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Trans-Cultural Consumption in Spanish
Latin America

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Chapter 8

In the Kitchen: Slave Agency and African Cuisine in the West Indies

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8 In the Kitchen

Slave Agency and African Cuisine in the West Indies¹

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Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the Caribbean colonies, understood as a global space that was dominated by Europeans during the nineteenth century. More specifically, it examines the British and Spanish possessions in the West Indies as an area producing sugarcane, which according to the historian Frank Moya Pons determined “the historical unity of the region”; this agriculture was described by the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz as a one of the “essential bases” of his country’s economy.² The sugarcane monoculture is thus a key element and a useful starting point for analyzing the British and Spanish possessions in the Caribbean together, given that both empires played an important part as sugar producers. The demand for sugar as a good for mass consumption was constantly increasing from the end of the eighteenth century onwards (Mintz 1996).

The form that agriculture took on the sugarcane plantations was based on the use of vast geographical areas and the concomitant labour of millions of slaves imported from Africa (Paget 2004, 157). A plantation was “a factory in the field”, but it was much more than a productive space: plantations were a “socio-spatial phenomenon that shaped the everyday lives of the people who lived and worked on them” (Hauser, Delle, and Armstrong 2011, 11).

While the British Empire abolished the slave trade and slavery as an institution in 1807 and 1833, respectively, the Spanish eliminated slavery from Cuba only in 1886; its sugarcane production, using workers with fewer rights and lower costs, therefore enjoyed a competitive advantage and could be maintained with greater profit despite the drop in sugar prices, due to the introduction of new technology that enabled the extraction of saccharose from the sugar beet grown in temperate climates. The emergence of Cuba as the leading island in sugar production was also aided by other developments; these included the slave revolt against French rule in Haiti (1791), which removed one of the most productive

competitors from the market. Moreover, the island's largely flat landscape made it easy to establish extensive planting fields, and sugar production thus became the island's main economic activity.

The British and Spanish Caribbean space, unified by the shared form of sugar-based agricultural production, thus provides an excellent case study in which we can assess the extent to which the introduction of practices from elsewhere influenced the development of colonial society and its incorporation in the global context. This chapter therefore focuses not on major events or processes, but on the seemingly ephemeral area of colonial cuisines, and especially on the role of cooks in influencing and transforming British, Spanish and US food models. The role of subaltern peoples in colonial cuisines is analyzed as an aspect of the social and spatial phenomenon of the plantation, where there were interactions between slaves and their owners, former slaves and other colonists who benefited from their cooking skills.

The space of the kitchens and the act of feeding others are therefore examined here as, respectively, an important environment and powerful cultural mechanism, which through the processes of acceptance, hybridization and rejection had a significant impact on colonial society. The Spanish and British dominated at the political, economic and formal levels, but this chapter will show that the slaves also performed an active role in transforming not only eating habits but also the colonies themselves. The practices of everyday life connected to preparing and serving dishes are understood as an area of mediation within which the slaves were able to negotiate a certain degree of autonomy, despite having to observe norms relating to the setting of the table, the best ways of presenting and serving food, the times at which meals had to be ready, and the preparation of some dishes: all these being imposed on them by the colonists.

Although some scholars have addressed the consumption habits and practices of the Creole elite in the Caribbean, for the most part historiographical analysis has ignored food and diet in the West Indian colonies as a focus of research.³ As a result, while there have been some investigations into how Europeans adapted and modified the cuisine of the New World under their rule, the contribution of African slaves to Caribbean cooking is often underestimated or unacknowledged.⁴ In studies of the food slaves ate in the colonies and their involvement in food production and distribution, reconstructions that feature slaves as agents affecting the cuisine of the colonists are also unfortunately limited.⁵ This seems to be due to the scarcity or complete absence of sources regarding the slaves: documentation that is all but absent for the Caribbean, but also lacking for the analysis of slavery in the United States (Berti Forthcoming). It was only when this chapter was already being written that two new books appeared on this theme, probably due to the growing interest in food history.⁶ In one of these, the historian Kelley Fanto Deetz examines the

contribution of slaves to the invention of southern cooking in the United States, analyzing the activities of slaves in the kitchens of their owners.

While Deetz's principal aims are to reconstruct a less well-known aspect of slave life on the North American plantations and to analyze the impact of the slaves' work on the culinary traditions of the American South, this chapter goes further than just a reconstruction of the activity of slaves in the kitchens of the British and Spanish colonies. It draws attention to the ways that the slaves, their cooking and their food practices contributed, albeit indirectly and unconsciously, to the full integration of Latin America into the nineteenth-century global context. The slaves with African roots were using foodstuffs that were unknown or unfamiliar to the British, Spanish and North Americans, and were also using different cooking techniques. My hypothesis is that their habits contributed to the emergence of a new type of cuisine, in which elements of differing provenance were mixed together. While this cuisine has customarily been described as Creole, its nature was in fact global (Berti 2014).

This chapter thus has two related aims: to contribute to a widening of the historiography on consumption in the colonies and empires, and to assess the significance of food and food practices in the incorporation of the Spanish and British American colonies into the global context. In pursuit of these aims, a wide range of sources is analyzed and brought together for comparison. Leaving aside some of the archival documents and a Cuban cookbook, which is discussed in depth, many of the sources employed here can be called "ego documents": any source in which the author's presence, ideas, actions, feelings and emotions are apparent.⁷ These sources have also been described as operating like a mirror: individual stories were written to reflect broader historical processes, and thus help us to reconstruct the everyday life and culture of the colonies (Procida 2002, 130).

It should be noted that one of the main problems about using the sources generated by the colonists of the West Indies to reconstruct the lives, work, kitchen practices and cuisine of the slaves results from the fact that the Creole and African slaves themselves, being essentially illiterate, left nothing in writing.⁸ The methodological device used to address this issue has been described by the Jamaican historian Verene Shepherd as a sort of "ventriloquism", whereby the colonists speak for the colonized (Shepherd 2007, 268). This chapter thus uses the sources left by the colonists to explain the role that slaves played, through their cuisine, in the inclusion of Latin America in the global context during the nineteenth century. In a situation in which the slaves were in effect silent, colonist sources, although typically giving an incomplete picture, are crucial.⁹ Although it was not their explicit intention, travel accounts, personal correspondence and novels provide incidental descriptions of phenomena outside the colonists' milieu, including the atmosphere, surroundings and other groups of people.

This chapter first discusses the slaves who worked in the kitchens of the British, Spanish and North American colonists and travellers: who were they? It goes on to examine whether and how these slaves were trained so that they could fulfil the role of cooks, and argues that, rather than remaining the passive recipients of their instructions, the slaves played an active part, despite the marked asymmetry of power in the colonial context, in the modification, invention and creation of a new type of cuisine that could in fact be described as global, being neither precisely that of the colonizers nor at all like the cooking that the slaves were used to. Finally, it shows how the recipes, which might be seen as an ephemeral topic when compared to the great events of political and economic history, also made their contribution to this volume's focus of analysis: the integration of Latin America in the global context.

Slave Cooks in the Colonists' Kitchens: Who Were They?

The first sources encountered that mention cooks were to be found in the archive of the Castle Wemyss Estate, a Jamaican sugarcane plantation of average dimensions, where in September 1823, according to the medical records, 109 men and 94 women were enslaved.¹⁰ The presence of cooks can be discerned from the daily records of the number of workers used in the plantation's various activities: that month, alongside carpenters, coopers, masons, and ploughmen, on loading the carts, and with the live-stock, there were five domestic servants and kitchen workers.¹¹ However, other than giving the number of those with cooking responsibilities, the archive provides no information about who the cooks were, nor as to whether they cooked only for the other slaves or also fed the plantation managers and other Europeans who worked there.

From a general understanding of the division of labour in the nineteenth century, we might suppose that cooks in the Caribbean kitchens of the period were women. Was this, however, actually the situation in the specific case of the British and Spanish colonies? Was it only enslaved women who worked in the kitchens, or were there also male cooks working as domestic slaves?

According to Mrs. Carmichael, an anti-abolitionist Scottish woman who lived on the islands of St. Vincent and Trinidad from 1820 to 1826, "The cook is frequently a male [. . .]; he has, if the family be large, either a boy or a woman to assist him".¹² While Mrs. Carmichael drew attention to the phenomenon of men in the kitchen, this emphasis was not common to all the sources, which include the correspondence of Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865), a Swedish feminist writer who visited Cuba in 1851.¹³ Addressing her American friends, Bremer wrote that her objective had been to describe "that which I saw and found in the New World".¹⁴ In regard to the sex of the slaves who looked after the food and kitchens, she referred to "the cook, always a negro woman, and if a man-cook, a negro

also”.¹⁵ Thus although a woman cook may have been the norm in mid-nineteenth-century Cuba, it would not have been surprising to encounter a man in this role. The other source that provides indications as to the gender of cooks is the journal of Lady Maria Nugent, but this may represent only the kitchens of the political elite that ruled the Caribbean. Lady Nugent lived in Jamaica between 1801 and 1805, following her husband George’s appointment as the island’s governor by the British Crown. As can be seen from her diary, the Nugents’ kitchen had to fulfil a primarily official function because they were constantly playing host to politicians, members of the planter class and aristocrats. Lady Nugent provided a little information about “Baptiste (our French cook)”, describing him as “a St. Domingo *gentleman*”.¹⁶

As well as mentioning the gender of cooks, the sources answer questions relating to the different ways in which they were supposed to be managed and trained so that their work best met the expectations of the slave owners and their guests.

How Owners Trained Their Cooks and Domestic Slaves

In 1823, at a point when the Jamaican sugar industry was entering a period of crisis due to the abolition of the slave trade, Thomas Roughley, who had owned a sugarcane plantation for nearly twenty years, published a manual regarding plantation management.¹⁷ In his suggestions to other owners of the best ways of managing an estate, Roughley described the activities of slaves on plantations and included discussion of their role within the master’s house. He noted that cooks and other domestic servants should never come from the group of workers that the plantation employed only on a seasonal basis:

The house people should always be composed of the people of colour belonging to the property, or cleanly, well-affected slaves to white people, who understand the way of keeping a house clean in that country, the care of house-linen, needle-work in general, and cookery. They should be neat in their persons, without disease, not inclined to quarrelling or much talking, civil in their manners, not addicted to steal away to the negro-houses, neglect their work, to pilfering or drunkenness. Having such people as these in a dwelling house, the white people and themselves feel, that they are comparatively happy.¹⁸

Roughley suggested to the plantation owners and managers that the only way to achieve a happy and tranquil life at home was to avoid continually changing their domestic servants because of dissatisfaction with their work. If, instead, they replaced them “upon every frivolous occasion”, their lives would remain unhappy: there would be frequent complaints,

conspiracies and misdeeds, the house would always be dirty, the sheets always in tatters, there would be a needless waste of resources and, above all, they would feel constantly under threat.¹⁹ Furthermore, Roughley suggested that great caution and sensitivity should be employed in order not to arouse any jealousy between domestic servants. His book was clear that if owners wanted a happy life they needed to pick their domestic slaves carefully and be sensible; owners should never, for example, put them to the test by entrusting them with the store keys.²⁰ Moreover, they should give the slaves some of the food that the owners themselves ate and allow them some free time, all within reason:

Give them a small, but not a profuse part of what meals you partake of. Let them have due time, by relieving one another, in the course of the week, to work their provision grounds, and mind their little poultry and pigs, not suffering them to raise them about the dwelling or overseer's house.²¹

When owners therefore allowed their slaves some privileges and trained them according to principles of loyalty, including them in part of their lives and leaving them some marginal liberties as described above, according to the sources “good servants” would become one of the greatest advantages of life in the Caribbean.²² However, Mrs. Williams, a member of Cuba's Creole elite, told the American traveller Mary Gardner Lowell that one could maintain a good servant only with “a steady hand and superintendance [sic] but when once you have established your authority but little discipline is necessary”.²³ According to slave owners and other witnesses of the period, firmness in the management of cooks and domestic servants was thus necessary only in the initial phase of their training; subsequently, having learnt what their owners wanted, they could determine their own conduct.

Lady Nugent, introduced above, devoted time to training the household's cook Baptiste; as he was literate, her account explains that she did this in a specific way. On 10 November 1801, not long after her arrival in Jamaica, she wrote in her diary, “I employed my morning, translating all the family, but especially kitchen, regulations into French, for the benefit of Baptiste, who [. . .] scarcely understands a word of English; so now I hope the cuisine will go on more prosperously”.²⁴ Thus it seems that a cook who could read had at his or her disposal a whole set of norms to observe; the “kitchen regulations” would almost certainly have covered instructions not only on the recipes to be used but also on what and how to serve at table and how to present a dish, information about mealtimes and so forth.

The sources consulted also indicate the violent methods that slave owners used in the attempt to establish their authority. An account of mistreatment as a form of education was given by Lieutenant Colonel

Thomas Staunton St. Clair, who in 1805 was transferred to the first battalion of the Queen's Royal Regiment and posted to what was then British Guiana.²⁵ As well as discussing the damp, the rain and the ravenous insects, the author recalled the group of British officers with whom he shared his life in the colony. Among these was Captain Yates, who had purchased two boys for use as domestic slaves. With amused detachment, St. Clair provided a detailed description of Yates's attempts to train the boys, who were to see to his food:

The first, second, and third day we kept them during dinner standing behind our chairs. On the third day we made them begin to wait upon us, and such ridiculous scenes now took place as nearly killed us all at table with laughter. Yates began with Nero. "Nero, the mustard!" Poor Nero knew nothing more than the sound of his name, and stood, staring at his master, with his mouth open. "The mustard, Nero!" he again vociferated, pointing to the sideboard. Off flew Nero, and the mess-waiter, who was near, pointed to the mustard-pot; but, poor Nero, not giving himself time to observe the direction of his finger, seized a bottle of vinegar, and carried it to his master, who pretended to be in a great passion, and sent him back with it, calling out "Mustard! mustard!" This time the poor boy was more fortunate in catching the direction of the waiter's finger, and he succeeded in carrying back the article for which he was sent; when Yates, with the determination of impressing these ingredients more strongly on his memory, made him open his mouth, and put into it a spoonful of the contents, calling out, "Mustard, mustard," while the poor boy was spitting and sputtering, and dancing on the floor, from the effects of this hot substance. I practised the same discipline with Scipio, who had made a similar mistake with the cayenne pepper which I had called for. I, therefore, gave him a small portion of it for the same purpose of impressing it on his memory; which it did so completely that he never afterwards forgot its name.²⁶

According to the unfeeling St. Clair, who was incapable of understanding the boys' suffering and amused by their discomfort in being forced to eat mustard and cayenne pepper, both irritant substances, this savage method of "educating" the young slaves had only positive outcomes: "These two boys, from being our constant companions in boating, fishing, and shooting, soon became strongly and faithfully attached to us; and it was wonderful to see their readiness in finding out our wishes and the rapidity with which they learned our language".²⁷ As in Mrs. Williams's reported observations on Cuban cooks, mentioned earlier, the severity of the initial phase of training could be relaxed when domestic slaves learnt what their owners wanted from them.

From Norm to Praxis: The Different Forms of Slave Agency

The documents available do not all concur in the depiction of an apparently idyllic world in which the colonists, with varying degrees of violence, imparted information that was then followed perfectly by their slaves. As emerges from Thomas Roughley's description, the owners of cooks and other domestic slaves constantly had to find compromises between what they wanted and the reality of established routines, different views, unexpected events and even attempts to erode or limit their authority.

Although the British, other Europeans and North Americans entrusted their nutrition to slaves, they often faced a range of difficulties in this regard, which, according to the sources, varied with the individuals involved. Matthew Lewis, a novelist and slave owner who adopted a humanitarian approach to the management of his two Jamaican sugar-cane plantations, recorded the problems he encountered with his cook:

[I]f the cook having succeeded in dressing a dish well is desired to dress just such another, she is certain of doing something which makes it quite different. One day I desired, that there might be always a piece of salt meat at dinner, in order that I might be certain of always having enough to send to the sick in the hospital. In consequence, there was nothing at dinner but salt meat. I complained that there was not a single fresh dish, and the next day, there was nothing but fresh. Sometimes there is scarcely anything served up, and the cook seems to have forgotten the dinner altogether: she is told of it; and the next day she slaughters without mercy pigs, sheep, fowls, ducks, turkeys, and everything that she can lay her murderous hands upon, till the table absolutely groans under the load of her labours.²⁸

Lewis seemed not to recognize the possibility that misunderstandings might be part of a wider process of resistance towards both the owners and the very institution of slavery. His observations on these difficulties were instead part of a wider discourse on brain differences. In his opinion, mistakes in the kitchens resulted from a biological disparity whereby slaves misinterpreted their owners' instructions; he never related ostensible misunderstandings, such as those described above, to any process of artful insubordination or rebellion. The account of the anti-abolitionist Cynric Williams also raises the issue of whether apparent mistakes might in fact have been rebellious acts.²⁹ On 6 January 1823 he related an episode in which a seemingly banal instance of miscommunication, unquestioned, has disastrous consequences:

We dined on tough mutton to-day, for our host, who does not keep a very grand table, [. . .] had dispatched a negro boy back to his house,

to order a fat lamb to be killed. The negro carried the message right, with the exception of saying ram for lamb, and consequently a pet monster, which Mr. Klopstock intended to be the father of future flocks, fell a victim to Bacchus's blunder. The mistake was not discovered till we sat down to dinner, and the huge quarter of the veteran was uncovered, although the perfume intimated something not over fragrant.³⁰

George Pinckard, a British physician attending to the health of British troops in the West Indies during the Napoleonic Wars, described a similar process. At a gala dinner he noted that the dining room was full of attendants, "black and yellow, male and female – perhaps too numerous to serve you well"; in his assessment, this surplus meant that specific duties were collective rather than individual and the slaves serving food all waited for one another to take responsibility, meanwhile remaining "idle and inactive".³¹ Similar opinions were held by Richard Madden, who said that although the food served in local hotels was delicious, "The attendance, however, is not equal to the fare", because the waiters disappeared and failed to return even when called for repeatedly.³²

Mrs. Carmichael, mentioned earlier, a shrewd observer of daily life in the Caribbean whose book could be seen as, in part, a manual for domestic management, described a situation not dissimilar to the one noted by Madden. The first evening meal to which she was invited after arriving on St. Vincent merited recording for its length alone. The interminable nature of this event related not just to the large number of courses served, but also to the fact that the domestic slaves serving at table were not performing their role in the manner she expected:

Such a length of time elapsed before the second course made its appearance, that I began to conclude that among the many novelties I had seen, another might be, that the servants retired to consume the remains of the first course before they again made their appearance with the second.³³

The long waits and poor service related to meals occurred in both private residences and, as seen in Madden's testimony, in hotels. John Bigelow, an anti-slavery journalist and political analyst who visited Jamaica in 1850 to document what changes had taken place sixteen years after the abolition of slavery, noted his impressions:

There are no first-class hotels in Kingston. [. . .] It was [. . .] quite impossible to have anything done within any appointed period. If breakfast was ordered at eight o'clock, it was sure not to be ready till ten. If dinner were ordered at three, we congratulated ourselves if we got it by five. The waiters, of which there was an abundance, had no idea of saving steps. They would carry every article to the

table separately, and would spend an hour running up and down stairs with things which, with a little forethought, they might have transported at a single trip.³⁴

In the light of Bigelow's description of the table service, which has similarities to the accounts cited earlier, it is necessary to reflect on the probability that apparent misunderstandings and inefficiencies were aspects of a wider process of negotiation of power and liberty between the slaves and their colonial masters.

Despite the descriptions of shortcomings and misunderstandings in the kitchens and table service, slave owners were usually happy with the work of their own servants of African origin. Slaves were generally viewed as good cooks; only one clear exception emerged from the documents analyzed. This can be found in correspondence between Simon Halliday, the owner of the Castle Wemyss Estate's sugarcane plantation on Jamaica, and John Watson, one of the traders used by Halliday to send sugar and rum to Britain and to import consumer goods produced there.³⁵

The letter from Watson, presumably indicating his wish to give Halliday a turtle, has not survived, but on 27 August 1825 the latter wrote that he was 'very obliged for your intended present of a turtle but we have neither consumers nor cooks sufficiently skilled'; having no confidence that it would be competently prepared, he turned it down.³⁶ Given that this is the only instance identified that relates to the inabilities of cooks in the British and Spanish colonies, some reflection on the particular nature of the ingredient on offer is merited. Turtle was in fact one of the essential ingredients in fine cuisine, and not easy to prepare; probably, therefore, not every cook would have had sufficient kitchen skills.

Halliday provides the only discordant note in the general picture that emerges from the sources, in which the abilities of cooks were often noted and celebrated. Fredrika Bremer, for example, writing about Cuba and its Creole population, stated that "[t]he ladies in this country have very light house-keeping cares", because they received such substantial help from their cooks.³⁷ She described the activity and talents of the slaves who looked after the food and kitchens:

The cook, always a negro woman, and if a man-cook, a negro also, receives a certain sum of money weekly with which to provide the family dinners. She goes to market and makes purchases, and selects that which seems best to her, or what she likes. The lady of the house frequently does not know what the family will have for dinner until it is on the table; and I can only wonder that the mistress can, with such perfect security, leave these matters to her cooks, and that all should succeed so well; but the faculty for, and the pleasure in all that concerns serving the table, is said to be universal among the negroes, and they compromise their honor if they do not serve up a good dinner.³⁸

As well as portraying ideal servants who are apparently always happy to oblige their owner, Bremer tells her readers about the degree of autonomy in decision-making and money management allowed to the cook both on her trips to the markets, which were also managed by slaves and offered goods and ingredients that they had usually cultivated, raised, gathered, fished or hunted, and in her production of food for the colonist family. It is interesting that Bremer's account gave not the slightest indication of any rejection, disapproval or criticism of the dishes that slaves prepared and served to European and North American families in Cuba. Mention is only made, by implication, of the good reputation that they wished to preserve. The genuine concern that slaves might have had about the food to be presented at their master's table is indicated by an anecdote published in *The Bermudian*, a Caribbean newspaper, in 1822, in which a slave's sly joke alludes to the fact that the seller's fish is scarcely fresh:

A gentleman sent his black servant to purchase a fresh fish. He went to a stall, and taking up a fish began to smell it. The fishmonger observing him, and fearing the bystanders *might catch the scent*, exclaimed, "Hallo! You black rascal, what do you smell my fish for?" – The negro replied, "Me no smell your fish, Massa". – "What are you doing then, Sirrah?" "Why me talk to him, Massa." – "And what do you say to the fish, eh?" – "Why me ask what news at sea, dat's all, Massa." – "And what does he say to you?" – "He says he don't know; he no been dere dese three weeks."³⁹

The Bostonian writer Maturin Ballou, writing, like Fredrika Bremer, about Cuba in the early 1850s, made very similar comments: when food was needed from the market, "The steward or stewardess of the house, always a negro man or woman, is freely entrusted with the required sum, and purchases according to his or her judgment and taste".⁴⁰ In this way, and possibly assessing the variable qualities of the goods on offer like the slave mentioned in *The Bermudian*, the cook could exercise personal choice and demonstrate her/his own creativity by perhaps choosing ingredients that were local or of African origin in order to cook a Spanish or British dish, or even one that was customarily eaten by the slaves themselves. Just like the women of Indian origin who lived on the Caribbean island of Trinidad, cooks seemingly without any power could "politicize the kitchen by converting it into a site of creativity" (Mehta 1999, 157). The slaves' creativity, skills and food culture are forces that have been seen as of secondary importance, and have therefore usually been ignored by historiography. However, these forces helped to ensure that the Caribbean colonies would play their part in a global cuisine, in which slave labour in the world's kitchens ensured that ingredients and cooking methods from different contexts were mixed together.

Mrs. Carmichael also provided evidence that the practices and ingredients that were part of the slaves' cultural heritage were also employed by the colonists. When moving house between two Caribbean islands, St. Vincent and Trinidad, she followed a recipe that her own slave had given her to cope with the journey by sea: she was able to go on deck "[w]ith the aid of my negro nurse, and his infallible recipe for sea sickness – a sprig of salt beef, broiled fire hot with capsicum, and sprinkled with lemon juice".⁴¹

Nuevo manual del cocinero cubano y español: Ajiaco as an Example of Global Cuisine

As well as imitating the slaves and learning from them different ways of improving their own health, the colonists fed on African and Caribbean dishes and ingredients. The sources analyzed provide helpful clues as to the role of slaves in introducing new dietary models that would modify the customs of the colonists and also contributed to the emergence of Creole and global cuisines, in which European methods and elements combined with indigenous and African ones.

The year 1857 saw the publication of *Nuevo manual del cocinero cubano y español* ("New handbook for the Cuban and Spanish cook"), a recipe book of Cuban cuisine.⁴² Cookbooks have often been used in historiography to shed light on aspects of national or regional identity formation alongside the emergence of a cuisine; *Nuevo manual* also indicates the extent to which the ingredients and kitchen methods that were characteristic of slave cooking found their way into local tradition and the codification of Cuban cuisine, thus acquiring formal recognition.⁴³ In the case of *Nuevo manual*, this was the cuisine in which people who described themselves as Cuban could recognize themselves.⁴⁴ The well-known anthropologist and food scholar Sidney Mintz defines "cuisine" as "the ongoing foodways of a region, within which active discourse about food sustains both common understandings and reliable production of the foods in question" (Mintz 1996, 104). However, *Nuevo manual* also provides useful clues as to how the slaves introduced new dishes which then modified the customs of the colonists and also contributed to the emergence of a new dietary model that brought together recipes, methods and ingredients of diverse origin. Although this volume was first published in 1857, it should be emphasized that evolution towards a standardized cuisine codified in a cookbook is an aspect of medium- and long-term processes; this particular development would have started a long time before the recipes appeared in book form. In the case of national cuisines, or others that represent a specific identity, the recipes selected for a book ought normally to be well known and regularly eaten by those who feel that they have the identity that this describes.

The first point to highlight is that the intention of *Nuevo manual del cocinero cubano y español*, according to the title itself, was to assemble a range of recipes for both the Cuban and the Spanish cook, who were conceived of, in this heading, as two people who cooked in different ways. Second, although many cookbooks bring together recipes for special occasions, and therefore serve to indicate the status that their owners either have or aspire to, *Nuevo manual* was written for a mass public. It described itself as “needed by all social classes”; it had been written “for the people, whose language we speak”, and its author had no doubt that it would be “welcomed by the general public”.⁴⁵ *Nuevo manual* presented a global cuisine that transformed indigenous, African and European ingredients into dishes whose many different descriptions included “a la turca”, “a la oriental”, “a la portuguesa”, “a la inglesa”, “a la escocesa” (Scottish), “a la italiana”, “a la rusa” and “a la americana”.⁴⁶ In addition, recipes were titled in terms of other countries, regions and islands in the Caribbean or on its shores: for example, “a la mejicana”, “a la yucateca”, “de Santo Domingo” and “puerto-riqueña”.⁴⁷

Furthermore, there was no culinary hierarchy in *Nuevo manual*; Spanish, French and other European recipes were not placed on a higher level, to be cooked on special occasions, above Cuban and other regional dishes for everyday use. Instead, the division was what we might expect in any cookbook and followed the order that is still accepted within a meal today.⁴⁸ In the opening section, soups were listed first, followed by “Cocidos, ollas y guisados” (cooked dishes, stews and casseroles) and then “Fritos” (fried dishes); the second assembled recipes for “Menestras, salsas, legumbres, frituras y menudencias” (vegetable stews, sauces, legumes, fried dishes and offal); and the book concluded with “Pastelería, dulcería y repostería” (pastries, confectionery and cakes), and also included alcoholic drinks.⁴⁹ Thus no distinction was made between the five recipes with the label “a la francesa”, the nine described as “a la española”, and other dishes that were classified in terms of their Spanish regional origins: “a la castellana”, “a la catalana”, “a la gallega”, “a la valenciana”, “a la manchega”, “a la vizcaina”, “a la andaluza”, and “a la madrileña”.⁵⁰ It is also significant that about sixty of the more than 560 recipes were specifically labelled “cubanas”, “cubanos”, “de Cuba”, “a la cubana”, “a la habanera”, “a la camagueyana”, “a la matancera”, or with the names of other Cuban towns and cities.⁵¹ However, nothing emerged from the search for a specific ingredient or particular method of preparation that might have resulted in a recipe being identified as “a la cubana”; some of these “Cuban” dishes were boiled, others stewed, and yet others fried. In some cases, beaten eggs were added to a dish that was apparently already cooked, but recipes “a la cubana” could be meat, fish or vegetables, and might be either savoury or sweet.

By the nineteenth century, corn, tomatoes and potatoes had already lost their American identity and had been absorbed into many cuisines

across the world. Leaving them aside, *Nuevo manual* also informs us of the consumption of other indigenous and African items that had still not been included in the customary European diet. Among these were malanga, a tuber originating in the Caribbean; chayote and manioc (or cassava), a gourd and tuber, respectively, that were both native to the Americas; yam; the Caribbean fruits soursop and mamey; sapota, a Central American fruit; *quimbombò*, as the Cubans called okra, a vegetable much used in various African cuisines; sweet potato; guava; coconut; plantain, a type of banana suitable for cooking; and papaya.⁵² All these ingredients, used by African cooks, would be transformed into dishes typical of Cuban cuisine.

According to the anthropologist Shannon Lee Dawdy, at least 46% of the vegetable food items mentioned in *Nuevo manual* or in other Cuban cookbooks of the period were not growing in Spain itself, nor present in the food and diet of the Iberian Peninsula, but were instead in common use by the cooks who fed their dishes to the colonists (Lee Dawdy 2002, 56).

As well as being in a large number of dishes in *Nuevo manual*, the varieties of fruit and vegetable that were either native to the Caribbean or of African origin were also the main ingredients in about forty different recipes, such as *platanos rellenos* (stuffed plantains), made with pork, capers and raisins: this recipe brought together a prime tropical ingredient with the intense flavours typical of many cuisines of the Mediterranean and Middle-Eastern area.⁵³ Thus the encounter between Spanish, indigenous and African food cultures was a constant presence in the cookbook and generated a cuisine in which their mixture together was the norm. *Nuevo manual* also contributed to the proper recognition of typically Cuban dishes, such as three variants of *ajiaco* with the names “olla cubana o ajiaco”, “ajiaco de tierra-dentro” and “ajiaco de Puerto Principe”.⁵⁴ *Ajiaco* is a stew made from several types of meat, including salted pork or beef, *tasajo* (a dried, salted meat), pancetta and poultry.⁵⁵ It also uses legumes such as chickpeas, still common today in the cuisine of the Iberian Peninsula; tubers and other starchy foodstuffs such as sweet potatoes, plantains, malanga and potatoes, which are termed *vianas* in Cuban Spanish; various vegetables like aubergines and marrows (a squash similar to courgette or zucchini); “todas clases de especias” (every kind of spice); salt and “aji con ajos fritos con manteca, de donde viene derivado el nombre de *ajiaco*” (“*aji* [a type of chilli pepper] with garlic sautéed in butter, which gives it the name *ajiaco*”).⁵⁶ *Ajiaco*, in its older form *agiaco*, had been explained by Estéban Pichardo in his *Diccionario provincial de voces cubanas* as early as 1836:

Comida compuesta de carne de vaca ó puerco, trozos de plátano, yuca, calabaza, & con abundancia de caldo cargado de sumo de limón y agì picante, de donde toma su nombre. Es el equivalente de la

olla española: pero acompañado del casabe y nunca del pan. Su uso es casi general [. . .], aunque se escusa en mesas de alguna etiqueta. [Dish consisting of beef or pork, small pieces of plantain, cassava and pumpkin, and plenty of broth seasoned with lemon juice and hot chilli pepper, from which it takes its name. It is the equivalent of *olla spagnola* (Spanish stew), but eaten with cassava, never bread. It is consumed regularly [. . .], although not on formal occasions.]⁵⁷

In *ajiaco* we thus see a blend of various ingredients: these include *tasajo*, a dried and salted meat whose mass production, in the European imperial context, was designed to deliver a high-protein food that kept well and could feed the slaves working on Cuban sugarcane plantations; starchy matter that could fill and satisfy hungry stomachs; and vegetables and spices (Sluyter 2010). Although it is fairly typical of cookbooks that they omitted quantities, at least until the late nineteenth century, it can be noted that in the case of *ajiaco*, the apparent randomness and haphazard choice, both of its ingredients and of their relative quantities, had the effect of recreating a dish typical of slave cuisine. *Ajiaco* is humble food, easily cooked and using whatever is at hand, but capable of meeting the essential needs of workers engaged in strenuous physical activity by providing high calorie intake at low cost. In his renowned *The Raw and the Cooked*, the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss recalled how boiling ingredients was a cultural advancement in comparison with roasting them. Boiling required a pot – a container in which the cook could place a liquid part and an ingredient – whereas roasting needed only food and an open fire. Meanwhile, boiling food is also part of an ethics of savings, because this form of cooking preserves the ingredients’ juices while roasting looses them (Lévi-Strauss 1964). Also, as underlined by the French historian Madeleine Férrières, various stews in which the ingredients are boiled in water or another liquid, such as the Italian *minestrone*, the French *pot-au-feu* and *potage*, the Spanish *olla podrida* and many others, use different terms to describe a similar dish that is part of a hunger cuisine (Ferrières 2003). This kind of cuisine has and had the main objective of filling the empty stomachs of hungry workers. The ingredients vary according to the geographical area in which they are cooked, the culture of the cook and of the people who eat those stews, and the ingredients available.

Prior to his introduction of the concept of “transculturation”, Fernando Ortiz, discussing Cuban identity, used *ajiaco* as a metaphor:

Cuba is an ajiaco. [. . .] [T]herein go substances of the most diverse types and origins. The Indians gave us corn, the potato, malanga, the sweet potato, yuca, the chili pepper that serves as its condiment, and the white cassava *xao-xao* with which the good Creoles of Camagüey

and Oriente decorate the ajiaco when they serve it. Such was the first ajiaco, the pre-Columbian ajiaco, with meat from hutias, from iguanas, from crocodiles, from majá snakes, from turtles, from sea snails, and from other hunted and fished creatures that are no longer appreciated for the palate. The Castilians cast aside these Indian meats and replaced them with their own. With their pumpkins and turnips they brought fresh beef, cured beef, smoked meats, and pork shoulder. And all of this went to give substance to the new ajiaco of Cuba. Alongside the Whites of Europe arrived the Blacks of Africa, and they brought us bananas, plantains, yams, and their cooking technique. And then the Asians with their mysterious spices from the East. And the French with their balancing of flavors, which softened the caustic quality of the savage chillies. And the Anglo-Americans with their domestic machines that simplified the kitchen. [. . .] Out of all this our national ajiaco has been made.⁵⁸

Ajiaco, which was definitively identified as a national dish by Ortiz and is also frequently mentioned in other nineteenth-century sources, as well as in cookbooks and dictionaries, thus provides a good example of how slave cooking, as well as local ingredients and the activities of the colonists, played an essential role in the development of Caribbean cuisine.⁵⁹ Without being fully aware of all the dynamics in play regarding Cuban cuisine, including the active part played by African slaves in its emergence and codification, an anonymous woman author, travelling in Cuba at some point in or before 1870, commented in her memoirs that this was “a questionable amalgamation of American and Spanish cookery”.⁶⁰

Conclusions

David Bell and Gill Valentine’s well-known work on food summarizes some of the themes covered in this chapter: “The foodstuffs we think of as definitionally part of a particular nation’s sense of identity often hide complex histories of trade links, cultural exchange, and especially colonialism” (Bell and Valentine 1997, 169). Although diet and cuisine have often been seen as marginal themes in historical analysis, perhaps because of their constant presence in our lives, this chapter has shown that the analysis of relevant sources enables us to highlight aspects of the history of colonial societies that are actually of substantial interest. We have discussed how it was not only that Caribbean cuisine in the British and Spanish colonies made use of foods that came from various locations across the world but also that the colonists themselves depended on their slaves of African origin in regard to their food and diet. Who the cooks were in the colonists’ kitchens; the use of various sorts of training methods to instruct them on the wishes and needs of their owners; the

apparent difficulties and misunderstandings that were part of wider processes of negotiation of spaces of liberty; the opinions of those who ate slave cooking; and the case of the *ajiaco* that was described in cookbooks and dictionaries: all these elements show that people with neither power nor independence also played an active part in the entry of the Spanish and British colonial worlds into a society that by then had become global, in culinary terms as well as on other levels.

Notes

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2. Moya Pons 2007, 309; Ortiz 1947, 5.
3. For one of the exceptions, see Petley 2012.
4. Some recent studies of European adaptation to and rejection of local cooking should be mentioned: Earle 2012; LaCombe 2012; Saldarriaga 2011; Leong Salobir 2011.
5. See the following chapters in *The Slavery Reader*, ed. Gad Heuman and James Walvin (London: Routledge, 2003): Hilary McD. Beckles, “An Economic Life of Their Own: Slaves as Commodity Producers and Distributors in Barbados,” 507–20; Sidney W. Mintz, “The Origins of the Jamaican Market System,” 521–44; Peter H. Wood, “Black Labor – White Rice,” 224–43; Woodville K. Marshall, “Provision Ground and Plantation Labour in Four Windward Islands: Competition for Resources During Slavery,” 470–85. See also Diana C. Crader, “Slave Diet at Monticello,” *American Antiquity* 55, no. 4 (1990): 690–717.
6. Deetz 2017; Miller 2017. For earlier studies on the same theme, see, for example, Williams Forson 2006.
7. Jacques Presser, “Memoires als geschiedbrom,” in *Winkler Prins Encyclopedie* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1958), vol. 8, 208–10; Rudolf Dekker, “Introduction,” in *Egdocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in Its Social Context Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Rudolf Dekker (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 7–20.
8. Or rather, when slaves did occasionally leave written documents, these provide no response to research questions about the slaves' role in the kitchens, their agency and their resistance to domination by the colonists. On the West Indies see, for example, Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave. Related by Herself*, ed. T. Pringle (London: 1831). Prince's account says nothing that aids analysis of the role of slaves in inventing local Caribbean cuisine, nor analysis of food, kitchens and cuisine in the incorporation of Latin America into the globalized context.

9. See, for example, Katharine E. Harbury, *Colonial Virginia's Cooking Dynasty* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004). Although one might think that the analysis of eighteenth-century Virginia's environment of slavery might include examination of slave kitchens, Harbury does not devote specific space to their work but just provides brief references to slave activity. This seems to have been due to the scarcity or complete absence of primary sources authored by slaves, as was the case for research for this chapter.
10. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London (UK), archive of the Castle Wemyss Estate (hereinafter ICS 101), 3/2/1. Monthly medical records of the number of slaves and their health conditions, including notes with the headings "Increase of Negroes" and "Decrease of Negroes". September 1823 is mentioned here because of its representative nature. Documents in the archive relate especially to the period 1802–1842.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Mrs. [A. C.] Carmichael, *Domestic Manners and Social Condition of the White, Coloured, and Negro Population of the West Indies*, 2 vols. (London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co., 1833), vol. 1, 114.
13. Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*, trans. Mary Howitt, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853).
14. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, vii.
15. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 280. We return to this passage, in its fuller context, later in the chapter.
16. Lady [Maria] Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal of Her Residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805*, ed. Philip Wright (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2002) (first pub. 1839), 36, 39; italics in the original. We should observe how these quotations raise as many questions as they answer. Did Lady Nugent mean that Baptiste was a French-style cook or that he was actually French or of French descent? What did Lady Nugent mean by the italicized word *gentleman*? And, why did she later refer to him as Monsieur Baptiste? To date I have found no solution to solve Lady Nugent's ambiguities in describing her cook.
17. Thomas Roughley, *The Jamaica Planter's Guide; Or, A System for Planting and Managing a Sugar Estate, or Other Plantation in that Island, and throughout the British West Indies in General* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1823), v–vii.
18. *Ibid.*, 97–98.
19. *Ibid.*, 98.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, 98–99.
22. Mary Gardner Lowell, *New Year in Cuba: Mary Gardner Lowell's Travel Diary, 1831–1832*, ed. Karen Robert (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2003), 105.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Nugent, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, 39.
25. Thomas Staunton St. Clair, *A Residence in the West Indies and America, with a Narrative of the Expedition to the Island of Walcheren*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1834). This original edition is now available online; it was reissued as *A Soldier's Sojourn in British Guiana, 1806–1808*, ed. Vincent Roth (Georgetown: Daily Chronicle, 1947).
26. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 227–29.
27. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 229.
28. Matthew Gregory Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor, Kept during a Residence in the Island of Jamaica*, ed. Judith Terry (London: John Murray,

- 1834, 393–94). For a more detailed analysis of the humanitarian policies of Matthew Lewis and various other slave owners, see Berti 2016.
29. Although Williams’s account of his travels is written in the first person, it provides little information on the author himself. Williams states that his aim is to provide information on the state of Jamaica and the living conditions of the slaves, which in his opinion were better than those of workers in Britain. See Cynric R. Williams, *A Tour through the Island of Jamaica, from the Western to the Eastern End, in the Year 1823* (London: Hunt and Clarke, 1826), v–viii. Williams was also the author of a gothic novel published in 1827; see Janina Nordius, “Racism and Radicalism in Jamaican Gothic: Cynric R. Williams’s ‘Hamel, The Obeah Man,’” *ELH* 73, no. 3 (2006): 673–93.
 30. Williams, *A Tour through the Island of Jamaica*, 95–96.
 31. George Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816) (first pub. in 1806), vol. 1, 111.
 32. Richard R. Madden, *A Twelvemonth’s Residence in the West Indies during the Transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship; with Incidental Notices of the State of Society, Prospects, and Natural Resources of Jamaica and Other Islands*, 2 vols. (London: James Cochrane; Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1835).
 33. Carmichael, *Domestic Manners and Social Condition*, vol. 1, 36.
 34. John Bigelow, *Jamaica in 1850: Or, The Effects of Sixteen Years of Freedom on a Slave Colony* (New York and London: Putnam, 1851), 12–13.
 35. See the letter of 3 August 1828 in ICS 101, 2/5/36.
 36. ICS 101, 2/2/40.
 37. Bremer, *The Homes of the New World*, vol. 2, 280.
 38. *Ibid.*
 39. “Negro Reply,” *The Bermudian* (St. George’s, Bermuda), March 27, 1822, 4 (italics in the original). Digitized copies of *The Bermudian* can be consulted (on site only) at the British Library. This anecdote was reproduced numerous times in other nineteenth-century periodicals as an example of “Negro shrewdness”.
 40. Maturin M. Ballou, *History of Cuba: Or, Notes of a Traveller in the Tropics* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1854), 103.
 41. Carmichael, *Domestic Manners and Social Condition*, vol. 2, 43.
 42. J. P. Legran, *Nuevo manual del cocinero cubano y español* (Havana: La Fortuna, 1864) (first pub. 1857). For an introduction to methodology for analyzing recipe books, see Gilly Lehmann, “Reading Recipe Books and Culinary History: Opening a New Field,” in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550–1800*, ed. Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 93–108.
 43. On cuisine and identity formation, see Arjun Appadurai, “How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (1988): 3–24; B. W. Higman, “Cookbooks and Caribbean Cultural Identity: An English-Language Hors d’Oeuvre,” *New West Indian Guide* 72, no. 1/2 (1998): 77–95; Susan J. Leonardi, “Recipes for Reading: Summer Pasta, Lobster à la Riseholme, and Key Lime Pie,” *PMLA* 104, no. 3 (1989): 340–47; Anne Bower, “Bound Together: Recipes, Lives, Stories, and Readings,” in *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, ed. Anne L. Bower (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 1–14.
 44. For mention of how recipes function to demarcate social boundaries, see Palmié 2009, 54.
 45. Legran, *Nuevo manual*, title page and unpaginated preface.

46. *Ibid.*, 29, 47 (“a la turca”); 106 (“a la orientál”); 71, 104 (“a la portuguesa”); 70, 78, 85, 95, 146 (“a la inglesa”); 113 (“a la escocesa”); 34, 45, 145, 154 (“a la italiana”); 39 (“a la rusa”); 26, 27, 32, 36, 99, 101, 104, 112 (“a la americana”).
47. *Ibid.*, 10, 42 (“a la mejicana”); 75, 114 (“a la yucateca”); 154 (“de Santo Domingo”); 88 (“puerto-riqueña”).
48. The concept of the order of a meal is discussed by the structural anthropologist Mary Douglas, “Deciphering a Meal,” *Daedalus* 101, no. 1 (1972): 61–81.
49. Legran, *Nuevo manual*, 5, 18, 48, 52, 117.
50. *Ibid.*, 7, 31, 37, 59, 153 (“a la francesa”); 15, 23, 41, 52, 58, 69, 70, 106, 115 (“a la española”); 94 (“a la castellana”); 101, 106 (“a la catalana”); 113 (“a la gallega”); 58, 65 (“a la valenciana”); 24 (“a la manchega”); 33, 75, 108 (“a la vizcaina”); 63, 70, 96 (“a la andalusa”); 21, 57, 67, 81, 185 (“a la madrileña”).
51. *Ibid.*, 7, 10, 18, 20, 21, 26, 27, 29, 30, 35, 40, 48, 50, 54, 57, 58, 61, 66, 70, 72, 73, 77, 78, 81, 86, 87, 90, 91, 92, 95, 101, 103, 104, 110, 130, 184, 185, 186, 187.
52. *Ibid.*, 61, 69 (malanga); 62, 82 (chayote); 63, 67, 122, 191, 195 (manioc or cassava); 60, 82, 127 (yam); 126 (soursop); 154, 191 (mamey); 184, 191 (sapota); 63, 81 (*quimbombò*); 18, 77 (sweet potato); 148, 189 (guava); 122, 154 (coconut); 10, 61, 69, 99, 130, 142 (plantain); and 129 (papaya). For a discussion of tropical ingredients in Cuba, see Shannon Lee Dawdy, “‘La comida mambisa’: Food, Farming, and Cuban Identity, 1839–1999,” *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 76, no. 1/2 (2002): 47–80, 47. The banana genus (*Musa*) was introduced to the Americas from Asia, but Lee Dawdy describes it as having been “nativized”; *ibid.*: 56. For a more detailed analysis of how the banana was considered an exotic item for much of the twentieth century, see Fabio Parasecoli, “Representations of Caribbean Food in U.S. Popular Culture,” in *Caribbean Food Cultures: Practices and Consumption in the Caribbean and Its Diasporas*, ed. Wiebke Beushausen, Anne Brüske, Ana-Sofia Commichau, Patrick Helber, and Sinah Kloß (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 133–50.
53. Legran, *Nuevo manual*, 45.
54. *Ibid.*, 14, 17, 18.
55. According to Andrew Sluyter, *tasajo*, or “jerked beef” in English, was “the salt-cured beef produced along the Rio de la Plata, shipped to Cuba, and consumed by African slaves”, above all in the nineteenth century. Feeding the slaves who were growing sugarcane, *tasajo* was “a low-value commodity” that “became essential to the production of a high-value commodity”. See Andrew Sluyter, “The Hispanic Atlantic’s *Tasajo* Trail,” *Latin American Research Review* 45, no. 1 (2010): 99–101. According to John Wurdemann, who in 1844, writing anonymously as “a physician”, published an account of his stay in Cuba, the “putrid-like odors” of *tasajo* tainted the air of Havana. See [John G. Wurdemann], *Notes on Cuba* (Boston: James Munroe, 1844), 45–46.
56. Legran, *Nuevo manual*, 17, 18. For a definition of *aji*, see Estéban Pichardo, *Diccionario provincial casi-razonado de voces y frases cubanas*, 4th ed. (Havana: El Trabajo, 1875), 42.
57. Estéban Pichardo, *Diccionario de voces cubanas* (Matanzas: Imprenta de la Real Marina, 1836), 8. Translation into English by Stuart Oglethorpe.
58. Fernando Ortiz, “The Human Factors of ‘Cubanidad,’” trans. João Felipe Gonçalves and Gregory Duff Morton, *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4, no. 3 (2014): 460–62 (first pub. in Spanish in 1940; italics

- in the original). For the concept of transculturation, see Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint*.
59. John Wurdemann, for example, wrote about seeing “a large pot of very white boiled rice, and another full of vegetables and meats, the favorite *olla podrida* of the creole”. Wurdemann, *Notes on Cuba*, 34.
 60. Anon, *Rambles in Cuba* (New York: Carleton, 1870), 108. The anonymous woman author headed her opening journal entry “Havana, March 1, 18” —. *Ibid.*, 7.

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