"I got hot sauce in my bag, swag": The Diasporic Roots of Hot Sauce in Black American Culinary Culture

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Abstract: In connecting the piquant seasonings of early modern West African cuisine to the contents of Beyoncé's Gucci GG monogram bag, my work evidences the centrality of hot sauce in the modern Black American identity as well as its place in Black America's past. Generations of bondpeople in the US South actively perpetuated the piquant seasoning of their West African ancestors using chili peppers and 'chili vinegar' to season their repetitive and often rancid provisions. While the hot sauce in Auntie's bag provided seasoning on-the-go for Black families forced to provide their own meals while traveling during the Jim Crow era, it also harkened back to family unity and offered a taste of togetherness. While the national hot sauce market has grown in leaps and bounds because of Asian and Latino immigrants' influence on culinary culture, the condiment has a long and significant role in Black American foodways.as a culinary expression of humanity and collective identity.

'Formation,' the lead single from Beyoncé's sixth album Lemonade, dropped with no notice on Feb. 6, 2016. The BeyHive, as Beyoncé's most dedicated fans call themselves, responded to the surprise release by lifting it to uncharted heights on the music charts. In fact, 'Formation' is the singer's highest-debuting single of her career and was Google's most searched song of 2016. The song was an overwhelming hit not only with fans but also the music industry and cultural critics. 'Formation' was nominated for the Grammy Record of the Year and Song of the Year and won in the category of Best Music Video. *Rolling Stone, Entertainment Weekly, Time Magazine, Fuse,* and *NPR* all considered the song the best of 2016, with *Essence* and *Parade* naming the song the greatest of the decade (2010s).[1] Activist Alicia Wallace addresses that the release of 'Formation' was intentionally timed, 'bringing a new wave of energy, encouragement, and excitement to Black people'.[2] The music industry's Jaycen Joshua described the lyrics as 'our generation's version of James Brown's "Say It Loud – I'm Black and I'm Proud"'.[3] In her opening stanza, Beyoncé lays out her profound pride in her Black identity:

> 'My daddy Alabama, momma Louisiana | You mix that negro with that Creole make a Texas bama. | I like my baby heir, with baby hair and afros. | I like my negro nose with Jackson Five nostrils. | Earned all this money but they never take the country out me. | I got a hot sauce in my bag, swag[4]

In calling herself 'bama,' Beyoncé is reclaiming a slur used to denote a Black person from rural America, presumed to be unintelligent and naïve.[5] In these lines, she also asserts her love of Blue Ivy's natural hair and her own prominent nose, typical Black features scorned by white beauty standards and mocked in popular culture. At the end of this descriptive list is a recognition to the importance of Black food in defining her racialized identity. She grounds her cultural roots with the closing lyrics of the stanza, 'I got hot sauce in my bag. Swag.' This final line is not just a shoutout to Black folks' love for hot sauce, but their dependence on it.

Hot sauce is having more than a moment in global contemporary culinary culture. Attributed to the influence of Asian and Latino immigrants as well as the hot wings trend, the US hot sauce market has grew by 150% between 2000 and 2014—more than BBQ sauce, ketchup, mayonnaise, and mustard combined.[6] And indeed hot sauce is certainly not unique to the palate of the African Diaspora—for example, Tabasco is currently distributed to 180 countries and territories.[7] Scientists confirm the condiment can induce what so-called chilliheads describe as 'a radiant sense of well-being' akin to the highs of 'sex and running a marathon'.[8] But while there are certainly fans in the US and abroad who share her love of spice, Beyoncé's lyrical nod to the condiment in her culturally influential album speaks specifically to the centrality of hot sauce in the modern Black American identity as well as its place in Black America's past.

This paper explores the role of hot sauce in African American culinary culture within the framework of the larger African Diaspora. In connecting the piquant seasonings of early modern West African cuisine to the contents of Beyoncé's Gucci GG monogram bag, my work evidences use of spice was not simply a culinary response born out of the deprivations of slavery nor to cover up the acrid taste of Jim Crow. For over four hundred years, hot sauce has operated in America's Black community to season food with a taste of belonging, flavour of community, and essence of unity. As chef and caterer Therese Nelson explains, 'To examine Black foodways is to understand that food is not merely nourishment but a caloric statement of joyfulness.'[9] While hot sauce provides little in the way of sustenance compared to other staples of the traditional Black American diet like pork, sweet potato, and greens, it has been a constant companion in African American culinary culture. Spicy seasoning has clear roots in West African foodways and, centuries later, similarly resonates as a culinary symbol of racial identity for many contemporary Black Americans.

Old World Seasoning

While hot sauce comes in many forms, it was not always the preferred way for people of African heritage to give a zesty kick to their food. Before European traders introduced the 'New World' cultivar of chilies, West Africans had a long-established practice of using piquant spices to season their food. Since the ninth century, West Africans traded with Arab merchants for to access spices such as black pepper, cardamom, ginger, and nutmeg.

While these spices stimulate a warming sensation, it was the prominent use of the native melegueta pepper in West African cuisine that really brought the heat.[10]
Melegueta (*aframomum melegueta*) is member of the ginger family and is referred to locally in West Africa as *efom wisain* or *efom wisa* in Twi, *obro* in Yoruba, and *chitta* in Hausa.[11] While the fruit was and is consumed for its aromatic pulp, the seed dried and then ground up. It is traditionally used in a variety of culinary applications as its bouquet of ginger, cinnamon, cardamom, and black pepper adding spice and depth to any dish. Over the centuries, cooks use melegueta in tagines, in rubs for steak and chicken, and seasoning stews. For example, a French ship captain traveling in West Africa in 1827 recorded a dish of 'Mandingo Stew' which contained 'mutton minced with roasted ground nuts and rolled up into a shape of forced-meat balls'. He described that after being 'stewed up with milk, butter, and a little melegueta pepper, is a rich dish if eaten with rice en pilau'. In a separate occasion on his same trip, the captain recounted a 'palavra sauce' which accompanied wild hog 'flavored with red and melegueta pepper'.[12] The seeds are also tossed into rice as the grains cook or the seeds are cracked and added to oil to flavour it before cooking. As well, the cracked seeds were and are incorporated in sauces.

The English and the Dutch, early businessmen in the transatlantic slave trade, referred to the region between Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast as the 'Melegueta Coast' or 'Pepper Coast' because of its primary trade crop. Europeans also referred to melegueta as 'Grains of Paradise' and traders eventually abbreviated the name to refer to the region also as the 'Grain Coast'.[13] By the turn of the fifteenth century, European traders had incorporated the region into their regular triangular trade between Europe, Africa, and the Americas. For example, Englishman William Hawkins sailed with his crew from Plymouth to France, Spain, and Portugal before trading for melegueta pepper, ivory and gold dust on the West African coast, and then to Brazil for brazilwood and some cotton.[14] Encountering the spice when trading at 'the great river of Sesto [Cess],' sixteenth-century English sailor John Russell described, 'a very hote fruit, and much like unto a fig as it growth on the tree. For as the figs are full of small seeds, so is the said fruit full of grains, which are loose within the pod'.[15] In their home countries, Europeans used melegueta seeds as a substitute for the prohibitively expensive spices imported from Asia including ginger, nutmeg, and black pepper. While malagueta was highly prized in the early modern Europe, its popularity declined with the free availability of ginger and pepper in the market. Today, the spice is largely unknown outside of West and North Africa, though it is used as flavouring in gins and Norwegian aquavit.[16]

While the melegueta seeds were an exotic luxury in Europe, provisioning records of the transatlantic slave trade document the seasoning's centrality to West African cuisine. The Royal African Company, England's merchantile corporation of West African trade, advocated provisioning slave trading vessels with food customary to its cargo including beans, corn, palm oil, and melegueta kernels. Following these guidelines, Royal African

Company vessels prepared with fifty chests of corn, twenty pounds of palm oil, two bushels of salt, and forty pounds of melegueta peppers for each hundred captives.[17] These ingredients made up what slave trade sailors called 'slabber sauce,' a mixture of palm oil, flour, water, and melegueta. Beans or spoiled meat topped with this repellently named condiment was the typical afternoon meal of captives during their Atlantic crossing.[18]

When Old Meets New

Chili derives from the Nahuatl word for the fruit of the *capsicum* plant. The fruit of the *capsicum* plant have been part of the human diet since about 7,5000 BCE and are one of the oldest cultivated crops in America.[19] Christopher Columbus and his travelers were the first to introduce hot peppers outside of the Americas. While the greatest hope for the outcome of his voyage was for the discovery of sources of gold, the second was for black pepper due to the high price it received on the spice-hungry markets of Europe. Failing to verify sources for gold *or* black pepper, Columbus was eager to promote the commercial possibilities for chilis.[20] The Spanish priest Bartolomeo de Las Casas recorded on this fortuitous journey Europeans' first encounter with the piquant fruit. On January 2nd, 1493, de Las Casas wrote of their exchange with the native peoples of what is now Haiti: 'The spicery also is extensive, and is worth more than pepper or *manegueta* [sic].'[21] Like many of Columbus's prophecies, he was wrong and chilis did not become more valuable than these two popular spices. Sixteenth-century southern Europeans continued to flavour their foods with warm spices like melegueta and predominantly grew chilis as a curious ornamental plant. However, they did become the cultivar's greatest propagator.

Portuguese traders introduced chilis to West Africa sometime in the sixteenth century.[22] The cultivar was quickly adopted into regional culinary cultures as local cuisine already privileged such flavouring and the plant thrived in the subtropical climate. By the early seventeenth century, West Africans boiled chili peppers with pressed cassava juice to make, as one traveller described, 'an excellent and wholesome sauce'.[23] While cooking methods and recipes varied throughout region, West African cooks indeed integrated chilis into all manner of recipes. In preparing the daily large meal of a stew, cooks used all parts of butchered animals and slowly simmered the meats with whatever chili peppers had become naturalized into region's kitchen gardens. The stew would often be leavened with a grain or legume and stretched with seasonable vegetables.[24] When enslaved West Africans arrived in the Americas, they cultivated chili varieties that had been naturalized in Africa as well as adopted new, regional varieties in order to maintain cultural dietary preferences established in their African homeland.[25]

Slavery Is the Mother of Invention

Three-quarters of those arriving in Americas in the eighteenth century were African people forcibly moved from homeland to the Americas. Of the 10.7 million Africans that survived

the trans-Atlantic voyage between 1525 and 1866, approximately 450,000 arrived in the United States.[26] While enslaved people indeed lived in the northern colonies, and later states, the vast majority lived and laboured in the South.[27] I share these demographics to accentuate the ways in the movement of both people and crops were influential in shaping regional culinary cultures both in the 'Old World' and the 'New'. Enslaved Africans and their descendants reinterpreted indigenous American ingredients with African techniques and construction to vastly reshape culinary culture of what would become the United States South.[28]

Food, including maintenance of spicy seasoning, served as one of the limited forums in which bondpeople forged and promoted an alternative framework of cultural expression. The maintenance of a genealogically-African culinary culture is most evident in bondpeople's continuation of the one-pot meal. These soups and stews featured seasonal vegetables flavoured with small pieces of meat and peppery seasoning served on a bed of grains or legumes.[29] For the bondwomen who on a daily basis performed the majority of domestic labour for their households, the intimate entity of food served as an important instrument with which to practice daily resistance to the material and psychological conditions of enslavement.

Bondwomen used peas and rice from rations provided by their enslavers alongside millet and sorghum from their provision plots as the starchy base for their main meal of the day. As in West Africa, these legumes and cereals served as the foundation for a soup or stew. Produce grown by bondpeople in their provision grounds allowed for the formation and maintenance of a distinct African diasporic culinary culture. In these gardens, bondpeople grew and harvested root vegetables, eggplants, greens, okra, and squashes which served as the bulk of the main course.[30] Also cultivated in these plots were a variety of chili peppers. The specific varieties are difficult to document as observers and enslavers usually did not record the variety or probably just as likely misidentified it. For example, some enslavers simply noted their bondpeople grew 'African peppers'.[31] Whatever the varieties an individual bondperson cultivated were likely selected for both personal taste and accessibility of the seed. Cooking for their families, bondwomen likely diced chilis to flavour their stews. For example, former bondwomen of Georgia Dosia Harris recalled a frequent dish of her childhood as beef boiled with dumplings and 'seasoned hot wid red pepper'.[32] Perhaps, too, the chilis were dried and sprinkled on top of dishes for extra heat at the diner's discretion.

However, the most common manner to preserve and use peppers was as a sauce—perhaps unsurprisingly in at this point in a paper about hot sauce. As early as the turn of the eighteenth century, one traveller described the chili as 'used extremely' by enslaved Blacks in North America. They harnessed the flavour of the pods 'by cutting off the largest part next to the stalk, and clearing it of seed, and putting into pickle of vinegar and salt'.[33]

Here we find perhaps the earliest documented recipe for hot sauce, defined by foodways scholar Adrian Miller as 'a liquid condiment with the key ingredient of spices, vinegar, and some type of chili'.[34] Using chili peppers from their provision plots, bondpeople could make their own vinegar a variety of ways based on regionally available ingredients. For example, bondpeople in the Caribbean or southeast North America likely aged molasses or sugar in water for three to four weeks. As one nineteenth-century cookbook describes, this makes 'a very sharp vinegar. Excellent for pickling purposes'.[35] While heat and time are central parts of any recipe for making vinegar, other fermenters bondpeople could have used based on accessibility include rye mash or whisky and apples or apple cider.[36] Referred to in the antebellum South as 'pepper vinegar,' 'cayenne vinegar,' and 'chili vinegar,' the preserved chilis provided a rather limitless resource for flavour for the bottled pods could continuously be 'topped off' with vinegar as the liquid was depleted.[37] With access to limited ingredients and cooking tools, bondpeople's choices in meal preparation and seasoning document not only an extension of West African composition and flavouring but also the underlying resourcefulness of Lowcountry Black culture.

A susceptible reader could easily be convinced it was a white planter who created hot sauce and indeed there is even debate about *which* white planter invented it. In 1850, the *New Orleans Picayune* published a story about the 'admirable planter and exceedingly practical gentleman, Colonel Munsel White' who introduced the 'Tobasco red pepper' [sic] to the US South. Reprinted in the published in influential agricultural journal the *Southern Planter,* the story continues:

The tobacco [sic] pepper yields a small red pod [...] It is exceedingly hot, and a small quantity of it is sufficient to season a large dish of any food. Owing to its oleaginous character, Col. White found it impossible to preserve it by drying; but by pouring strong vinegar on it after boiling, he has made a sauce or pepper decoction of it [...] A single drop of this sauce will flavour a whole plate of soup or other food.[38]

Born in Ireland, White immigrated to the United States circa 1800 and served in the War of 1812. He settled in New Orleans and married Celestine de la Ronde, a local Creole woman of a prominent family.[39] White gave some of his pepper seeds to neighbouring planter and friend Edmund McIllhenny, who rebuilt his family's plantation empire after the US Civil War through his hot sauce brand, Tabasco.[40] The company's website describes 'the diet of the Reconstruction South was bland and monotonous [...] So Edmund McIllhenny decided to create a pepper sauce to give the food some flavor and excitement'.[41] While the McIllhenny Company admits Maunsel White was known for his homemade pepper sauce two decades before the commercial sales of Tabasco sauce, they stand by that 'White's and McIlhenny's recipes were different: White's recipe, descriptions of which appeared in print on

at least two occasions, called for boiling his concoction, whereas McIlhenny never boiled his product, but allowed it to ferment naturally'.[42] Nevertheless, neither did McIllhenny invent hot sauce.

In continuation with the culinary ingenuity of enslaved people, hot sauce also served as the prototype of another condiment now considered an 'all- American' classic: barbeque sauce. Alongside cultural preferences for spicy foods and flavouring bland meals, chili as a flavouring also helped bondpeople disguise spoiled meat received from their enslaver as part of their weekly rations. These rations also typically included obscure and undesirable cuts such organ meats, ears, tails, and feet. Passed down along generations of bondage, a sauce of vinegar and peppers helped mask the deficiencies of their limited provisions. Former bondman Wesley Jones of South Carolina provided this account of slow cooking meat with such a sauce: 'I used to stay up all night a-cooking and basting de meats wid barbecue sass. It made of vinegar, Black and red pepper, [and] salt [...] Some folks drop a little sugar in it.'[43] Over time, the sauce became widely accepted regardless of the quality of meat used and the skin colour of diners. As a young bride on her husband's Georgia plantation, Sarah Hicks wrote to her parents back in Albany, New York about the 'famous 'barbecue' of the South,' describing main course as a 'roasted pig dressed with red pepper and vinegar'.[44] Indeed, Adrian Miller highlights that Black-run barbecue eateries 'have a deep tradition of featuring at least one incendiary barbecue sauce on their menu'.[45] While both hot sauce and its kin barbeque sauce were well-rooted in the culinary culture of the US South, the mass movement of Black folks after emancipation saw these condiments slowly integrated into the generalized American palate.

A Domestic Diaspora: The Great Migration

Though legalized slavery in the United States ended in 1865, most Black folks in the US South continued to labour under abusive conditions, live in abject poverty, and faced the blatant denial of their civil rights. The exodus of Southern Blacks that began after the US Civil War spiked dramatically in the early decades of the twentieth century as tens of thousands pursued better wages and living conditions offered in the industrializing Northeast and Midwest. Between the first Great Migration (1916-1940) and the Second Great Migration (1940-1970), at least 6.6 million Black Southerners moved out of the US South and into the rest of the country where Jim Crow lurked rather than reigned.[46] Like their enslaved ancestors centuries before, these migrants may have forcibly left home but chose to actively incorporate elements of their culture to their new communities.

Individuals and families moving from the South could not take everything with them but hot sauce was not left behind. Such is true for cultural critic Mikki Kendall's family. She shares, 'My grandfather's family is out of Arkansas, my grandmother's roots are in Louisiana and Mississippi.' Though they arrived separately in Chicago from different parts of the

South, her grandparents 'found a common ground through food [... though] they never did agree on their respective favorite hot sauces'.[47] Their new hometown newspaper, the *Chicago Daily Defender,* published recipes that featured hot sauce for the city's increasingly Southern-born readership such as Cajun rice, collard green, and Hoppin' John.[48] Even earlier emigrants though took this preference for piquant with them, documented by the discovery of a 130-year-old Tabasco Brand bottle at the excavated site of the Boston Saloon in Virginia City, Nevada. This is indeed the oldest known bottle of hot sauce in existence.[49] Owned and operated by a Black man from Massachusetts named William A. Brown, the eatery served as 'popular resort for many of the colored population' from 1864 until 1875.[50] No matter when and where, hot sauce provided millions of Black folks across the US with a literal taste of home despite being thousands of miles away.

For those who participated in the Great Migration, a trip back down South could be dangerous, so care packages of produce and preserved foods served as a literal taste of home.[51] While some Black folks continued to bottle their own hot sauce using peppers sent from relatives or plucked from small and dusty urban gardens, commercially available hot sauces began to take off in the 1920s. This is part of a larger business history trend in which African American urbanization contributed to the group's gains in education and growing wealth, also enhancing their status as consumers. Once a predominantly rural people with limited disposable income, Black Americans became an increasingly lucrative market.[52] White businessmen began curating not only advertising campaigns but also specialized products for this rising consumer market. In 1930, an article in the trade journal *Advertising & Selling* concluded that though 'clustered at the low end of the occupational and wage scales,' Black Americans spent the majority of their disposable income on 'good-quality food and clothing'.[53] Seeking a portion of this burgeoning market included the newly established national brands Trappey's Hot Sauce (1898), Frank's Hot Sauce (1920), Crystal Hot Sauce (1923), and Louisiana Hot Sauce (1928). To reach their target audience of African American consumers, hot sauce companies ran focused ads in Black-oriented publications such as *Ebony* and *Jet* as well as in mainstream media but featuring Black cultural icons such as legendary baseball player Willie Mays. Though the changing demographics and rising consumerism of the first half of the twentieth century brought hot sauce into the mainstream US markets, the denial of commensality remained an important aspect of maintaining racialized boundaries.

We have established that not only was hot sauce a product of the African Diaspora but also a long-standing aspect of Black Americans' culinary culture. Whether it was Tobasco or a homemade bottle of pepper sauce, it's an ugly reason why carrying your own condiments became a major part of Black culture.[54] Well throughout the 20th century, Black people were not guaranteed service at dining establishments. When customs dictated they be served separately from whites, often times there was rarely enough room to accommodate the Black

customers.[55] For that reason, Victor Green's namesake travel guide for Black Americans, *The Green Book,* suggested Black travellers pack their own food, what became known as 'shoebox lunches,' in order to avoid needing what they could not get. Herbert Sulaiman remembers 'Traveling in those days meant the women would fix food at night. They'd fill thermos jugs, you had eggs, fixed ham sandwiches and turkey sandwiches and fried chicken.'[56] With lunches packed, pinches of salt and pepper twisted into handkerchiefs and the hot sauce in Auntie's purse allowed Black travellers to navigate in relative comfort.

Embodying Soul: Hot Sauce to the Present Day

Ever a star, hot sauce was and remains a central character in the soul food cast. The expression 'soul food' originated in the early 1960s when 'soul' became a common adjective applied to features of Black American culture.[57] As culinary historian Doris Witt describes, cultural commentators such as Amiri Baraka and Malcolm X 'began valorizing it (soul food) as an expression of pride in the cultural forms created from and articulated through a history of Black oppression'.[58] Soul food collectively categorized the prototypical Black American diet with the 'canonical' ingredients of African origin and shared under the experience of enslavement. Examples include ingredients such as greens, yams, cornmeal, peas, and pork as well as preparation methods including frying, stewing, and slow roasting.[59] Flavouring these 'memories,' as Baraka described soul food, is the condiment which similarly symbolized identity, dignity, and pride: hot sauce.

And at least one bottle of hot sauce is still expected on the table of every soul food restaurant today. Doused in a Louisiana-style hot sauce, the pig ear sandwich remains a favourite dish at the Big Apple Inn in Jackson, Mississippi not because they do not have access to other cuts of meat. Similarly, diners at Sylvia's in New York City, arguably the best know soul restaurant in America, drench their fried chicken and collards with her Triple Strength Hot Sauce, also a Louisiana-style vinegar and cayenne sauce, not because they need to cover the taste of rancid or 'just off' food.[60] And President Barak Obama got side eye from well-respected New Orleans soul food restauranteur Leah Chase by seasoning his gumbo with the hot sauce present on the table before even trying it. At his Atlanta restaurant, chef Todd Richards serves fried catfish with homemade hot sauce because it is just like the meal his mother used to make at family fish fries during his childhood in Chicago.[61]

And the condiment features just as prominently on the Black family table today. A self-proclaimed 'Southern Black girl by diet, if not by birth,' Mikki Kendall describes 'cornbread, collard greens, and hot sauce figure prominently in my childhood memories'. And because hot sauce was not a regular condiment on the table of friends she dined with, she discloses that 'for years I always had a little bottle of Tabasco handy'.[62] Chef and caterer Therese Nelson describes, 'While I had never really considered hot sauce a particularly miraculous concoction,' the 'simple sauce' provided her with 'a critical key to better understanding myself and my food'. Not only

does the condiment provide 'an emergency rescue elixir for blandness,' it also connects her own identity and humanity to the larger celebration that is African diasporic cuisine.[63]

The Full-Flavored Verdict

Chilis are of course now used the world over to enhance almost every diet. Devoted to the Americas' most popular contribution to the world's kitchen, the chili pepper is celebrated at festivals around the globe including the Festival of Heat in London, ZestFest in Texas, and the New York City Hot Sauce Expo. While some businesses like Heat Hot Sauce Shop in Berkeley, CA feature small-batch, artisan sauces, hotsauce.com offers gift sets, collector's edition limited releases, and even TSA-approved travel-size bottles. The shop Heatonist in Brooklyn, NY, even offers a hot sauce subscription service. However, as Adrian Miller describes, 'a distinctive aspect of African American foodways has *always* been the number of specialty dishes infused or drenched with hot sauce.'[64] While the rest of the world may be discovering the power of piquant, hot sauce has been a table staple for generations of Black Americans.

When Beyoncé shares that she carries hot sauce in her bag, she is not just making a reference to how she likes her greens seasoned. Hot sauce is a taste of the past, an omnipresent character in Black American history. From seeds smuggled on a terrorizing trans-Atlantic journey, red pods plucked from vibrant green stocks cultivated in rich Southern soil, the piquant condiment feeds the fire inside the 21st-century #BlackLivesMatter activists just as it did the for 1960's protesters. Indeed, hot sauce means the same thing to Beyoncé, the forty-fourth president of the United States, a soul sister registering Black voters during the Freedom Summer of 1964, and the bondman recovering from the lash that forced him to pick 130 pounds of cotton that day. The spicy flavour supported with the acidity of vinegar and twang of salt tastes of survival, it tastes of dignity, it tastes of cultural respite, and it tastes of joyfulness.[65]

Notes

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2. Alicia Wallace, 'A Critical View of Beyonce's 'Formation',' *Black Camera,* vol. 9 no. 1 (Fall 2017), p. 195.
3. Bianca Gracie, 'Songs That Defined the Decade: Beyoncé's 'Formation',' *Billboard,* November 21, 2019.
4. 'Formation,' Lemonade. Parkwood Entertainment, 2016. Beyonce Knowles-Carter, 2016.
5. 'Bama' is a derogatory term, originally used to put down Blacks of the Great Migration who arrived to Washington, DC from Southern states. Rend Smith, 'Who You Calling a Bama?,' *Washington City Paper,* August 20, 2010.
6. Robert Ferdman, 'The American hot sauce craze in one mouth-watering chart,' in *Quartz,* January 28, 2014.
7. 'International,' <https://www.tabasco.com/international/> [accessed May 13, 2020].
8. Jennifer Trainer Thompson, *Hot Sauce! Techniques for Making Signature Hot Sauces* (North Adams: Storey Publishing, 2012), p. 10.
9. Therese Nelson, 'Hot Sauce in my Veins,' *Taste,* May 16, 2018.
10. Jennifer Jensen Wallach, *Getting What We Need Ourselves: How Food Has Shaped African American Life* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), p. 15.

11. Confusingly, there is also a malagueta pepper that is a variety of *Capsicum frutescens.* This chili is popular in the Caribbean, Portugal, Mozambique, Angola, and São Tomé. Though unrelated to the malagueta pepper, it got its name from the similar level of piquancy. See Dave DeWitt and Paul Bosland, *The Complete Chili Pepper Book: A Gardener's Guide to Growing, Preserving, and Cooking* (Portland: Timber Press, 2009), p. 21.
12. Quoted in Robert Hall, 'Food Crops, Medicinal Plants, and the Atlantic Slave Trade,' *African American Foodways: Explorations of History and Culture,* ed. Anne Bower (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), p. 34.
13. P.N. Ravindran, 'Guinea Grains, *aframomum melegueta*,' in *The Encyclopedia of Herbs and Spices* (Wallingford, UK: CABI, 2017), p. 420.
14. Peter Bradley, *British Maritime Enterprise in the New World From the Late Fifteenth to the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1999), p. 329.
15. Quoted in Andrew Dalby, *Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 48.
16. P.N. Ravindran, 'Guinea Grains, *aframomum melegueta*,' in *The Encyclopedia of Herbs and Spices* (Wallingford, UK: CABI, 2017), p. 422.
17. Statistics from Robert Hall, 'Food Crops, Medicinal Plants, and the Atlantic Slave Trade,' *African American Foodways: Explorations of History and Culture,* ed. Anne Bower (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), p. 29.
18. Sowandee Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2016), p. 67; Jessica B. Harris, 'Same Boat, Different Journey: An African Atlantic Culinary Journey,' *African Roots/American Cultures: Africa in the Creation of the Americas*, ed. Sheila S. Walker (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001), p. 174.
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24. James McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 33.
25. Culinarian Richard Schweid writes that 'peppers were so entrenched in the societies of West Africa that slaves were said to have brought seeds with them to ease the culinary hardships of their servitude'. Richard Schweid, 'Peppers, Hot,' *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Foodways,* ed. John T. Edge (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2007), p. 220.
26. Henry Lewis Gates, Jr. *100 Amazing Facts About the Negro* (New York: Knof Double Day Press, 2017), 9.
27. For more on the geographic and demographic history of slavery in the British mainland colonies and United States, see Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
28. Joe Gray Taylor and John T. Edge, 'Southern Foodways,' *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Foodways* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), p. 12.
29. Along with the use of okra, nuts, and seeds as thickening agents and the creation of fritters, these are the signatures of African-inspired cooking in the United States according to foodways scholar Jessica Harris. See Jessica Harris, *The Welcome Table: African-American Heritage Cooking* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995). Also see *What the Slaves Ate: Recollections of African American Foods and Foodways from the Slave Narratives,* eds. Herbert Covey and Dwight Eisnach (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2009), chapter three.

30. In his memoir, former bondperson Charles Ball described a regular meal on a South Carolina plantation as follows: 'The whole stew had been boiled... until the flesh had disappeared from the bones, which were broken in small pieces—a flitch of bacon, some green corn, squashes, tomatoes and onions had been added along with some other condiments.' Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, p. 139.
31. See, for example, Marsha Turnbull's notes in February of 1877 in *The Garden Diary of Martha Turnbull, Mistress of Rosedown Plantation,* ed. Suzanne Turner (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 237.
32. *What the Slaves Ate: Recollections of African American Foods and Foodways from the Slave Narratives* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2009), p. 90.
33. H. Sloane, *The Natural History of Jamaica* (London: B.M., 1707), p. 241 quoted in Miller, *Soul Food,* p. 213.
34. Adrian Miller, 'How did hot sauce get in so many African Americans' bags anyway?,' *The Washington Post,* April 22, 2016.
35. Fanny Lemira Gillette, *White House Cook Book: A Selection of Choice Recipes Original and Selected, During a Period of Forty Years' Practical Housekeeping* (Chicago: L.P. Miller, 1889), p. 419.
36. For a long history of vinegar and the scientific process of making it, see Angela Clutton, *The Vinegar Cupboard: Recipes and History of an Everyday Ingredient* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2019). Vinegar also played an important role in another form of cultural and individual expression: clothes. Enslaved women used saline solutions, vinegar and water, or urine to set dye in cloth. See Stephanie Camp, 'The Pleasures of Resistance: Enslaved Women and Body Politics in the Plantation South, 1830-1861,' *The Journal of Southern History* vol. 68, no. 3 (August, 2002), p. 463.
37. Richard Schweid, 'Peppers, Hot,' *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Foodways,* ed. John T. Edge (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2007), p. 219.
38. *Southern Planter,* August 1850 quoted in Adrian Miller, *Soul Food: The Surprising Story of an American Cuisine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), p. 208.
39. And upon Celestine's death, he married her sister, Heloise. John Ingham, *Biographical Dictionary of American Business Leaders* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1983), p. 1607.
40. Though repetitively refuted by the McIllhenny Company, Jean Andrews cites testimony from the United States Circuit Court from 1922 that prior to his death in 1862, 'White gave some [pepper] pods, along with his recipe, to his friend Edmund McIlhenny, during a visit to White's Deer Range Plantation'. Jean Andrews, *Peppers: The Domesticated Capsicum* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), p. 121.
41. 'The Story Behind the Sauce,' <https://www.tabasco.com/tabasco-history/#!> [accessed April 24, 2020].
42. Quoted from the now removed 'Myths' page of the Tabasco website in 'Tabasco Sauce History: Who Really Invented It?' *Huffington Post,* Sept. 12, 2012.
43. *What the Slaves Ate: Recollections of African American Foods and Foodways from the Slave Narratives* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2009), 89.
44. Sara Hicks quoted in Richard Scott, Stella Pitts, and Mary Thompson, *Family Recipes from Rosedown & Catalpa Plantation* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005), p. 33.
45. Adrian Miller, *Soul Food: The Surprising Story of an American Cuisine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), p. 220.
46. On the push and pull factors of the Great Migration, I suggest the edited volume *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the America South,* ed. Alferdteen Harrison (Oxford: University Press of Mississippi, 1992).
47. Mikki Kendall, 'Southern Black identity, Beyoncé, Jim Crow, and the Pleasure of Well-Seasoned Food,' *Eater,* February 10, 2016.
48. *Chicago Daily Defender,* May 3, 1966; *Chicago Daily Defender,* February 22, 1968; and *Chicago Daily Defender,* December 31, 1966 reprinted in Frederick Douglass Opie, *Southern Food and Civil Rights: Feeding the Revolution* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2017). For more on the importance of the *Defender* and its history, see Ethan Micahell, *The Defender: How the Legendary Black Newspaper Changed America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016).
49. Kelly Dixon, 'Archaeology of the Boston Saloon,' *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter*, vol. 9 no. 2 (2006), Article 3.
50. *Pacific Appeal*, October 26, 1875. Of the over one hundred saloons in 1870s Virginia City, only the Boston was Black owned.

51. Therese Nelson recalls his grandfather's sisters sent chili peppers, tomatoes, and squash to him in New Jersey. See Therese Nelson, 'Hot Sauce in my Veins,' *Taste,* May 16, 2018.
52. Robert Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p. 2.
53. Specifically, the average Black family spent 27.2 percent of its income for food followed by 14.9 percent for clothing and 12.4 percent for rent. In this quote, Weems is summarizing articles published by H.A. Haring in *Advertising & Selling* as well as Paul K. Edwards's 1932 book *The Southern Urban Negro as a Consumer* and his unpublished 1936 Harvard University dissertation titled 'Distinctive Characteristics of Urban Negro Consumption. Robert Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p. 23.
54. Mikki Kendall, 'Southern Black identity, Beyoncé, Jim Crow, and the Pleasure of Well-Seasoned Food,' *Eater,* February 10, 2016.
55. For example, historian Isabel Wilkerson's father remembered the difficulty of securing food on a trip during World War II. 'I rode the train from Washington to North Carolina standing up, waiting to get into the dining car.' While the line was several cars long, there were only four seats for Black folks in the dining car. Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing, 2010), p. 197.
56. Quoted in Candacy Taylor's *Overground Railroad: The Green Book and the Roots of Black Travel in America* (New York: Abrams Press, 2020), p. 18.
57. The term 'soul food' was first used in an essay by LeRoi Jones (later Amiri Baraka) titled 'Soul Food' and published in his 1966 collection *Home: Social Essays*.
58. Doris Witt, *Black Hunger: Food and the Politics of U.S. Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 80.
59. Katharina Vester, *A Taste of Power: Food and American Identities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), p. 129.
60. The Big Apple Inn, located in Jackson, MS, served as the nexus of the state's Civil Rights movement and is one of the remaining businesses in the historically Black part of town today. Sylvia's is in Harlem and is particularly popular for its Gospel Sunday brunches. Both are profiled in Dave Hoekstra, *The People's Place: Soul Food Restaurants and Reminiscences from the Civil Rights Era to Today* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2015).
61. Korsha Wilson, 'Celebrating the Fish Fry, a Late-Summer Black Tradition,' *The New York Times,* September 11, 2018.
62. Mikki Kendall, 'Southern Black identity, Beyoncé, Jim Crow, and the Pleasure of Well-Seasoned Food,' *Eater,* February 10, 2016.
63. Therese Nelson, 'Hot Sauce in my Veins,' *Taste,* May 16, 2018.
64. Adrian Miller, *Soul Food: The Surprising Story of an American Cuisine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), p. 119.
65. Adjectives inspired by Therese Nelson's reflections in 'Hot Sauce in my Veins,' *Taste,* May 16, 2018.