Rice and Beans
A Unique Dish in a Hundred Places

Edited by
Richard Wilk and Livia Barbosa

BERG
London • New York

English edition

First published in 2012 by
Berg
Editorial offices:
50 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3DP, UK
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010, USA

© Richard Wilk and Livia Barbosa 2012

All rights reserved.
No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form
or by any means without the written permission of Berg.

Berg is an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Rice and beans : a unique dish in a hundred places / edited by Richard Wilk and Livia Barbosa.
pages cm
ISBN 978-1-84788-904-1 (pbk.) — ISBN 978-1-84788-905-8 — ISBN 978-1-84788-903-4 1. Food habits—Cross-cultural studies. 2. Cooking—Social aspects. 3. Cooking (Rice)—History. 4. Cooking (Beans)—History.
I. Wilk, Richard R. II. Barbosa, Livia
GT2850.R54 2012
394.1'2—dc23 2012004412

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978 1 84788 903 4 (Cloth)
978 1 84788 904 1 (Paper)
e-ISBN 978 1 84788 905 8 (individual)

Typeset by Apex CoVantage, LLC, Madison, WI, USA.
Printed in the UK by the MPG Books Group

www.bergpublishers.com

Contents

List of Illustrations vii

Notes on Contributors ix

1 A Unique Dish in a Hundred Places 1
Richard Wilk and Livia Barbosa

2 The Transnational Dish of the Motherland: The African Roots of Rice and Beans 19
Michael W. Twitty

3 The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same: Rice and Beans in Modern Cuba 35
Anna Cristina Pertierra

4 Jamaica Coat of Arms: Rice and Peas 61
B. W. Higman

5 Beans, Peas, and Rice in the Eastern Caribbean 81
Riva Berleant

6 Rice and Beans, Beans and Rice: The Perfect Couple 101
Livia Barbosa

7 Beyond Rice Neutrality: Beans as *Patria*, *Locus*, and *Domus* in the Brazilian Culinary System 121
Carlos Alberto Dória

8 Cookup Rice: Guyana's Culinary *Dougla* and the Performance of Guyanese Identities 137
Gillian Richards-Greaves

9 All in One Pot: The Place of Rice and Beans in Panama's Regional and National Cuisine 161
Carla Guerrón Montero

10 Defending National Foodways: Laying Claim to Tradition in Costa Rica 181
Theresa Preston-Werner

11 Nationalizing the Ordinary Dish: Rice and Beans in Belize 203
Richard Wilk

12 Rice and Beans, a Staple on Even the Most Respectable Mexican Tables 219
Mari-Jose Amerlinck

13 Red Beans and Rebuilding: An Iconic Dish, Memory, and Culture in New Orleans 241
David Beriss

14 Conclusions 265
Sidney Mintz

Index 275

List of Illustrations

Figure 1.1 Rice consumption, per capita as percentage of total calories consumed, 2005. 11
Figure 1.2 List of developing countries where pulses contribute more than 10 percent of per capita total protein intake. 11
Figure 2.1 Map of Africa showing many of the places mentioned in the text. 21
Figure 3.1 Map of the Caribbean showing islands and adjacent mainland discussed in the text. 36
Figure 3.2 Margarita's *congrí* from Santiago de Cuba. 38
Figure 3.3 White rice, black beans, and the base ingredients for making a *sofrito.* 39
Figure 3.4 Electric pressure cookers are increasingly used to cook rice, soften meat and beans, and to cook stews. 48
Figure 3.5 Clockwise from top left, lard, vegetable oil, salt, and pork fat. 52
Figure 6.1 Map of Brazil showing state names and boundaries. 102
Figure 6.2 Some of the different kinds of beans eaten in Brazil. 103
Figure 6.3 A regular portion of rice and beans. 110
Figure 7.1 Table showing the relationship between "lean" and "fat" beans in the general canon of Brazilian cuisine. 127
Figure 7.2 Table illustrating the way beans function as representations of different levels of identity. 133
Figure 8.1 Pigeon peas and red beans cookup, with chicken feet, pumpkin and other veggies, prepared by the author's mom, Waveney. 138
Figure 8.2 Channa cookup with beef prepared by the author. 155
Figure 9.1 Adding the beans to the rice. 169
Figure 9.2 "I Be a Bitch," Patti's Original Hot Stuff. 174
Figure 9.3 Making the beans tender. 175
Figure 9.4 Grating the coconut. 175
Figure 9.5 Rice and beans ready to eat. 176
Figure 11.1 Sign in front of a small restaurant in Belmopan, Belize, advertising varieties of rice and beans. 204
Figure 11.2 A typical Belizean "cool spot" by the side of the road in the Stann Creek Valley, Belize. 213

her professional papers and field notes, where they may now be consulted by other Caribbeanist researchers.

Carlos Alberto Dória is the author of *A formação da culinária brasileira.* He has a PhD in Sociology from Campinas University (São Paulo/Brazil) and is a researcher and collaborator of IFCH-Unicamp. He is the author of numerous books on topics of Brazilian food, literature, and history, and publishes a blog at http://ebocalivre.blogspot.com/.

Carla Guerrón Montero is a cultural and applied anthropologist trained in Latin America and the United States. Dr. Guerrón Montero received her doctorate in Cultural Anthropology at the University of Oregon. She is Associate Professor of Anthropology in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Delaware. Dr. Guerrón Montero's areas of expertise include gender, ethnicity, and identity; processes of globalization/nationalism, and particularly tourism; and social justice and human rights. Her research on food studies has been published in *Food, Gender, and Society*, *Ecology of Food and Nutrition*, *Food and Nutrition Bulletin*, and the *Food Cultures of the World Encyclopedia.* Her geographical and historical area of interest is the African diaspora. She has conducted ethnographic research with Afro-Latin American populations in Panama, Ecuador, Grenada, and more recently, Brazil.

B. W. Higman is Emeritus Professor of the Australian National University and Emeritus Professor of the University of the West Indies. He is the author of several works on the history of the Caribbean, including *Jamaican Food: History, Biology, Culture* (2008, University of the West Indies Press) and *A Concise History of the Caribbean* (2011, Cambridge University Press). His most recent work is *How Food Made History* (2012, Wiley-Blackwell).

Sidney Mintz is Research Professor of Anthropology at Johns Hopkins University, has authored, coauthored, and edited fifteen books and three hundred articles during nearly sixty years of teaching and research. Mintz studies Caribbean social history and the anthropology of food. His recent work focuses on the importance of food in material and symbolic life. Mintz's *Sweetness and Power* (1985) looks at the history of sugar as a tool for studying the rise of consumer economies, and sugar's role in linking tropical colonies to Europe. In *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom* (1996), Mintz studied food behavior anthropologically, to ask what cuisine really means when applied to societies such as the United States.

Anna Cristina Pertierra is an ARC Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Centre for Critical and Cultural Studies, University of Queensland. She has a PhD in Anthropology from University College London and her research interests include consumption, media anthropology, and material culture studies. In addition to her book *Cuba: The Struggle of Consumption* (2011, Caribbean Studies Press), her work has appeared in various edited collections and journals, including the *Journal of Latin American Studies* and the *International Journal of Cultural Studies.* More recently, Anna has been doing ethnographic research on television consumption in Mexico and the Philippines.

Theresa Preston-Werner is an advanced graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at Northwestern University. Her research interests include the anthropology of work and consumption, with particular emphasis on class and gender. She has conducted fieldwork in Costa Rica's southern zone and the Central Valley since 1998. Currently she is completing her dissertation, entitled "The World in a Bottle: Gender, Age, and Direct-Sales in Costa Rica." Her foodways publications can also be found in the *Journal of American Folklore* (2009) and the *Journal of Folklore Research* (2008).

Gillian Richards-Greaves is a dual PhD candidate in Ethnomusicology and Social-Cultural Anthropology at Indiana University, Bloomington. Her area of focus is the African diaspora of the Caribbean, with specific theoretical emphases on issues and concepts pertaining to ritual performance, ethnicity/identity, linguistics, and rediasporization. She has conducted dissertation research on the role of kweh-kweh (an Afro-Guyanese prewedding ritual) in Afro-Guyanese communities in New York and Guyana, and is currently writing her dissertation. She plans to complete all doctoral degree requirements by spring 2012 and to pursue a career in higher education.

Michael W. Twitty is a recognized culinary historian, community scholar, and living history interpreter focusing on historic African American food and folk culture. He is webmaster of www.afroculinaria.com, the first website/blog devoted to the preservation of historic African American foods and foodways. He has conducted classes and workshops, written curricula and educational programs, given lectures, and performed cooking demonstrations for more than one hundred groups including the Smithsonian Institution, Colonial Williamsburg, Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, Library of Congress, and the Oxford University Symposium on Food and Cookery. He is well known for his expertise in the history and heritage of enslaved African Americans and their foodways and his expertise in growing African American heirloom crops, open hearth cooking, heritage breed livestock, and wild flora and fauna used by enslaved Africans and their descendants. He is author of *Fighting Old Nep: The Foodways of Enslaved Afro-Marylanders, 1634–1864*, and has contributed to several encyclopedias and edited volumes including *World of a Slave: The Material Life of Slaves in the United States*, *Icons of American Cooking*, and the *Oxford Encyclopedia of American Food and Drink.*

Richard Wilk is Provost's Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University where he directs the Food Studies Program. He has also worked as an applied anthropologist with UNICEF, USAID, USDA, Cultural Survival, and a variety of other development organizations. Much of his recent work has turned toward the history of food, the linkages between tourism and sustainable development, and the origin of

–4–

Jamaica Coat of Arms
Rice and Peas

B. W. Higman

Jamaica had a coat of arms three hundred years before it acquired its own flag and the associated trappings of a modern nation-state. Granted in 1661, soon after the island became an English colony, Jamaica's coat of arms had at its center a shield inscribed with a red cross and five pineapples, the latter thought to symbolize hospitality (Senior 2003: 114). On the crest was a crocodile. To the right and the left of the shield stood a male and a female Indian (Taíno), their feet resting on a banner bearing the motto *Indus Uterque Serviet Uni*, translated to mean "The Indians twain shall serve one Lord." The unique emblems—Taínos, pineapples, and crocodile—were all indigenous.

In 1961, on the eve of Jamaica's independence, Frederic G. Cassidy (1961: 197) observed that "*Rice-and-peas* (that is, beans), a favourite dish, is nicknamed *Jamaica coat-of-arms.*" Precisely how this naming came about remains a mystery, but the association shows that rice and peas had been promoted as a popular representation of identity long before Jamaica installed its official national emblems—bird, flower, tree, and fruit. Not all of these were indigenous: the national fruit, the ackee, had its roots in West Africa. However, this did not prevent its combination with imported salted codfish to create what came to be known informally as Jamaica's "national dish," ackee-and-saltfish (Higman 2008: 2–3). Similarly, the rice of rice-and-peas was not indigenous and often it was imported rather than locally grown. These dishes were "Creole" in the Jamaican sense, meaning the neotropical offspring of introduced elements that could not claim indigeneity. Thus, all of these introductions were given new life and made "Jamaican" through the creativity of Creole combination and the particularity of language.

Jamaicans call beans "peas" and beans and rice "rice and peas." The choice of "peas" to describe these legumes is ancient, firmly established by the seventeenth century, and rarely challenged. "Rice and peas" as the preferred name for the seed-combining dish is relatively recent, though firmly in place by the end of the nineteenth century. Naming it this way put a local stamp on the dish and served to create a difference between Jamaica and those territories that preferred alternative versions such as "peas and rice," "beans and rice," and "rice and beans." Jamaicans also emphasized that they followed the practice of combining the ingredients in a single pot,

at an early stage in the cooking process, in contrast to those—such as their Cuban neighbors—who kept the rice and the peas separate almost until the very end.

Recipe: Rice and Peas

To cook rice and peas in the Jamaican style, the peas are first simmered in coconut milk and, when tender, the rice is added with seasonings and water sufficient to steam or boil the rice until soft but not sticky, leaving the rice grains flavored by the seasoning and the peas evenly distributed.[1]

Ingredients

2 cups rice
1 cup red peas
Milk of 1 dried coconut (grated and juiced) [or 1 can coconut cream]
Salt
Country pepper, scallion, thyme to taste

Directions

1. Boil peas in 3 cups of water until tender.
2. Add coconut milk, salt and seasoning.
3. Boil for 15 minutes, add rice.
4. Stir gently, cover and simmer until water has dried out and rice is soft.

A Cultivated Landscape

The fact that Jamaica should follow a route somewhat different from that taken by both its fellow members of the British Empire and Commonwealth, most of these territories far away in the Eastern Caribbean, and different also from its avid beans-and-rice eating, Spanish-speaking, nearer neighbors is not in itself surprising. Jamaica was notoriously isolated, less open to Caribbean currents and influences than might be expected. It followed a separate path in several significant respects in its social and cultural development. Jamaicans had their own version of callaloo (Higman 2007), for example, and in eating the ackee were regarded with horror by other Caribbean peoples who recognized the fruit's poisonous potential. The notion of an individualistic Jamaican identity had its roots in the island's very geographical location and the character of its settlement history.

Third largest of the islands of the Caribbean, Jamaica possessed from the beginning a potential for uniqueness. This potential was reinforced by its location to the south of the other islands making up the Greater Antilles—Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico—and its status as an oceanic island, never having been connected by

dry land with the continental Americas or with any other island. Jamaica's rising from the sea set it apart. Not only did the geophysical facts limit the kinds of plants and animals that could find their way to the island, it determined equally that those that did manage to get there were able to develop high degrees of endemism. Thus, whereas the biodiversity of Jamaica was limited, the unique species that flourished on the island often lacked counterparts elsewhere. The maritime isolation of Jamaica also placed it off the beaten track of human migration (Wilson 2007: 100). Whereas its immediate neighbor Cuba was settled by people from Yucatan by about 6000 B.P., the first people to live in Jamaica arrived as late as A.D. 600, long after almost all the other Caribbean islands had been populated and less than a millennium before the fateful landing of Columbus in 1494.

Neither rice nor peas were part of Jamaica's natural mix of plants. Cereals and legumes traveled poorly by wind and water, lacking the capacity to float long distances possessed by fruit such as the coconut. There was no native variety of rice in any region of the Americas and even maize moved slowly to the islands. The food culture developed by the first people to reach Jamaica had its focus in cassava, a tuber carried from the continental mainland. The Taíno people, the builders of complex societies in the islands, had little place in their system for the consumption of seeds. However, although Jamaica lacked the higher versions of the complex societies that emerged elsewhere in the Greater Antilles, the Taíno did create a highly productive and seemingly sustainable horticultural landscape capable of supporting a moderately dense population.

Spanish colonization was immensely destructive. The population of Jamaica was decimated and the carefully articulated food supply system developed by the people ruined. Ironically, when Columbus was marooned on the north coast of Jamaica from June 1503 to March 1504 his crew became dependent on the Taíno to keep them alive. But by the end of the Spanish colonial period, the island was overrun by feral pigs, cattle, and horses, brought to the island from Europe. Meat dominated the diet. Citrus trees spread through the forest. Cassava and other tubers remained important starches. Rice and peas waited their time.

The English conquest of Jamaica in 1655 established a long-lasting imperial status that continued until the island gained independence in 1962. At the time of the conquest, the island had a population of just 3,000 people, slave and free. The English quickly transformed the fertile plains and interior valleys into sugar plantations, and brought in tens of thousands of enslaved Africans to perform the heavy work required in field and factory. The food of the enslaved was partly produced on the plantations, establishing continuity with the Taíno landscape through the cultivation of cassava and other tubers. Introduced plants in this new food system included, from Africa, plantain and banana, yam and taro, and rice. The breadfruit came from the Pacific and a vast range of fruits and spices from Asia. Many of these plants prospered in the fertile fields of Jamaica.

Slaveowners also imported a wide range of foods from abroad, most of it coming from the north Atlantic. Some of these foods were intended solely for the tables of

the planters but, in the absence of canning and refrigeration, were not always successfully transported—as, for example, butter and cheese. The wealthy also enjoyed the exotic delicacies of Jamaica, including highly praised endemics such as the black crab, the mountain mullet, and the ringtail pigeon. Enslaved people occasionally consumed these local delicacies but generally lacked the time and opportunity to hunt and fish. Slaveowners imported other more common foods, such as salted fish (dried), pickled fish (packed in brine in barrels), pickled pork and beef, flour, and rice. These were shared, unequally, with enslaved plantation workers. Salted fish was considered superior to pickled fish, which tended to go rotten (Higman 2008: 319). Rice was generally distributed to the enslaved only when alternatives were in short supply or when individuals fell ill (Higman 1984: 270). Peas and beans of all sorts rarely formed part of such distributions.

What was unusual though not strictly unique about Jamaican food culture during slavery was the so-called provision ground system. This was adopted by planters who preferred not to use regular plantation labor to produce food crops or to have responsibility for distributing rations or cooked meals. Rather, these planters allocated areas of land on which the enslaved people had to grow their own food crops, in their own time. Generally the system had at least two elements. In the first, the people grew plants around their houses and kept chickens and hogs in pens. Peas of various species were often included in this house-garden culture. The second part of the provision ground system was made up of more distant plots, where crops that needed less care and supervision might be grown, particularly the tubers and plantains. Maize and rice could be grown in these grounds, where the conditions were right.

After the abolition of slavery in 1838, the plantation system struggled to maintain its position in the economy. New sources of labor were tapped, most important, indentured laborers from India who brought with them new skills and sometimes plants. Many plantations were abandoned and a thriving peasantry quickly emerged. These small farmers typically maintained a crop-mix reminiscent of the provision grounds. Bananas became a major export crop by the end of the nineteenth century, at first as a peasant crop but later produced on a large scale by multinational plantations. Food habits changed in the twentieth century, with a strong shift away from the tubers and carbohydrate fruits of the provision grounds toward increasing reliance on the grains rice, flour, and corn, following patterns and pressures that were global in scale (Boomgaard 2003). Wheat was never grown in the island. Corn and rice were produced in some quantity, but came to be swamped by imports. As rice became increasingly commonplace on Jamaican tables, so too did "rice and peas."

Cultivating Peas

The range of peas grown in Jamaica was quite large, and they were known by an often confusing variety of names. In the next chapter of this volume, Berleant sets

out in some detail the broad principles of the botany of Caribbean beans. Here it is necessary only to focus on the three that have been commonly associated with the dish rice and peas in Jamaica. These are *Phaseolus vulgaris* (red pea), *Cajanus cajan* (gungo pea), and *Vigna unguiculata* (black-eyed pea). These three pulses, together with the cereals, provide the greater part of the plant protein consumed by Jamaicans.

The "common bean" (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), known variously in Jamaica as red pea, kidney bean, and cockstone, belongs to a tribe of perhaps fifty-five species, all of them of New World origin. Domestication occurred in Mexico as early as six or seven thousand years before the present. Although the seeds of the common bean are very variable, throughout the Americas, preferences are quite refined, with high values placed on particular characteristics (Norman, Pearson, and Searle 1995).

In the seventeenth century, the English in Jamaica sometimes called these peas "Indian peas," but they were also known as "calavanc, or calavances." William Hughes in *The American Physitian* said they grew on low branched plants, with long pods like kidney beans (1672: 17–18). He thought them "very good food," easily digested and suited to the hot climate of Jamaica, "because the stomack is not very strong, by reason of the external circumambient heat which doth much debilitate and weaken nature." Compared to English peas, said Hughes, calavances caused less trouble with wind and were more nourishing. The colonists in Jamaica, said Hughes, boiled and buttered them when green or dried, and ate them with pork (1672: 18).

Hans Sloane, the English surgeon and naturalist who lived in Jamaica at the end of the seventeenth century, observed the planting of "clay colour'd and red pease," to be harvested when dry in about two months and "boiled as pease in England" (Sloane 1707, 1: lxxv–lxxvi). He said "*Jamaica* red-pease" were "counted very good provision" and believed "clay coloured pease, or six weeks pease" were regarded as "very good provision for Negroes, white servants, or to fatten hogs withal, and very much planted for those uses" (Sloane 1707, 1: 183–84). In the eighteenth century, Henry Barham declared in his *Hortus Americanus* that the "calavances" belonged to the *phaseoli*, the pods containing "a small white pea, resembling the kidney." The peas, he said, were "very good and sweet, green or dry, and easy of digestion; and therefore proper for a hot climate" (1794: 28). Patrick Browne in his *Civil and Natural History of Jamaica*, first published in 1756, called *Phaseolus vulgaris* "calavances, or red pease" (1756: 292), while the planter-historian Edward Long referred to "calavances, or red bean" (1774, 3: 786). By the late twentieth century, the terms *red peas* and *kidney peas* were sometimes used interchangeably, the latter suggesting the beginning of a renaming of the kidney bean. The well-known Jamaican cook and food writer Enid Donaldson (1993: 91) said that "red peas or kidney beans, whether stewed in soup, or cooked with rice and coconut milk, are the most used and best liked of the legumes."

In Jamaica, gungo or gungu pea (*Cajanus cajan*) is known inter alia as pigeon pea, Congo pea, and Angola pea, the last two suggesting an African origin though an ultimate South Asian source is probable (Barham 1794: 19; Lunan 1814, 1: 336–37).

The peas come from pods produced by a large shrub that grows to about ten feet. They can be eaten both green and dried, the latter having the advantage of relatively long storage qualities but requiring long boiling to soften them. When dried the seeds are grey in color but sometimes speckled with pink and red tones.

One of the great attractions of the gungo pea plant is its capacity to survive and produce in dry places without needing close attention. This was particularly important during the period of slavery and for this reason it became common in the provision grounds of the enslaved. It was also valued for being a perennial. As early as 1672, Hughes referred to it as the "seven year pease," meaning that it required planting only every seventh year (1672: 20). Later writers thought two to five bearings more typical but continued to praise the plant's hardiness. Hughes also noticed that on plantations the peas were often planted close to houses and used as fences. He declared them "very good food, and well tasted" but observed that they had to be eaten in moderation because they caused wind (Hughes 1672: 21). This last claim has sometimes been disputed, though it is generally affirmed by Jamaicans and is apparently related to tannin content. Unlike some other peas and beans, the digestibility of gungo is not improved by cooking.

Long claimed that the "pigeon, or Angola pea" was "chiefly cultivated by the Negroes in their gardens and grounds, because it is perennial, and does not require much care." He thought "the seeds, or peas, are a hearty wholesome food, and generally in use, green or dried" (Long 1774, 3: 787). In the last years of slavery, James Macfadyen declared in his *Flora of Jamaica* that the Congo pea was coarser than many other peas but could be found "around every cottage in the island, growing luxuriantly in the parched savannah, and mountain declivity, as well as in the more fertile and seasonable districts" (1837: 297).

By the 1980s the gungo pea was hailed as a "great favourite," esteemed for its flavor and texture, and valued for its ability to grow in almost any conditions. Three varieties were recognized, "the black or brown skinned, the striped skinned which might well be a hybrid, and the green skinned." It was then claimed that "The distinct flavour of gungo combines best with salted meats—salt pork, salt beef, ham, corn beef and corn pork, bacon, sausage" (A.W.D. 1986). Green gungo was available from Christmas to the end of March, thereafter the pea was available only dried. In gungo soup, the peas were fortified by meat (such as salt beef or corned pork, and chopped pig's tail), yam, coco, flour dumplings, coconut milk, and seasonings (Jacobs 1991). In 1987 green gungo soup was declared the "top ranking" peas recipe, because it retained the "full bodied" characteristic flavor of the peas (A.W.D. 1987).[2]

The cowpea (*Vigna unguiculata*), of which the black-eyed pea is a subspecies, is today the most significant legume cropped in West and Central Africa and a major dietary source of protein. In West Africa, where domesticated cowpeas have been part of agriculture for more than three thousand years, the green pods are consumed fresh and the seeds boiled or roasted and ground into flour for breads. The plant grows well in dry and marginal environments where other crops struggle, producing a harvest

within just two or three months (D'Andrea et al. 2007). The black-eyed pea is about five mm long, pale with a black spot.

All three of these peas prospered in Jamaica, as products at first of enslaved people's gardens and grounds and later of free small farmers. They supplied bags of peas to local markets, where the produce was decanted by higglers using tin cups to measure out the peas by the gill (quarter-pint). Some of this product also found its way into the stores of merchants and shopkeepers. Growing demand led these merchants to look outside Jamaica for additional and perhaps cheaper sources. Bags of black-eyed peas and barrels of red kidney beans were imported from the United States by the 1880s, if not earlier. Local growers soon began to complain about this competition. For example, in 1940 a "peas planter" claimed that the usual prices before 1914 had been ten shillings per bushel for black-eyed peas, and 16 shillings for red peas. From 1930, however, he said, the government had allowed the importation of cheap Chilean red peas and thus driven down its relative price.[3] Imports of peas and beans per capita peaked in the 1960s and 1970s, challenging local production (Higman 2008: 259). Into the 1980s imported red peas were on the market even when there had been a bumper harvest locally.[4]

Cultivating Rice

Whereas peas prospered in Jamaica, even when challenged by cheap imports, rice ultimately gave up the struggle. By the 1970s almost all of the rice consumed in the island came from overseas. Only in brief periods of Jamaican history did locally grown product play a significant role. During slavery, the sugar planters showed little interest since they could make much larger profits from sugar and coffee, while the slaves lacked time and resources, particularly to carry out milling by hand (Carney 2001: 158). Sloane said "Rice is here planted by some Negros in their own plantations, and thrives well, but because it requires much beating, and a particular art to separate the grain from the husk, 'tis thought too troublesome for its price, and so neglected by most planters." He also argued that rice was neglected because "the use of it may be supplied by other grains, more easily cultivated and made fit for use by less labour" (1707, 1: xix, 103). By the 1700s, Long was advocating that it should only be cultivated where the fields could be flooded. These places he thought "naturally adapted" to rice, "if it should be thought worthwhile to cultivate it, as an additional supply of food for the Negroes" (Long 1774, 3: 768).

The problem was not a lack of knowledge. Indeed African rice (*Oryza glaberrima*) was an important food crop in much of West Africa, including regions from which the enslaved people were taken. African rice was a voyaging food in the Atlantic slave trade. In other parts of the Americas it became a profitable plantation crop through which planters took advantage of the skills of the enslaved. Attempts to grow African hill-rice continued into the 1840s.[5]

Although Asian rice (*Oryza sativa*) was imported from India to Jamaica as early as the 1820s, and its planting did have the occasional advocate (Titford 1811: 58), it was not cultivated in the island until after abolition. Extensive cultivation had to wait on the arrival of indentured laborers, brought to Jamaica to work in the canefields. By the 1890s, however, Indian immigrants had begun growing *Oryza sativa* in low-lying lands not wanted for other crops (Shepherd 1994: 128–30). When rice from Asia became scarce during World War II Jamaicans substituted green bananas and cornmeal but did also experiment with the cultivation of dryland rice crops.[6]

After the war, local rice growing declined and effectively disappeared by the end of the 1980s, when U.S. rice began to dominate the supply. Ironically, Jamaicans became, for the first time, heavily dependent on rice. The roots and tubers lost their significance, because they came to be portrayed as wasteful, time-consuming, and nutritionally deficient. In the 1980s, the poor came to have no choice but to eat rice "with gravy or a vegetable sauce for their main meal." Rice was promoted for its many virtues of convenience and versatility.[7] The result was that rice was installed as Jamaica's most popular starch, increasingly eaten simply as steamed white rice.

Making Rice and Peas

It is striking that the first edition of the comprehensive *Dictionary of Jamaican English*, published in 1967, included "rice-and-peas" only in a last-minute supplement, and defined wrongly as "a dish made with rice, coconut oil, and usu[ally] red peas" (Cassidy and Le Page 1967). (It should be coconut milk, not oil.) The phrase was recalled to be "common" around Kingston by 1915 but the earliest contemporary documented use cited in the dictionary was from 1947. This suggests a late emergence of rice and peas as a current term. Certainly it took quite a time to enter the written record, with citations earlier than 1930 few and far between, but it seems equally likely that it was part of the vernacular by the middle of the nineteenth century or soon after.

The first known reference to rice and peas is found in the *Gleaner*, Jamaica's leading newspaper, in the course of a report on a murder trial in 1872. Burmah, an indentured Indian man working on a sugar plantation, was charged with the murder of Soranee, a woman employed on the same property. The two had become friends on the boat from India, witnesses testified, but quarreled ever since. Burmah claimed that he had not himself killed Soranee but did admit to helping her killers dispose of her body in a pond. In the trial, "rice and peas" was mentioned only tangentially in the evidence, a witness saying Soranee had been given a dish to eat. Burmah was found not guilty.[8]

The next example took twenty more years to appear in the record, in the context of an 1892 inquest into death presumed caused by ackee poisoning. Those who died had eaten for dinner "akee and rice," the rice bought at a shop and the ackee picked from a tree in the yard. The man of the house, whose wife was among the dead, testified that he had survived by eating instead "rice and peas" with beef and bread.[9] The third example came in yet another murder case and this time the dish was directly implicated in the death. In 1898 a woman accused of attempted murder had served "a dish of peas and rice" or "plate of rice and peas" to the intended victim. The meal later proved to contain ground glass and brick. She was found not guilty.[10] These are the only known references from the nineteenth century.

In 1904 a man was accused of beating a woman who later died. In this case a doctor performed a postmortem but found insufficient evidence of violence to explain her death. He did, however, tell the court that the woman was "very fat" and had a heart condition. Her stomach contained "a large undigested meal of red peas, rice and water" and the doctor declared that "he would have found sufficient cause of death in the enormous meal of rice and peas which she had taken."[11] Another murder case, in 1919, had the victim's stomach "full of rice and peas."[12] In all of these cases, "rice and peas" was the common term used, "peas and rice" occurring just once.

Although documented references may be scarce, by 1900 "rice and peas" was regarded as an institution, essential at least to every Sunday dinner of the Kingston poor, and described as "a food equal to a diet of meat" (Moore and Johnson 2000: 78). In 1936 Dr. Dahlia Whitbourne, school medical officer, called "rice and peas" one of the "favourite dishes" of Jamaica (1936: 69). Two years later, the newspaper editor H. G. De Lisser, visiting Jigger-Foot Market, got from a vendor for 1½ pence "a fair quantity of rice and peas, some stewed meat, and a little bit of stewed vegetable stuff in a tin plate."[13]A man of the world, De Lisser recognized the existence of "various forms" of the dish throughout the tropical Americas.[14]

As early as World War II, the occasional observer claimed to notice the decline and even imminent fall of rice and peas. Thus in 1941 one writer recalled a time (unspecified) when rice and peas was "the mainstay of Kingston, and the working people did not consider they were well fed unless they had rice and peas. I don't think it is so popular today, nor is pepper-pot and the art of cooking them properly will soon be lost."[15] The dish did not die. Rather, it spread beyond its initial special appearances on Sundays to become a much more common food. Even in the hard times experienced in 1938 school lunches provided to the needy included rice and peas, served several times a week on any day from Monday to Friday.[16] By 1991 it could be said "no longer is rice and peas, reserved for Sunday's dinner" but, in some homes, served seven days a week.[17]

None of these observers specified the variety of pea used, though red peas might seem to be the default. In 1929 the American ethnologist Martha Beckwith described as a popular crop "a small red bean no bigger than a couple of pinheads, used for the familiar 'rice and peas' of the Jamaica Negro" (1929: 18–19). However, this sounds more like the gungo (which Jamaicans sometimes confusingly called "red pea") rather than the true red pea or kidney bean. In 1938, for the first time with clear precision, De Lisser identified the three main types used in Jamaica as red peas,

black-eyed peas, and gungo peas.[18] Donaldson in 1993 (41) said that rice and peas was usually made from "red kidney beans" but also green gungo peas, in season, and dried gungo. Those who had no rice sometimes used a substitute known as "corn-and-peas" (Ayre 2002: 89–90).

In spite of the high visibility of rice and peas throughout the twentieth century—whatever the variety of pea used—it remains true that the dish lacked this prominence in earlier times and gained public notice only after 1870. No doubt it existed before this date but it failed to achieve attention in the public record. Certainly the notion that rice and peas existed as a dish—even a "luxury" dish—in Jamaica during slavery remains to be corroborated (Mintz 1974: 227). It may be that the beginnings of the dish can be found in food given enslaved people in the French Atlantic slave trade, as early as the end of the seventeenth century, when cauldrons were boiled on board combining rice and beans from both African and European grounds, along with other ingredients (Mandelblatt 2008: 411–23). However, there is no evidence of this being transposed to Jamaica during slavery.

The origin of rice-and-peas in its Jamaican manifestation seems more likely to emerge in the period following the abolition of slavery in 1838 and may perhaps be related to migrant movement from Jamaica to the Hispanic Caribbean. Small-scale movement of individuals and groups had been common since the seventeenth century, though beans-and-rice was probably not a popular dish in this early period (see Preston-Werner, chapter 10, this volume). Even in the 1850s, when Jamaicans went to work on the Panama railroad, their food supplies depended heavily on root crops and seem not to have included rice (Newton 1984: 121). Substantial migration to Hispanic America did not occur until after 1870, when "rice and peas" had already entered the Jamaican record. Workers on the Panama Canal, after 1900, protested when compelled to consume company-kitchen meals that included beans and (poorly cooked) rice but not necessarily beans-and-rice (Newton 1984: 147).

In the Hispanic lands of the Americas the dish is generally called beans-and-rice or more specifically red beans-and-rice. The practice of coating the rice in oil is Spanish rather than African, with the rice and the beans cooked separately and combined only at the point of serving (McCann 2009: 174). An earlier version was black beans-and-rice but this seems not to have been known in Jamaica. Related dishes are jambalaya and paella, Egyptian rice-and-lentils and the Indian pillau. The fundamental concept could travel without necessarily carrying with it the precise formula and name of a specific dish.

The Jamaican style of preparation was closely matched by Belize, a British enclave in Spanish Central America. There, "rice and beans" was noticed first in 1895 but achieved the status of "national dish" by the end of the twentieth century (Wilk 2006: 101). As the settlement and colony of British Honduras, Belize had a long close association with Jamaica and it may be that the island had a culinary influence rarely repeated in Central America (see Wilk this volume).

In view of this potential relationship, it is not difficult to conceive of an independent creation occurring in Jamaica. The combining of food elements in a single pot or dish must often have resulted from simple necessity. A cook with varied ingredients but just one pot has little creative choice beyond deciding how and when to add each item, or whether to cook separate servings in sequence. Something similar can be argued for the emergence of ackee and saltfish, the so-called national dish of Jamaica (Higman 2008: 156–58). As with rice and peas, there is no record of the dish being cooked either by rich or poor people during slavery. Quite possibly, the ackee and saltfish were at first cooked separately, the first steamed and the second fried, in the kitchens of the well-off. Served in separate dishes, the two elements slid together on the eater's plate, until the steamed ackee eventually came to be added to the frying saltfish just before serving. In addition, ackee and saltfish was originally called saltfish and ackee, the name shifting (by about 1930) as the relative weights of the elements were reversed once the fish became expensive and the ackee abundant. Rice and peas could have evolved in much the same way and indeed the rice and the peas are still sometimes cooked and served separately in other islands of the Caribbean. The inversion from "peas and rice" to "rice and peas" may similarly indicate a shift in the relative weights of the elements. These are speculations, awaiting proof or refutation.

Celebrating Rice and Peas

Very important to nutrition—and central to the story of rice and peas—is the fact that the protein quality of legumes is significantly improved when they are combined with cereals.[19] This occurs because legume seeds and cereals are complementary, as a result of the way in which they balance the two essential amino acids methionine and lysine. Combining peas with rice improves their joint protein yield. Maximum protein efficiency occurs when about 80 percent of the total derives from rice and 20 percent from peas. These advantages were recognized quite early, the Jamaican medical officer Dr. W. E. McCulloch declaring in 1955 that rice and peas met a physiological need, with the rice protein supplementing that of the peas to create "a biologically perfect protein mixture" (Jamaica Agricultural Society 1957: 75). Thus, the combination is not simply a culinary coup but also a nutritional triumph.

Earlier, in 1936, Whitbourne (68) had observed that Jamaicans lived on "starchy foods of vegetable origin," a diet deficient in proteins. She said: "Rice and cornmeal are apparently our cheapest foods and most used, because they swell in cooking and provide large quantities of food at a cheap rate." Rice contained no protein or vitamins, claimed Whitbourne, while cornmeal delivered only low-quality protein, but she recognized as "favourite dishes" rice and peas and stewed peas. By the time of Jamaica's independence in 1962, the most common foods eaten by vendors in the

island's markets were ackee and saltfish, and rice and peas, the latter served at every meal other than breakfast.[20]

The first identified use of "Jamaica Coat of Arms" to mean rice and peas came in 1930 when A. Bain Alves reminisced about race meetings in Kingston in 1878, recalling the "hundreds of women and men with their tables and tubs where you could get a dish of rice and peas, better known as Jamaica Coat of Arms, with stewed beef or ackee and saltfish for three pence."[21] Poorer people, called by Alves the "quattie-quattie class," would ask for "a quattie rice and peas with a good lively watchman." (A *quattie* was a penny halfpenny, a quarter of sixpence.) In response, said Alves, "The old mother would dip a long iron spoon into a huge yauba pot of rice and peas and put it into a small pudding pan, she would then take her iron spoon and mould up the rice and peas into a small hill [and] on top of that she would put a piece of salt pork that was called the watchman, or look-out. She would then throw over all this two spoonfuls of flour sauce."[22] In 1938 De Lisser said he was "cut to the quick" when he heard people "scorn the dish known as rice-and-peas, the food by which so many of us swear and which has even been described as Jamaica's Coat of Arms."[23] The claim was repeated regularly over the years. Even thirty years after independence, in 1992, it was said "rice and peas is easily the best liked dish in Jamaica, called the coat of arms."[24]

Jamaicans think of rice and peas as something good to eat, a triumph of taste. By the 1960s, vacation guides even listed the dish among "local dishes worth sampling," followed inter alia by saltfish and ackee, curried goat and rice, and jerked pork (Ullman and Dinhofer 1968: 172). Local enthusiasm rose to new heights in the early 1970s (Scientific Research Council 1972). A guidebook written by Clinton V. Black, the government archivist, listed a veritable cornucopia of delights but told tourists that among the "truly Jamaican dishes" the "best known and best loved" were the two combinations ackee and saltfish and rice and peas (1973: 30). In 1984 tourists were told, "No one should leave Jamaica without tasting our pepper pot soup, ackee and saltfish, rice and peas, run-dung [mackerel and coconut, rundown] and curried goat, to name a few" (Beamish 1984: 1).

However, rice and peas did not feature in every list designed to tempt the tourist, and was less likely to appear when the emphasis was placed on spicy and exotic taste. Nor was rice and peas among the many foods Jamaican expatriates loved to take with them on airplanes when they traveled to friends and family or, as expatriates, made their way home to foreign places. In this case, rice and peas was too readily replicated using ingredients available outside Jamaica, where it was in fact eaten quite commonly by expatriates (Sharma et al. 2002: 441). Among the food items stowed in the grips of Jamaicans traveling to foreign places, rice and peas could not compete with roast breadfruit, fried fish, ackee, hard-dough bread, water crackers, bun, cheese, spices, seasonings, and fruit. Once again, rice and peas was missing from the specialized food festivals that proliferated in Jamaica after 2000, which promoted everything from fish to jerk pork, spice, sugar cane, yam, potato, and breadfruit. The absence of rice and peas from the titles of these events was not remarkable. Ackee and saltfish was missing too, as were most dishes as opposed to ingredients. At the same time, the fish and jerk festivals did feature cooked foods, and these were joined by a curry festival in 2002.[25]

Celebration is not the same thing as popularity or simple frequency of consumption. Rice and peas stands out more strongly as one of the common—as well as highly regarded—foods of Jamaica. In the late 1990s studies showed that the most commonly eaten foods in Jamaica were, in descending order, orange, cabbage, ripe banana, carrot, chicken, rice and peas, calalu, sardine, tinned mackerel, plain rice, yellow yam, corned beef, tomato, green banana, and lettuce. The most common dishes prepared at home were chicken (fried, brown stewed, or curried), followed by rice and peas and plain rice (Samuda et al. 1998: 81–82). In this ranking, there was some association between the popularity of a food and its frequency of consumption, but it was far from perfect. Thus although oranges and ripe bananas, and cabbages and carrots, played a large role, it seems improbable many Jamaicans would have named them as favorite foods in the way they claimed rice and peas.

This pattern was quite different from that of a century before. Around 1900 the common people of rural Jamaica rarely ate rice and peas. Indeed it was not mentioned at all for those who lived in the countryside and for townspeople "rice and pease" was an occasional dish, kept for Sundays. Nor was chicken mentioned. It became popular and common only in the second half of the twentieth century. What poor people ate in 1900 was most often the tubers (yam, taro, cassava, and sweet potatoes)—all of which were commonly called "food"—with plantains, bananas, and breadfruit, helped along by herring and saltfish and the occasional tripe or salt beef (Moore and Johnson 2000: 85–86; Leader 1907: 140). Once again, it is only rice and peas that seems to have continuity of status, and this only in town.

Natural Partners

Rice and peas sometimes forms a meal in itself. More often, a small or large serving of rice and peas formed the foundation for a dish to which the contents of other pots were added. The preferred character of such additions typically matched the suffused flavors and textures of the rice and peas. Something with a sauce or gravy that would seep into the rice and peas was ideal, whereas drier items like fried fish or roast yam worked less well. In this way there was generally a doubled process of combining and suffusing, the first taking place in the preparation of the rice and peas itself and the second consisting of the complementary fusion of seeds and juices on serving. The result was not only an appealing flavor but also an attractive texture and mouthfeel.

One of the first of these natural partners of rice and peas was curried goat. From the 1930s, country cricket matches and fairs were typically followed by suppers of

"curried goat and rice and peas" (Pringle 1938: 49). Another common association was with fricasseed chicken, a cooking style popular in Jamaica throughout the twentieth century, though losing ground to fried chicken. The Jamaican version of fricasseed chicken involved frying pieces of the bird seasoned with salt, pepper, garlic, thyme, then stewing it with tomatoes, onions, carrots, potatoes, and perhaps some curry powder, simmered down to a rich gravy. The chicken, with lots of the gravy, was best eaten with rice and peas.[26] This method of cooking came to be better known as "brown stew" and was also applied to fish, though the latter was less likely to be accompanied by rice and peas. Similar methods were used in cooking parts from the "fifth quarter" of the cow, most of which required long, slow cooking and were preferred when enveloped in sauce or gravy. For example, cow foot could be cooked with peas or vegetables to make a glutinous gravy, ideal for serving with rice and peas.

Rice and peas could also be associated in the absence of the dish itself but with similar outcomes. Most important, the highly popular dish known as "stew peas and rice" does not combine the rice and peas until the point of serving. Recipes direct the cook to stew and simmer red peas together with pig's tail, salt beef, onion, ketchup, thyme, black pepper, and small elongated flour dumplings ("spinners"). Fresh beef can be added, if it can be afforded. The rice for the dish is cooked separately. In contrast to rice and peas, stew peas and rice may have begun as three separate elements and has not been reduced to less than two. Everything together in one pot would produce a slushy rice. The point of the combination is to have the gravy of the stew peas melting over and embracing the dry, separate white rice grains. The contents of the two pots are brought together on the plate, the rich gravy of the stew peas allowed only then to mingle with the grains of the rice steamed to a state of dry separateness (Cleary 1970: 46). Stew peas could of course be consumed without the accompaniment of steamed rice, but this was uncommon (Cuff 1989: 19). At the same time, to serve stew peas along with rice and peas was never recommended, though it could occur when alternatives were not easily found. In 1992 stew peas and rice was declared "the best dish made in Jamaica."[27]

Like rice and peas itself, the origins of stew peas and rice are difficult to identify. Known by the 1940s, at least, stew peas and rice did not appear in cookbooks before 1970.[28] It could be that, like ackee and saltfish, stew peas and rice is a Jamaican invention. On the other hand, borrowing from Latin America also appears plausible, just as it does for rice and peas. If so, the ultimate roots of these dishes can be sought in Africa.[29]

Conclusion

Calling rice and peas "Jamaica coat of arms" was essentially an informal way of recognizing the high regard in which the dish was held. Although Jamaicans were often aware that rice-and-peas was not unique to the island and that the dish had close

equivalents within the region, this knowledge did not prevent them making claims for its centrality in the island's food system. In various subtle ways they sought to distinguish their own particular style, giving a "Jamaican" twist to something more universal. Assuming the uniqueness of elements of Jamaican culture—and hence their local origin—was something common to other areas of island life, from language to music. Often such claims were well founded. In other cases, notions of priority or exclusivity prospered only in the absence of knowledge of a wider world. But the process operated more broadly as a means of constructing identities in the face of imperialism and globalizing influences, as a variety of proto-nationalism.

At independence in 1962, few changes were made to the Jamaican coat of arms. The appropriateness of the Taínos was occasionally questioned but the emblems remained intact. The one major change made to the coat of arms was the replacement of the motto, to now declare "Out of Many One People." Derived from the Latin *E Pluribus Unum*, it was a sentiment shared with several other societies, including the United States. The motto matches the blending of peoples with Virgil's original metaphor in which the ploughman's grinding of (white) garlic with (green) herbs sees the ingredients losing their individuality and merging into a unified, single hue, something new.

The symbolism of rice and peas is somewhat different, however. Even in the Jamaican version, in which the peas and the rice are combined from an early stage of the cooking, the fundamental elements—the seeds and the legumes—retain their identities. The result—in Jamaican rice and peas—is something closer to "Unity in diversity," the motto of modern South Africa, India, and Indonesia (Barnard 2004: 13). Although there are parallels between these multicultural societies and Jamaica, the mixing of concepts of indigeneity, endemism, and Creole creation is more complete in Jamaica, matching the precocious combining of elements in the island's making of rice and peas.

Notes

1. Parts of this chapter draw on material in Higman 2008.
2. Cf. *Gleaner*, January 28, 1938, 10. The *Gleaner* newspaper began publication in Kingston in 1834 and appeared under a variety of titles, reduced here to *Gleaner*.
3. *Gleaner*, April 15, 1880; *Gleaner*, August 6, 1940, 9.
4. *Gleaner*, June 7, 1985.
5. The role of Africans in New World rice cultivation has been debated, most recently in an AHR Forum in the *American Historical Review* 115 (1) in February 2010. See also Behrendt 2001; Carney 1996, 2001, 2004; Eltis, Morgan, and Richardson 2007; Shepherd 1994: 129.
6. *Gleaner*, November 8, 1890; *Gleaner*, January 23, 1942, 6; *Gleaner*, February 2, 1942, 7.

7. *Home, Living and Food Guide*, *Gleaner*, March 12, 1992, 23; *Gleaner*, January 5, 1994, 17; *Food Supplement*, *Gleaner*, May 9, 1985, 28; Grains Jamaica Limited 1990: 2, 8, 17, 20.
8. *Gleaner*, May 7, 1872, 4.
9. *Gleaner*, January 22, 1892, 6.
10. *Gleaner*, January 5, 1898, 7.
11. *Gleaner*, July 25, 1904, 6.
12. *Gleaner*, April 3, 1919, 3.
13. *Gleaner*, January 28, 1938, 10.
14. *Gleaner*, August 27, 1938, 12.
15. *Gleaner*, July 23, 1941, 8.
16. *Gleaner*, November 7, 1938, 27. Cf. Wilk 2006: 121.
17. *Gleaner*, May 1, 1991; *Home, Living and Food Guide*, *Gleaner*, September 3, 1992, 17.
18. *Gleaner*, August 27, 1938, 12.
19. For the nutritional benefits, see Norman, Pearson, and Searle 1995: 186–87; D'Andrea et al. 2007: 690; White and Thompson 1989: 69; Zephirin et al. 2005: 8.
20. *Food Supplement*, *Gleaner*, September 24, 1964, 18.
21. *Gleaner*, May 10, 1930, 9.
22. *Gleaner*, May 10, 1930, 9.
23. *Gleaner*, August 27, 1938, 12.
24. *Home, Living and Food Guide*, *Gleaner*, September 3, 1992, 17. See also Carley 1963: 114; Brandon 1963: 54; Benghiat 1985: 77; Cassidy 1961: 197.
25. *Gleaner*, November 14, 2002, D3.
26. Chapman 1952: 98; Donaldson 1993: 70; *Home, Living and Food Guide*, *Gleaner*, July 14, 1994, 23.
27. *Home, Living and Food Guide*, *Gleaner*, September 3, 1992, 17.
28. *Gleaner*, October 7, 1946, 4; *Food Supplement*, *Gleaner*, August 3, 1989, 29; *Supermarket Supplement*, *Gleaner*, November 25, 1993, 7; Quinn 1997: 50; Mahabee and Mahabee 1987: 90.
29. Leonard 1970: 127; De Andrade 1978: 78–85; Hawkes 1978: 123–25; McCann 2009: 26.

References

A.W.D. 1986. "No greater favourite—gungo peas." *Daily Gleaner Food Supplement*, March 6, 23.

A.W.D. 1987. "Gungo peas—A Jamaican favourite." *Daily Gleaner Food Supplement*, January 8, 23.

Ayre, Sylvester. 2002. *Bush doctor: Jamaica and the Caribbean's almost forgotten folklore and remedies.* Kingston: LHM.

Barham, Henry. 1794. *Hortus Americanus: Containing an account of the trees, shrubs, and other vegetable productions, of South-America and the West-India Islands, and particularly of the island of Jamaica.* Kingston: Alexander Aikman.

Barnard, Alan. 2004. "Coat of arms and the body politic: Khoisan imagery and South African national identity." *Ethnos* 69 (1): 5–22.

Beamish, Richard. 1984. *Restaurants of Jamaica 1983–1984: Featuring traditional Jamaican recipes.* Montego Bay: The author.

Beckwith, Martha Warren. [1929] 1969. *Black roadways: A study of Jamaican folk life.* New York: Negro Universities Press.

Behrendt, Stephen D. 2001. "Markets, transaction cycles, and profits: Merchant decision making in the British slave trade." *William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (1): 171–204.

Benghiat, Norma. 1985. *Traditional Jamaican cookery.* Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.

Black, Clinton V. 1973. *Jamaica guide.* London: William Collins and Sangster (Jamaica).

Boomgaard, Peter. 2003. "In the shadow of rice: Roots and tubers in Indonesian history, 1500–1950." *Agricultural History* 77 (4): 582–610.

Brandon, Leila. 1963. *A merry-go-round of recipes from Jamaica.* Kingston: Novelty Trading.

Browne, Patrick. [1756] 1972. *Civil and natural history of Jamaica.* New York: Arno.

Carley, Mary Manning. 1963. *Jamaica: The old and the new.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Carney, Judith. 1996. "Landscapes and technology transfer: Rice cultivation and African continuities." *Technology and Culture* 37 (1): 5–35.

Carney, Judith. 2001. *Black rice: The African origins of rice cultivation in the Americas.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Carney, Judith. 2004. "'With grains in her hair': Rice in colonial Brazil." *Slavery and Abolition* 25 (1): 1–27.

Cassidy, F. G. 1961. *Jamaica talk: Three hundred years of the English language in Jamaica.* London: Macmillan.

Cassidy, F. G., and R. B. Le Page, eds. 1967. *Dictionary of Jamaican English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chapman, Esther, ed. 1952. *Pleasure island: The book of Jamaica.* Kingston: Arawak Press.

Cleary, Teresa E. 1970. *Jamaica Run-dung: Over 100 recipes.* Kingston: Brainbuster.

Cuff, Patricia. 1989. *A taste of the old home place: Select Jamaican recipes.* Mandeville, Jamaica: Pat Cuff.

D'Andrea, A. C., S. Kahlheber, A. L. Logan, and D. J. Watson. 2007. "Early domesticated cowpea (*Vigna unguiculata*) from Central Ghana." *Antiquity* 81 (313): 686–98.

De Andrade, Margarette. 1978. *Brazilian cookery: Traditional and modern.* Rio de Janeiro: A Casa do Livro Eldorado.

Donaldson, Enid. 1993. *The real taste of Jamaica.* Kingston: Ian Randle.
Eltis, David, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson. 2007. "Agency and diaspora in Atlantic history: Reassessing the African contribution to rice cultivation in the Americas." *American Historical Review* 112 (5): 1329–58.
Grains Jamaica Limited. 1990. *Rice cook book.* Montego Bay: Grains Jamaica Limited.
Hawkes, Alex D. 1978. *The flavors of the Caribbean and Latin America: A personal collection of recipes.* New York: Viking Press.
Higman, B. W. 1984. *Slave populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Higman, B. W. 2007. "Jamaican versions of callaloo." *Callaloo* 30 (1): 351–68.
Higman, B. W. 2008. *Jamaican food: History, biology, culture.* Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.
Hughes, William. 1672. *The American physitian; or, A treatise of the roots, plants, trees, shrubs, fruit, herbs, &c. growing in the English plantations in America.* London: William Crook.
Jacobs, Ralph A. H. 1991. "Gungo peas soup." *Gleaner Supermarket Shopping Guide*, January 24, 10D.
Jamaica Agricultural Society. 1957. *The farmer's food manual: A recipe book for the West Indies.* Glasgow: University Press.
Leader, Alfred. 1907. *Through Jamaica with a Kodak.* Bristol: John Wright and Co.
Leonard, Jonathan Norton. 1970. *Latin American cooking.* New York: Time-Life.
Long, Edward. 1774. *The history of Jamaica.* London: T. Lowndes.
Lunan, John. 1814. *Hortus Jamaicensis; or, A botanical description (according to the Linnean System), and an account of the virtues, &c. of its indigenous plants hitherto unknown.* Spanish Town, Jamaica: St Jago de la Vega Gazette.
Macfadyen, James. 1837. *The flora of Jamaica: A description of the plants of that island, arranged according to the natural orders.* London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans.
Mahabee, Linda A., and Milton L. Mahabee. 1987. *A vegetarian cookbook and better living guide.* Mandeville, Jamaica: College Press.
Mandelblatt, Bertie R. 2008. "'Beans from Rochel and manioc from Prince's Island': West Africa, French Atlantic commodity circuits, and the provisioning of the French Middle Passage." *History of European Ideas* 34 (4): 411–23.
McCann, James C. 2009. *Stirring the pot: A history of African cuisine.* Athens: Ohio University Press.
Mintz, Sidney W. 1974. *Caribbean transformations.* Chicago: Aldine.
Moore, Brian L., and Michele A. Johnson, eds. 2000. "'Squalid Kingston' 1890–1920: How the poor lived, moved and had their being." Mona: Social History Project, University of the West Indies.
Newton, Velma. 1984. *The silver men: West Indian labour migration to Panama, 1850–1914.* Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

Norman, M.J.T., C. J. Pearson, and P.G.E. Searle. 1995. *The ecology of tropical food crops.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Pringle, Kenneth. 1938. *Waters of the west.* London: George Allen and Unwin.
Quinn, Lucinda Scala. 1997. *Jamaican cooking: 140 roadside and homestyle recipes.* New York: Macmillan.
Samuda, Pauline M., Richard A. Cook, Cristanna M. Cook, and Fitzroy Henry. 1998. "Identifying foods commonly consumed by the Jamaican population: The focus group approach." *International Journal of Food Sciences and Nutrition* 49 (1): 79–86.
Scientific Research Council. 1972. *Peas please.* Kingston: Scientific Research Council.
Senior, Olive. 2003. *Encyclopedia of Jamaican heritage.* Kingston: Twin Guinep.
Sharma, S., J. Cade, J. Landman, and J. K. Cruickshank. 2002. "Assessing the diet of the British African-Caribbean population: Frequency of consumption of foods and food portion sizes." *International Journal of Food Sciences and Nutrition* 53 (5): 439–44.
Shepherd, Verene A. 1994. *Transients to settlers: The experience of Indians in Jamaica 1845–1950.* Leeds: Peepal Tree.
Sloane, Hans. 1707–25. *A voyage to the islands of Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the natural history of the last of these islands.* London.
Titford, W. J. 1811. *Sketches towards a Hortus Botanicus Americanus.* London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones.
Ullman, James Ramsey, and Al Dinhofer. 1968. *Caribbean here and now: The complete vacation guide to 52 sunny islands and vacation lands in the Caribbean Sea.* New York: Macmillan.
Whitbourne, Dahlia. 1936. "The ordinary diet in Jamaica with comments thereon." *Jamaica Public Health* 11 (9): 68–74.
White, Alison, and Patricia Y. Thompson. 1989. *The Caribbean food and nutrition book.* London: Macmillan.
Wilk, Richard. 2006. *Home cooking in the global village: Caribbean food from buccaneers to ecotourists.* Oxford: Berg.
Wilson, Samuel M. 2007. *The archaeology of the Caribbean.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Zephirin, Manuelita, Alison White, Wendy E. Clarke, and Rosie Jackman. 2005. *The joys of healthy cooking in the Caribbean.* Kingston: Ian Randle.