Will Parker, Jessie Pauls, Henderson Perkins, Daniel Phillips, Melinda Pollard, Tillie R. Powers, Lafayyette Price, Henry Probasco, Jenny Proctor, Robert Prout, A.C. Pruitt, Mary Reynolds, Walter Rimm, George Rivers, Aaron Russel, Peter Ryas, Felix Grundy Sadler, Charlie Sandles, Clarrissa Scales, Dorsey Scott, Betty Simmons, Ben Simpson, Emma Simpson, William Stone, Yach Stringfellow, Emma Taylor, Rebecca Thomas, William M. Thomas, Valmar Cormier and Mary Moses, Winger Vanhook, Charlie Webb, Adeline White, Sylvester Sostan Wickliffe, Horatio W. Williams, Wayman Williams, Willie Williams, Emma Countee Wilson, Lulu Wilson, President Wilson, Sarah Wilson, Ruben Woods, Caroline Wright; *VA:* Mary Jane Wilson

Corn (Boiled) — *GA:* John Hill

Corn (Cakes) — *IN:* Rosaline Rogers; *TX:* Dennis Grant

Corn (Dodger) — *IN:* Patsy Jane Bland; *OK:* Phyllis Petite; *TX:* Gus Johnson, Ben Kinchlow

Corn (Dried) — *IN:* George Thomas; *OH:* Florence Lee

Corn (Dumpling) — *GA:* Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Dink Walton Young

Corn (Fritters) — *TX:* Silvia King

Corn (Made into hominy also known as grits or skinned corn) — *AL:* Adeline Hodge; *AR:* Betty Curlett, Hammett Dell, Hannah Hancock, Taylor Jackson, Mose King, Mollie Hardy Scott, Mark C. Trotter, John Williams; *FL:* Josephine Anderson; *GA:* Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), George Eason, Elisha Doc Garey, Charlie Hudson, John F. Van Hook, George Lewis, Annie Price, Dink Walton Young; *MD:* James V. Deane; *MN:* No Name Given; *MS:* John Belcher, Sarah Thomas, Callie Washington; *NC:* Julius Nelson, Aunt Betty Cofer, Cy Hart; *OK:* Phyllis Petite, Harriett Robinson, Sweetie Ivery Wagoner; *SC:* Frank Adamson, William Ballard, Maggie Black, Josephine Bristow, Charlie Davis, Sylvia Durant, Gus Feaster, John Glover, Fannie Griffin, Ben Horry, Hester Hunter, Sena Moore, Anna Moore, Sallie Paul, Sabe Rutledge, Jessie Sparrow, Med Walker; *TX:* Agatha Babino, Bill and Ellen Thomas, Harriet Chesley, Josephine Tippit Compton, John

	Crawford, Willis Easter, Mary Kincheon Edwards, Pauline Grice, Lizzie Hughes, Carter J. Jackson, Joseph James, Jim Johnson, Pinkie Kelley, Tom Mills, John Moore, Ellen Polk, Walter Rion, Mariah Robinson, Ransom Rosborough, Bill and Ellen Thomas
Corn (Parched for coffee or to be eaten)	*FL:* Matilda Brooks, Patience Campbell, Rev. Squires Jackson, Margrett Nickerson, Douglas Parish, Salena Taswell, Claude Augusta Wilson; *GA:* George Eason, Heard Griffin, Bill Heard, Lina Hunter, George Womble, Henry Wright; *MD:* Mary Moriah, Anne Susanna James; *MS:* Jeff Rayford, Hamp Simmons, Julia Stubbs, William Wheeler; *NC:* Tempie Herndon Durham; *OK:* Easter Wells; *TX:* Richard Carruthers, Pauline Grice, Alice Harwell, William Mathews, Martha Patton, Alice Wilkins, Rube Witt
Corn (Popped)	*AR:* Ida Rigley, Caspar Rumple, Mollie Hardy Scott; *GA:* Minnie Davis; *MS:* Isaac Stier; *NC:* Henrietta McCullers; *OK:* James Southall; *SC:* Isiah Jeffries, Jackson Speers; *TX:* Josephine Tippit Compton, Ben Kinchlow, Sarah Wilson
Corn (Roasted)	*MS:* Shadrach Cyrus, Charlie Davenport; *SC:* Isiah Jeffries, Ed Mccrorey; *TX:* Della Mun Bibles, Martha Spence Bunton, Handy Hadnot, Mandy Hadnot, Mary Ellen Johnson, Joe Oliver, Will Parker, Walter Rimm, Walter Rion
Corn (Skinned)	*OK:* Phyllis Petite
Tom-budha (Green corn and meat seasoned with tongue, pepper grass)	*OK:* Polly Colbert
Tom-fuller (similar to hominy)	*OK:* Polly Colbert
Tom Pashofa (Indian dish of ground corn cooked with pork or beef)	*OK:* Kiziah Love
Cornmeal	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Ester Green, Adeline Hodge, Annie Stanton, Cull Taylor, George Taylor, Callie Williams; *AR:* Norman Burkes, Ella Daniels, Ella Daniels, Willie Doyle, Millie Evans, Happy Day Green, Henry Green, Rachel Hankins, Abbie Lindsay, Claiborne Moss, Louise Prayer, Doc Quinn, Mrs. Dicey Thomas, Mark C. Trotter, Henry Kirk Miller, Frank A. Patterson, Caspar Rumple; *FL:* Ambrose Douglass, Josephine Anderson, Acie Thomas; *GA:* Celestia Avery, Della Briscoe, Henry Bland, James Bolton, Mariah Calloway, Ellen Calphell, Susan Castle, Barry Clay, Mose Davis, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), George Eason, Martha Everette, Isiah Green, Heard Griffin, Miltck

	Hammond, Robert Henry, Julia Brown, Matilda Mckinney, Hannah Murphy, Richard Orford, Anna Peek, Charlie Pye, Julia Rush, Nancy Settles, Rhodus Walton, George Womble, Henry Wright, Dink Walton Young; *IN:* Patsy Jane Bland, Edna Boysaw, Robert J. Cheatam, Solomon Hicks; *MD:* Rev. Silas Jackson, Mary Moriah Anne Susanna James; *MO:* Jame (Jane) Thompson; *MS:* Barney Alford, Levi Ashley, Gabe Butler, Tilda Johnson, Charlie Davenport, Simon Durr, Sarah Felder, Tom Hunley, Lewis Jefferson, Abe Kelley, Ruben Laird, Victoria Randle Lawson, Harriet Miller, Alex Montgomery, Jeff Rayford, Joe Rollins, Jane Sutton, Sarah Thomas, Lucy Thurston, William Wheeler, Ed Williams; *NC:* Charlie Crump, Julius Nelson, Anna Wright; *OK:* John Brown, Polly Colbert, Sam Jordan, Salomon Oliver, Lucinda Vann, John White; *SC:* William Ballard, Caleb Craig, Gus Feaster, Zack Herndon, Ben Horry, Lucinda Miller, Sabe Rutledge, Jackson Speers, Charlie Watson; Henry D. Jenkins, Maria Jenkins, Hector Smith, Prince Smith; *TN:* Mollie Moss; *TX:* Andy J. Anderson, Andy Anikeson, Stearlin Arnwine, Sarah Ashley, George Austin, Darcus Barnett, Harriet Barnett, Minerva Bendy, Sarah L. Johnson Berliner, Della Mun Bibles, Betty Bormer, Charley Bowen, Fred Brown, Steve Brown, Zek Brown, Sam Bush, Ellen Butler, Richard Carruthers, Jack Cauthern, Henry Childers, Jeptha Choice, Alice Cole, Charlie Cooper, John Finnely, Sam Forge, Orelia Alexie Franks, Rosanna Fraziek, Sarah Fuller, Scott Glen, Mary Glover, Andrew Goodman, Josh Hadnot, Albert Hill, Bill Homer, Mary Homer, Anna Humphrey, Charley Hurt, John James, Thomas Johns, Charley Johnson, Gus Johnson, Harry Johnson, Calvin Kennard, Mrs. Sam Kilgore, Richard Kimmons, Silvia King, Lavinia Lewis, Lucy Lewis, John Love, Anna Miller, Harriett Millett, Tom Mills, Bell Nelson, Virginia Newman, Horace Overstreet, Martha Patton, Ellen Polk, Ophelia Porter, Betty Powers, Tillie R. Powers, Joe Rawls, Elsie Reece, Walter Rimm, Walter Rion, Mariah Robinson, Ransom Rosborough, Peter Ryas, James W. Smith, Leithan Spinks, William Stone, Mollie Taylor, Penny Thompson, Irella Battle Walker, Ella Washington, Millie Williams, Rose Williams, Wash Wilson, Willis Winn, Ruben Woods, Virginia Yarbrough, Louis Young; *VA:* Elisabeth Sparks
Cornmeal/Coosh-Coosh (Made from mixing meal with water and then frying)	*TX:* Olivier Blanchard, Valmar Cormier, Olivies Elanchand, Alphonse Fields, Orelia Alexie Franks, Eva Martin, La San Mire, Martin Ruffin, Peter Ryas
Cornmeal Coffee (Made from parched corn/cornmeal)	*FL:* Rev. Young Winston Davis; *GA:* Richard Orford; *NC:* Clara Cotton McCoy, Anna Wright; *OH:* Hannah Davidson; *OK:* Lou Smith, Mollie Watson; *TX:* Katie Darling, George Earle, Sarah Ford, Millie Forward, Mattie Gilmore, Mary Glover, Catharine Green, James Jackson, Gus Johnson, Ben Kinchlow, Lavinia Lewis, Josephine Ryles

Cornmeal (Indian pudding)	*TX:* Silvia King
Cornmeal (Mush)	*AL:* Callie Williams; *AR:* Taylor Jackson, Henry Kirk Miller; *MO:* Jane Simpson; *MS:* Squire Irwin, Lizzie Williams; *OH:* James Campbell; *OK:* Octavia George, Sarah Lee, Harriett Robinson; *SC:* Phillip Evans, Gus Feaster, Manda Walker, Dan White; *TX:* Pauline Grice, John James, Abram Sells
Cornmeal (Parched)	*AR:* Abbie Lindsay
Cornmeal ("Pawn Hoss" made from cornmeal and bacon)	*IN:* Patsy Jane Bland
Cowpeas; also Black-eyed peas	*MS:* July Ann Halfen, Ben Richardson; *OK:* Morris Sheppard; *SC:* Gus Feaster, Maria Jenkins; *TX:* Harriet Collins, Mattie Gilmore, Harriet Jones, George Simmons, Willis Winn
Cucumbers	*GA:* Easter Brown
Gourds	*AL:* George Strickland
Greens	*AL:* Katy Brumby, Henry Barnes, Oliver Bell, Henry Cheatam, Chency Cross, Carrie Davis, Delia Garlie, Everett Ingram, Hannah Jones, Sally Murphy, General Jefferson Davis Nunn, Nicey Pugh, Eli Smith, George Strickland, Sol Webb, Callie Williams; *AR:* Betty Curlett, William L. Dunwoody, Millie Evans, Frank Fikes, Rachel Hankins, Cornelia Ishmon, Israel Jackson, Tines Kendricks, Louise Prayer, John Wells; *FL:* Rivana Boynton, Matilda Brooks, Patience Campbell, Ambrose Douglass, Margrett Nickerson, Douglas Parish; *GA:* Rachel Adams, Alec Bostwick, Susan Castle, Willis Cofer, Dosia Harris, Easter Huff, John F. Van Hook, Benjamin Johnson, Caroline Malloy, Tom Singleton, Melvin Smith, Georgia Telfair; *MS:* Aron Carter, Tilda Johnson, Ruben Fox, Pet Franks, July Ann Halfen, Squire Irwin, Turner Jacobs, Julius Jones, Mary Ann Kitchens, John Matthews, Abe Mcklennan, Harriet Miller, Charlie Moses, Hester Norton, Jeff Rayford, Smith Simmons, Adam Singleton, Rev. James Singleton, Adam Smith, Callie Washington, Ed Williams, Robert Young; *MO:* Hattie Matthews; *OH:* Hanna Fambro, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison; *OK:* Sam Anderson, Sallie Carder, Richardson Chaney, Henry Clay, Lucinda Davis, Morris Sheppard, Mollie Watson; *SC:* Millie Barber, Gus Feaster, Silas Glenn, John Glover, Charlie Robinson; *TX:* Henry Baker, Joe Barnes, Charley Bowen, Gus Bradshaw, John Crawford, Ed Domino, Archie Fennels, Mary Glover, Catharine Green, Ann Hawthorne, Jack and Rosa Maddox, Alex Jackson, Martha Jones, Dempsey Jordan, Sarah Lee, Lucy Lewis, Amos Lincoln, Susan Merritt, Vina Moore, Lee

	Pierce, A.C. Pruitt, Aaron Ray, Gill Ruffin, John Sheed, John Sneed, Fayette Stephens, Yach Stringfellow, Bert Strong, Willis Winn, Litt Young
Hash	*GA:* Estella Jones; *TX:* Tom Mills
Jambalaya	*TX:* Mary Donatto
Kale	*OK:* Jefferson Cole
Lettuce (Wild)	*TX:* John Sneed
Mustard	*OK:* Jefferson Cole; *TX:* Harriet Jones, Will Parker, John Sneed
Mustard (Wild)	*TX:* John Sheed
Okra	*AR:* Rachel Harris; *OK:* Prince Bee, Lizzie Farmer; *SC:* Phillip Evans, Silas Glenn; *TX:* Thomas Cole, Betty Coleman, Rosa Washington, Alice Wilkin
Okra (Coffee made from parched okra)	*GA:* George Eason, Bill Heard, Lina Hunter, Emma Hurley; *MS:* George Coleman, Jerry Eubanks; *OK:* Lou Smith; *SC:* Sara Brown; *TX:* Mary Kindred
Onion	*AR:* Katy Brumby, Zenia Culp, Tanny Hill, Amanda Ross; *GA:* James Bolton, Alice Hutchesom, Georgia Johnson, Julia Larken, Robert Shepherd, Nancy Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Telfair; *KY:* Annie B. Boyd; *MS:* Charlie Davenport; *MO:* Letha Taylor Meeks; *NC:* Charlie Crump; Julius Nelson, Anna Wright; *SC:* Gus Feaster, Sabe Rutledge, Jessie Sparrow; *TX:* Clara Chappel, Mary Donatto, Lucinda Elder, Ellen Nora Ford, Sarah Ford, Jack and Rosa Maddox, Calvin Moye, Mary Scranton, Wash Wilson
Onion (Tops)	*MS:* Lizzie Williams
Parsley	*TX:* Amos Lincoln
Parsnips	*IN:* Amanda Elizabeth Samuels
Peas	*AL:* Henry Cheatam, Delia Garlie, Angie Garrett, Frank Gill, Ester Green, Nicey Pugh; *AR:* Dina Beard, Adeline Blakeley, Maria Sutton Clemments, Alice Dixon, William L. Dunwoody, Millie Evans, Mrs. Lou Fergusson, Frank Fikes, Rachel Hankins, Rebecca Brown Hill, Tines Kendricks, Rev. Frank T. Boone, Caspar Rumple, John Wells; *FL:* Samuel Simeon Andrews, Matilda Brooks, Rev. Young Winston Davis, Willis Dukes, Margrett Nickerson, Douglas Parish; *GA:* Rachel Adams, James Bolton, Alec Bostwick, Bryant Buff, Willis Cofer, Benny Dillard, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Elisha Doc Garey, Dosia Harris, Jefferson Franklin Henry, John Hill, Easter Huff, Lina Hunter, Alice Hutchesom, Georgia Johnson, Frances Kimbrouch, Julia Larken, Ed Mccree, William Mcwhorter, Alec Pope, Aunt Farebe Rogers, Robert Shepherd, Tom Singleton, Georgia Smith, Melvin Smith, Nancy Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Telfair, Emma Virgel, Rhodus

	Walton, Green Willbanks, Green Willbanks, George Womble, Dink Walton Young; *IN:* Adeline Rose Lennox; *KY:* Annie B. Boyd; *MS:* Ebenezer Brown, Aron Carter, Albert Cox, Simon Hare, Orris Harris, Mandy Jones, Mary Ann Kitchens, Ruben Laird, John Matthews, Jeff Rayford, Smith Simmons, Ed Williams; *NC:* Hannah Crasson, Tempie Herndon Durham, Essex Henry, Joe High, Roberta Manson, Julius Nelson, R.S. Taylor; *OH:* Hanna Fambro, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison; *OK:* Sam Anderson, Polly Colbert, Jefferson Cole, Mattie Logan, Johnson Thompson, Lucinda Vann, Mollie Watson; *SC:* Millie Barber, Josephine Bristow, Henry Brown, Sylvia Cannon, Phillip Evans, Gus Feaster, John Glover, Aunt Ellen Godfrey, Charlie Grant, Madison Griffin, Jim Henry, Milton Marshall, Sena Moore, William Oliver, Sam Polite, Sam Rawls, Sabe Rutledge, Henry Ryan, Dan Smith, Jessie Sparrow, Charlie Watson; *TX:* Wash Armstrong, Darcus Barnett, Harrison Boyd, Clara Brim, Donaville Broussard, Harriet Chesley, John Crawford, Katie Darling, Mandy Hadnot, Rosina Hoard, Scott Hooper, Carolina Houston, Moses Hursey, Anna Humphrey, Bettie White Irby, Carter J. Jackson, Mrs. Thomas Johns, Steve Jones, Pinkie Kelley, Calvin Kennard, Andrew Moody, Peter Mitchell, Calvin Moye, Isom Norris, George Owens, Martha Patton, Daniel Phillips, Betty Powers, Robert Prout, Joe Rawls, Aaron Ray, Mary Reynolds, Felix Grundy Sadler, Abram Sells, George Sells, Betty Simmons, Ike Simpson, Millie Ann Smith, Leithan Spinks, William Stone, Bean Walker, Sol and Liza Walton, Adeline White, Horatio W. Williams, Millie Williams, Rose Williams, Rube Witt, Caroline Wright, Litt Young, Teshan Young
Pea (Cake)	*GA:* Robert Shepherd
Pepper Grass	*GA:* Rhodus Walton; *MS:* William Wheeler; *OK:* Polly Colbert
Pickles	*AR:* Rev. Frank T. Boone; *GA:* Caroline Malloy; *MS:* Callie Gray; *TN:* Mollie Moss; *TX:* Sam Forge
Poke (Greens or salad)	*AL:* Sally Murphy; *AR:* Jesse Meeks; *GA:* Ed Mccree, Liza Mention, Paul Smith, Rhodus Walton; *MS:* Albert Cox, Angie Floyd; *SC:* Gus Feaster, Jake Mcleod; Jessie Sparrow, *TX:* Ellen Betts, Sarah Fuller, Catharine Green, Will Parker, John Sheed, John Sneed
Pot Liquor/Licker (Made from a variety of vegetables)	*AL:* Henry Cheatam, Chency Cross, Everett Ingram, General Jefferson Davis Nunn, Eli Smith, George Strickland, Cull Taylor, Callie Williams; *AR:* Frank Cannon, Millie Evans, Frank Fikes, Jennie Worely Gibson, Henry Green, G.W. Hawkins, Cornelia Ishmon, Charlie Jones, Needham Love, Henry Kirk Miller, Griffin Myrax, Mary Kstes Peters, Thomas Ruffin, Henrietta, Evelina Smith, John Williams; *FL:* Rivana Boynton, Sam and Louisa Everett; *GA:* Rachel Adams, Henry Bland, Benny Dillard, Martha Everette, Miltck Hammond, Easter Huff, Mollie Malone,

Ed Mccree, Amanda Mcdaniel, Liza Mention, Charlie Pye, Robert Shepherd, Emmaline Sturgis, George Womble, Dink Walton Young, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Jennie Kendricks, Annie Price, Rhodus Walton, Henry Wright; *MS:* John Belcher, Aunt Becca, Harry Bridges, Albert Cox, Lucy Donald, Angie Floyd, Squire Irwin, Prince Johnson, Jim Martin, Harriet Miller, Alex Montgomery, Salem Powell, Ben Richardson, Adam Singleton, Wright Stapleton, Robert Weathersby, Chaney Moore Williams; *MO:* Hattie Matthews; *NC:* Joe High; Julius Nelson, Anna Wright; *OH:* Hanna Fambro, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison; *SC:* Gordon Bluford, Hector Godbold, Jim Henry, Charlie Robinson, Robert Toatley; *TX:* Stearlin Arnwine, Henry Baker, Joe Barnes, Steve Brown, Madison Bruin, Preely Coleman, Campbell Davis, Sarah Fuller, Mary Gaffney, Harriet Jones, Louise Mathews, Louvinia Young Pleasant, Betty Powers, Laura Ray, Abram Sells, George Sells, Ike Simpson, Leithan Spinks, Fayette Stephens, Bert Strong, Winger Vanhook, Willis Winn

Potatoes – "Taters" (Note: The use of the terms *potatoes* and *taters* could be references to "Irish" or sweet potatoes.)

AL: Henry Cheatam, Clara Davis, Ester Green, Joseph Holmes, Emma Jones, Sally Murphy, Nicey Pugh, Sol Webb, Annie Stanton; *AR:* Millie Evans, Laura House, Zenia Culp, Betty Curlett, Alice Dixon, William L. Dunwoody, Rachel Harris, Hannah Hancock, Rachel Hankins, Rebecca Brown Hill, Mose King, Mandy Lee, Evelina Morgan, Rev. Frank T. Boone, Thomas Ruffin, Edmond Smith, Anna Washington; *FL:* Josephine Anderson, Rivana Boynton, Matilda Brooks, Ambrose Douglass, Douglas Parish, Thomas Shack, Acie Thomas, Claude Augusta Wilson; *GA:* Rachel Adams, Easter Brown, Susan Castle, Willis Cofer, Minnie Davis, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Elisha Doc Garey, Toy Hawkins, Jefferson Franklin Henry, John Hill, Carrie Hudson, Easter Huff, Alice Hutchesom, Georgia Johnson, Julia Larken, Ed Mccree, Matilda Mckinney, William Mcwhorter, Alec Pope, Shade Richards, Aunt Farebe Rogers, Julia Rush, Will Sheets, Tom Singleton, Nancy Smith, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Telfair, Cordelia Thomas, Emma Virgel, Dink Walton Young; *IN:* George Thomas, Rev. Womble; *KY:* Annie B. Boyd, Bert Mayfield, Cora Torian, Barney Alford; *MS:* Levi Ashley, Gabe Butler, Gabe Butler, Ellen Gooden, Albert Cox, Juda Dantzler, Charlie Davenport, Ann Drake, Simon Durr, Manda Edmondson, Simon Hare, Fanny Smith Hodges, Lewis Jefferson, John Matthews, Abe Mcklennan, Alex Montgomery, Henry Murray, Adam Singleton, Rev. James Singleton, Elmo Steele, Callie Washington, Mollie Williams, Temple Wilson; *MO:* Letha Taylor Meeks, Tishey Taylor; *NC:* Tempie Herndon Durham, Essex Henry, Joe High, Clara Cotton McCoy, Richard C. Moring, Julius Nelson, Sarah Harris; *OH:* James Campbell, Thomas McMillan; *OK:* Sina Banks, Henry Clay, Polly Colbert, Ida Henry, Hal Hutson, Mattie Logan, Salomon Oliver, Betty Robertson, Sweetie Ivery Wagoner; *SC:* Charley Barber, Millie Barber, Caleb Craig, William Henry Davis,

	Caroline Farrow, John Franklin, John Glover, Aunt Ellen Godfrey, Agnes James, Isiah Jeffries, Ophelia Jemison, Sam Mitchell, Sam Rawls, Isom Roberts, Sabe Rutledge, Henry Ryan, Manda Walker, Med Walker; *TX:* Stearlin Arnwine, Sarah Ashley, Ellen Betts, Olivier Blanchard, Charley Bowen, Harrison Boyd, Jerry Boykins, Jacob Branch, Vinnie Brunson, Dave L. Byrd, Willaim Byrd, Clara Chappel, Hattie Cole, Charlie Cooper, John Crawford, Parilee Daniels, Carey Davenport, Tob Davis, Carey Davkhport, Lucinda Elder, Millie Forward, Chris Franklin, Dennis Grant, James Hayes, Alice Houston, Anna Humphrey, Bettie White Irby, Jack and Rosa Maddox, Alex Jackson, Taby Jones, Melea Malone, Lee Mcgillery, Rosie Mcgillery, Cassie Middleton, Isom Norris, George Owens, Betty Powers, Kitty Reece, Walter Rimm, Aaron Russell, Felix Grundy Sadler, Betty Simmons, Ike Simpson, Bert Strong, Emma Taylor, Valmar Cormier and Mary Moses, Bean Walker, Charlie Webb, Sylvester Sostan Wickliffe, Julia Williams, Soul Williams, Lulu Wilson, Sarah Wilson, Wash Wilson, Ruben Woods
Potato (Ash roasted)	*FL:* Acie Thomas; *GA:* GA Baker, John Hill, Julia Larken, Georgia Smith, Nancy Smith, Georgia Telfair, Cordelia Thomas, Upton Neal, Addie Vinson, Olin Williams; *IN:* Mary Emily Eaton Tate; *MS:* Joe Coney, Charlie Davenport, Angie Floyd, Charity Jones, Alex Montgomery, Tom Morris, Wright Stapleton, Robert Weathersby; *NC:* Anna Wright; *TX:* Della Mun Bibles, Abram Sells, Ike Simpson
Potato (Baked)	*SC:* Henry Brown, Aunt Ellen Godfrey; Allen Carthan; *TX:* John Crawford, Mollie Dawson
Potato (Custard)	*GA:* John Hill; *TX:* Millie Ann Smith
Potato (Dried or roasted as substitute for coffee)	*FL:* Samuel Simeon Andrews; *GA:* George Eason; *SC:* Jake Mcleod; *TX:* Martha Patton, Alice Wilkins
Potato (Fried)	*MS:* Charlie Davenport
Potato (Pudding)	*TX:* Mary Ellen Johnson
Potato—Irish	*OH:* Celia Henderson; *SC:* Phillip Evans, Gus Feaster; *TX:* Gabriel Gilbert, La San Mire, Calvin Moye, Louvinia Young Pleasant, Abram Sells, Winger Vanhook
Potato—Irish (Tops)	*SC:* George Briggs
Pumpkins	*AL:* Cull Taylor; *AR:* Rebecca Brown Hill; *GA:* Alice Hutchesom, Georgia Johnson; *MS:* Nettie Henry; *MO:* Letha Taylor Meeks, Jane Simpson; *NC:* Joe High; *SC:* Frank Adamson, Caleb Craig, Isiah Jeffries; *TX:* Olivier Blanchard, Charley Bowen, Harrison Boyd, Thomas Cole, John Crawford, Lizzie Hughes, Steve Jones,

	Amos Lincoln, Robert Prout, Peter Ryas, Ike Simpson, Sol and Liza Walton
Red Corn Cobs (Soda)	*AR:* Rachel Harris; *GA:* Benny Dillard, Bill Heard
Rutabagas	*GA:* Georgia Johnson; *SC:* Isiah Jeffries
Sassafras Tea	*MS:* Alice Shaw
Shallots	*SC:* Millie Barber
String Beans	*SC:* Ed Mccrorey; *TX:* William Branch
Squash	*OK:* Lizzie Farmer
Squash (Fried)	*MS:* Charlie Davenport
Squash (Wild)	*FL:* Thomas Shack; *GA:* Easter Brown, Paul Smith; *KY:* Bert Mayfield
Sweet Potatoes	*AL:* Adeline Hodge; *AR:* Dina Beard, Zenia Culp, William L. Dunwoody, Millie Evans, Fanny Finney, Hannah Hancock, Ben Hite, Ida Rigley, Edmond Smith, Mrs. Dicey Thomas, John Williams; *FL:* Duncan Gaines, Salena Taswell, Claude Augusta Wilson; *GA:* Georgia Baker, Alec Bostwick, Easter Brown, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Dosia Harris, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Easter Huff, Estella Jones, Frances Kimbrouch, Susan Mcintosh, Alec Pope, Nellie Smith, Eliza Williamson; *IN:* Patsy Jane Bland; *KY:* Bert Mayfield; *MS:* Della Buckley, Lucy Donald, Prince Johnson, Mandy Jones, Robert Laird, Ben Richardson, Isaac Stier, Sarah Thomas, Dave Walker, William Wheeler, Chaney Moore Williams; *MO:* Letha Taylor Meeks; *OH:* Wade Glenn, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison; *OK:* Prince Bee, Jefferson Cole, Lewis Jenkins, Mattie Logan, Red Richardson, Morris Sheppard; *SC:* Peter Clifton, Caroline Farrow, Gus Feaster, Adeline Grey, Fannie Griffin; *TX:* Frank L. Adams, Wash Armstrong, George Austin, Amelia Barnett, Charolette Beverly, Jacob Branch, Clara Brim, Henry Broadus, Fannie Brown, Sally Banks Chambers, Clara Chappel, Sally Banks Chaubers, Henry Childers, Jeptha Choice, Abraham Coker, Harriet Collins, Josephine Tippit Compton, Ed Domino, Alphonse Fields, Jim Franklin, Gabriel Gilbert, Mary Glover, Ann Hawthorne, James Hayes, Alice Houston, Bettie White Irby, Walter Leggett, La San Mire, Mary Nickerson, Isom Norris, Will Parker, Mary Ann Patterson, Andrew Pullen, Eda Rains, Joe Rawls, Abram Sells, John Sheed, Polly Shine, George Simmons, Samuel Smith, Jake Terriell, Allen Thomas, Fannie Tippin, Adeline White, Alice Wilkins, Horatio W. Williams, Lewis Williams, Wash Wilson, Fannie Yarbrough, Virginia Yarbrough; *VA:* Simon Stokes
Sweet Potato (Baked)	*AR:* Mollie Hardy Scott; *FL:* Randal Lee; *GA:* Alec Bostwick; *MS:* Salem Powell, Jeff Rayford; *NC:* Julius Nelson; *OK:* Francis Bridges, Mose Smith

Sweet Potato (Parched for coffee)	*AR:* Ida Rigley; *MS:* Jerry Eubanks; *OK:* Kiziah Love, Mollie Watson; *TX:* Alice Houston
Sweet Potato (Roasted)	*FL:* Sam and Louisa Everett, Duncan Gaines, Claude Augusta Wilson; *GA:* Georgia Johnson, Will Sheets, Green Willbanks; *OK:* Lizzie Farmer; *TX:* John Barker
Tomatoes	*AL:* Clara Davis; *AR:* Tanny Hill; *GA:* Easter Brown, Carrie Hudson, Easter Huff; *SC:* Cornelius Holmes; *TX:* Lucinda Elder, Mary Scranton, Carolien Wright
Tomato (Cooked with sugar)	*SC:* Cornelius Holmes
Tomato (With rice)	*GA:* Mary (no last name provided)
Turnips	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Chency Cross, George Strickland; *AR:* Millie Evans, Tines Kendricks; *GA:* James Bolton, Easter Brown, Toy Hawkins, Julia Larken, William Mcwhorter, Will Sheets, Tom Singleton, Nancy Smith, Addie Vinson; *IN:* George Thomas; *KY:* Annie B. Boyd; *MS:* Albert Cox; *MO:* Letha Taylor Meeks; *OH:* Rev. Perry Sid Jamison; *OK:* Sina Banks, Polly Colbert, Jefferson Cole, Mattie Logan, Mollie Watson; *SC:* Frank Adamson, Charley Barber, Millie Barber, Gordon Bluford, Laura Caldwell, Caleb Craig, Simon Gallman, Silas Glenn, Walter Long, William Oliver, Sam Rawls, Henry Ryan, Dan Smith, Med Walker, Charlie Watson; *TX:* Clara Chappel, Lucinda Elder, Phoebe Henderson, Lizzie Hughes, Isom Norris, Will Parker, Joe Rawls, Gill Ruffin, John Sheed, Ike Simpson
Turnip (Greens)	*AR:* Mary Mitchell, Mollie Hardy Scott; *GA:* Willis Cofer, Minnie Davis, John Hill, Carrie Hudson, Charlie Hudson, Ed Mccree, William Mcwhorter, Robert Shepherd, Nancy Smith, Georgia Telfair, Emma Virgel; *MS:* Tilda Johnson, Manda Edmondson, Sarah Thomas; *NC:* Anna Wright; *OH:* Rev. Perry Sid Jamison; *OK:* Phyllis Petite, Johnson Thompson; *SC:* Anderson Bates, Madison Griffin; *TX:* Harrison Boyd, Steve Brown, Katie Darling, Mary Glover, Harriet Jones, Lizzie Jones, Steve Jones, Will Parker, Abram Sells, Ike Simpson, Litt Young
Turnip (Liquor-liquid made from boiling turnips)	*AR:* G.W. Hawkins
Turnip (Salad)	*NC:* Essex Henry, Julius Nelson
Watercress	*TX:* John Sheed, John Sneed
Weeds	*TX:* Ben Simpson, Ike Simpson
Yams	*OH:* William Williams; *SC:* Louisa Davis; *TX:* Louvinia Young Pleasant

Appendix B

MEATS

Meat (Unspecified) *AL:* Carrie Davis, Angie Garrett, Ester Green, Nicey Pugh, Annie Stanton, George Taylor, William Henry Towns, Callie Williams; *AR:* Norman Burkes, Frank Cannon, Maria Sutton Clemments, T.W. Cotton, Alice Dixon, Willie Doyle, William L. Dunwoody, John Elliot, Millie Evans, Pauline Fakes, Mary Gaines, Henry Green, G.W. Hawkins, Elisa Hays, Minnie Hollomon, John Hunter, Ducy Key, Abbie Lindsay, Needham Love, Louis Lucas, Joe Mayes, Henry Kirk Miller, Evelina Morgan, Claiborne Moss, Claiborne Moss, Frank A. Patterson, Caspar Rumple, Mollie Hardy Scott, Mahalia Shores, Mrs. Dicey Thomas, Lura Thornton, Anna Washington; *FL:* Matilda Brooks, Patience Campbell, Charles Coates, Rev. Young Winston Davis, Cindy Kinsey, Acie Thomas; *GA:* Rachel Adams, Georgia Baker, Henry Bland, Alec Bostwick, Della Briscoe, Mariah Calloway, Ellen Calphell, Susan Castle, Barry Clay, Julia Cole, Martha Colquitt, Minnie Davis, Benny Dillard, George Eason, Elisha Doc Garey, Dosia Harris, Toy Hawkins, Carrie Hudson, Charlie Hudson, Easter Huff, Amanda Jackson, Benjamin Johnson, Manual Johnson, Julia Brown, Julia Larken, George Lewis, Matilda Mckinney, William Mcwhorter, Richard Orford, Alec Pope, Aunt Farebe Rogers, Cora Shepherd, Mary Jane Simmons, Tom Singleton, Addie Vinson, Rhodus Walton, John Watts, Olin Williams, Frances Willingham, George Womble, Henry Wright; *IN:* Robert J. Cheatam, Solomon Hicks, Rev. Womble; *MS:* Barney Alford, Jim Allen, Levi Ashley, John Belcher, Charlie Bell, James Brittian, Ebenezer Brown, Gabe Butler, Millie Young, Charlie Davenport, Louis Davis, Lucy Donald, Ann Drake, Gabe Emanuel, Sarah Felder, Pet

Franks, Henry Gibbs, July Ann Halfen, Orris Harris, Lewis Jefferson, Abe Kelley, Ruben Laird, James Lucas, Jim Martin, Harriet Miller, Jeff Rayford, Ben Richardson, Joe Rollins, Smith Simmons, Adam Smith, Elmo Steele, Lucy Thurston, Callie Washington, Robert Weathersby, William Wheeler, Anderson Williams, Chaney Moore Williams, Ed Williams, Robert Young; *NC:* Aunt Betty Cofer, Willie Cozart, Tempie Herndon Durham, Sarah Gudger, Essex Henry, Isaac Johnson, Patsy Mitchner, Julius Nelson, John Smith; *OH:* Ben Brown, Florence Lee, Richard Toler; *OK:* Sam Anderson, Joe Bean, Prince Bee, Ed Butler, Mattie Hardman, Sam Jordan, Jane Montgomery, Matilda Poe, Henry F. Pyles, Betty Robertson, Andrew Simms, Easter Wells, Tom Woods, Annie Young; *SC:* Frank Adamson, William Ballard, Henry Brown, Mary Frances Brown, Sara Brown, C.B. Burton, William Henry Davis, Washington Dozier, Caroline Farrow, Gus Feaster, Charlie Grant, Violet Guntharpe, Ben Horry, Hester Hunter, Maria Jenkins, Jane Johnson, Cabe Lance, Milton Marshall, Lucinda Miller, Sallie Paul, John Petty, Sam Polite, Hector Smith, Prince Smith, Jessie Sparrow, Manda Walker; *TX:* George Austin, Smith Austin, Henry Baker, Joe Barnes, Amelia Barnett, Darcus Barnett, Harriet Barnett, Edgar Bendy, Sarah Benjamin, Julia Blanks, Elvira Boles, Betty Bormer, Charley Bowen, Wes Brady, William Branch, Fred Brown, Martha Spence Bunton, Henry H. Butler, William Byrd, Jeff Calhoun, Simp Campbell, Jack Cauthern, Sally Banks Chambers, Sally Banks Chaubers, Amos Clark, Alice Cole, Thomas Cole, Steve Connally, Valmar Cormier, Jane Cotton, Tempie Cummins, Parilee Daniels, Mary Davis, Willaim Davis, Elige Davison, Bud Dixon, Mary Donatto, Fannie Mccullough Driver, Victor Duhon, Louis Fowler, Mary Glover, Catharine Green, Pauline Grice, Lucendy Griffen, James Grumbles, Josh Hadnot, Ann Hawthorne, Albert Hill, Tom Holland, Bill Homer, Mary Homer, Scott Hooper, Charley Hurt, Bettie White Irby, Jack and Rosa Maddox, Carter J. Jackson, James Jackson, John James, Hannah Jameson, Mrs. Thomas Johns, Thomas Johns, Sam Kilgore, Mollie Kirkland, Alex Lacy, Hagar Lewis, Eva Martin, Lee Mcgillery, Ann Mickey, Anna Miller, Tom Mills, Mandy Morrow, Florence Napier, Sally Neeley, Bell Nelson, Pierce Nichols, Isom Norris, Horace Overstreet, George Owens, Jessie Pauls,William Paxton, Jack Payne, Henderson Perkins, Ellen Polk, Ophelia Porter, Betty Powers, Henry Probasco, Eda Rains, Laura Redmoun, Elsie Reece, Ransom Rosborough, Gill Ruffin, Aaron Russell, Dorsey Scott, Abram Sells, Emma Simpson, Lou Skelton, James W. Smith, Millie Ann Smith, Susan Smith, Guy Stewart, Willaim Stone, Jake Terriell, Penny Thompson, John Walton, Annie Whitley Ware, Ella Washington, Horatio W. Williams, Lou Williams, Millie Williams, Rose Williams,Willie Williams, Jake Wilson, Julius Wilson, Mary Wilson, Robert

	Wilson, Smith Wilson, Virginia Yarbrough, Louis Young, Teshan Young
Meat (Backbone)	*GA:* Easter Reed, Will Sheets, Georgia Telfair
Meat (Barbecued)	*SC:* Wesley Jones
Meat (Boiled)	*MS:* Tilda Johnson; *OK:* Mollie Watson
Meat (Cold)	*MS:* Callie Gray
Meat (Dried)	*MS:* Manda Edmondson, Charity Jones
Meat (Fried)	*GA:* Annie Price, George Womble, Henry Wright; *SC:* Hector Godbold, Agnes James, Med Walker; *TX:* Jack and Rosa Maddox
Meat ("Middlin")	*NC:* Sarah Debro; *TX:* Lizzie Hughes
Meat (Pickled)	*NC:* Chaney Hews
Meat (Pie)	*MS:* Charlie Davenport
Meat (Raw)	*MS:* Henry Warfield; *TX:* Ben Simpson
Meat (Red)	*SC:* Gus Feaster
Meat (Salted)	*RI:* Henry Johnson
Meat (Side)	*GA:* Benny Dillard, Caroline Malloy, Nancy Settles; *TX:* John Crawford
Meat (Skin)	*TX:* Calvin Kennard, Alex Lacy, Anna Lee, Sarah Lee
Meat (Smoked)	*GA:* Bryant Buff, Cody Pierce; *KS:* Clayton Hobert; *NC:* Fannie Moore; *OH:* Florence Lee; *SC:* Nellie Boyd
Roast (Unspecified meat)	*GA:* Nellie Smith
Bacon (Sometimes referred to as "Flitch Bacon" or "Streaked Meat")	*GA:* Celestia Avery, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), George Eason, Isiah Green, Miltck Hammond, Jennie Kendricks, George Lewis, Hannah Murphy, Charlie Pye, Dink Walton Young; *IN:* Patsy Jane Bland; *KY:* Dan Bogie, Bert Mayfield; *MS:* Aron Carter; *NC:* Anna Wright; *OH:* William Nelson; *OK:* John Brown, Eliza Evans, Lucinda Vann; *SC:* Henry Brown, Caleb Craig, Gus Feaster, Hester Hunter, Henry D. Jenkins, Anna Moore; *TX:* Wash Armstrong, Sarah Ashley, Smith Austin, Joe Barnes, William Branch, Jacob Branch, Steve Brown, Henry H. Butler, Richard Carruthers, John Crawford, Uill Daily, Fannie Mccullough Driver, Louis Fowler, Sarah Fuller, Albert Hill, Rosina Hoard, Mary Homer, Bettie White Irby, Charley Johnson, Gus Johnson, Harriet Jones, Henry Lewis, Mandy Morrow, Mary Nickerson, Isom Norris, Jessie Pauls, Lee Pierce, Louvinia Young Pleasant, A.C. Pruitt, Aaron Ray, Martin Ruffin, Henry Smith, Fayette Stephens, Yach Stringfellow, William M. Thomas, Irella Battle Walker, Emma

Watson, James West, Horatio W. Williams, Soul Wilson, Mary A. Wilson, Rube Witt

Beef

AL: Cynthia Erwing, Frank Gill, Alonza Fantroy Toombs; *AR:* Hattie Douglas, William L. Dunwoody, Millie Evans, Henry Green, John Hill, Georgia Johnson, Edmond Jones, Mose King, Rev. Frank T. Boone, Katie Rye, Edmond Smith, Henry Turner; *FL:* Mary Minus Biddle; *GA:* Bryant Buff, Barry Clay, Heard Griffin, David Goodman Gullins, Robert Henry, Charlie Hudson, Lina Hunter, Julia Larken, Ed Mccree, Shade Richards, Aunt Farebe Rogers, Nancy Smith, Cora Shepherd, Nancy Smith, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Cordelia Thomas, Addie Vinson, Emma Virgel, Olin Williams; *IN:* Peter Gohagen; *KS:* Bill Simms, Adam Smith; *KY:* Scott Mitchell; *MD:* Annie Young Henson; *MN:* Mary Sellers; *MS:* Mattie Dillworth, Simon Durr, George Fisher, Callie Gray, Turner Jacobs, Charity Jones, Hamp Kennedy, Ruben Laird, Ann May, Alex Montgomery, Laura Montgomery, Charlie Moses, Mark Oliver, Louis Joseph Piernas, Dempsey Pitts, Elsie Posey, Nettie Rocket, Dave Walker, Mollie Williams, Dicy Windfield, Polly Turner Cancer; *NC:* Clara Cotton McCoy; *OH:* Tap Hawkins, Henry Clay; *OK:* Martha Cunningham, Kiziah Love, Bert Luster, Maggie Pinkard, Sweetie Ivery Wagoner, Agnes Walker; *SC:* John N. Davenport, Mary Edwards, Fairy Elkins, Caroline Farrow, Fred James, Isiah Jeffries, Walter Long, Phallip Rice, Sabe Rutledge, Daphney Wright; *TX:* Andy J. Anderson, Andy Anikeson, Stearlin Arnwine, Darcus Barnett, Harriet Barnett, Sarah Benjamin, Della Mun Bibles, Jerry Boykins, Monroe Bruckins, Steve Brown, James Burleson, Dave L. Byrd, Cato Carter, Jeptha Choice, Amos Clark, Thomas Cole, Jake Compton, Jane Cotton, Jane Cotton, Uill Daily, Julia Frances Daniels, Parilee Daniels, Campbell Davis, Mollie Dawson, J.H. Day, Nelson Taylor Densen, Jake Desso, Bud Dixon, Victor Duhon, George Earle, Willis Easter, John Ellis, Sam Forge, Orelia Alexie Franks, Andrew Goodman, James Grumbles, Jack Harrison, Alice Harwell, Albert Hill, Nellie Hill, Lee Hobby, Lizzie Hughes, Anna Humphrey, Charley Hurt, William Irving, Joseph James, Lydia Jefferson, Thomas Johns, Charley Johnson, Gus Johnson, Lottie Jones, Martha Jones, Taby Jones, Dempsey Jordan, Pinkie Kelley, Ben Kinchlow, Silvia King, Walter Leggett, Henry Lewis, Annie Little, Abe Livingston, James Martin, Vina Moore, John Mosley, Leo Mouton, Calvin Moye, Sally Neeley, Mary Nickerson, Isom Norris, Joe Oliver, Jessie Pauls, Jack Payne, Daniel Phillips, James Polk, Harre Quarls, Joe Rawls, Kitty Reece, Walter Rimm, Ransom Rosborough, Peter Ryas, Charlie Sandles, Sarah L. Johnson Berliner, Lou Skelton, J.W. Terrill, William M. Thomas, William Watkins, Emma Watson, Horatio W. Williams, Rose Williams, Soul Williams, President Wilson, Sarah Wilson, Caroline Wright

Beef (Barbecued)	*GA:* Caroline Malloy, Ed Mccree; *MS:* Ann Drake, Robert Young; *OK:* Jefferson Cole; *TX:* Martha Jones, Leo Mouton
Beef (Boiled)	*TX:* John Crawford
Beef (Bone)	*TX:* Gus Bradshaw
Beef Broth	*AR:* Millie Evans, Mary Gaines
Beef (Calf)	*NC:* Charlie Crump
Beef (Dried)	*AR:* Hannah Hancock, Edmond Smith; *GA:* Della Briscoe; *MS:* Laura Montgomery; *OK:* Jefferson Cole, *TX:* Tom Mills
Beef (Dumpling)	*AR:* Millie Evans; *GA:* Dosia Harris
Beef (Head)	*SC:* Gus Feaster; *TX:* Peter Ryas
Beef (Hoove)	*SC:* Gus Feaster
Bone Marrow	*AR:* Thomas Ruffin
Beef (Neck)	*TX:* Peter Ryas
Beef (Organs)	*TX:* Peter Ryas
Beef (Pickled)	*TX:* Mary Davis
Beef (Roasted)	*SC:* Sylvia Cannon; *TX:* Harriet Collins, Walter Rimm
Beef (Stew)	*AR:* Fannie Alexander
Brunswick Stew	*GA:* Aunt Carrie Mason
Chicken	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Cynthia Erwing, Adeline Hodge, Alonza Fantroy Toombs; *AR:* Rachel Bradley, Betty Curlett, William L. Dunwoody, Millie Evans, Cora Gillam, Happy Day Green, Rachel Hankins, Angeline Martin, Victoria Mcmullen, Henry Kirk Miller, Mary Mitchell, Frank A. Patterson, Louise Prayer, Caspar Rumple, Mahalia Shores, Edmond Smith, Laura Thornton; *FL:* Duncan Gaines, Willis Williams; *GA:* Georgia Baker, Arrie Binn, Della Briscoe, Mariah Calloway, Ellen Calphell, Susan Castle, Barry Clay, Willis Cofer, David Goodman Gullins, John Hill, Carrie Hudson, Carrie Hudson, Charlie Hudson, Lina Hunter, Benjamin Johnson, Georgia Johnson, Estella Jones, Fannie Jones, Jennie Kendricks, Julia Larken, Caroline Malloy, Susan Mcintosh, Richard Orford, Anna Parkes, Alec Pope, Shade Richards, Aunt Farebe Rogers, Julia Rush, Mary Jane Simmons, Tom Singleton, Nancy Smith, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Telfair, Cordelia Thomas, Phil Town, Emma Virgel, Olin Williams, George Womble; *IN:* Patsy Jane Bland, Lulu Scott; *KY:* Scott Mitchell; *MD:* Rev. Silas Jackson, Alice Lewis, Rezin Williams; *MN:* Mary Sellers, Laura Thompson; *MS:* Tilda Johnson, Marry Joiner, Juda Dantzler, Charlie Davenport, Simon Durr, Callie Gray, Orris Harris, Turner Jacobs, Lewis Jefferson, Oliver Jones, Ann May, Mark Oliver,

	Joe Rollins, Lorena Thomas, Polly Turner Cancer; *NC:* Alice Baugh, John C. Bectom, Bill Crump, Charlie Crump, Rev. Squire Dowd, Tempie Herndon Durham, Lindsey Faucette, Cy Hart, Clara Cotton McCoy, Fannie Moore; *OH:* Flening Clark, Celia Henderson, William Nelson; *OK:* Martha Cunningham, Bert Luster, Jane Montgomery, Red Richardson, Betty Robertson, Annie Young; *SC:* Sara Brown, Fairy Elkins, John Franklin, Fred James, Maria Jenkins, Sam Polite, Benjamin Russell; *TN:* Sylvia Watkins; *TX:* Andy J. Anderson, Andy Anikeson, Sarah Ashley, Agatha Babino, Harriet Barnett, Darcus Barnett, Della Mun Bibles, Charlie Bowen, Clara Brim, Steve Brown, Ellen Butler, William Byrd, Cato Carter, Harriet Chesley, Henry Childers, Amos Clark, Thomas Cole, John Crawford, Uill Daily, J.H. Day, Mary Donatto, Ann Edwards, Louis Fowler, Rosanna Fraziek, Andrew Goodman, Josh Hadnot, Sarah Hatley, Ann Hawthorne, James Hayes, Phoebe Henderson, Nellie Hill, Larnce Holt, Alice Houston, Bettie White Irby, Carter J. Jackson, Joseph James, Harriet Jones, Mollie Kirkland, Louise Mathews, Susan Merritt, Ann Mickey, Andrew Moody, John Moore, Vina Moore, Calvin Moye, Hannah Mullins, Mary Nickerson, Henderson Perkins, Louvinia Young Pleasant, Tillie R. Powers, Ransom Rosborough, Sarah L. Johnson Berliner, Mary Scranton, Abram Sells, Betty Simmons, Ike Simpson, Emma Taylor, William M. Thomas, Penny Thompson, Charlie Trotty, Adeline Waldon, Millie Williams, Sarah Wilson, Willis Winn
Chicken (Baked)	*GA:* Mary, Phil Town; *NC:* Anna Wright
Chicken (Barbecued)	*TX:* Jack Cauthern
Chicken (Dressing)	*IN:* Harriet Cheatam
Chicken (Feet)	*TX:* Jack and Rosa Maddox
Chicken (Fried)	*GA:* Willis Cofer, John Hill, Mary, Fanny Nix, Beverly Pullin, Will Sheets, Tom Singleton, Phil Town; *MD:* Tom Randall; *MN:* Laura Thompson; *MO:* August Smith; *NC:* Anna Wright; *TN:* Rachel Gaines; *TX:* Sam Forge, Mary Ellen Johnson, Walter Leggett
Chicken (Heads)	*IN:* Amanda Elizabeth Samuels
Chicken (Pie)	*AL:* Cynthia Erwing; *GA:* John Hill, Easter Reed, Phil Town, Emma Virgel; *MS:* Fanny Smith Hodges, Elsie Posey; *NC:* Julius Nelson; *TX:* Richard Kimmons
Chicken (Roasted)	*IN:* Harriet Cheatam, Peter Gohagen
Chicken ("Slick"—made with flour pastry)	*NC:* Zeb Crowder

Chicken (Soup)	*NC:* Lindsey Faucette
Chicken (Stewed)	*GA:* Mary, Tom Singleton, Phil Town; *TX:* Fannie Norman, Giles Smith, Millie Ann Smith
Chicken (Wild)	*TX:* Lou Austin, Della Mun Bibles, Wash Wilson
Fat (Unspecified)	*MS:* Mattie Stenston; *OK:* Eliza Bell
Fat Meat (Note: Unspecified but likely pork on most occasions.)	*AR:* Victoria Mcmullen, Mary Mitchell, John Williams; *FL:* Ambrose Douglass; *GA:* Alec Bostwick, Easter Brown, Susan Castle, Mose Davis, Martha Everette, Dosia Harris, John F. Van Hook, Benjamin Johnson, Amanda Mcdaniel, Liza Mention, Will Sheets; *KY:* Will Oats; *MD:* James V. Deane, Mary Moriah Anne, Susanna James; *MO:* Sarah Waggoner; *NC:* W.L. Bost; *OH:* Flening Clark, Hannah Davidson, George Jackson, Virginia Washington; *OK:* Mattie Logan, Daniel William Lucas; *SC:* Gordon Bluford, Gable Locklier, Dan Smith, Vina Moore; *TX:* Mariah Snyder, Valmar Cormier and Mary Moses
Fowl (Unspecified)	*SC:* Prince Smith
Goat	*AR:* Betty Curlett, William L. Dunwoody, Mose King, Emman Moore, Henry Turner; *FL:* Mary Minus Biddle; *GA:* David Goodman Gullins, Charlie Hudson, Julia Larken, Ed Mccree, Shade Richards, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Cordelia Thomas, Emma Virgel; *MS:* Ruben Fox, Turner Jacobs, Mandy Jones; *SC:* Gus Feaster, Zack Herndon, Fred James, Wesley Jones, Daphney Wright; *TX:* John Barker, Harriet Barnett, Darcus Barnett, Julia Blanks, Thomas Cole, Jake Compton, Larnce Holt, Ben Kinchlow, Isaac Martin, Isom Norris, Rose Williams
Gravy	*GA:* Nellie Smith, Addie Vinson; *IN:* Dr. Solomon Hicks; *MS:* Levi Ashley, Della Buckley, Ellen Gooden; *TX:* Mary Donatto, Fannie Norman, Peter Ryas
Gravy (Flour)	*OH:* Celia Henderson; *SC:* Savilla Burrell, Gus Feaster, Ophelia Jemison; *TX:* Agatha Babino
Gravy (Ham)	*NC:* Anna Wright; *SC:* Gus Feaster
Grease (Note: Sometimes specified as "cracklin' grease.")	*AR:* Tines Kendricks, Needham Love, Emman Moore; *FL:* Matilda Brooks; *MS:* Barney Alford, Elmo Steele, William Wheeler; *NC:* Julius Nelson; *OK:* Phyllis Petite; *SC:* Gus Feaster, Violet Guntharpe, Jessie Sparrow, Mack Taylor; *TN:* Sylvia Watkins; *TX:* Jacob Branch, Valmar Cormier, Archie Fennels, Sarah Fuller, Bettie White Irby, Jack and Rosa Maddox, Dempsey Jordan, Anna Lee, Eva Martin, Van Moore, Will Parker, Louvinia Young Pleasant, Walter Rion, Valmar Cormier and Mary Moses
Guinea Fowl	*AR:* Rachel Bradley, Betty Curlett, Happy Day Green; *GA:* Charlie Hudson, Anna Parkes
Head Cheese	*TX:* Tom Mills

Hog/Pork

AL: Cynthia Erwing, Adeline Hodge, M. Fowler, Frank Gill, Jim Gillard, Alonza Fantroy Toombs, Henry Barnes; *AR:* William Brown, Ellen Cragin, William L. Dunwoody, Cora Gillam, Henry Green, Elizabeth Hines, Charlie Hinton, Adaline Johnson, Mose King, Abbie Lindsay, Needham Love, Angeline Martin, Josie Martin, Claiborne Moss, Mary Poe, Doc Quinn, Rev. Frank T. Boone, Milton Ritchie, Laura Thornton, Henry Turner, Aunt Clara Walker, John Williams; *FL:* Samuel Simeon Andrews, Mary Minus Biddle, Duncan Gaines; *GA:* Bryant Buff, Julia Bunch, Julia Cole, Martha Everette, Alice Green, David Goodman Gullins, Bill Heard, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Robert Henry, John Hill, Charlie Hudson, Lina Hunter, Alice Hutchesom, Georgia Johnson, Estella Jones, Fannie Jones, Julia Larken, Julia Larken, Shade Richards, Aunt Farebe Rogers, Georgia Smith, Nancy Smith, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Telfair, Cordelia Thomas, Addie Vinson, Emma Virgel, Green Willbanks, Maggie Williams, Olin Williams, George Womble, Henry Wright; *IN:* Adeline Rose Lennox, Rosaline Rogers, Lulu Scott; *KS:* Clayton Hobert; *KY:* Susan Dale Sanders; *MD:* James V. Deane, Annie Young Henson, Alice Lewis; *MN:* Mary Sellers, No Name Given; *MS:* Tilda Johnson, Charlie Davenport, Mattie Dillworth, Simon Durr, Manda Edmondson, George Fisher, Ruben Fox, Pet Franks, Callie Gray, Virginia Harris, Fanny Smith Hodges, Frank Hughes, Turner Jacobs, Julius Jones, Ann May, Charlie Moses, Lizzie Norfleet, Maria Parham, Dempsey Pitts, Ben Richardson, Joe Rollins, Adam Singleton, Adam Smith, Wright Stapleton, Lucy Thurston, Dave Walker, Mollie Williams, Dicy Windfield, Rebecca Woods, Polly Turner Cancer; *MO:* Minksie (Minksy) Walker; *NC:* John C. Bectom, Robert Glenn, Richard C. Moring, Alice Baugh, Charlie Crump, Rev. Squire Dowd, Anna Wright; *OH:* Hanna Fambro, Celia Henderson, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison; *OK:* Eliza Bell, Ed Butler, Polly Colbert, Martha Cunningham, Lucinda Davis, Octavia George, Mattie Logan, Kiziah Love, Bert Luster, Salomon Oliver, Maggie Pinkard, Red Richardson, Morris Sheppard, Agnes Walker; *SC:* William Ballard, Millie Barber, Savilla Burrell, Solomon Caldwell, Sylvia Cannon, John N. Davenport, Will Dill, Mary Edwards, Fairy Elkins, Gus Feaster, Simon Gallman, Charlie Grant, Adeline Grey, Violet Guntharpe, Liney Henderson, Zack Herndon, Hester Hunter, Fred James, Isiah Jeffries, Walter Long, Sam Mitchell, Sam Polite, Sam Rawls, Phallip Rice, Sabe Rutledge, Mary Smith, Prince Smith, Sweetie Ivery Wagoner, Charlie Watson, Aleck Woodward, Daphney Wright; *TN:* Rachel Gaines, Sylvia Watkins; *TX:* Andy J. Anderson, Andy Anikeson, Stearlin Arnwine, Sarah Ashley, Lou Austin, Henry Baker, John Barker, Amelia Barnett, Darcus Barnett, Harriet Barnett, Harrison Beckett, Sarah Benjamin, Ellen Betts, Della Mun Bibles, Willie Blackwell, Julia Blanks, Betty Bormer, Clara Brim, Ned

	Broadus, Fred Brown, Steve Brown, James Burleson, Dave L. Byrd, Louis Cain, Richard Carruthers, Henry Childers, Jeptha Choice, Amos Clark, Abraham Coker, Thomas Cole, Eli Coleman, Jake Compton, Josephine Tippit Compton, John Crawford, Uill Daily, Julia Frances Daniels, Parilee Daniels, Mary Davis, Tob Davis, Mollie Dawson, J.H. Day, Bud Dixon, Nelson Taylor Densen, Mary Donatto, Willis Easter, John Ellis, Lou Eumann, Sam Forge, Millie Forward, Orelia Alexie Franks, Rosanna Fraziek, Scot Glen, Mary Glover, Andrew Goodman, Jack Harrison, Alice Harwell, Albert Henderson, Phoebe Henderson, Albert Hill, Lee Hobby, Alice Hughes, Lizzie Hughes, Anna Humphrey, Charley Hurt, William Irving, Joseph James, Lydia Jefferson, Thomas Johns, Gus Johnson, Sallie Johnson, Lewis Jones, Lizzie Jones, Lottie Jones, Martha Jones, Steve Jones, Dempsey Jordan, Sam Kilgore, Ben Kinchlow, Silvia King, Mollie Kirkland, Walter Leggett, Henry Lewis, Annie Little, Abe Livingston, John Love, Louise Mathews, William Mathews, Susan Merritt, Ann Mickey, Harriett Millett, Tom Mills, Andrew Moody, A.M. Moore, John Moore, Van Moore, Vina Moore, Calvin Moye, Hannah Mullins, Sally Neeley, Mary Nickerson, Isom Norris, Joe Oliver, Will Parker, Mary Ann Patterson, Jessie Pauls, William Paxton, John Perrier, James Polk, Tillie R. Powers, Henry Probasco, Robert Prout, Andrew Pullen, Walter Rimm, Ransom Rosborough, Aaron Russell, Charlie Sandles, Sarah L. Johnson Berliner, Clarissa Scales, Abram Sells, Betty Simmons, George Simmons, Ike Simpson, Susan Smith, Tucker Smith, Leithan Spinks, Guy Stewart, Willaim Stone, Bert Strong, Allen Thomas, William M. Thomas, Charlie Trotty, Lou Turner, Adeline Waldon, John Walton, William Watkins, Alice Wilkins, Mattie Williams, Rose Williams, Soul Williams, Lulu Wilson, President Wilson, Wash Wilson, Willis Winn, Ruben Woods, Fannie Yarbrough, Caroline Wright, Virginia Yarbrough, Teshan Young
Hog (Backbone)	*TX:* Thomas Cole
Hog (Baked)	*TX:* John Sheed
Hog (Barbecued)	*GA:* Alice Bradley and Kizzie Colquitt, Willis Cofer, Mose Davis, Julia Larken, Aunt Carrie Mason, Ed Mccree, Easter Reed, Robert Shepherd, William Ward; *IN:* Peter Gohagen; *SC:* Gus Feaster, Wesley Jones; *TX:* Josephine Tippit Compton, Harriet Jones, Mollie Kirkland, Walter Leggett, Susan Smith, John Sneed, Alice Wilkins
Hog (Belly or sowbelly)	*TX:* Lulu Wilson
Hog (Boiled)	*MS:* Charlie Davenport
Hog (Bone)	*TX:* Gus Bradshaw

Hog (Chitlin/ chitterling)	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Henry Cheatam; *GA:* Bill Heard, Annie Huff, Estella Jones, Susan Matthews; *MS:* Isaac Stier; *OK:* Morris Sheppard; *TX:* Thomas Cole, Lou Eumann, Walter Leggett, Tom Mills, Mary Nickerson, Joe Rawls, Walter Rimm, Abram Sells, Lou Turner
Hog (Cracklins)	*AR:* A.J. Mitchell; *TX:* Mary Nickerson
Hog (Cured)	*AR:* Edmond Smith; *OH:* Henry Bedford
Hog (Ears)	*MN:* Mr. Norris; *SC:* Anderson Bates, Thomas Cole
Hog Entrails	*MN:* Mr. Norris; *TX:* James Polk, Abram Sells
Hog (Fat or fat back)	*FL:* Sam and Louisa Everett; *MD:* Rev. Silas Jackson, Richard Macks; *OH:* George Jackson; *OK:* John White; *SC:* Louisa Davis; *TX:* Wes Beady, Ellen Betts
Hog (Feet)	*GA:* Bill Heard; *MN:* Mr. Norris; *OH:* Richard Toler; *TX:* Ellen Betts, Thomas Cole
Hog (Ham)	*AL:* Josh Horn, Emma L. Howard, Benjamin Johnson; *AR:* Adeline Blakeley, Betty Curlett; *FL:* Matilda Brooks; *GA:* Jasper Battle, Alice Bradley and Kizzie Colquitt, Charlie Hudson, Caroline Malloy, Beverly Pullin, Easter Reed, George Womble; *MS:* Sally Green, Tom Hunley, Mandy Jones, Elsie Posey, Nettie Rocket, Isaac Stier; *NC:* Sarah Debro, Clara Cotton McCoy, Fannie Moore, Julius Nelson; *OH:* James Campbell; *OK:* John Brown, Lucinda Vann; *SC:* Charlie Davis, Hester Hunter, Rev. James H. Johnson; *TX:* Charlotte Beverly, Bill and Ellen Thomas, Steve Brown, Henry H. Butler, Cato Carter, Thomas Cole, Harriet Collins, Andrew Columbus, Mary Davis, Tob Davis, Lou Eumann, Louis Fowler, James Hayes, Albert Hill, Mary Homer, Lizzie Hughes, Charley Hurt, Lewis Jones, Hagar Lewis, Mandy Morrow, Mary Nickerson, Jessie Pauls, Eda Rains, Henry Smith, Bill and Ellen Thomas, William M. Thomas, Lou Turner, Winger Vanhook, James West, Julius Wilson, Mary A. Wilson, Wash Wilson
Hog (Ham bone)	*OK:* Mattie Logan; *TN:* Sylvia Watkins
Hog (Ham fried)	*TX:* Bettie White Irby
Hog (Head)	*AR:* Henry Green; *GA:* Arrie Binn, Easter Brown, Benjamin Johnson, Will Sheets, Emmaline Sturgis; *MO:* Eliza Overton; *NC:* Julius Nelson; *SC:* Josephine Bristow; *TX:* Calvin Kennard
Hog (Jaw or jowl)	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Henry Cheatam; *GA:* Benjamin Johnson, Green Willbanks; *MS:* Eliza Overton, August Smith, Tishey Taylor; *OK:* Lizzie Farmer; *SC:* Ed Mccrorey, Jessie Sparrow; *TX:* Steve Brown, Mattie Gilmore, Aleck Trimble, Willis Winn, Litt Young
Hog (Jelly)	*MS:* Tilda Johnson

Hog (Liver)	*AL:* Adeline Hodge; *MS:* Granny; *TX:* Abram Sells
Hog (Neck bones)	*MN:* Mr. Norris
Hog (Pickled pork)	*AL:* Adeline Hodge; *AR:* Ellen Brass, Mattie Brown; *TX*: John Love
Hog (Raw)	*MS:* Henry Warfield
Hog/Pork (Rinds)	*FL:* Charley Roberts
Hog/Pork (Salt pickled)	*AR:* Henry Turner; *FL:* Rev. Squires Jackson; *MS:* Tom Hunley, Adam Smith, Sarah Thomas; *NC:* Sarah Harris; *TX:* Emma Watson; *VA:* Mary Jane Wilson; *WA:* Sarah Laws Hill
Hog/Pork (Saltback)	*SC:* Sara Brown
Hog/Pork (Sausage)	*AL:* Cynthia Erwing; *AR:* Rev. Frank T. Boone; *FL:* Randal Lee; *GA:* Bill Heard, Benjamin Johnson, Susan Matthews, Easter Reed, Robert Shepherd; *OH:* Nan Stewart; *OK:* Polly Colbert; *MS:* Hamp Kennedy, Aleck Woodward; *TX:* Agatha Babino, Abraham Coker, Mary Davis, Hagar Lewis, Tom Mills, James Polk, Joe Rawls, Henry Smith, Bill and Ellen Thomas, William M. Thomas
Hog (Shoat or piglet)	*TX:* Josh Hadnot
Hog/Pork (Shoulder)	*TX:* Thomas Cole, Tob Davis, Lou Eumann, Charley Hurt, Thomas Johns, Lou Turner
Hog (Skin)	*OK:* Phyllis Petite
Hog/Pork (Smoked)	*OH:* Ben Brown
Hog (Snoot)	*MN:* Mr. Norris
Hog/Pork (Sow belly)	*OK:* Henry Clay, Morris Sheppard, Charley Williams
Hog/Pork (Spare ribs unspecified but likely pork)	*AR:* Tyler Frazier, Henry Green; *GA:* Georgia Telfair; *OK:* Morris Sheppard; *TX:* Thomas Cole
Hog (Tail)	*IN:* Amanda Elizabeth Samuels; *MN:* Mr. Norris; *OH:* Richard Toler; *SC:* Anderson Bates
Horse	*MS:* Isaac Potter
Lamb	*AR:* Betty Curlett; *GA:* Willis Cofer, John Hill, Charlie Hudson, Ed Mccree; *MD:* Annie Young Henson; *MS:* Turner Jacobs; *OH:* Tap Hawkins; *SC:* George Briggs, Solomon Caldwell
Lard	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Cynthia Erwing; *AR:* Claiborne Moss, Rev. Frank T. Boone; *GA:* Della Briscoe; *MS:* Simon Durr, Manda

	Edmondson, Sarah Felder, Hamp Kennedy; *OK:* Polly Colbert, Lewis Jenkins, Sam Jordan, Matilda Poe, Lucinda Vann; *SC:* Louisa Davis, Caroline Farrow, Phallip Rice, Aleck Woodward; *TN:* Mollie Moss, Alice Cole, Thomas Cole; *TX:* Mollie Dawson, Mary Donatto, George Earle, Sarah Fuller, Thomas Johns, Amos Lincoln, Isom Norris, Joe Oliver, Peter Ryas, John Sneed, Wash Wilson
Lights (Note: Lights are a term for lungs.)	*TX:* Abram Sells
Liver (Unspecified fried)	*AR:* Henrietta Williams; *SC:* Anderson Bates
Mule	*MS:* Henry Warfield
Mutton	*FL:* Mary Minus Biddle; *MD:* Annie Young Henson; *MS:* Callie Gray, Dempsey Pitts, Elsie Posey, Dave Walker; *OH:* Flening Clark; *TN:* Rachel Gaines; *TX:* Albert Hill, Thomas Johns, Silvia King, Isaac Martin, Calvin Moye, Bert Strong, William M. Thomas
Mutton (Barbecued)	*GA:* Ed Mccree
Ox (Roast)	*NC:* Alice Baugh
Pea Fowl	*AR:* Betty Curlett; *GA:* Charlie Hudson, Nellie Smith
Poultry (Unspecified)	*FL:* Matilda Brooks
Quail	*TX:* Cato Carter
Sheep	*AR:* William L. Dunwoody, Happy Day Green, Mose King, Henry Turner; *GA:* David Goodman Gullins, John Hill, Lina Hunter, Georgia Johnson, Julia Larken, Shade Richards, Nancy Smith, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Cordelia Thomas, Addie Vinson, Emma Virgel; *IN:* Peter Gohagen; *KS:* Clayton Hobert, Bill Simms; *MS:* Ruben Fox, Callie Gray, Mandy Jones, Laura Montgomery, Ben Richardson, Mollie Williams; *OH:* Tap Hawkins; *SC:* Zack Herndon, Wesley Jones, Daphney Wright; *TX:* Darcus Barnett, Julia Blanks, James Burleson, Cato Carter, Amos Clark, Jake Compton, Carey Davenport, J.H. Day, Sam Forge, Lydia Jefferson, Walter Leggett, Annie Little, Isom Norris, Tillie R. Powers, Millie Randall, Rose Williams
Sheep (Barbecued)	*TX:* Campbell Davis
Squab	*GA:* Shade Richards
Suet/Souse (Note: Made from fat and seeds.)	*OK:* Polly Colbert; *TX:* Mary Nickerson, Joe Rawls, Emma Watson

Sweetbreads	*SC:* William Oliver
Tongue (Beef or pork)	*OK:* Polly Colbert
Turkey (Domesticated)	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Emma Jones, Sally Murphy, Nicey Pugh; *AR:* Rachel Bradley, Betty Curlett, William L. Dunwoody, Happy Day Green, Elizabeth Hines, Caspar Rumple, Mahalia Shores; *GA:* Georgia Baker, James Bolton, David Goodman Gullins, John Hill, Carrie Hudson, Charlie Hudson, Lina Hunter, Georgia Johnson, Julia Larken, Ed Mccree, Richard Orford, Anna Parkes, Nancy Smith, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Telfair, Cordelia Thomas, Olin Williams; *IN:* George Beatty, Lulu Scott, Lulu Scott; *KY:* George Henderson; *MS:* Gabe Butler, Simon Durr, Callie Gray, Turner Jacobs; *NC:* Alice Baugh, Cy Hart; *OH:* Henry Bedford; *OK:* Bert Luster; *SC:* Sara Brown; *TX:* Andy J. Anderson, Andy Anikeson, Charlotte Beverly, Julia Blanks, Harriet Collins, Jane Cotton, J.H. Day, Willis Easter, Ann Edwards, Louis Fowler, Lucendy Griffen, Sarah Hatley, Ann Hawthorne, Harriet Jones, Abe Livingston, John Love, Calvin Moye, Louvinia Young Pleasant, Eda Rains, Abram Sells, John Sheed, Ike Simpson, John Sneed, Mrs. Mary Thompson
Turkey (Baked)	*TX:* Andrew Moody

Appendix C

WILD GAME: BIRDS

Bird (Unspecified)	*GA:* John F. Van Hook; *MS:* Aron Carter, Joe Coney, Smith Simmons, Lincoln Watkins, Robert Weathersby; *NC:* George W. Harris, Isaac Johnson, Sam T. Stewart; *SC:* Gordon Bluford, Sylvia Cannon, Bouregard Corry, Wallace Davis, Lila Rutherford, Edgar Bendy; *TX:* Della Mun Bibles, Vinnie Brunson, Henry Childers, Amos Clark, Josephine Tippit Compton, Mary Donatto, Amos Lincoln, John Love, Isaiah Norwood, Peter Ryas, John Sheed, John Sneed
Bird (Egg)	*TX:* Andy Williams
Bird (Stew)	*NC:* Zeb Crowder, W.S. Debnan
Blackbird	*TX:* Amos Lincoln
Crane	*TX:* Robert Prout, Peter Ryas
Crow	*TX:* Jeff Calhoun, Henry Lewis
Dove	*NC:* Zeb Crowder, Robert Hinton; *SC:* Laurence Downing, Mary Edwards, Fairy Elkins, Laurence Gary, Peggy Grigsby, Anne Rice, Henry Ryan, Amos Lincoln
Duck	*AR:* Betty Curlett, William L. Dunwoody, Happy Day Green, Caspar Rumple, Mahalia Shores; *GA:* Georgia Baker, Carrie Hudson, Anna Parkes; *IN:* Lulu Scott; *MS:* Simon Durr, Mark Oliver, Lincoln Watkins; *MO:* August Smith; *OH:* William Nelson; *OK:* Octavia George, Bert Luster; *SC:* Bouregard Corry, Baalam Lyles, George Patterson; *TX:* John Barker, Amos Clark, Louis Evans, Sarah Hatley, Ben Kinchlow, Amos Lincoln, Vina Moore, Robert Prout, Peter Ryas, Clara White, Emma Countee Wilson
Duck (Egg)	*AR:* Sophie D. Belle; *FL:* Acie Thomas

Geese	*AR:* Betty Curlett, William L. Dunwoody, Caspar Rumple, Mahalia Shores; *GA:* David Goodman Gullins, Anna Parkes, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Baker; *IN:* Lulu Scott; *MS:* Mark Oliver; *MO:* August Smith; *NC:* Tempie Herndon Durham; *OK:* Bert Luster; *SC:* Baalam Lyles, George Patterson; *TX:* J.H. Day, Sarah Hatley, Silvia King, Vina Moore, Henry Probasco, Robert Prout, Emma Taylor
Goose (Egg)	*AR:* Sophie D. Belle; *TX:* Henry Probasco
Guinea	*TX:* Willis Winn
Guinea (Egg)	*AL:* Nicey Pugh; *AR:* Sophie D. Belle
Hawk	*TX:* Jeff Calhoun
Lark (Pie)	*TX:* Henry Lewis
Owl	*TX:* Victor Duhon
Partridge	*GA:* Georgia Baker, James Bolton; *MO:* Marilda Pethy; *NC:* Zeb Crowder, Robert Hinton, Sam T. Stewart; *SC:* Laurence Downing, Fairy Elkins, Laurence Gary, Peggy Grigsby, Anne Rice, Henry Ryan
Pheasant	*KY:* George Dorsey; *OH:* James Campbell
Pigeon	*AR:* Betty Curlett; *OK:* John Harrison; *TX:* Bert Strong
Prairie Chicken	*MO:* Marilda Pethy; *TX:* Harriet Collins, Janey Landrum, Lu Lee, Isaiah Norwood
Quail	*GA:* Georgia Baker; *KY:* George Dorsey; *MO:* Sarah Waggoner; *NE:* Fred Forbes; *OK:* Della Fountain, John Harrison, Patsy Perryman; *TX:* Ben Kinchlow, Tom Mills, Robert Prout
Robins	*NC:* Zeb Crowder; *TX:* Olivier Blanchard
Robin (Gumbo)	*TX:* Olivier Blanchard
Robin (Pie)	*TX:* Olivier Blanchard
Turkey (Eggs)	*AR:* Sophie D. Belle; *FL:* Acie Thomas; *GA:* Julia Cole; *TX:* Lou Austin
Turkey (Wild)	*AL:* Bert Frederick, Ester Green; *GA:* Georgia Baker; *KS:* Bill Simms; *MS:* Mark Oliver, Isaac Stier; *NE:* Sarah Grant; *OH:* James Campbell; *OK:* Daniel Webster Burton, Richardson Chaney, Jefferson Cole, Lucinda Davis, John Harrison, Lewis Jenkins; *SC:* Anne Bell, Granny Cain, Will Dill, Laurence Downing, Charlotte Foster, Janie Gallman, Peggy Grigsby, Baalam Lyles, Lucinda Miller, William Oliver, George Patterson, Anne Rice, Henry Ryan; *TX:* Lou Austin, John Barker, Darcus Barnett, Harriet Barnett, Della Mun Bibles, Julia Blanks, Fannie Brown, Ellen Butler, Jeff Calhoun, Amos Clark, Thomas Cole, Andrew Columbus, Josephine Tippit Compton, John Crawford, Willis Easter, Alice Harwell, Sarah Hatley, Mary Ingram, Bettie White Irby,

Alex Jackson, Thomas Johns, Harriet Jones, Martha Jones, Richard Kimmons, Ben Kinchlow, Lu Lee, John Love, Tom Mills, Tildy Moody, Joe Oliver, Ellen Polk, Tillie R. Powers, Henry Probasco, Robert Prout, Will Shelby, Lou Skelton, Millie Ann Smith, Patsy Southwell, Bert Strong, Clara White, Alice Wilkins, Andy Williams, Willie Williams, Wayman Williams, Rose Williams, Wash Wilson

Whipperwill *TX:* John Crawford

Appendix D

WILD GAME: FISH/SHELLFISH

Fish

AL: Carrie Davis, Nicey Pugh, Stephen Varner; *AR:* Rachel Harris, Tanny Hill; *GA:* Rachel Adams, Henry Bland, James Bolton, Susan Castle, Cody Pierce, Callie Elder, Elisha Doc Garey, Alice Green, Dosia Harris, Toy Hawkins, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Carrie Hudson, John F. Van Hook, Georgia Johnson, Estella Jones, George Lewis, Ed Mccree, Susan Mcintosh, William Mcwhorter, Anna Parkes, Annie Price, Julia Rush, Georgia Telfair, Emma Virgel, Rhodus Walton, Henrietta Williams, Frances Willingham; *KY:* George Dorsey, Bert Mayfield, Wes Woods; *MD:* Lucy Brooks, James V. Deane, Rev. Silas Jackson, Mary Moriah, Anne Susanna James, Richard Macks; *MN:* Laura Thompson; *MS:* Aron Carter, Joe Coney, Charlie Davenport, Prince Johnson, Tilda Johnson, Lizzie Norfleet, Mark Oliver, Dempsey Pitts, Noah Rogers, Robert Weathersby, William Wheeler, Anderson Williams; *NC:* John Smith, Elias Thomas, Anna Wright; *OH:* Henry Bedford, Ben Brown, James Campbell, Flening Clark, Florence Lee, Celia Henderson, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison, Thomas McMillan; *OK:* Prince Bee, Francis Bridges, Richardson Chaney, Betty Foreman Chessier, Henry Clay, Martha Cunningham, Lucinda Davis, Eliza Evans, Octavia George, John Harrison, Mattie Logan, Bert Luster, Stephen McCray, Phyllis Petite, Red Richardson, Betty Robertson; *SC:* Sylvia Cannon, Bouregard Corry, Louisa Davis, Washington Dozier, Thomas Goodwater, Charlie Grant, Violet Guntharpe, Zack Herndon, Milton Marshall, Sam Mitchell, Sam Polite, Anne Rice, Joe Rutherford, Sabe Rutledge, Mary Scott, Jessie Sparrow, Mary Veal, Daphney Wright; *TN:* Frances Batson; *TX:* Frank L. Adams, S.B. Adams, Wash Armstrong, Lizzie Atkins, John Barker, Darcus Barnett, Harriet Barnett, Sarah Benjakin, Ellen Betts, Della Mun Bibles, Wesley Burrell, Dave L. Byrd, William Byrd, Louis Cain, Simp Campbell,

	Clara Chappel, Amos Clark, Alice Cole, Thomas Cole, Eli Coleman, William Coleman, Harriet Collins, Andrew Columbus, Charlie Cooper, Valmar Cormier, Uill Daily, Parilee Daniels, Elige Davison, Mollie Dawson, Mary Donatto, John Ellis, Alphonse Fields, Millie Forward, Mattie Gilmore, James Grumbles, Sarah Hatley, Lee Hobby, Tom Holland, Lizzie Hughes, William Irving, Jackson and Rosa Maddox, Maggie Jackson, Thomas Johns, Charley Johnson, Gus Johnson, Anderson Jones, Lizzie Jones, Taby Jones, Dempsey Jordan, Anna Lee, Walter Leggett, Henry Lewis, Lucy Lewis, John Love, John Mcadams, Nap Mcqueen, Tom Mills, Andrew Moody, Vina Moore, John Moore, John Mosley, Calvin Moye, Sally Neeley, Virginia Newman, Lee Pierce, Ellen Polk, Melinda Pollard, Henry Probasco, Jenny Proctor, Gill Ruffin, Peter Ryas, Charlie Sandles, Mary Scranton, George Selman, John Sheed, Will Shelby, Polly Shine, Tucker Smith, John Sneed, Patsy Southwell, Leithan Spinks, Guy Stewart, Winger Vanhook, Adeline Waldon, Sol Walton, Rosa Washington, Clara White, Andy Williams, Julia Williams, Lou Williams, Rose Williams, Jake Wilson, Mary A. Wilson, Willis Winn, Caroline Wright, Virginia Yarbrough
Fish (Baked)	*GA:* Minnie Davis, Callie Elder
Fish (Dried, smoked)	*MO:* August Smith
Fish (Fried)	*GA:* Easter Reed; *KY:* Dan Bogie; *MS:* Elmo Steele, Isaac Stier; *OK:* William Hutson; *TX:* Louis Evans, Mary Gaffney, Andrew Goodman, Martha Jones, Dempsey Jordan, John Mcadams
Fish Heads	*IN:* Amanda Elizabeth Samuels
Fish (Pickled)	*AR:* Rev. Frank T. Boone; *MO:* August Smith
Fish Roe	*TX:* Daphne Williams
Fish (Scale)	*OH:* Rev. Perry Sid Jamison
Bass	*TX:* Julia Blanks
Carp	*AL:* Henry Barnes; *TX:* Olivier Blanchard, Olivies Elanchand
Catfish	*AL:* Clara Davis; *GA:* James Bolton, Martha Colquitt, Anna Parkes; *NC:* Anna Wright; *OH:* Rev. Perry Sid Jamison; *SC:* Phillip Evans, Gus Feaster; *TX:* Jennie Fitts, James Grumbles, Thomas Johns, Mary Johnson, Vina Moore, Peter Ryas, Winger Vanhook
Catfish Stew	*SC:* Gus Feaster
Clam	*SC:* Aunt Ellen Godfrey
Conch	*SC:* Sabe Rutledge
Crab	*GA:* Georgia Johnson; *MD:* James V. Deane
Crawfish	*TX:* Valmar Cormier, Mary Donatto, Mary Scranton, Valmar Cormier and Mary Moses

Eel	*GA:* Green Willbanks; *TX:* Peter Ryas, Mary Scranton
Gar	*AL:* Henry Barnes; *TX:* Olivier Blanchard, Olivies Elanchand, Peter Ryas
Herring (Salt)	*OH:* Ben Brown
Horneyhead	*GA:* Green Willbanks
Jack	*AL:* Henry Barnes; *SC:* Hester Hunter
Mackerel	*MS:* Lewis Jefferson
Mullet	*GA:* Green Willbanks; *SC:* Daphney Wright; *TX:* Daphne Williams
Mussel	*AL:* George Strickland
Oyster	*GA:* Georgia Johnson, Julia Rush
Perch	*GA:* James Bolton, Anna Parkes, Green Willbanks; *SC:* Phillip Evans; *TX:* James Grumbles, Mary Johnson, Vina Moore, Peter Ryas, Winger Vanhook, Daphne Williams
Pike	*NC:* Joe High; *SC:* Hester Hunter, William Oliver
Red Herring	*MD:* Rezin Williams
Red Horse (Fish)	*GA:* John F. Van Hook
Salmon	*GA:* John F. Van Hook
Shrimp	*GA:* Georgia Johnson; *SC:* Sam Polite; *TX:* Nap Mcqueen, Mary Scranton
Rock Roller (Fish)	*SC:* Phillip Evans
Shad	*GA:* James Bolton, Anna Parkes
Sturgeon (Salted)	*MO:* August Smith
Trout	*AL:* Henry Barnes; *GA:* Anna Parkes; *TX:* Julia Blanks, Daphne Williams

Appendix E

WILD GAME: REPTILES AND AMPHIBIANS

Alligator	*TX:* Charley Johnson
Alligator (Tail)	*SC:* Sabe Rutledge, Peter Ryas
Frog	*GA:* Elisha Doc Garey
Rattle Snake (Fried)	*MS:* Gus Clark; *TX:* Charley Johnson, Gus Johnson, Virginia Newman
Rattle Snake Gravy	*TX:* Mary Nickerson
Snail	*SC:* Sabe Rutledge; *TX:* Valmar Cormier, Mary Moses
Terrapin	*MS:* Ruben Fox; *OK:* Patsy Perryman
Terrapin (Soup)	*MS:* Ruben Fox
Turtle	*GA:* Ed Mccree; *OK:* Lucinda Davis; *TX:* Darcus Barnett

Appendix F

WILD GAME: MAMMALS

Game (Unspecified)	*MD*: Tom Randall; *MS:* James Brittian, Tilda Johnson; *OK:* Ed Butler; *TX:* Lizzie Atkins, Monroe Bruckins, Gus Bradshaw, Fannie Brown, Fred Brown, Louis Cain, Richard Carruthers, Jeptha Choice, Thomas Cole, Eli Coleman, Eli Davison, Andrew Goodman, Sarah Hatley, Tom Holland, Lizzie Hughes, William Irving, Alex Jackson, Thomas Johns, Gus Johnson, Anderson Jones, Ben Kinchlow, Silvia King, Lu Lee, Walter Leggett, Amos Lincoln, Nap Mcqueen, Josh Miles, Tom Mills, John Moore, Tillie R. Powers, Joe Rawls, Gill Ruffin, Charlie Sandles, Lou Skelton, Millie Ann Smith, Tucker Smith, Patsy Southwell, William Stone, Bert Strong, Emma Countee Wilson, Jake Wilson
Antelope	*TX:* Lou Austin, Willis Easter, John Ellis, William Paxton
Barbecue (Unspecified)	*TX*: Eli Coleman, Mary Thompson, Winger Vanhook
Bear	*MS:* Mark Oliver, Ben Richardson; *OK:* Daniel Webster Burton, Della Fountain, John Harrison; *TX:* Lou Austin, Jeff Calhoun, Simp Campbell, Richard Carruthers, Cato Carter, Willis Easter, Richard Kimmons, Silvia King, Mary Ann Patterson, Willis Winn
Beef (Wild)	*SC:* George Patterson
Buffalo	*MO:* Sarah Waggoner; *OK:* John Harrison; *TX:* Jeff Calhoun, John Ellis, William Paxton, Lou Skelton, Jake Wilson, Willis Winn
Chicken (Wild)	*TX:* Daphne Williams

Deer	*GA:* Cody Pierce, John F. Van Hook; *KS:* Bill Simms; *MS:* Gabe Butler, Charlie Davenport, Mark Oliver, Dave Walker; *MO:* Sarah Waggoner; *OK:* Daniel Webster Burton, Richardson Chaney, Jefferson Cole, Lucinda Davis, Della Fountain, John Harrison, Lewis Jenkins, Bert Luster; *SC:* Charlotte Foster, Peggy Grigsby; *TX:* Lou Austin, Joe Barnes, Darcus Barnett, Harriet Barnett, Edgar Bendy, Julia Blanks, Charley Bowen, Gus Bradshaw, William Branch, Fred Brown, Dave L. Byrd, Louis Cain, Jeff Calhoun, Simp Campbell, Cato Carter, Thomas Cole, Jane Cotton, Eli Davison, Mollie Dawson, Willis Easter, John Ellis, Millie Forward, Lucendy Griffen, Jack Harrison, Alice Harwell, Sarah Hatley, Bettie White Irby, Alex Jackson, Carter J. Jackson, Richard Kimmons, Ben Kinchlow, Silvia King, Alex Lacy, Lu Lee, Tom Mills, Tildy Moody, John Mosley, Calvin Moye, Isaiah Norwood, Joe Oliver, Will Parker, Mary Ann Patterson, William Paxton, Lee Pierce, Robert Prout, Joe Rawls, Charlie Sandles, Abram Sells, Will Shelby, Patsy Southwell, Bert Strong, Clara White, Sylvester Sostan Wickliffe, Wayman Williams, Willis Winn
Deer (Pickled)	*TX:* Tildy Moody
Fox	*OK:* Robert Williams; *SC:* Laurence Gary
Ground Hog	*KY:* Dan Bogie; *OH:* Flening Clark, Celia Henderson, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison
Hog (Wild)	*KS:* Bill Simms; *MS:* Granny Lee; *OK:* William Curtis; *SC:* Charlotte Foster, George Patterson; *TX:* Della Mun Bibles, Jack Cauthern, Thomas Cole, Jake Compton, Jane Cotton, Mollie Dawson, George Earle, James Grumbles, Alice Harwell, Bill Homer, Mary Ingram, Bettie White Irby, Martha Jones, Taby Jones, Ben Kinchlow, Lu Lee, Josh Miles, Ellen Polk, Joe Rawls, Millie Ann Smith, William Stone, Wayman Williams, Willie Williams, Wash Wilson
Mink	*OK:* John Harrison
Muskrat	*OH:* Celia Henderson; *OK:* John Harrison
Panther/Lion	*MS:* Mark Oliver; *OK:* Daniel Webster Burton; *TX:* Lou Austin, Ben Kinchlow, Willis Winn
Possum	*AL:* Henry Cheatam, Carrie Davis, Josh Horn, Emma Jones, Hannah Jones, Sally Murphy, Nicey Pugh, William Henry Towns; *AR:* William Brown, Israel Jackson, Marion Johnson, Mary Mitchell, Henrietta Williams; *GA:* Rachel Adams, Georgia Baker, James Bolton, Alec Bostwick, Easter Brown, Susan Castle, Martha Colquitt, George Eason, Callie Elder, Anderson Furr, Elisha Doc Garey, Alice Green, Dosia Harris, Toy Hawkins, Jefferson Franklin Henry, John Hill, Carrie Hudson, Charlie Hudson, Easter Huff, John F. Van Hook, Jennie Kendricks, Susan Matthews, Ed Mccree, Susan Mcintosh,

William Mcwhorter, Anna Parkes, Alec Pope, Annie Price, Will Sheets, Robert Shepherd, Tom Singleton, Georgia Smith, Melvin Smith, Addie Vinson, Emma Virgel, William Ward, Green Willbanks, Olin Williams, Frances Willingham; *KY:* Dan Bogie, Bert Mayfield; *MD:* James V. Deane, Rev. Silas Jackson, Mary Moriah, Anne Susanna James, Phillip Johnson, Richard Macks; *MN:* Mary Sellers, Laura Thompson; *MS:* James Brittian, Della Buckley, Aron Carter, Mattie Dillworth, Ruben Fox, Fanny Smith Hodges, Squire Irwin, Lewis Jefferson, Prince Johnson, Julius Jones, Mandy Jones, Hamp Kennedy, Mary Ann Kitchens, Robert Laird, George Washington Miller, Lizzie Norfleet, Hester Norton, Mark Oliver, Ben Richardson, Nettie Rocket, Adam Singleton, Rev. James Singleton, Adam Smith, Callie Washington, Temple Wilson; *MO:* August Smith; *NE:* Fred Forbes, Sarah Grant; *NC:* Louisa Adams, Jane Arrington, Blount Baker, Charlie Barbour, Emma Blalock, Zeb Crowder, W.S. Debnan, George W. Harris, Joe High, Julius Nelson, Pool Parker, John Smith, Sam T. Stewart, R.S. Taylor, Elias Thomas, Anna Wright; *OH:* Henry Bedford, Flening Clark, Florence Lee, Clark Heard, Celia Henderson, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison, Thomas McMillan, William Nelson, Nan Stewart, Tap Hawkins; *OK:* Alice Alexander, Sam Anderson, Prince Bee, Francis Bridges, Polly Colbert, William Curtis, Eliza Evans, Lizzie Farmer, Della Fountain, Hal Hutson, Lewis Jenkins, Mattie Logan, Bert Luster, Stephen McCray, Red Richardson, Annie Young; *SC:* Gordon Bluford, Granny Cain, Peter Clifton, Caleb Craig, Louisa Davis, Wallace Davis, Laurence Downing, Washington Dozier, Mary Edwards, Fairy Elkins, Gus Feaster, Laurence Gary, John Glover, Thomas Goodwater, Charlie Grant, Ophelia Jemison, Mary Johnson, Milton Marshall, Lucinda Miller, William Oliver, Sam Polite, Anne Rice, Isom Roberts, Lila Rutherford, Henry Ryan, Mary Scott, Nina Scott, Jessie Sparrow, Mary Veal; *TX:* Frank L. Adams, S.B. Adams, Wash Armstrong, Lizzie Atkins, Lou Austin, John Barker, Joe Barnes, Darcus Barnett, Harriet Barnett, Edgar Bendy, Sarah Benjakin, Sarah Benjamin, Charlotte Beverly, Julia Blanks, Henry Broadus, Fannie Brown, Vinnie Brunson, Wesley Burrell, Dave L. Byrd, William Byrd, Clara Chappel, Harriet Chesley, Jeptha Choice, Abraham Coker, Alice Cole, Thomas Cole, Eli Coleman, William Coleman, Harriet Collins, Jake Compton, Josephine Tippit Compton, Charlie Cooper, John Crawford, Uill Daily, Parilee Daniels, Mollie Dawson, John Ellis, Louis Evans, Alphonse Fields, Millie Forward, Mary Gaffney, Mattie Gilmore, Lucendy Griffen, Alice Harwell, Sarah Hatley, Tom Holland, Alice Houston, Carolina Houston, Bettie White Irby, Alex Jackson, Maggie Jackson, Thomas Johns, Harriet Jones, Lizzie Jones, Taby Jones, Dempsey Jordan, Richard Kimmons, Ben Kinchlow, Anna Lee, Hagar Lewis, Henry Lewis, Amos Lincoln, Sue Lockridge, Melea Malone, John Mcadams, Lee Mcgillery, Rosie Mcgillery, Cassie Middleton, Tom Mills, La

San Mire, Vina Moore, John Mosley, Calvin Moye, Sally Neeley, Isaiah Norwood, Will Parker, Melinda Pollard, Lafayyette Price, Jenny Proctor, Robert Prout, Harre Quarls, Joe Rawls, George Rivers, Fannie Robinson, Charlie Sandles, Abram Sells, John Sheed, Will Shelby, Polly Shine, George Simmons, Samuel Smith, John Sneed, Tucker Smith, Jake Terriell, Allen Thomas, Mrs. Mary Thompson, Winger Vanhook, Adeline Waldon, Bean Walker, Clara White, Jack White, Lewis Williams, Lou Williams, Rose Williams, Soul Williams, Stephen Williams, Emma Countee Wilson, Sarah Wilson, Willis Winn, Caroline Wright; *VA:* Simon Stokes

Possum (Gravy) *GA:* Charlie Hudson; *OK:* Prince Bee, Polly Colbert; *VA:* Simon Stokes

Possum (Stew) *OK:* Phyllis Petite

Rabbit *AL:* Carrie Davis, Ester Green, Emma Jones, Hannah Jones; *AR:* Henrietta Williams; *Washington DC:* Mrs. Lancy Harris; *GA:* Uncle Dave and Aunt Lillian, Georgia Baker, James Bolton, Easter Brown, Susan Castle, Cody Pierce, Anderson Furr, Elisha Doc Garey, Alice Green, Dosia Harris, Toy Hawkins, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Carrie Hudson, Charlie Hudson, Easter Huff, John F. Van Hook, Susan Matthews, Ed Mccree, Susan Mcintosh, William Mcwhorter, Anna Parkes, Alec Pope, Will Sheets, Robert Shepherd, Georgia Smith, Addie Vinson, Green Willbanks, Frances Willingham; *IN:* George Beatty; *KY:* George Dorsey; *MD:* Rev. Silas Jackson, Mary Moriah, Anne Susanna James, Phillip Johnson, Richard Macks; *MN:* Laura Thompson; *MS:* James Brittian, Aron Carter, Gus Clark, Joe Coney, Charlie Davenport, Mattie Dillworth, Ruben Fox, Squire Irwin, Prince Johnson, Julius Jones, George Washington Miller, Lizzie Norfleet, Mark Oliver, Dempsey Pitts, Ben Richardson, Nettie Rocket, Adam Smith, Callie Washington; *MO:* August Smith; *NC:* Louisa Adams, Emma Blalock, Zeb Crowder, W.S. Debnan, George W. Harris, Robert Hinton, Julius Nelson, John Smith, R.S. Taylor, Anna Wright; *OH:* Henry Bedford, James Campbell, Flening Clark, Florence Lee, Clark Heard, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison, Thomas McMillan; *OK:* Sam Anderson, John Harrison, Hal Hutson, Lewis Jenkins, Mattie Logan, Bert Luster, Stephen McCray, Patsy Perryman, Maggie Pinkard, Red Richardson, Robert Williams; *SC:* Gordon Bluford, Granny Cain, Sylvia Cannon, Wallace Davis, Laurence Downing, Mary Edwards, Fairy Elkins, Gus Feaster, Laurence Gary, Thomas Goodwater, Charlie Grant, Peggy Grigsby, Ophelia Jemison, Mary Johnson, Baalam Lyles, Milton Marshall, Lucinda Miller, Anne Rice, Lila Rutherford, Sabe Rutledge, Henry Ryan, Nina Scott, Jessie Sparrow, Mary Veal; *TX:* S.B. Adams, Wash Armstrong, Lizzie Atkins, John Barker, Joe Barnes, Darcus Barnett, Harriet Barnett, William Branch, Vinnie Brunson, Wesley Burrell,

	Dave L. Byrd, Richard Carruthers, Clara Chappel, Harriet Chesley, Amos Clark, Thomas Cole, Eli Coleman, William Coleman, Charlie Cooper, John Crawford, Uill Daily, Julia Frances Daniels, Parilee Daniels, Mollie Dawson, Victor Duhon, John Ellis, Alphonse Fields, Mary Gaffney, Mattie Gilmore, George Glasker, Lucendy Griffen, Sarah Hatley, Tom Holland, Carolina Houston, Maggie Jackson, Thomas Johns, Lizzie Jones, Taby Jones, Dempsey Jordan, Richard Kimmons, Ben Kinchlow, Silvia King, Anna Lee, Henry Lewis, Sue Lockridge, Melea Malone, Isaac Martin, John Mcadams, Lee Mcgillery, Rosie Mcgillery, Tom Mills, Andrew Moody, Vina Moore, William Moore, John Mosley, Calvin Moye, Sally Neely, Isaiah Norwood, Melinda Pollard, Jenny Proctor, Robert Prout, George Rivers, Charlie Sandles, Abram Sells, John Sheed, Will Shelby, Polly Shine, Lou Skelton, Samuel Smith, John Sneed, Bert Strong, Jake Terriell, Mrs. Mary Thompson, Winger Vanhook, Adeline Waldon, Bean Walker, Jack White, Lou Williams, Rose Williams, Emma Countee Wilson, Caroline Wright
Rabbit (Baked)	*AR:* Henrietta Williams; *GA:* Callie Elder
Rabbit (Barbecued)	*OK:* Francis Bridges, Annie Young
Rabbit (Boiled)	*AR:* Henrietta Williams
Rabbit (Dried)	*GA:* Callie Elder
Rabbit (Fried)	*AR:* Henrietta Williams; *GA:* Callie Elder, Charlie Hudson; *TX:* Cassie Middleton
Rabbit (Smoked)	*GA:* Callie Elder
Rabbit (Stewed)	*AR:* Henrietta Williams; *GA:* Callie Elder; *KY:* Dan Bogie; *MS:* Mary Ann Kitchens; *OK:* Phyllis Petite; *TX:* Cassie Middleton, Robert Prout
Raccoon	*AL:* Carrie Davis; *AR:* William Brown, Mary Mitchell; *Washington DC:* Mrs. Lancy Harris; *GA:* Georgia Baker, George Eason, John Hill, Addie Vinson, Olin Williams, John F. Van Hook, William Ward, Frances Willingham; *IN:* Solomon Hicks; *KY:* George Dorsey, Bert Mayfield; *MD:* James V. Deane, Phillip Johnson, Richard Macks; *MN:* Laura Thompson; *MS:* James Brittian, Ellen Gooden, Mattie Dillworth, Ruben Fox, Squire Irwin, Prince Johnson, Mandy Jones, Julius Jones, Lizzie Norfleet, Ben Richardson, Adam Singleton, Rev. James Singleton, Callie Washington; *NE:* Fred Forbes, Sarah Grant; *NC:* George W. Harris, Pool Parker, John Smith, Louisa Adams, W.S. Debnan, Julius Nelson, Jane Arrington, Charlie Barbour, Zeb Crowder, Anna Wright; *OH:* Henry Bedford, Celia Henderson, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison, Nan Stewart, Tap Hawkins; *OK:* Francis Bridges, Polly Colbert, William Curtis, Eliza Evans, Della Fountain, Lewis Jenkins, Robert Williams, Annie Young; *SC:* Baalam Lyles,

	Sam Polite, Jessie Sparrow; *TX:* Wash Armstrong, John Barker, Joe Barnes, Edgar Bendy, Sarah Benjamin, Julia Blanks, Jerry Boykins, Vinnie Brunson, Cato Carter, Jake Compton, Josephine Tippit Compton, John Crawford, Mollie Dawson, Victor Duhon, George Earle, Louis Evans, Millie Forward, Sarah Hatley, Alice Harwell, Bettie White Irby, Alex Jackson, Harriet Jones, Lizzie Jones, Richard Kimmons, Hagar Lewis, Amos Lincoln, Sue Lockridge, Melea Malone, La San Mire, Andrew Moody, Will Parker, Harre Quarls, Will Shelby, Winger Vanhook, Adeline Waldon, Clara White, Soul Williams, Emma Countee Wilson, Stephen Williams, Willis Winn
Raccoon (Stew)	*TX:* Walter Leggett
Skunk	*OH:* Celia Henderson; *TX:* Jeff Calhoun
Squirrel	*GA:* Georgia Baker, Cody Pierce, Alice Green, Dosia Harris, Jefferson Franklin Henry, John F. Van Hook, Susan Matthews, William Mcwhorter, Melvin Smith, Frances Willingham; *IN:* George Beatty; *KY:* George Dorsey; *MS:* James Brittian, Granny Lee, Ruben Fox, George Washington Miller, Mark Oliver; *MO:* August Smith; *NE:* Fred Forbes; *NC:* Zeb Crowder, Julius Nelson, John Smith, Anna Wright; *OH:* Rev. Perry Sid Jamison, Thomas McMillan; *OK:* Polly Colbert, William Curtis, Della Fountain, John Harrison, Johnson Thompson; *SC:* Gordon Bluford, Granny Cain, Wallace Davis, Laurence Downing, Mary Edwards, Fairy Elkins, Laurence Gary, Peggy Grigsby, Ben Horry, Mary Johnson, Baalam Lyles, William Oliver, Anne Rice, Sabe Rutledge, Henry Ryan, Nina Scott, Mary Veal; *TX:* John Barker, Harriet Barnett, Vinnie Brunson, Cato Carter, Amos Clark, Julia Frances Daniels, Eli Davison, Mollie Dawson, George Earle, Alex Jackson, Lizzie Jones, Taby Jones, Silvia King, Hagar Lewis, Tom Mills, Tildy Moody, Calvin Moye, Tillie R. Powers, Joe Rawls, Charlie Sandles, Abram Sells, Will Shelby, Bert Strong, Adeline Waldon, Clara White, Willis Winn
Squirrel (Red)	*OK:* Prince Bee
Varmint (Unspecified)	*AL:* Josh Horn
Venison (Fried)	*AR:* Komeline Waddille
Wolf	*OK:* Daniel Webster Burton
Yearling	*AL:* Henry Barnes; *AR:* Betty Curlett; *TX:* Eli Coleman

Appendix G

DAIRY

Butter

AL: Cynthia Erwing, Nicey Pugh; *AR:* Dina Beard, Jennie Butler, Zenia Culp, Millie Evans, Rachel Hankins, Mary Mitchell, Rev. Frank T. Boone, Mollie Hardy Scott, Mahalia Shores, Edmond Smith, Tom and Sarah Douglas; *GA:* Willis Cofer, Alice Green, Jefferson Franklin Henry, John Hill, Charlie Hudson, Easter Huff, Lina Hunter, Jane Smith Hill Harmon, Georgia Johnson, Fannie Jones, Susan Mcintosh, Georgia Smith, Nancy Smith, Nellie Smith, Georgia Telfair, Cordelia Thomas, Emma Virgel, Olin Williams, Frances Willingham; *KY:* Will Oats; *MN:* Mary Sellers; *MS:* Barney Alford, Della Buckley, Gabe Butler, Aron Carter, Tilda Johnson, Millie Young, Granny Lee, Ellen Gooden, Simon Durr, Fanny Smith Hodges, Squire Irwin, Ruben Laird, Harriet Miller, Alex Montgomery, Ben Richardson, Hattie Sugg; *NC:* Hannah Crasson, Lucy Ann Dunn, Tempie Herndon Durham, Essex Henry, R.S. Taylor; *OH:* Flening Clark, Clark Heard; *OK:* Polly Colbert, Lewis Jenkins, Jim Threat, Lucinda Vann, Agnes Walker, Annie Young; *SC:* Sara Brown, Charlie Davis, Caroline Farrow, Gus Feaster, Mary Raines, Charlie Watson; *TX:* Andy J. Anderson, Andy Anikeson, George Austin, Amelia Barnett, Ellen Betts, Charlotte Beverly, Julia Blanks, Fred Brown, Steve Brown, Martha Spence Bunton, Clara Chappel, Hattie Cole, Jake Compton, Steve Connally, Uill Daily, Campbell Davis, Tob Davis, Chris Franklin, Scott Hooper, Lizzie Hughes, Charley Hurt, Bettie White Irby, John James, Charley Johnson, Gus Johnson, Lewis Jones, Sam Kilgore, Ben Kinchlow, Sarah Lee, Louise Mathews, Susan Merritt, Calvin Moye, Mary Nickerson, George Owens, Robert Prout, Laura Redmoun, Elsie Reece, George Rivers, Dorsey Scott, Patsy Southwell, Leithan Spinks, Allen Thomas, Aleck Trimble, Emma Weeks, Sarah Wilson, Wash Wilson, Caroline Wright

Buttermilk	*AL:* Martin Graham, Adeline Hodge, Frank Menefee, Chency Cross, Martin Graham; *AR:* Millie Evans, Charlie Hinton; *GA:* Bryant Buff, Willis Cofer, Julia Cole, Toy Hawkins, Julia Larken, Matilda Mckinney, Cody Pierce, Robert Shepherd, Uncle Jake, Green Willbanks; *KY:* Dan Bogie, Bert Mayfield; *MS:* James Brittian, Aunt Becca, Tilda Johnson, Charlie Davenport, Mollie Edmonds; *MO:* Marilda Pethy; *NC:* R.S. Taylor, Melissa Williamson; *OH:* Flening Clark, Hannah Davidson, William Williams; *OK:* Eliza Bell, Mattie Logan, Charley Williams; *SC:* Millie Barber, Anderson Bates, Gus Feaster, Ed Mccrorey, Dan Smith, Robert Toatley, Med Walker; *TX:* Ellen Betts, Jacob Branch, Martha Spence Bunton, Mrs. Thomas Johns, Sam Meredith Mason, Mary Nickerson, Walter Rimm, Annie Whitley Ware
Cheese	*GA:* Easter Huff, Will Sheets; *MS:* Simon Durr, Alex Montgomery; *NC:* Anna Wright; *TX:* Ben Kinchlow, Mary Nickerson, Mariah Robinson, Sarah Wilson, Wash Wilson
Clabber (Milk)	*AL:* Martin Graham; *AR:* Jennie Worely Gibson, Charlie Hinton; *MD:* Lucy Brooks; *MS:* Hamp Kennedy, Jim Martin, Harriet Miller, Jeff Rayford, Ben Richardson; *OK:* Sarah Wilson; *SC:* Maggie Black, Sara Brown, Charlie Davis, William Henry Davis, Gus Feaster, Aunt Ellen Godfrey, Maria Jenkins, Ed Mccrorey, Sallie Paul, John Petty, Sam Polite, Jessie Sparrow, Manda Walker, Med Walker, George Austin; *TX:* Charlotte Beverly, Olivier Blanchard, Wesley Burrell, Jake Desso, Olivies Elanchand, Alphonse Fields, Orelia Alexie Franks, Alice Houston, Sallie Johnson, Liza Jones, Amos Lincoln, Louise Mathews, Steve Robinson, Rosa Washington
Cream	*AR:* Rev. Frank T. Boone; *NC:* Tempie Herndon Durham; *SC:* Ben Leitner; *TX:* Steve Connally, Dennis Grant, Calvin Moye
Cream (Whipped)	*NC:* Sarah Anne Green
Custard (Potato)	*GA:* Ed Mccree
Custard (Pumpkin)	*SC:* Madison Griffin
Eggs (Chicken)	*AR:* Zenia Culp, Rachel Harris, Betty Curlett, Alice Dixon, Millie Evans, Cora Gillam, Rachel Hankins, Mark C. Trotter; *FL:* Acie Thomas; *GA:* Susan Mcintosh; *MN:* Laura Thompson; *MS:* Gabe Butler, Millie Young, Ellen Gooden, Charlie Davenport, Simon Durr, Pet Franks, Orris Harris, Fanny Smith Hodges, Mark Oliver, Lorena Thomas, Dave Walker; *NC:* Lucy Ann Dunn, Clara Cotton McCoy; *SC:* Caroline Farrow, Sam Polite; *TX:* Fannie Brown, Steve Brown, Hattie Cole, Thomas Cole, Harriet Collins, Andrew Columbus, Fannie Mccullough Driver, Louis Fowler, Bettie White Irby, Lewis Jones, Walter Leggett, Millie Manuel, Louise Mathews, Henderson Perkins, Louvinia Young Pleasant, Henry Probasco, Laura Redmoun, Elsie Reece, George Rivers, Dorsey Scott, Yach Stringfellow, William M.

	Thomas, Penny Thompson, James G. Woorling, Virginia Yarbrough; *VA:* Mary Jane Wilson, Sarah Laws Hill
Eggs (Baked/ roasted)	*AR:* Mollie Hardy Scott; *FL:* Acie Thomas; *MS:* Barney Alford, Harriet Miller
Eggs (Boiled)	*NC:* Anna Wright
Egg Nog	*GA:* Easter Huff, Aunt Carrie Mason; *MS:* Silias Knox, Luke Wilson; *NC:* Sarah Anne Green; *SC:* Sylvia Cannon; *TX:* Gus Bradshaw, Chris Franklin, Rosanna Fraziek, Joseph James, Martha Jones, Andy Mcadams, John Mcadams, George Rivers, Elvira Roles, John Sheed, John Sneed, Yach Stringfellow, Mary Thompson, Willis Winn, Sallie Wroe
Ice Cream	*AR:* Cora Gillam, Claiborne Moss; *MS:* Callie Gray; *TX:* Handy Hadnot, Vina Moore
Milk	*AL:* Cynthia Erwing, Jane Halloway (Holloway), Ella Harris, Anne Maddox, General Jefferson Davis Nunn, Nicey Pugh, Eli Smith, Cull Taylor; *AR:* Fannie Alexander, Dina Beard, Sophie D. Belle, Frank Cannon, Zenia Culp, Betty Curlett, Fannie Dorum, Willie Doyle, William L. Dunwoody, John Elliot, Millie Evans, Mike Genes, Jennie Worely Gibson, Cora Gillam, Henry Green, Henry Green, Hannah Hancock, Rachel Hankins, G.W. Hawkins, Elisa Hays, Charlie Hinton, Cornelia Ishmon, Israel Jackson, Mag Johnson, Charlie Jones, Walter Jones, Ducy Key, Mandy Lee, Jesse Meeks, Henry Kirk Miller, Claiborne Moss, Griffin Myrax, Anstin Pen Parnell, Frank A. Patterson, Rev. Frank T. Boone, Mollie Hardy Scott, Mahalia Shores, Edmond Smith, Mrs. Dicey Thomas, John Wells, Dock Wilborn, Columbus Williams; *FL:* Hattie Thomas; *GA:* Henry Bland, Della Briscoe, Ellen Calphell, Willis Cofer, Minnie Davis, Benny Dillard, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Martha Everette, Alice Green, Heard Griffin, Dosia Harris, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Robert Henry, John Hill, Charlie Hudson, Easter Huff, Lina Hunter, Easter Jackson, Jane Smith Hill Harmon, Georgia Johnson, Estella Jones, Fannie Jones, Jennie Kendricks, George Lewis, Mollie Malone, Amanda Mcdaniel, Annie Price, Charlie Pye, Partheny Shaw, Cora Shepherd, Mary Jane Simmons, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Emmaline Sturgis, Cordelia Thomas, Rhodus Walton, Green Willbanks, Olin Williams, George Womble, Henry Wright, Dink Walton Young; *KY:* Dan Bogie, Bert Mayfield, Will Oats; *MN:* Mary Sellers; *MS:* Barney Alford, Peter Blewitt, Harry Bridges, James Brittian, Ebenezer Brown, Gabe Butler, Aron Carter, Hannah Chapman, Tilda Johnson, Granny Lee, Ellen Gooden, Julia Cox, Henry Daniels, Charlie Davenport, Louis Davis, Nelson Dickerson, Lucy Donald, Ann Drake, Simon Durr, Manda Edmondson, Angie Floyd, Ruben Fox, Orris Harris, Squire Irwin, Lewis Jefferson, Charity Jones, Mary Jane Jones, Abe Kelley, Ruben Laird, Jim Martin, John Matthews, Abe

Mcklennan, Laura Montgomery, Tom Morris, Maria Parham, Salem Powell, Ben Richardson, Smith Simmons, Adam Singleton, Adam Smith, Malindy Smith, Wright Stapleton, Lorena Thomas, Dave Walker, George Weathersby, Robert Weathersby, Chaney Moore Williams, Ed Williams, Lizzie Williams, Temple Wilson, Rebecca Woods, Polly Turner Cancer; *MO:* Frederick Ross, Tishey Taylor; *NC:* W.L. Bost, Hannah Crasson, Lucy Ann Dunn, Tempie Herndon Durham, Sarah Gudger, Fannie Moore; *OH:* Flening Clark, Clark Heard, George Jackson; *OK:* Sina Banks, Polly Colbert, Eliza Evans, Lewis Jenkins, Red Richardson, Agnes Walker, Tom Woods, Annie Young; *SC:* Frank Adamson, Charley Barber, Anne Bell, Gordon Bluford, Josephine Bristow, Sara Brown, Savilla Burrell, Caleb Craig, William Henry Davis, Phillip Evans, Caroline Farrow, Gus Feaster, Violet Guntharpe, Susan Hamlin, Zack Herndon, Hester Hunter, Maria Jenkins, Ben Leitner, Sallie Paul, Benjamin Russell, Sabe Rutledge, Jessie Sparrow, Charlie Watson; *TN:* Sylvia Watkins, S.B. Adams, Andy J. Anderson, Andy Anikeson, Stearlin Arnwine, George Austin, George Austin, Agatha Babino, Henry Baker, John Barker, Amelia Barnett, Charlotte Beverly, Della Mun Bibles, Betty Bormer, Charley Bowen, Harrison Boyd, William Branch, Fannie Brown, Fred Brown, Steve Brown, Madison Bruin, Vinnie Brunson, Martha Spence Bunton, James Burleson, Clara Chappel, Jeptha Choice, Hattie Cole, Preely Coleman, Jake Compton, Steve Connally, John Crawford, Campbell Davis, Tob Davis, Alphonse Fields, Sarah Ford, Sam Forge, Chris Franklin, Orelia Alexie Franks, Mary Glover, Dennis Grant, Catharine Green, Pauline Grice, Ann Hawthorne, Albert Hill, Rosina Hoard, Bill Homer, Scott Hooper, Charley Hurt, Bettie White Irby, Jack and Rosa Maddox, Alex Jackson, John James, Charley Johnson, Gus Johnson, Lewis Jones, Sam Kilgore, Ben Kinchlow, Lu Lee, Sarah Lee, Walter Leggett, Cinto Lewis, Lucy Lewis, Millie Manuel, Eva Martin, Isaac Martin, Louise Mathews, Susan Merritt, Ann Mickey, Anna Miller, Peter Mitchell, Tildy Moody, John Mosley, Calvin Moye, Hannah Mullins, Bell Nelson, Mary Nickerson, Annie Osborne, Jessie Pauls, Willaim Paxton, Daniel Phillips, Betty Powers, Henry Probasco, Robert Prout, Andrew Pullen, Laura Ray, Laura Redmoun, Elsie Reece, Kitty Reece, George Rivers, Steve Robinson, Gill Ruffin, Martin Ruffin, Dorsey Scott, Will Shelby, Marshall Showers, James W. Smith, Samuel Smith, William Smith, Patsy Southwell, Leithan Spinks, Fayette Stephens, Guy Stewart, Mollie Taylor, Allen Thomas, Aleck Trimble, Irella Battle Walker, Annie Whitley Ware, Rosa Washington, William Watkins, Emma Watson, Emma Weeks, Millie Williams, Rose Williams, Sarah Wilson, Wash Wilson, Caroline Wright, Virginia Yarbrough, Litt Young, Teshan Young

Milk (Skimmed) — *AL:* Callie Williams; *FL:* Sam and Louisa Everett

Milk (Sour)	*MS:* Tilda Johnson
Milk (Whey – a low-quality milk)	*MO:* Charlie Richardson
Pudding	*TX:* Bill and Ellen Thomas
Pudding (Potato)	*AR:* Laura House; *TX:* Bettie White Irby, Walter Leggett
Pudding (Syrup potato)	*AR:* Mary Jane Hardridge

Appendix H

GRAINS

Grain (Unspecified)	*GA:* David Goodman Gullins; *OK:* Ed Butler; *TX:* Alice Harwell, Caroline Wright
Barley	*AR:* Henry Green; *TX:* J.H. Day, William Irving, Robert Prout, William Watkins, Willie Williams, Emma Countee Wilson
Bran (Meal)	*TX:* John Crawford, Millie Williams
Bran (Parched wheat bran/or rye for coffee)	*MS:* William Wheeler; *MO:* August Smith, Jame (Jane) Thompson; *OK:* Kiziah Love, Mollie Watson; *TX:* Mary Kindred, Irella Battle Walker, John Walton
Buckwheat	*AR:* William L. Dunwoody; *TX:* Richard Carruthers, Robert Prout
Cottonseed	*AR:* Doc Quinn
Flax	*OK:* Sina Banks, Martha Cunningham
Flour—"Seconds" and wheat	*AL:* Oliver Bell, Frank Gill, George Taylor; *AR:* Robert Barr, Norman Burkes, Ella Daniels, Minnie Hollomon, John Hunter, Victoria Mcmullen, Mary Mitchell, Claiborne Moss, Frank A. Patterson, Rev. Frank T. Boone, Ida Rigley, Dock Wilborn; *FL:* Samuel Simeon Andrews, Mary Minus Biddle; *GA:* James Bolton, Della Briscoe, Mariah Calloway, Ellen Calphell, Mose Davis, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Martha Everette, Heard Griffin, Dosia Harris, Robert Henry, Camilla Jackson, Julia Brown, Caroline Malloy, Emmaline Sturgis, Georgia Telfair, Rhodus Walton, George Womble, Dink Walton Young; *MD:* Rev. Silas Jackson; *MS:* Barney

Alford, Ebenezer Brown, Della Buckley, Gabe Butler, Millie Young, Granny Lee, Ellen Gooden, Ellen Gooden, Sarah Felder, Henry Gibbs,Virginia Harris, Evie Herrin, Prince Johnson, Mandy Jones, Ann May, Elsie Posey, Jeff Rayford, Lizzie Williams, Robert Young; *NC:* Tempie Herndon Durham, Cy Hart, R.S. Taylor, Anna Wright; *OH:* Hannah Davidson; *OK:* John Brown, Lewis Jenkins, Sam Jordan, Mattie Logan, Salomon Oliver, Lucinda Vann; *SC:* William Ballard, Nellie Boyd, Solomon Caldwell, Sylvia Cannon, William Henry Davis, Caroline Farrow, Gus Feaster, Zack Herndon, Hester Hunter, Henry D. Jenkins, Lucinda Miller, George Woods; *TX:* Stearlin Arnwine, George Austin, Agatha Babino, Wes Beady, Charlotte Beverly, Charley Bowen, Harrison Boyd, Monroe Bruckins, Steve Brown, Zek Brown, Richard Carruthers, Cato Carter, Jack Cauthern, Tob Davis, Mollie Dawson, Nelson Taylor Densen, Bud Dixon, Willis Easter, Mary Gaffney, Andrew Goodman, Catharine Green, Albert Hill, Lee Hobby, Mary Homer, Scott Hooper, Lizzie Hughes, Anna Humphrey, Bettie White Irby, Jack and Rosa Maddox, Sallie Johnson, Lewis Jones, Taby Jones, Dempsey Jordan, Calvin Kennard, Sam Kilgore, Richard Kimmons, Ben Kinchlow, Walter Leggett, Hagar Lewis, Henry Lewis, Amos Lincoln, John Love, William Mathews, Susan Merritt, Anna Miller, Harriett Millett, Van Moore, Isom Norris, Martha Patton, Betty Powers, Ransom Rosborough, John Sheed, James W. Smith, Millie Ann Smith, John Sneed, Leithan Spinks, Guy Stewart, Mollie Taylor, Rebecca Thomas, William M. Thomas, Rose Williams, Willie Williams, Emma Countee Wilson, Willis Winn

Flour (White) — *OH:* James Campbell; *TX:* Betty Bormer

Hemp (Likely, the seeds were used.) — *OK:* Sina Banks

Oats or Oat Meal — *AL:* Abraham Jones; *AR:* William L. Dunwoody, Warren Mckinney; *FL:* Samuel Simeon Andrews; *GA:* Lina Hunter, Cordelia Thomas, Olin Williams, George Womble; *MD:* Phillip Johnson; *NC:* Zeb Crowder, Dorcas Griffeth; *SC:* Sara Brown; *TX:* Sarah Benjamin, Jack Cauthern, Abraham Coker, Jake Compton, John Day, Sam Forge, William Irving, Anderson Jones, Martha Jones, Betty Simmons, William Stone, William Watkins

Rice — *AL:* Cull Taylor; *AR:* Campbell Armstrong, Rachel Bradley, Mattie Brown, Ella Daniels, Millie Evans, Henry Green, Abbie Lindsay, Frank A. Patterson; *FL:* Rivana Boynton, Patience Campbell, Rev. Young Winston Davis, Willis Dukes, Rev. Squires Jackson, Douglas Parish, Acie Thomas; *GA:* Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Estella Jones, George

	Lewis, Shade Richards, Shade Richards; *MS:* Ebenezer Brown, Aron Carter, Ellen Gooden, Ben Richardson, Joe Simpson, Lucy Thurston, Robert Young; *NC:* Hannah Crasson; *OH:* Hanna Fambro; *OK:* Robert R. Grinstead, Sam Jordan, Betty Robertson; *SC:* Maggie Black, Josephine Bristow, Sylvia Cannon, William Henry Davis, Washington Dozier, Aunt Ellen Godfrey, Ben Horry, Martha Kelly, Gable Locklier, William Oliver, Sabe Rutledge, Jackson Speers, Med Walker; *TN:* Mollie Moss, Ellen Betts; *TX:* Clara Brim, Simp Campbell, Mary Donatto, Alphonse Fields, Thomas Johns, Walter Leggett, Millie Randall, Mary Scranton, Millie Ann Smith, Sol and Liza Walton, Sylvester Sostan Wickliffe, Willie Williams
Rye	*AR:* William L. Dunwoody, Abbie Lindsay; *GA:* Lina Hunter, Nancy Smith, Nellie Smith, Cordelia Thomas; *MS:* Callie Gray; *OK:* Sina Banks; *TX:* Richard Carruthers, William Irving, Robert Prout
Sorghum	*AR:* Caspar Rumple; *KS:* Clayton Hobert; *MS:* Henry Murray; *MO:* Marilda Pethy; *OK:* Agnes Walker; *TX:* Carey Davenport, Sam Forge, John Love, Jack Payne, Robert Prout, William Stone, Adeline White, Mary A. Wilson, Caroline Wright
Suet	*TX:* Lucy Lewis; *VA:* Elisabeth Sparks
Wheat (Note: See also Flour.)	*AR:* William L. Dunwoody, G.W. Hawkins, Warren Mckinney, Emaline Meland, Mary Mitchell, Rev. Frank T. Boone; *FL:* Samuel Simeon Andrews, Rivana Boynton; *GA:* Della Briscoe, Susan Castle, Julia Cole, Martha Colquitt, Lina Hunter, Frances Kimbrouch, Shade Richards, Aunt Farebe Rogers, Robert Shepherd, Nancy Smith, Nellie Smith, Cordelia Thomas, Emma Virgel, John Watts, Olin Williams, George Womble; *MD:* Mary Moriah Anne Susanna James; *MS:* Albert Cox, Pet Franks, Callie Gray, Mandy Jones; *NC:* R.S. Taylor; *OK:* Sina Banks, Bert Luster, Annie Young; *SC:* William Ballard, C.B. Burton, Zack Herndon, Jackson Speers; *TN:* Mollie Moss; *TX:* Andy J. Anderson, Fred Brown, Steve Brown, Madison Bruin, John Day, J.H. Day, Sarah Hatley, William Irving, Martha Jones, Millie Ann Smith, Winger Vanhook, William Watkins
Wheat (Referred to as middlins and shorts)	*SC:* Anne Bell, Phillip Evans, Gus Feaster, Med Walker; *TX:* Martha Spence Bunton, Richard Carruthers, Andrew Columbus, Katie Darling, Sam Forge, Louis Fowler, Henry Owens, Lee Pierce
Wheat (Parched for coffee)	*GA:* Emma Hurley, George Womble, Mary Moriah; *MD:* Anne Susanna James

Appendix I

BAKED GOODS

Ash Cakes	*AL:* Clara Davis, Martin Graham, Everett Ingram, Emma Jones, Anne Maddox, General Jefferson Davis Nunn, Eli Smith, Sol Webb; *AR:* Scott Bond, Millie Evans, Tyler Frazier, Mike Genes, Henry Green, Henry Kirk Miller, Anstin Pen Parnell, Mark C. Trotter; *Washington DC:* Mrs. Lancy Harris; *GA:* Rachel Adams, Celestia Avery, Barry Clay, Dosia Harris, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Amanda Jackson, John F. Van Hook, Benjamin Johnson, William Mcwhorter, Anna Peek, Robert Shepherd, Melvin Smith, Nancy Smith, Upton Neal, Rhodus Walton; *IN:* Patsy Jane Bland, Harriet Cheatam, Mary Emily Eaton Tate; *MS:* Tilda Johnson, Prince Johnson, Charity Jones, Hamp Kennedy, Chaney Mack, Tom Morris, Sarah Thomas; *MO:* Charlie Richardson; *NC:* Aunt Betty Cofer, Zeb Crowder, Julius Nelson, Melissa Williamson, Anna Wright; *OH:* Ben Brown, Thomas McMillan, Richard Toler, William Williams; *OK:* Sallie Carder, Polly Colbert, Lucinda Davis, William W. Watson, Annie Young; *SC:* Wallace Davis, William Henry Davis, Sylvia Durant, Gus Feaster, Rebecca Jane Grant, Zack Herndon, Jerry Hill, Sabe Rutledge, Dan White, George Woods; *TX:* Amelia Barnett, Della Mun Bibles, Jeff Calhoun, Jeptha Choice, Bud Dixon, Sarah Fuller, Tom Holland, Alex Humphrey, Carter J. Jackson, Jim Johnson, Calvin Kennard, Ben Kinchlow, Amos Lincoln, Andrew Moody, Jack Payne, Louvinia Young Pleasant, Lafayyette Price, Robert Prout, Walter Rimm, Walter Rion, Charlie Sandles, Ike Simpson, Bert Strong, John Walton, Lewis Williams, Wash Wilson; *VA:* Elisabeth Sparks, Simon Stokes
Batter Cakes	AR: Jennie Butler; *FL:* Salena Taswel; *GA:* Minnie Davis

Biscuits (Cake bread/oak bread, Johnny Seldom)	*AL:* Carrie Davis, Joseph Holmes; *AR:* Fannie Alexander, J.F. Boone, Norman Burkes, Betty Curlett, Tom Douglas, Henry Green, Lee Guidon, G.W. Hawkins, Marie E. Hervey, Laura House, Absolom Jenkins, Robert Lofton, Ike Mccoy, Henry Kirk Miller, Mary Mitchell, Sally Nealy, Thomas Ruffin, Katie Rye, Peggy Sloan, Tom and Sarah Douglas, John Williams, Mary Williams; *FL:* Patience Campbell, Sam and Louisa Everett, Duncan Gaines, Salena Taswell; *GA:* Rachel Adams, Bryant Buff, Mariah Calloway, Susan Castle, Minnie Davis, Mose Davis, Benny Dillard, George Eason, Martha Everette, David Goodman Gullins, Jefferson Franklin Henry, John Hill, Amanda Jackson, Easter Jackson, Jennie Kendricks, Ed Mccree, Matilda Mckinney, Fanny Nix, Shade Richards, Mary Jane Simmons, Willis Cofer, John Hill, Mary, Nellie Smith, Upton Neal, George Womble, Henry Wright; *MN:* Mary Sellers, Laura Thompson; *MO:* Alex Bufford, Hattie Matthews, Marilda Pethy; *MS:* Peter Blewitt, Ebenezer Brown, Albert Cox, Ann Drake, Sarah Felder, Callie Gray, Evie Herrin, Lewis Jefferson, Charity Jones, Jim Martin, John Matthews, Harriet Miller, Elsie Posey, Jeff Rayford, Lizzie Williams; *NC:* Mary Ander, Hannah Crasson, Robert Glenn, Essex Henry, Jerry Hinton, Isaac Johnson, Chane Littlejohn, John Smith; *OH:* James Campbell, Nan Stewart; *OK:* Sam Anderson, Sallie Carder, Bert Luster, Lou Smith, Jim Threat; *SC:* Sylvia Cannon, Charlie Davis, Washington Dozier, Mary Raines, George Woods; *TX:* Anderson Edwards, Stearlin Arnwine, Smith Austin, Darcus Barnett, Betty Bormer, Jerry Boykins, Moroe Bruckins, Fred Brown, Martha Spence Bunton, Abraham Coker, Thomas Cole, John Crawford, Tempie Cummins, Uill Daily, Tob Davis, Mollie Dawson, Anderson Edwards, Millie Forward, Jim Franklin, James Hayes, Bill Homer, Anna Humphrey, Bettie White Irby, Jack and Rosa Maddox, James Jackson, Julia Grimes Jones Ocklbary, Calvin Kennard, Mollie Kirkland, William Mathews, Peter Mitchell, Andrew Moody, Van Moore, Calvin Moye, Bell Nelson, Lee Pierce, Betty Powers, Leithan Spinks, Guy Stewart, Aleck Trimble, Jack White, Millie Williams, Rose Williams
Biscuits (Ham)	*SC:* Gus Feaster
Biscuits (Honey)	*SC:* Gus Feaster
Biscuits (Maple)	*AR:* Maggie (Bunny) Bond
Biscuits (Potato or tater)	*AR:* Laura House
Breads	*AL:* Angie Garrett, Jim Gillard, Martin Graham, Jane Halloway (Holloway), Ella Harris, Everett Ingram, Anne Maddox, Rev. Wade Owens; *AR:* Sophie D. Belle, Ellen Brass, T.W. Cotton, Alice Dixon, Frank Fikes, Jennie Worely Gibson, Jennie Worely Gibson, Henry Green, Rachel Harris, G.W. Hawkins, Rebecca

Brown Hill, Charlie Hinton, Laura House, Cornelia Ishmon, Walter Jones, Tines Kendricks, Needham Love, Jesse Meeks, Henry Kirk Miller, Evelina Morgan, Claiborne Moss, Louise Prayer, Thomas Ruffin, Dock Wilborn, Columbus Williams; *FL:* Mary Minus Biddle, Charles Coates, Hattie Thomas; *GA:* Alice Bradley and Kizzie Colquitt, Willis Cofer, Minnie Davis, Benny Dillard, Martha Everette, Alice Green, Heard Griffin, Dosia Harris, Toy Hawkins, Carrie Hudson, Benjamin Johnson, Fannie Jones, Susan Mcintosh, Hannah Murphy, Annie Price, Beverly Pullin, Charlie Pye, Aunt Farebe Rogers, Cora Shepherd, Paul Smith, Cordelia Thomas, John Watts, George Womble; *KY:* Will Oats; *MS:* Barney Alford, Levi Ashley, Aunt Becca, John Belcher, Charlie Bell, Hannah Chapman, Julia Cox, Henry Daniels, Charlie Davenport, Lucy Donald, Manda Edmondson, Angie Floyd, Simon Hare, Orris Harris, Charity Jones, Julius Jones, Mandy Jones, Jim Martin, John Matthews, Harriet Miller, Laura Montgomery, Tom Morris, Salem Powell, Jeff Rayford, Adam Singleton, Malindy Smith, Wright Stapleton, Elmo Steele, Hattie Sugg, Chaney Moore Williams, Ed Williams, Dicy Windfield, Polly Turner Cancer; *NC:* Willie Cozart, Zeb Crowder; *OH:* Hannah Davidson, Rev. Perry Sid Jamison, Thomas McMillan, Nan Stewart, Richard Toler; *OK:* Sina Banks, Ed Butler, Polly Colbert, Eliza Evans, Lizzie Farmer, Kiziah Love, Daniel William Lucas, Jane Montgomery, Betty Robertson, Easter Wells, Tom Woods, Annie Young; *SC:* Frank Adamson, George Briggs, Josephine Bristow, C.B. Burton, Sylvia Cannon, Caleb Craig, Wallace Davis, Phillip Evans, Gus Feaster, Charlie Grant, Hester Hunter, Agnes James, Ed Mccrorey, Sallie Paul, John Petty, Pauline Worth; *TN:* Mollie Moss; *TX:* S.B. Adams, Stearlin Arnwine, Amelia Barnett, Wes Beady, Ellen Betts, Della Mun Bibles, Charley Bowen, Wes Brady, Vinnie Brunson, Clara Chappel, Amos Clark, Alice Cole, Thomas Cole, Preely Coleman, Josephine Tippit Compton, Campbell Davis, Tob Davis, Willaim Davis, Sam Forge, Dennis Grant, Ann Hawthorne, Carolina Houston, Bettie White Irby, Alex Jackson, Hannah Jameson, Harriet Jones, Ben Kinchlow, Alex Lacy, Lucy Lewis, Amos Lincoln, Ann Mickey, Tom Mills, Andrew Moody, Van Moore, George Owens, Jessie Pauls, Jack Payne, Henderson Perkins, Melinda Pollard, Ophelia Porter, Betty Powers, Harre Quarls, Kitty Reece, Martin Ruffin, Fayette Stephens, William M. Thomas, Mrs. Mary Thompson, William Watkins, Emma Watson, Horatio W. Williams, Lewis Williams, Lou Williams, Julius Wilson, Lulu Wilson; *VA:* Elisabeth Sparks

Bread (Black) — *SC:* Gus Feaster

Bread (Black walnut) — *AR:* Mike Genes

Bread (Brown)	*TX:* Walter Rimm
Bread (Corn) – See Cornbread	
Bread (Crust)	*MS:* Hamp Kennedy
Bread (Dried bean)	*OK:* Richardson Chaney, Patsy Perryman
Bread (Egg)	*AR:* Jennie Butler; *MS:* Albert Cox, Manda Edmondson, Dave Walker
Bread (Made with corn shucks mixed with wheat)	*FL:* Irene Coates
Bread (Milk yeast)	*AL:* Alonza Fantroy Toombs
Bread (Molasses)	*SC:* Hector Godbold
Bread (Persimmon)	*AR:* Millie Evans, Marion Johnson; *SC:* Caroline Farrow; *TX:* Charlotte Beverly
Bread (Potato)	*FL:* Claude Augusta Wilson
Bread (Pumpkin)	*MS:* Harriet Miller
Bread (Rye)	*SC:* William Oliver
Bread (Saltwater)	*TX:* William Mathews
Bread (Wheat)	*GA:* Easter Huff, Ed Mccree, Alec Pope, Robert Shepherd, Green Willbanks; *OK:* Henry F. Pyles; *SC:* Madison Griffin; *TX:* Darcus Barnett, Jerry Boykins, Willis Winn
Bread (White)	*FL:* Rivana Boynton, Willis Dukes, Sam and Louisa Everett, Douglas Parish, Salena Taswell, Acie Thomas; *GA:* Caroline Malloy; *MS:* Mark Oliver; *NC:* Clara Cotton McCoy; *SC:* Mack Taylor; *TX:* Willis Winn
Bread (Yellow)	*TX:* Willis Winn
Cakes	*AL:* Martha Bradley, Ester Green, Adeline Hodge; *AR:* Fanny Finney, Cora Gillam, Robert Lofton, Maggie (Bunny) Bond, Claiborne Moss; *GA:* Georgia Baker, Mariah Calloway, Willis Cofer, Elisha Doc Garey, David Goodman Gullins, Carrie Hudson, Lina Hunter, Georgia Johnson, Caroline Malloy, Aunt Carrie Mason, Ed Mccree, Beverly Pullin, Easter Reed, Will Sheets, Georgia Telfair, Frances Willingham, George Womble; *MD:* Rev. Silas Jackson; *MS:* Levi Ashley, James Cornelius, Sarah Felder, Ruben Fox, Virginia Harris, Evie Herrin, Charity Jones, Julius Jones, Ruben Laird, James Lucas, Jim Martin, John Matthews, Harriet Miller, Dicy Windfield; *NC:* Anna Wright; *OH:* Tap Hawkins; *OK:* Sina Banks, Polly Colbert, Martha Cunningham, Lucinda Vann, Mollie Watson, Robert Williams; *SC:* Charlie Davis, Wallace Davis, Washington Dozier, Gus

	Feaster; *TN:* Mollie Moss; *TX:* S.B. Adams, Sarah Benjamin, Della Mun Bibles, Hattie Cole, Josephine Tippit Compton, Steve Connally, Sue Craft, John Crawford, Katie Darling, Campbell Davis, Willaim Davis, Jake Desso, John Ellis, Sam Forge, Millie Forward, Handy Hadnot, Sarah Hatley, Ann Hawthorne, James Hayes, Bettie White Irby, Harriet Jones, Liza Jones, Tom Mills, Andrew Moody, Vina Moore, Ophelia Porter, John Price, Henry Probasco, George Rivers, Elvira Roles, George Selman, Millie Ann Smith, Mary Thompson, Mrs. Mary Thompson, Jack White, Alice Wilkins, Mattie Williams, Julius Wilson
Cake (Black)	*IN:* Lulu Scott
Cake (Bread)	*GA:* Benny Dillard, John Hill
Cake (Corn batter)	*AR:* Mag Johnson; *OH:* Wade Glenn
Cakes (Cornmeal)	*AR:* Wators Mcintosh; *NC:* Cy Hart, Tempie Herndon Durham
Cake (Fruit)	*AL:* Sally Murphy; *IN:* Lulu Scott; *GA:* Susan Bell Nelson, Castle, Nellie Smith; *TX:* John Crawford
Cake (Jelly)	*TX:* Harriett Millett
Cake (Marble)	*AR:* Betty Curlett
Cake (Molasses)	*AL:* Nicey Pugh; *AR:* Fannie Clemmons; *MS:* Manda Edmondson, Sarah Felder, Angie Floyd, Mary Ann Kitchens, Harriet Miller; *NC:* Julius Nelson; *TX:* Walter Leggett
Cake (Pound)	*GA:* Benjamin Johnson, Liza Mention, Nellie Smith, Susan Castle, Phil Town; *IN:* Harriet Cheatam; *MO:* August Smith; *MS:* Fanny Smith Hodges, Isaac Stier; *OK:* Polly Colbert; *TX:* Fannie Brown, Liza Jones, Joe Oliver, Eda Rains
Cake (Spice)	*TX:* Sarah Wilson
Cake (Sponge)	*TX:* Mrs. Mary Thompson
Cake (Syrup)	*AR:* Mary Jane Hardridge; *GA:* Ed Mccree; *TX:* Ed Domino
Cake (Tea)	*AR:* Josephine Hamilton; *GA:* Julia Cole, Mary Colebert, Mariah Calloway, Tom Cole; *MS:* Elizabeth Finley; *TX:* Delia Barclay, Liza Jones, Valmo Thomas
Cobblers	*MO:* August Smith; *NC:* Charlie Barbour
Cookies	*NC:* Charlie Barbour; *OH:* Sarah Woods Burke, Tap Hawkins; *TX:* Ophelia Porter, Sarah Wilson
Cookie (Ginger)	*GA:* Dave Walker
Cookie (Molasses)	*MS:* Dave Walker
Cookie (Sugar)	*MN:* Laura Thompson

Cornbread

AL: Henry Cheatam, Delia Garlie, Emma Jones, Hannah Jones, Cull Taylor, Sol Webb, Callie Williams; *AR:* Ellen Brass, Adeline Blakeley, Maria Sutton Clemments, Pauline Fakes, Rachel Harris, Laura House, Walter Jones, Robert Lofton, Victoria Mcmullen, Mary Mitchell, Claiborne Moss, Anstin Pen Parnell, John Wells, Columbus Williams, John Williams; *FL:* Josephine Anderson, Rivana Boynton, Matilda Brooks, Patience Campbell, Willis Dukes, Randal Lee, Douglas Parish, Salena Taswell, Hattie Thomas, Willis Williams, Claude Augusta Wilson; *GA:* Rachel Adams, Henry Bland, Easter Brown, Bryant Buff, Willis Cofer, Julia Cole, Martha Colquitt, George Eason, Martha Everette, Elisha Doc Garey, Heard Griffin, Dosia Harris, Toy Hawkins, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Easter Huff, Lina Hunter, Amanda Jackson, Jennie Kendricks, Caroline Malloy, Mollie Malone, Susan Matthews, Ed Mccree, Amanda Mcdaniel, William Mcwhorter, Alec Pope, Annie Price, Shade Richards, Julia Rush, Will Sheets, Robert Shepherd, Nancy Smith, Green Willbanks, George Womble, Henry Wright; *GA:* Boudry (no last name); *IN:* Robert J. Cheatam; *KY:* Bert Mayfield; *MD:* Lucy Brooks, James V. Deane, Richard Macks; *MN:* Mary Sellers; *MS:* Harry Bridges, Ebenezer Brown, Tilda Johnson, Albert Cox, Louis Davis, Mollie Edmonds, July Ann Halfen, Squire Irwin, Jim Martin, Adaline Montgomery, Alex Montgomery, Tom Morris, Lizzie Norfleet, Mark Oliver, Elsie Posey, Jeff Rayford, Ben Richardson, Sarah Thomas, Callie Washington, William Wheeler, Temple Wilson; *MO:* Hattie Matthews, Marilda Pethy, Tishey Taylor; *NC:* W.L. Bost, Hannah Crasson, John Daniels, Robert Glenn, Sarah Gudger, Essex Henry, Patsy Mitchner, Julius Nelson, John Smith, Anna Wright; *OH:* Ben Brown, James Campbell, Flening Clark, Hannah Davidson, George Jackson, Virginia Washington; *OK:* Alice Alexander, Eliza Bell, Sallie Carder, Richardson Chaney, Lewis Jenkins, Mattie Logan, Bert Luster, Stephen McCray, Patsy Perryman, Red Richardson, Johnson Thompson, Victoria Taylor Thompson, Lucinda Vann, Agnes Walker, Mollie Watson; *SC:* Millie Barber, Anne Bell, Maggie Black, Gordon Bluford, William Henry Davis, Washington Dozier, Caroline Farrow, John Glover, Hector Godbold, Adeline Grey, Liney Henderson, Zack Herndon, Jerry Hill, Jane Johnson, Gable Locklier, Milton Marshall, William Oliver, Isom Roberts, Charlie Robinson, Sabe Rutledge, Henry Ryan, Dan Smith, Hector Smith, Jessie Sparrow, Mack Taylor, Manda Walker; *TX:* Frank L. Adams, Wash Armstrong, Stearlin Arnwine, Lizzie Atkins, George Austin, Smith Austin, Henry Baker, Joe Barnes, Wes Beady, Della Mun Bibles, Julia Blanks, Harrison Boyd, Jerry Boykins, Monroe Bruckins, Jacob Branch, Steve Brown, Madison Bruin, Martha Spence Bunton, Dave L. Byrd, William Byrd, Louis Cain, Sally Banks Chambers, Sally Banks Chaubers,

	Harriet Chesley, Thomas Cole, William Coleman, Charlie Cooper, Valmar Cormier, Jane Cotton, Jake Desso, Bud Dixon, Archie Fennels, Alphonse Fields, Jim Franklin, Mary Gaffney, Mattie Gilmore, Pauline Grice, Lucendy Griffen, Jack Harrison, Ann Hawthorne, Albert Henderson, Rosina Hoard, Tom Holland, Anna Humphrey, Moses Hursey, Bettie White Irby, James Jackson, Maggie Jackson, Mrs. Thomas Johns, Jim Johnson, Bud Jones, Taby Jones, Dempsey Jordan, Pinkie Kelley, Anna Lee, Sarah Lee, Lavinia Lewis, Lucy Lewis, Sue Lockridge, Eva Martin, James Martin, Louise Mathews, John Mcadams, Lee Mcgillery, Cassie Middleton, La San Mire, Peter Mitchell, Vina Moore, John Mosley, Hannah Mullins, Johnny Bibles, Fannie Norman, Jessie Pauls, Daniel Phillips, Lee Pierce, Ellen Polk, Melinda Pollard, Betty Powers, A.C. Pruitt, Andrew Pullen, Joe Rawls, Aaron Ray, Laura Ray, George Rivers, Steve Robertson, Gill Ruffin, Martin Ruffin, Charlie Sandles, Abram Sells, George Sells, Polly Shine, George Simmons, Emma Simpson, Tucker Smith, Mariah Snyder, Leithan Spinks, Fayette Stephens, Guy Stewart, Yach Stringfellow, Jake Terriell, William M. Thomas, Valmar Cormier and Mary Moses, Rosa Washington, Emma Watson, Millie Williams, Rose Williams, Soul Williams, Smith Wilson, Caroline Wright, Litt Young; *VA:* Mary Jane Wilson; *WA:* Sarah Laws Hill
Cornbread (Persimmon)	*AR:* Millie Evans
Corn Shuck Soda (Note: Used for cakes or bread)	*AR:* Ida Rigley
Cracklin' Bread	*AL:* Alonza Fantroy Toombs; *AR:* Mike Genes; *GA:* Bill Heard; *SC:* Anderson Bates, Aleck Woodward; *TX:* Andrew Moody
Cup Cakes	*TX:* Eda Rains
Custards	*AR:* Cora Gillam, Robert Lofton; *GA:* Easter Reed; *SC:* Gus Feaster; *TX:* Charlotte Beverly, John Crawford, Liza Jones
Doughnuts	*MO:* August Smith; *OH:* Tap Hawkins
Dressing (Baked chicken)	*NC:* Anna Wright
Dumplings	*AR:* Mary Gaines; *GA:* Will Sheets; *NC:* Anna Wright; *TX:* Walter Leggett
Dumpling (Bean)	*OK:* Patsy Perryman
Dumpling (Chicken)	*AR:* Millie Evans; *MS:* Marry Joiner

Dumpling (Cornmeal)	*AL:* Sol Webb; *AR:* William L. Dunwoody, John Elliot, Laura House, Tines Kendricks, Jesse Meeks, Louise Prayer; *GA:* Liza Mention; *MS:* Sally Green, William Wheeler; *NC:* Anna Wright; *TX:* Agatha Bambino, John Barker, Josephine Tippit Compton, Lewis Jones, Silvia King, Fannie Norman, Winger Vanhook
Ginger Bread	*AR:* Aunt Clara Walker; *GA:* Upton Neal; *SC:* Zack Herndon; *TX:* Madison Bruin, Sarah Wilson
Ginger Cakes	*AR:* Mahalia Shores; *GA:* Minnie Davis, Heard Griffin, Dosia Harris, John Hill, Charlie Hudson, Annie Huff, Caroline Malloy, Ed Mccree, Easter Reed, Charlie Tye Smith, Georgia Telfair; *IN:* Nittie Blakeley, Katie Rose; *MS:* Robert Weathersby; *SC:* Zack Herndon, Charlie Watson; *TX:* Larnce Holt, Larence Kolt, Millie Ann Smith
Gingersnaps	*MO:* Marilda Pethy; *NC:* Emma Blalock
Hardtack	*NC:* Sarah Debro, Sarah Harris, Chaney Hews; *TX:* William Branch
Hickory-nut Grot, also called Sofki (Made from ground corn and hickory nuts)	*OK:* Polly Colbert, Lucinda Davis
Hoe Cakes (See also Ash Cakes)	*AR:* Fannie Alexander, Tines Kendricks, Anstin Pen Parnell, Mollie Hardy Scott, Komeline Waddille; *Washington DC:* Mrs. Lancy Harris; *GA:* Susan Castle, Addie Vinson; *IN:* Mary Emily Eaton Tate; *MS:* Charlie Davenport, Chaney Mack, Tom Morris, William Wheeler; *MO:* Charlie Richardson; *OK:* Charley Williams; *SC:* Jessie Sparrow; *TX:* Julia Blanks, William Branch, Sue Craft, Harriet Jones, Pierce Nichols, Virginia Newman, Ophelia Porter; *VA:* Simon Stokes
Johnny Cakes	*AR:* Millie Evans; *MS:* Chaney Mack; *OK:* Sam Jordan
Kush	*NC:* Charlie Crump, Julius Nelson, Anna Wright
Latter Cakes	*FL:* Rivana Boynton
Light Breads	*AR:* Laura House; *GA:* Georgia Baker, Susan Castle, Willis Cofer, Georgia Johnson, Julia Brown, Julia Larken, Will Sheets; *MS:* Squire Irwin; *MO:* August Smith; *NC:* Essex Henry; *TX:* Lizzie Hughes, Abram Sells
Noodles	*TX:* Giles Smith
Pancakes/Griddle Cakes	*AR:* Rachel Bradley; *MS:* Callie Washington; *NC:* Anna Wright; *SC:* William Henry Davis
Pashofa (Corn and pork)	*OK:* Polly Colbert

Pies	*AL:* Sol Webb; *AR:* Cora Gillam, Robert Lofton, Claiborne Moss; *FL:* Salena Taswell; *GA:* Mariah Calloway, Willis Cofer, David Goodman Gullins, Georgia Johnson, Caroline Malloy, Beverly Pullin, Easter Reed, Nellie Smith, Emma Virgel; *MS:* Levi Ashley, Fanny Smith Hodges, Oliver Jones; *NC:* Julius Nelson; *OK:* Martha Cunningham, Lucinda Vann, Mollie Watson; *SC:* Gus Feaster; *TX:* Hattie Cole, Josephine Tippit Compton, Campbell Davis, Willaim Davis, Handy Hadnot, Sarah Hatley, James Hayes, Harriet Jones, Silvia King, Ann Ladly, Hagar Lewis, Vina Moore, Eda Rains, George Selman, Millie Ann Smith, Mary Thompson, Alice Wilkins, Mattie Williams
Pie (Blackberry)	*GA:* Tom Singleton; *NC:* Anna Wright; *TX:* Larnce Holt
Pie (Crusts)	*MS:* Hamp Kennedy
Pie (Irish potato)	*AR:* Millie Evans; *GA:* Mary, Georgia Telfair
Pie (Peach)	*TX:* Handy Hadnot, Eda Rains
Pie (Persimmon)	*AR:* Millie Evans, Marion Johnson
Pie (Pot)	*AL:* Alonza Fantroy Toombs
Pie (Potato)	*AR:* Millie Evans, Cora Gillam
Pie (Pumpkin)	*AL:* Adeline Hodge; *AR:* Cora Gillam; *MS:* Charity Jones, Alex Montgomery; *SC:* Louisa Davis, Caroline Farrow, Med Walker; *TX:* Olivier Blanchard
Pie (Sweet potato)	*TX:* Tildy Moody
Pone (Corn)	*AL:* Chency Cross, Adeline Hodge; *AR:* Millie Evans, Laura House; *FL:* Rivana Boynton, Sam and Louisa Everett, Duncan Gaines, Cindy Kinsey, Henrietta Williams; *GA:* Barry Clay, Benny Dillard, Elisha Doc Garey, John Hill, John F. Van Hook, Julia Larken, Mary, William Mcwhorter, Will Sheets, Robert Shepherd, Georgia Telfair, Cordelia Thomas; *KY:* Dan Bogie; Bert Mayfield; *MS:* Ebenezer Brown, Tilda Johnson, Charlie Davenport, Lewis Jefferson, Aunt Jane Morgan, Tom Morris, Mattie Stenston, Isaac Stier, Henry Warfield, Robert Weathersby; *MO:* Frederick Ross; *NC:* Sarah Gudger, Fannie Moore; *OH:* Hanna Fambro, William Nelson, Nan Stewart; *OK:* Henry Clay, Polly Colbert, Eliza Evans, William Hutson, Daniel William Lucas, Henry F. Pyles, Harriett Robinson, Morris Sheppard, Sweetie Ivery Wagoner; *SC:* Gus Feaster, Ed Mccrorey, Med Walker; *TX:* Joe Barnes, Eli Coleman, Mollie Dawson, Fannie Mccullough Driver, Sarah Fuller, W.E. Hobbs, Mrs. Thomas Johns, Harriet Jones, Lee Mcgillery, Susan Merritt, Tildy Moody, Steve Robertson, Abram Sells, Emma Simpson, Bean Walker, Lewis Williams
Pone (Sweet potato)	*SC:* William Henry Davis; *TX:* Charlotte Beverly

Shortening Bread	*GA:* Cody Pierce, Melvin Smith; *SC:* Phillip Evans; *TX:* Andrew Moody, Tildy Moody
Soda Crackers	*AR:* Mattie Brown
Spoon Bread	*MS:* Della Buckley
Waffle	*AR:* Rachel Bradley; *GA:* Julia Brown; *OH:* Nan Stewart

Appendix J

FRUIT

Fruit (Unspecified)	*AL:* Sally Murphy, Stephen Varner; *AR:* Jennie Butler, G.W. Hawkins, Rev. Frank T. Boone; *GA:* Celestia Avery, Lina Hunter, Shade Richards; *IN:* Susan Smith; *KY:* George Henderson; *MS:* Lucy Donald, Squire Irwin, Ruben Laird, Noah Rogers; *NC:* Charlie Barbour, Julius Nelson; *OK:* Sina Banks, Lucinda Vann; *SC:* Samuel Boulware; *TX:* Smith Austin, Fred Brown, Zek Brown, Eli Coleman, Steve Connally, J.H. Day, John Day, Nelson Taylor Densen, John Finnely, Louis Fowler, Handy Hadnot, Albert Hill, Mary Homer, William Irving, John James, Thomas Johns, Charley Johnson, Lewis Jones, Silvia King, Lu Lee, Walter Leggett, John Majors, Mandy Morrow, Sally Neely, Tillie R. Powers, John Price, Laura Redmoun, Elsie Reece, Ransom Rosborough, James W. Smith, Lou Turner, Daphne Williams, Wayman Williams, Mary A. Wilson, President Wilson, Sarah Wilson, Virginia Yarbrough
Fruit (Canned)	*NC:* Fannie Moore
Fruit (Dried)	*KS:* Clayton Hobert; *MS:* Manda Edmondson
Fruit (Jam)	*TX:* Penny Thompson
Fruit (Jelly)	*TX:* Penny Thompson
Fruit (Preserves)	*IN:* Susan Smith; *MS:* Manda Edmondson, Callie Gray; *OK:* Lucinda Vann; *TX:* John Finnely, Sam Forge, Mary Homer, Mandy Morrow, Penny Thompson
Apples	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Joseph Holmes, Eli Smith; *AR:* Jennie Butler, Hannah Hancock; *GA:* Susan Castle, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Ed Mccree, Will Sheets, Nellie Smith, Paul Smith, Georgia Telfair, Upton Neal, Frances Willingham; *IN:* Lulu Scott, Susan Smith; *KY:*

	Susan Dale Sanders; *MN:* Laura Thompson; *MS:* Tilda Johnson, James Cornelius, Charlie Davenport, Ann Drake, Ruben Fox, Orris Harris, Turner Jacobs, Lewis Jefferson, Prince Johnson, Charity Jones, Laura Montgomery, Joe Rollins; *MO:* Tishey Taylor; *NC:* Fannie Dunn, Isaac Johnson, Henrietta McCullers, Fannie Moore, George Rogers; *OK:* Sina Banks, Tom Woods; *SC:* Fred James, Jake Mcleod, Junius Quattlebaum, Charlie Watson; *TX:* Lou Austin, Thomas Cole, Harriet Collins, Josephine Tippit Compton, Nelson Taylor Densen, Mandy Hadnot, Robert Henry, Larnce Holt, Mary Homer, Maggie Jackson, Julia Grimes Jones Ocklbary, Richard Kimmons, Silvia King, Larence Kolt, Patsy Moses, Tillie R. Powers, Eda Rains, Bert Strong, Fannie Tippin, Heeves Tucker, Winger Vanhook, Virginia Yarbrough
Apple (Baked)	*AR:* Mollie Hardy Scott; *GA:* Georgia Baker
Apple (Brandy)	*GA:* Easter Huff; *TX:* Abraham Coker
Apple (Cider)	*TX:* Abraham Coker, Harriet Collins, John Crawford, Silvia King
Apple (Dried)	*IN:* George Thomas
Apple (Dumpling)	*TX:* Gus Johnson
Apple (Fried)	*AR:* Mary Mitchell
Apple (Horse)	*SC:* Frank Adamson
Apple (Juice)	*GA:* Julia Bunch
Apple (Pie)	*GA:* Carrie Hudson; *MS:* Charity Jones, Isaac Stier
Apple (Roasted)	*GA:* Alice Bradley, Kizzie Colquitt
Apple (Sauce)	*MD:* James V. Deane
Apple (Toddy)	*TX:* Harriet Collins
Bananas	*AR:* Jennie Butler, Fannie Clemmons; *TX:* Daphne Williams
Berries (Unspecified)	*AL:* Sol Webb; *AR:* Komma Morrie; *FL:* Acie Thomas; *MS:* Marry Joiner; *OH:* John William Matheus; *TN:* Mollie Moss; *TX:* George Austin, Darcus Barnett, Fannie Brown, Rosanna Fraziek, Mary Homer, Jake Terriell, Virginia Yarbrough
Blackberries	*GA:* Jefferson Franklin Henry; *MS:* Callie Gray, Squire Irwin; *NC:* Julius Nelson; *OK:* John Harrison; *SC:* George Briggs, Violet Guntharpe, Forest Hunter; *TX:* Nelson Taylor Densen, Charley Johnson, Mary Kindred, Winger Vanhook
Blackberry Cobbler	*SC:* Ed Mccrorey
Blackberry Leaves	*SC:* George Briggs

Black Haws	*TX:* Louise Neill
Cantelopes	*TX:* Joe Oliver
Cherries	*AL:* Joseph Holmes; *GA:* Upton Neal; *NC:* Mary Ander; *OK:* John Harrison; *TX*: Lou Austin, Harriet Collins, Willaim Davis
Cherry (Brandy)	*TX:* Josephine Hyles
Cherry (Wild)	*SC:* Jim Henry
Chinquapins	*SC:* Jim Henry
Currants	*GA:* Jefferson Franklin Henry
Dewberries	*MS:* Jim Archer, Charlie Davenport; *OK:* John Harrison; *SC:* Forest Hunter; *TX:* Julia Blanks, Nelson Taylor Densen, Winger Vanhook
Dewberry (Pie)	*TX:* Joe Oliver
Elderberry (Wine)	*TX:* John Crawford
Figs	*GA:* Anna Peek; *TX:* Lou Austin, Olivier Blanchard
Fig (Preserves)	*TX:* Lizzie Hughes
Gooseberries	*OK:* John Harrison
Grapes	*AL:* Cull Taylor; *MS:* Callie Gray; *NC:* Mary Ander; *OK:* John Harrison; *SC:* Jim Henry; *TX:* Olivier Blanchard, Julia Blanks, Josie Brown, Louise Neill, Sarah Perkins, Winger Vanhook
Grape (Pie)	*TX:* Joe Oliver
Honeysuckle	*SC:* Sylvia Cannon
Huckleberries	*AR:* Ida Rigley; *TX:* Lousie Neill
Huckleberry Pie	*TX:* Richard Kimmons
Huckleberries (Parched for coffee)	*MS:* William Wheeler
Jams (Unspecified)	*SC:* Mary Raines
Jellies (Unspecified)	*SC:* Mary Raines; *TX:* Josie Brown, Steve Connally
Lemon (Juice)	*MS:* Tilda Johnson
Lemon (Pie)	*TX:* Ophelia Porter
Melons	*OH:* James Campbell; *OK:* Prince Bee
Mulberries	*OK:* John Harrison; *SC*: Violet Guntharpe, Jim Henry

Muscadines	*SC:* Jim Henry, Daphney Wright; *TX:* Olivier Blanchard, Olivies Elanchand, Charley Johnson, George Rivers
Oranges	*AR:* Jennie Butler, Fannie Clemmons; *GA:* Susan Castle; *MS:* Charlie Davenport; *TX:* Daphne Williams
Peaches	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Joseph Holmes, Nicey Pugh, Cull Taylor; *AR:* Hannah Hancock, Mandy Lee; *GA:* Jefferson Franklin Henry, Ed Mccree, Anna Peek, Georgia Telfair, Olin Williams; *MS:* Ann Drake, Orris Harris, Charity Jones; *NC:* Mary Ander, Fannie Moore; *OK:* Sina Banks; *TX:* Lou Austin, Olivier Blanchard, Sally Banks Chambers, Thomas Cole, Harriet Collins, Willaim Davis, Olivies Elanchand, Sam Forge, Mary Glover, Mary Homer, Sarah Perkins, Tillie R. Powers, Eda Rains, Lou Turner, Winger Vanhook, Rosa Washington
Peach (Brandied or brandy)	*GA:* Mariah Calloway, Easter Huff; *NC:* Fannie Moore; *TX:* Abraham Coker, John Finnely, Penny Thompson
Peach (Cider)	*TX:* Abraham Coker
Peach (Cobbler)	*TX:* Gus Johnson, Mary Ellen Johnson, Giles Smith, Julius Wilson
Peach (Dried)	*GA:* Georgia Baker; *IN:* George Thomas
Peach (Dumpling)	*TX:* Eda Rains
Peach (Pie)	*GA:* Carrie Hudson; *TX:* Larnce Holt
Peach (Preserves)	*TX:* Lizzie Hughes, John Moore
Peach (Puff)	*GA:* Ed Mccree, Georgia Telfair
Peach (Stewed)	*AR:* Mary Mitchell
Pears	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Henry Cheatam, Cull Taylor; *AR:* T.W. Cotton; *GA:* Jefferson Franklin Henry; *SC:* Anne Bell, Olivier Blanchard; *TX:* Willaim Davis, Mary Homer, Anna Humphrey, Maggie Jackson, Tillie R. Powers
Persimmons	*AL:* Anthony Abercrombie; *AR:* Millie Evans, Marion Johnson; *MS:* Millie Young, Charlie Davenport, Callie Gray, William Wheeler; *TX:* Willaim Davis, William Moore, Bean Walker; *VA:* Simon Stokes
Plantains	*GA:* Georgia Baker
Plums	*AL:* Joseph Holmes, Cull Taylor; *GA:* Jefferson Franklin Henry; *MS:* Ann Drake, Charity Jones; *NC:* Mary Ander; *OK:* Sina Banks; *SC:* George Briggs, Violet Guntharpe, Forest Hunter, Robert Toatley; *TX:* Julia Blanks, Wes Brady, Anna Humphrey, Sarah Perkins, Tillie R. Powers, Winger Vanhook
Plum (Jelly)	*TX:* Alice Wilkins

Plum (Pie)	*TX:* Joe Oliver
Plum (Pudding)	*IN:* Lulu Scott
Plum (Wild)	*AR:* Komma Morrie; *OK:* John Harrison
Pomegranate (Juice)	*MS:* Tilda Johnson
Quinces	*NC:* Mary Ander; *TX*: Anna Humphrey
Raisins	*MS:* Isaac Stier; *SC:* Junius Quattlebaum; *TX:* Sarah Wilson
Raspberries	*MS:* Squire Irwin; *TX:* Winger Vanhook
Strawberries	*MS:* Squire Irwin, Lucy Thurston; *OK:* John Harrison; *SC:* Jim Henry; *TX:* Nelson Taylor Densen, Charley Johnson, Jim Johnson, Hiram Mayes, Winger Vanhook
Watermelons	*AL:* Cull Taylor; *AR:* Lewis Brown, Mrs. Lou Fergusson, Tyler Frazier, J.N. Gillespie, Henry C. Pettus, William Porter, Caspar Rumple, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Ed Mccree, Julia Rush, Paul Smith, Olin Williams, Dink Walton Young; *MS:* Barney Alford, Mary Ann Kitchens, Robert Laird, Rosa Mangum, Laura Montgomery; *NC:* Alice Baugh, George Rogers, Anna Wright; *SC:* Nellie Boyd, George Briggs, Phillip Evans, Forest Hunter, Mary Jane Kelley, George Mcalilley, Isom Roberts, Henry Ryan; *TN:* Rachel Gaines; *TX:* Lou Austin, Julia Blanks, Madison Bruin, Thomas Cole, William Green, Josh Hadnot, Ann Hawthorne, Alice Houston, John Moore, Joe Oliver, Sarah Perkins, Robert Prout, Peter Ryas, Betty Simmons, Allen Thomas, Winger Vanhook, Ella Washington

Appendix K

NUTS

Nuts (unspecified)	*GA:* Frances Willingham; *MS:* Manda Edmondson, Lewis Jefferson; *SC:* Junius Quattlebaum; *TX:* Louis Cain, Josephine Tippit Compton, Willaim Davis, Julia Grimes Jones Ocklbary, Julia Williams
Acorns	*AR:* Aunt Clara Walker; *NC:* Frank Magwood; *SC*: Violet Guntharpe
Beech Mass (Nuts)	*AR:* A.J. Mitchell
Brazil Nuts (Note: Slang also labeled as "Nigger toes")	*NC:* Sarah Anne Green
Chestnuts	*AL:* George Taylor; *AR:* Ida Rigley, Mrs. Dicey Thomas, Aunt Clara Walker; *GA:* Alice Hutchesom; *OH:* Hanna Fambro; *TX:* Willis Winn
Chinkapin Nut (Oak)	*GA:* Alice Hutchesom; *MS:* Tilda Johnson; *OH:* Hanna Fambro
Hazelnuts	*AR:* Jennie Butler; *OK:* Tom Woods
Hickory Nuts	*AR:* Edmond Smith; *MS:* Tilda Johnson, Angie Floyd; *OK:* Jefferson Cole, Lucinda Davis, John Harrison, James Southall, Tom Woods; *SC:* Violet Guntharpe, Jim Henry; *TX:* Olivier Blanchard, Virginia Yarbrough
Nutmeg	*MS:* Ellen Gooden

Peanuts, Goober Peas, or Groundpeas	*AL:* George Taylor; *AR:* Jennie Butler, William L. Dunwoody, Ida Rigley, Milton Ritchie, Caspar Rumple, Mollie Hardy Scott, Henry C. Pettus, Edmond Smith; *FL:* Thomas Shack; *GA:* Matilda Mckinney, Will Sheets, Frances Willingham; *MS:* Anna Baker, Ellen Gooden, Alex Montgomery, Robert Weathersby; *NC:* Emma Blalock; *OK:* James Southall; *SC:* Caleb Craig, Sabe Rutledge, Mary Smith; *TX:* Amelia Barnett, Ellen Betts, Ellen Butler, Carey Davenport, Carey Davkhport, Mary Reynolds, Sarah Wilson
Peanuts (Boiled)	*TX:* John Crawford
Peanuts (Parched for coffee)	*FL:* Salena Taswell, Mary Minus Biddle; *TX:* John Crawford, Ben Kinchlow
Pecans	*GA:* Georgia Baker; *OK:* John Harrison; *TX:* Olivier Blanchard, Olivies Elanchand
Pig Nuts	*OK:* Tom Woods
Walnuts	*AL:* George Taylor; *AR:* Edmond Smith; *MS:* Charlie Davenport; *OK:* John Harrison, James Southall, Tom Woods; *TX:* Louise Neill, Virginia Yarbrough

Appendix L

SUGAR/MOLASSES/SPICES

Baking Powder	*AR:* Millie Evans, Henry Green
Brown Sugar	*AR:* Rachel Hankins, Mary Jane Hardridge, Aunt Clara Walker; *FL:* Acie Thomas; *GA:* Carrie Hudson, Ed Mccree, Georgia Telfair; *IN:* Peter Gohagen; *NC:* Emma Blalock, Charlie Crump; *OK:* Morris Sheppard, Lucinda Vann; *TN:* Mollie Moss; *TX:* Fred Brown, Zek Brown, William Byrd, Hattie Cole, Tob Davis, John Finnely, Louis Fowler, Gabriel Gilbert, Pauline Grice, Scott Hooper, Lewis Jones, Sam Kilgore, Martha Patton, Elsie Reece
Brown Sugar (Candy)	*OK:* Phyllis Petite
Candy (Unspecified)	*AL:* Rev. Wade Owens, Eli Smith; *AR:* Fannie Clemmons, Minnie Hollomon; *GA:* Susan Castle, Minnie Davis, Carrie Hudson, Ed Mccree, Will Sheets; *IN:* Matthew Hume; *KY:* George Henderson; *MD:* Rev. Silas Jackson; *MN:* Laura Thompson; *MS:* Jim Allen, Anna Baker, James Cornelius, Ann Drake, Mollie Edmonds, Ruben Fox, Virginia Harris, Turner Jacobs, Prince Johnson, Julius Jones, Joe Rollins; *NC:* Sarah Anne Green, Julius Nelson; *SC:* Gus Feaster, Junius Quattlebaum; *TN:* Measy Hudson; *TX:* John Barker, Elvira Boles, Dave L. Byrd, William Byrd, Alice Cole, Alice Cole, Josephine Tippit Compton, Charlie Cooper, Anderson Edwards, Archie Fennels, Millie Forward, Handy Hadnot, Mandy Hadnot, Jack Harrison, Larnce Holt, Scott Hooper, Julia Grimes Jones Ocklbary, Calvin Kennard, Larence Kolt, John Mcadams, Andrew Moody, John Mosley, Melinda Pollard, John Price, Laura

	Redmoun, Elsie Reece, Aaron Russell, Yach Stringfellow, Bert Strong, Jake Terriell, Fannie Tippin, Lou Williams, Sarah Wilson
Candy (Gum drop)	*MS:* Lewis Jefferson
Candy (Pulled syrup candy)	*GA:* Georgia Baker, Minnie Davis, Easter Reed, Georgia Telfair, Upton Neal, Maggie Williams; *MS:* Rosa Mangum, Robert Weathersby; *TX:* Orelia Alexie Franks, Ophelia Porter, A.C. Pruitt, Elvira Roles
Candy (Stick)	*GA:* Arrie Binn
Cinnamon	*AR:* Millie Evans
Ginger	*SC:* William Henry Davis
Honey	*AR:* Katie Rye; *MS:* Juda Dantzler, Charity Jones, Ben Richardson; *NC:* Alice Baugh, Emma Blalock, Rev. Squire Dowd, Julius Nelson; *OH:* Nan Stewart; *SC:* Gus Feaster; *TX:* Andy J. Anderson, Andy Anikeson, Wes Beady, Donaville Broussard, Steve Brown, Zek Brown, William Byrd, Amos Clark, Hattie Cole, Preely Coleman, John Crawford, Nelson Taylor Densen, Albert Hill, Mary Homer, Louise Mathews, Tom Mills, Mary Ann Patterson, James Polk, Betty Powers, Laura Ray, Elsie Reece, Peter Ryas, Emma Simpson, Ike Simpson, Patsy Southwell, Leithan Spinks, Penny Thompson
Maple Sugar	*AR:* Ida Rigley; *KY:* Dan Bogie, Bert Mayfield; *MO:* August Smith; *OH:* James Campbell
Maple Sugar (Cake)	*KY:* Bert Mayfield
Mint Leaves	*MS:* Marry Joiner
Molasses	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Clara Davis, Frank Gill, Ester Green, Adeline Hodge, George Taylor; *AR:* Alice Alexander, Robert Barr, Norman Burkes, Fannie Clemmons, Pauline Fakes, Jennie Worely Gibson, Rachel Hankins, Fanny Johnson, Mag Johnson, Mose King, Joe Mayes, Victoria Mcmullen, Henry Kirk Miller, Mary Mitchell, Henrietta Williams, Sally Nealy, Frank A. Patterson, Ida Rigley, Mrs. Dicey Thomas, Anna Washington, Columbus Williams, Mary Williams; *FL:* Ambrose Douglass, Sam and Louisa Everett; *GA:* Mose Davis, Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Martha Everette, Isiah Green, Toy Hawkins, Carrie Hudson, Georgia Johnson, Mary, Fanny Nix, Nancy Smith, George Womble, Dink Walton Young; *IN:* Rosaline Rogers, Mary Emily Eaton Tate; *KY:* Dan Bogie; *MD:* Rev. Silas Jackson, Mary Moriah Anne Susanna James; *MS:* Barney Alford, Gabe Butler, Hannah Chapman, Tilda Johnson, Ellen Gooden, Albert Cox, Charlie Davenport,

Lucy Donald, Ann Drake, Simon Durr, Manda Edmondson, Sarah Felder, Lewis Jefferson, Charity Jones, Mandy Jones, Mary Ann Kitchens, Victoria Randle Lawson, John Matthews, Abe Mcklennan, Harriet Miller, Harriet Miller, Adaline Montgomery, Alex Montgomery, Laura Montgomery, Tom Morris, Mark Oliver, Ben Richardson, Smith Simmons, Adam Smith, Wright Stapleton, Hattie Sugg, Callie Washington, Robert Weathersby, Ed Williams, Temple Wilson, Rebecca Woods, Polly Turner Cancer; *NC:* Emma Blalock, W.L. Bost, Aunt Betty Cofer, John Daniels, Sarah Gudger, Fannie Moore, Julius Nelson, R.S. Taylor; *OH:* James Campbell, Hanna Fambro; *OK:* Polly Colbert, Eliza Evans, Salomon Oliver, Phyllis Petite, Matilda Poe, Lucinda Vann, Annie Young; *SC:* William Ballard, Millie Barber, Anne Bell, George Briggs, Henry Brown, Sara Brown, C.B. Burton, Caleb Craig, William Henry Davis, Washington Dozier, Caroline Farrow, Gus Feaster, Charlie Grant, Madison Griffin, Zack Herndon, Henry D. Jenkins, Cabe Lance, Milton Marshall, Lucinda Miller, Sena Moore, William Oliver, Mary Raines, Sabe Rutledge, Dan Smith, Jessie Sparrow, Mack Taylor, Med Walker, Charlie Watson; *TN:* Mollie Moss; *TX:* Anderson Edwards, George Austin, John Barker, Wes Beady, Ellen Betts, Della Mun Bibles, Betty Bormer, Fred Brown, Steve Brown, Zek Brown, Martha Spence Bunton, Richard Carruthers, Clara Chappel, Henry Childers, Hattie Cole, John Crawford, Jake Desso, Anderson Edwards, John Finnely, Louis Fowler, Mattie Gilmore, Mary Glover, Pauline Grice, Lee Hobby, Bill Homer, Scott Hooper, Charley Hurt, Harriet Jones, Lewis Jones, Sam Kilgore, Walter Leggett, Bell Nelson, Horace Overstreet, Martha Patton, Ellen Polk, Betty Powers, Tillie R. Powers, Robert Prout, Laura Redmoun, Elsie Reece, Walter Rimm, Ransom Rosborough, Leithan Spinks, Fayette Stephens, Guy Stewart, William Stone, Mollie Taylor, William M. Thomas, Penny Thompson, Irella Battle Walker, Rose Williams, Sarah Wilson, Willis Winn, James G. Woorling, Louis Young, Teshan Young

Molasses (Black) — *OH:* George Jackson, Richard Toler; *OK:* Sam Jordan; *TX:* Albert Hill, Mary A. Wilson

Molasses (Candy) — *AR:* Mollie Hardy Scott; *MS:* Ann Drake, Turner Jacobs, Manus Robinson, Elmo Steele, Robert Weathersby; *MO:* August Smith; *NC:* Henrietta McCullers, Anna Wright; *TX:* Anderson Edwards, Andrew Goodman

Molasses (Cane) — *NC:* Tempie Herndon Durham, Clara Cotton McCoy; *OK:* Morris Sheppard; *SC:* Phillip Evans

Molasses (Made from May Apples)	*SC:* George Briggs
Molasses (Made from persimmons)	*SC:* George Briggs
Molasses (Made from wheat bran)	*SC:* George Briggs
Pepper (Red and black)	*AR:* Millie Evans; *GA:* Dosia Harris, Charlie Hudson, Lina Hunter, Georgia Smith, Emma Virgel, Olin Williams; *MS:* Della Buckley, Tilda Johnson, Sally Green, Granny Lee, Ellen Gooden; *NC:* Julius Nelson, Charlie Crump, Anna Wright; *OK:* Lizzie Farmer; *SC:* Sylvia Durant, Gus Feaster, Ben Horry; *TX:* Mary Donatto, Sarah Fuller, Bettie White Irby, Amos Lincoln, Isaac Martin, Ransom Rosborough, Mary Scranton, Allen Thomas, Annie Whitley Ware, Emma Watson
Salt	*AR:* Millie Evans, Henry Green, Ida Rigley; *FL:* Samuel Simeon Andrews, Rivana Boynton, Patience Campbell, Margrett Nickerson, Salena Taswell; *GA:* Benny Dillard, Bill Heard, Lina Hunter, Emma Hurley, Olin Williams; *IN:* Mary Emily Eaton Tate; *MN:* No Name Given; *MS:* George Coleman, Tilda Johnson, Granny Lee, Ellen Gooden, Lizzie Dillard, Lewis Jefferson, Joe Simpson, Mattie Stenston, Julia Stubbs, Sarah Thomas, Dave Walker, William Wheeler; *NC:* Aunt Betty Cofer, Charlie Crump, Julius Nelson; *OK:* Polly Colbert, Sam Jordan, Kiziah Love, Lou Smith; *SC:* Nellie Boyd, George Briggs, Henry Brown, Sara Brown, Sylvia Durant, Gus Feaster; Ben Horry, Henry D. Jenkins, Anna Moore, Sabe Rutledge, Jessie Sparrow; *TX:* Sarah Ashley, Lizzie Atkins, Alice Cole, William Coleman, Mollie Dawson, Mary Donatto, Sarah Fuller, Charley Hurt, Anna Lee, Amos Lincoln, Walter Rion, Ransom Rosborough, Peter Ryas, Polly Shine, Tucker Smith, Allen Thomas, Alice Wilkins, James G. Woorling
Soda	*GA:* Bill Heard, Emma Hurley; *MS:* Ebenezer Brown, Tilda Johnson, Sarah Felder, Jeff Rayford, Dave Walker; *OK:* Sam Jordan; *SC:* Jackson Speers; *TX:* Alice Houston, Willis Winn
Spice (Unspecified)	*AR:* Millie Evans
Sugar	*AL:* Oliver Bell, Joseph Holmes; *AR:* Fannie Clemmons, Millie Evans, Millie Evans, Mary Jane Hardridge, Milton Ritchie, Edmond Smith, Mrs. Dicey Thomas; *FL:* David Lee, Acie Thomas; *GA:* Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Bill Heard, Lina Hunter, Beverly Pullin, Shade Richards, Dink Walton Young; *IN:* Matthew Hume; *MS:*

	Barney Alford, Millie Young, Ellen Gooden, Ellen Gooden, Virginia Harris, Prince Johnson, Mary Jane Jones, Ann May, Henry Warfield, Robert Young; *NC:* Rev. Squire Dowd, Sarah Anne Green, Fannie Moore; *OK:* Lewis Jenkins, Salomon Oliver; *SC:* Sara Brown, Charlie Grant, Ben Horry, Jake Mcleod; *TX:* Minerva Bendy, Ellen Betts, Charley Bowen, Harrison Boyd, Jerry Boykins, Clara Brim, Henry Broadus, William Byrd, Henry Childers, Jeptha Choice, Steve Connally, Carey Davkhport, Handy Hadnot, Ann Hawthorne, Lee Hobby, Bettie White Irby, Thomas Johns, Anderson Jones, Liza Jones, Richard Kimmons, Mary Kindred, Henry Lewis, Lucy Lewis, Louise Mathews, Mary Nickerson, Joe Oliver, Jessie Pauls, Louvinia Young Pleasant, Ellen Polk, Robert Prout, A.C. Pruitt, Joe Rawls, Mary Reynolds, Walter Rimm, George Rivers, Ransom Rosborough, Abram Sells, Polly Shine, Millie Ann Smith, William Stone, Allen Thomas, Sarah Wilson, Wash Wilson, James G. Woorling, Caroline Wright
Sugar (Cane)	*AL:* Henry Barnes; *SC:* William Ballard
Sugar (Plums)	*NC:* Sarah Anne Green
Sugar (Sea)	*GA:* John Hill
Syrup (Unspecified but most likely molasses)	*AR:* Claiborne Moss, Louise Prayer; *FL:* Duncan Gaines, Acie Thomas; *GA:* Rachel Adams, Henry Bland, Henry Bland, Alec Bostwick, Alice Bradley and Kizzie Colquitt, Della Briscoe, Ellen Calphell, Julia Cole, George Eason, Elisha Doc Garey, Heard Griffin, Miltck Hammond, Dosia Harris, Jefferson Franklin Henry, Easter Huff, Fannie Jones, Susan Matthews, Ed Mccree, Matilda Mckinney, William Mcwhorter, Annie Price, Beverly Pullin, Shade Richards, Will Sheets, Georgia Telfair, Rhodus Walton, Frances Willingham, Henry Wright; *MN:* No Name Given; *MS:* Mary Jane Jones; *OH:* Clark Heard, Thomas McMillan; *NC:* Joe High; *OK:* Lou Smith; *SC:* Adeline Grey, Anna Moore, Sam Polite, Hector Smith; *TX:* Wash Armstrong, Smith Austin, Harriet Barnett, Elvira Boles, Charley Bowen, Sally Banks Chambers, Sally Banks Chaubers, Henry Childers, Jane Cotton, Uill Daily, Bud Dixon, George Earle, Olivies Elanchand, Orelia Alexie Franks, Lizzie Hughes, Jack and Rosa Maddox, Charley Johnson, Gus Johnson, Mary Kindred, Henry Lewis, John Love, Eva Martin, William Mathews, Cassie Middleton, John Moore, Isom Norris, Jessie Pauls, Robert Prout, Joe Rawls, George Rivers, Abram Sells, Polly Shine, Emma Simpson, Millie Ann Smith, Jake Terriell, Aleck Trimble, Ella Washington, Horatio W. Williams, Wash Wilson
Syrup (Black)	*GA:* Hannah Murphy

Syrup (Maple)	*IN:* George Thomas; *KS:* Clayton Hobert; *MO:* August Smith
Syrup Pudding	*GA:* Frances Willingham
Syrup (Red)	*OH:* Rev. Perry Sid Jamison
Vinegar	*MS:* Ellen Gooden, Jeff Rayford; *TX:* Walter Rimm

Appendix M

BEVERAGES

Beer	*AL:* Nicey Pugh; *TX:* Silvia King, Vina Moore
Beer (Persimmon)	*AR:* Millie Evans, Rachel Harris; *GA:* Annie Huff; *MD:* Rezin Williams; *MS:* William Wheeler; *SC:* Emma Lowran, Charlie Watson
Beer (Made from locust and persimmons)	*SC:* Nellie Boyd, Louisa Davis
Brandy	*AR:* Fannie Dorum, Abram Harris; *GA:* Lucy Mcullough, Green Willbanks; *KS:* Clayton Hobert; *SC:* George Woods; *TX:* John Finnely, Charley Hurt
Brandy (Apple)	*NC:* Sam T. Stewart
Brandy (Cherry)	*AL:* Joseph Holmes
Brandy (Peach)	*NC:* Sam T. Stewart
Cider	*AR:* Carrie Bradley, Logan Bennet; *GA:* Green Willbanks; *KS:* Clayton Hobert; *MD:* James V. Deane; *MS:* Ebenezer Brown; *NC:* Susan High
Coffee	*AL:* Oliver Bell, Chency Cross, Alonza Fantroy Toombs; *AR:* Jennie Worely Gibson, Cora Gillam, Sally Nealy, Mrs. Dicey Thomas, Komeline Waddille; *FL:* Rivana Boynton, Margrett Nickerson, Margrett Nickerson; *GA:* Bryant Buff, Callie Elder, Bill Heard, Lina Hunter, Georgia Johnson, Julia Brown, Alec Pope, Beverly Pullin, Georgia Telfair; *KY:* Dan Bogie; *MS:* Charlie Davenport, Callie Gray, Virginia Harris, Robert Laird, Isaac Stier, Dicy

	Windfield; *OK:* John Brown, Salomon Oliver, Morris Sheppard; *SC:* Charlie Davis, William Henry Davis, Gus Feaster, John Franklin, Fannie Griffin, Lucinda Miller, Sabe Rutledge; *TX:* Amos Clark, Abraham Coker, Valmar Cormier, Sue Craft, Jake Desso, Albert Hill, Scott Hooper, Thomas Johns, Richard Kimmons, Ben Kinchlow, Bell Nelson, Joe Oliver, Ophelia Porter, Laura Redmoun, Elsie Reece, William Stone, Mollie Taylor, Winger Vanhook, Rosa Washington, Millie Williams, Rose Williams, Julius Wilson, James G. Woorling
Coffee (Green)	*GA:* Dink Walton Young (Mammy Dink), Dink Walton Young
Coffee (Grounds)	*MS:* Lizzie Williams
Coffee (Made from oak or hickory bark)	*MS:* Henry Warfield
Juice (Persimmon)	*SC:* Caroline Farrow
Lemonade	*AL:* Martha Bradley; *NC:* Emma Blalock
Liquor	*AL:* Jim Gillard, Graham Martin, General Jefferson Davis Nunn; *GA:* John F. Van Hook, Georgia Johnson, Julia Larken, Will Sheets, Paul Smith, Addie Vinson; *KY:* George Henderson; *MS:* Isaac Stier; *SC:* Gordon Bluford, Sylvia Cannon, Madison Griffin, Gable Locklier, Jake Mcleod, Robert Toatley
Liquor (Corn)	*GA:* Alice Bradley and Kizzie Colquitt, Benny Dillard; *NC:* Emma Blalock
Tea	*AR:* Frank A. Patterson; *GA:* Mariah Calloway, Alice Green, Beverly Pullin; *MS:* Alex Montgomery, Laura Montgomery, Mollie Williams; *MO:* Alex Bufford, Rhody Holsell, August Smith; *OK:* Victoria Taylor Thompson; *SC:* Hagar Brown, W.M. Green; *TX:* Frank Bell, Bill and Ellen Thomas, Albert Hill, Scott Hooper, Vina Moore, Bill Nelson, Elsie Reece, Louis Young
Tea (Barley)	*TX:* James G. Woorling
Tea (Barmonia?)	*TX:* Mollie Dawson
Tea (Beef)	*AR:* Rose Mosley
Tea (Belladonna)	*TX:* Hannah Mullins
Tea (Bitter crest weed)	*OK:* Easter Wells; *TX:* John Bates, Vina Moore, Rosa L. Pollard, Rose Williams
Tea (Black haw)	*GA:* George Womble; *MS:* Ned Chaney; *TX:* Lu Lee
Tea (Black pepper)	*GA:* Boudry (No last name)

Tea (Black root)	*MS:* Ned Chaney
Tea (Boneset)	*AL:* Henry Cheatham, Callie Williams; *GA:* Georgia Baker, Emma Hurley, Harriet Miller; *OH:* Isaac Rodges; *SC:* Louisa Collier, John N. Davenport; *TX:* Steve Jones, Ellen Payne, Millie Ann Smith, Sol and Lisa Walton
Tea (Bran)	*TX:* Fred Brown
Tea (Bullrush)	*MS:* Simon Hare
Tea (Burdock)	*KY:* Easter Sudie Campbell
Tea (Bur vine)	*MS:* Mark Oliver; *TX:* Sarah Ford
Tea (Butterfly plant)	*FL:* Clayborn Gautlinc; *TX:* Millie Ann Smith
Tea (Cactus)	*TX:* Harriet Barrett
Tea (Calamus)	*TX:* Mary Thompson
Tea (Calomel)	*TX:* Mattie Gilmore
Tea (Cami?)	*TX:* Dave L. Byrd, Louis Cain, Charlie Cooper, Eli Davison, Tom Holland, Steve Jones, Taby Jones, Rosa L. Pollard
Tea (Candnilo)	*TX:* Lou Williams
Tea (Catnip)	*FL:* Rebecca Hooks, George Pretty; *GA:* Emeline Stepney, Phil Town; *KY:* Easter Sudie Campbell; *MS:* Rena Clark, Lucy Pulliam Mcbee; *NC:* Jane Lassiter, Annie Stephenson; *OH:* William Emmons, Florence Lee, Henrietta McCarthy, Lucy Ann Warfield; *TX:* Lu Lee, Steve Jones, Mary Thompson
Tea (Catnip and sage)	*SC:* Hector Smith
Tea (Cherrywood bark)	*NC:* Emeline Moore; *SC*: Wallace Davis, Morgan Scurry, Hector Smith, Ellen Swindler
Tea (Chesnut bark)	*MS:* Joanna Thompson Isom
Tea (Chesnut leaf)	*GA:* Julia Brown
Tea (China berry)	*AL:* Ester Green; *SC:* Milton Marshall
Tea (Cockroach)	*TX:* Winger Vanhook and Henry Boraddus
Tea (Comfort root)	*GA:* Emma Hurley
Tea (Coonroot)	*OK:* Anthony Dawson
Tea (Corn shuck)	*AR:* Marion Johnson; *TX:* Bill and Ellen Thomas, Richard Carruthers, Martha Patton, Sol and Lisa Walton
Tea (Cottonseed)	*TX:* John Crawford, Sol and Lisa Walton, Bill and Ellen Thomas
Tea (Cow manure)	*GA:* Julia Brown; *TX:* Curley Mcgade
Tea (Cow pasture)	*MS:* Joanna Thompson Isom

Tea (Devil's Shoe)	*FL:* Rivanna Boynton; *GA:* Uncle Shang Harris
Tea (Dewberry)	*GA:* Georgia Smith
Tea (Dinty; ditney)	*SC:* Zack Herndon, Jackson Speers
Tea (Dirt dobbler nest)	*KY:* Mary Woodridge
Tea (Dockroot)	*OK:* Hal Hutson
Tea (Dog fennel)	*MS:* Joanna Thompson Isom
Tea (Dog manure)	*TX:* Curley Mcgade
Tea (Dogwood)	*AL:* Anthony Ambercrombie; *MS:* Smith Simmons; *NC:* Emeline Moore; *OK:* Lou Smith; *SC:* Morgan Scurry
Tea (Dollar leaf)	*TX:* Annie Whitley Ware
Tea (Egg shell)	*TX:* Curley Mcgade
Tea (Elderbush; elderberry)	*AL:* Henry Barnes; *GA:* Carrie Hudson; *MO:* Rachal Goings; *OH:* William Emmons, Floence Lee and Henrietta McCarthy
Tea (Fever grass; feverweed)	*SC:* Solomon Caldwell, Mary Edwards
Tea (Feverweed and sweet gum)	*GA:* Easter Huff
Tea (Field)	*KY:* Easter Sudie Campbell; *MS:* Sarah Felder
Tea (Flagroot)	*NC:* Jane Lassiter
Tea (Flax weed)	*AR:* Myrax Griffin
Tea (Fleaweed)	*OK:* Hal Hutson
Tea (Flyweed)	*AR:* Ida Ripley
Tea (Garlic)	*GA:* Jennie Kendricks
Tea (Ginger)	*GA:* Aunt Ferebe Rogers
Tea (Goldenrod)	*FL:* George Pretty
Tea (Goosegrass)	*MO:* Robert Bryant
Tea (Grassroot)	*SC:* Henry Ryan
Tea (Greybeard)	*SC:* George Briggs
Tea (Gum bark)	*MS:* Fanny Smith Hodges; *SC:* Jackson Speers
Tea (Gypsum)	*SC:* Gillam Lowden
Tea (Heart leaf)	*GA:* Jennie Kendricks
Tea (Herb)	*AR:* Charlie Vaden; *GA:* Dosai Harris, Bob Mobley, Elsie Moreland; *MS:* Gabe Butler, Ruben Fox, Joe Hawkins, Lizzie Norfleet; *OK:* Della Fountain; *SC:* Granny Cain,

	Wallace Davis, George Fleming, Milton Marshall, Jessie Rice, Henry Ryan; *TX:* Frank L. Adams, Lizzie Atkins, Ellen Butler, Dave L. Byrd, Harriet Chesley, Mollie Dawson, Taby Jones, John Moore, John Mosley, George Sells, Jake Terriell
Tea (Herb and root)	*MS:* Dora Franks
Tea (Hickory vark)	*MS:* Charlie Bell
Tea (Hog hoof)	*MS:* Lula Coleman, Joanna Thompson Isom; *NC:* Emeline Moore; *TX:* Harriet Collins, Lu Lee, Lou Williams
Tea (Hog hoof and fennel)	*MS:* Joanna Thompson Isom
Tea (Holly; holly bush)	*AL:* Carrie Davis, Marion Johnson; *SC:* Mary Johnson
Tea (Horehound)	*AL:* Sally Murphy; *GA:* Mary Colbert, Carrie Hudson, Manual Johnson, Susie Johnson, Emeline Stepney, John Watts; *MS:* Nettie Henry; *NC:* Jane Lassiter, Emeline Moore; *OH:* William Emmons; *OK:* R.C. Smith; *TX:* Walter Leggett, Annie Whitley Ware
Tea (Horehound and boneset)	*GA:* Susan Mcintosh, Emeline Stepney
Tea (Horehound and butterfly root)	*GA:* Georgia Smith
Tea (Horehound and pinetop)	*FL:* Rebecca Hooks
Tea (Horsemint)	*MS:* Nettie Henry; *TX:* Sarah Ford, Millie Ann Smith
Tea (Ivy)	*OH:* Isaac Rodges
Tea (Japonica)	*NC:* Henrietta McCullers
Tea (Jerusalem Oak)	*AL:* Ella Harris, Charles Hayes, Cull Taylor; *GA:* Susie Johnson, Francis Willingham; *OK:* Easter Wells; *SC:* Henry Ryan; *TX:* Jack Harrison, Millie Ann Smith, Sol and Lisa Walton
Tea (Jimson weed)	*GA:* Alec Bostwick, Mose Davis
Tea (Larkspur)	*TX:* Jacob Branch
Tea (Lemon-Weed)	*TX:* Hannah Mullins
Tea (Life-Everlasting)	*AL:* Henry Cheatham, Carrie Davis, Charles Hayes, Emma Hurley, Henry Rogers; *SC:* Hector Smith, Millie Ann Smith
Tea (Life-Everlasting, boneset, and woodditney?)	*MD:* Perry Lewis
Tea (Lightwood)	*GA:* Benny Dillard, Manual Johnson, Adeline Willis

Tea (Lion's tongue)	*TX:* Pierce Harper
Tea (Lye)	*GA:* Arnie Binn
Tea (Mackaroot?)	*SC:* Emoline Glasgow
Tea (Marshroot)	*TX:* Jacob Branch
Tea (Mayapple)	*OK:* Tom Woods
Tea (Mint)	*MS:* Ed Crum, Adam Sington
Tea (Mullen)	*AL:* Charles Hayes; *GA:* Wheeler Gresham; *NC*: Isaac Johnson; *OH:* William Emmons; *OK:* Hal Hutson; *TX:* Harriet Collins, Walter Leggett, Annie Whitley Ware
Tea (Mullen and horehound)	*AL:* Annie Davis
Tea (Mullein and lightwood)	*GA:* Callie Elder
Tea (Mullen and pine straw)	*AR:* Marion Johnson
Tea (Olive bush)	*TX:* Morgan Scurry
Tea (Onion)	*MO:* August Smith
Tea (Orange leaf)	*AR:* Rose Mosley
Tea (Peach leaf)	*GA:* Emmaline Heard; *OK:* R.C. Smith; *SC*: Wallace Davis, Anne Rice, Mary Veals; *TX:* Louis Cain, Charlie Cooper, Rosa L. Pollard
Tea (Pennyroil)	*NC:* Emeline Moore; *OH:* Florence Lee, Henrietta McCarthy
Tea (Peppergrass)	*TX:* Vina Moore
Tea (Pine top—tar)	*AL:* Henry Barnes, Lillie Williams; *MS:* Albert Cox, Robert Young; *TX:* Harriet Collins
Tea (Pinetop and Asafetida)	*GA:* Elisa Doc Garey
Tea (Pink root)	*MS:* Milton Lackey
Tea (Potato weed?)	*TX:* Dave L. Byrd
Tea (Rabbit tobacco, pinetop, and mullen)	*GA:* Will Sheets
Tea (Prickly pear)	*TX:* Charlie Cooper
Tea (Ragweed)	*OK:* Robert Burns
Tea (Rat-vein)	*SC:* George Briggs
Tea (Red coon root)	*TX:* Harriet Collins, John Ellis

Tea (Red oak bark)	*GA:* Georgia Baker, James Bolton; *MS:* Joanna Thompson Isom; *SC:* Harriet Barnett; *TX:* Jacob Branch, Vinnie Brunson, Dave L. Byrd, William Byrd, Louis Cain, Harriet Chesley, Anthony Christopher, Charlie Cooper, Eli Davison, Andy Mcadams, Lee Mcgillery, Rosa L. Pollard, Emma Simpson, Annie Whitley Ware
Tea (Red pepper)	*OH:* Joseph Ringo; *TX:* Vinnie Brunson, Emma Watson
Tea (Red root bark)	*TX:* Jacob Branch
Tea (Rhubarb)	*GA:* Alec Bostwick
Tea (Rhubarb and walnut)	*TX:* John Crawford
Tea (Rosemary)	*GA:* Aunt Ferebe Rogers
Tea (Sage)	*AL:* Eliza White; *FL:* George Pretty; *GA:* Mary Colbert, Carrie Nancy Fryer, Aunt Ferebe Rogers; *MS:* Lula Coleman, Ed Crum, Smith Simmons, Robert Young; *NC:* Hattie Rogera; *OK:* Bert Luster; *SC:* Zack Herndon, Jessie Rice; *TX:* Bill and Ellen Thomas, Louis Cain, Jeff Calhoun, Harriet Chesley, Mary Kincheon Edwards, Martha Patton, Mary Thompson, John Walton, Emma Watson, Loiu Williams
Tea (Sage and sassafras as substitute for coffee)	*AR:* Robert Farmer
Tea (Saspirilla)	*OH:* William Emmons
Tea (Sassafras)	*AR:* Charlie Vaden; *AL:* Henry Barnes, Cull Taylor, William Henry Towns; *FL:* George Pretty; *GA:* Peter Wells; *MS*: Alice Shaw, *MO:* Ann Stokes; *NC:* Emma Blalock, Zeb Crowder, Jane Lassiter, Isaac Johnson, Annie Stephenson; *OH:* William Emmons Susie Hawkins, Isaac Rodges; *SC:* William Ballard, Gus Feaster, Zack Herndon, Jessie Rice, Charley Watson; *TX:* Vinnie Brunson, Dave L. Byrd, Harriet Collins, Green Cumby, Dempsey Jordan, Janey Landrum, Rosie Mcgillery, Rosa L. Pollard, Annie Whitley
Tea (Scruvy grass)	*GA:* Georgia Baker, Callie Elder
Tea (Set-Nip)	*MO:* Annie Bridges
Tea (Sheep manure)	*FL:* Rebecca Hooks; *GA:* Marshall Butler, Emeline Stepney, George Womble; *NC:* Isaac Johnson?; *OH:* Samuel Lyons
Tea (Sheep pasture)	*MS:* Joanna Thompson Isom
Tea (Sheep wool)	*TX:* Patsy Moses, Adeline Walden
Tea (Snakeroot)	*GA:* Will Sheets, Phil Town, Green Willbanks; *NC:* Emeline Moore; *SC:* Anne Rice; *TX:* Jacob Branch, Vinnie Brunson, Harriet Collins, Annie Whitley Ware, Lou Williams

Tea (Snakeroot and poplar bark)	*GA:* Georgia Smith
Tea (Spice)	*AL:* Dellie Lewis; *OH:* Isaac Rodges; *SC:* Mary Johnson
Tea (Spider web)	*KY:* Mary Woodridge
Tea (Splinter—pine)	*GA:* Arnie Binn
Tea (Stinking Jacob)	*MS:* Ned Chaney
Tea (Sumac seed)	*OK:* R.C. Smith
Tea (Sweet gum)	*MS:* Lula Coleman
Tea (Tansy)	*GA:* Emma Hurley, Boudry (No last name); *OH:* Susie Hawkins
Tea (Thrash)	*AL:* Annie Stanton
Tea (Watermelon seed)	*AL:* Dellie Lewis; *OH*: Kate Dudley Baumont; *TX:* Lu Lee
Tea (Weed)	*OK:* Richardson Chaney; *TX:* Abe Bean, Jane Cotton, Elige Davison, Emma Simpson, Soul Williams, Smith Wilson
Tea (Willow)	*SC:* Hector Smith; *TX:* Sol and Lisa Walton
Tea (Wintergreen)	*SC:* Hector Smith
Tea (Yellow root)	*GA:* Emeline Stepney, George Womble; *OH:* William Emmons
Tea (Yellow top—weed)	*MS:* Mollie Williams; *TX:* Green Cumby
Toddy	*GA:* Susan Castle
Whiskey	*AL:* Frank Gill, Nicey Pugh, Annie Stanton, Charlie Van Dyke; *AR:* Claiborne Moss, Sally Nealy, Laura Thornton; *GA:* Georgia Baker, Mariah Calloway, Minnie Davis, Mose Davis, Elisha Doc Garey, Heard Griffin, Dosia Harris, Toy Hawkins, John Hill, Carrie Hudson, Charlie Hudson, Frances Kimbrouch, Ed Mccree, Bill Reese, William Ward, Green Willbanks; *MD:* James V. Deane, Rezin Williams; *MS:* Barney Alford, Jerry Eubanks, William Flannagan, Virginia Harris, Mandy Jones, Mary Ann Kitchens, Silias Knox, James Lucas, Joe Rollins, Luke Wilson, Robert Young; *MO:* August Smith, Tishey Taylor; *NC:* Emma Blalock, W.S. Debnan, Rev. Squire Dowd, Chaney Hews, Susan High, George Rogers, Henry James Trentham; *OK:* Octavia George, Annie Young; *SC:* Nellie Boyd, William Henry Davis, Peggy Grigsby, Ben Horry, Emma Lowran, Lila Rutherford, Sabe Rutledge, George Woods; *TX:* Jacob Aldrich, Anderson Edwards, Ellen Betts, Gus Bradshaw, Cato Carter, John Crawford, Jake Desso, Fannie Mccullough Driver, Chris Franklin, Rosanna Fraziek, Charley Hurt, Josephine Hyles, Joseph James, Charley Johnson, Mollie Kirkland, Lu Lee, Walter Leggett, Henry Lewis, Louise Mathews, Susan Merritt, Vina Moore, John Moore,

	Andrew Pullen, Martin Ruffin, Betty Simmons, Rebecca Thomas, Heeves Tucker, Willis Winn
Wine	*AL:* Frank Gill, Rev. Wade Owens, Nicey Pugh; *AR:* Cora Gillam; *GA:* Lina Hunter; *KS:* Clayton Hobert; *TX:* Olivier Blanchard, Julia Blanks, Josie Brown, Cato Carter, Martha Jones, George Rivers

Appendix N

GENERAL OR UNCLEAR

Cushaws?	*AL:* Cull Taylor; *TX:* Harrison Boyd, Robert Prout, Sol and Liza Walton
Egg (Wild—unspecified)	*TX:* Amos Clark
Gumbo	*TX*: Wesley Burrell, Mary Scranton, Valmar Cormier and Mary Moses
Pork Haslet?	*GA:* Bill Heard; *TX:* Abram Sells
Red Haw (Hawk?)	*TX:* Julia Blanks
Soup (Unspecified)	*MS:* Malindy Smith, Hattie Sugg; *OH:* Ben Brown; *OK:* Betty Foreman Chessier; *SC:* Josephine Bristow, Thomas Goodwater, Agnes James; *TX:* Fannie Mccullough Driver, Eva Martin, Peter Mitchell

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