

**THE ORIGINS OF SOUL FOOD IN BLACK
URBAN IDENTITY: CHICAGO, 1915-1947**

TRACEY N. POE



Helen Anglin sits in a high-backed, brown vinyl booth in the southwest corner of her restaurant, Soul Queen, on 91st and Stony Island Drive in Chicago. It is 1997, and this year is Helen's sixty-seventh birthday and the fiftieth anniversary of her business. As she reminisces, she leafs through photographs, tinted brown or faded with age. They are an almanac of the changes she and this neighborhood have been through together since she, along with hundreds of thousands of other African Americans, left the rural South in search of a home where she could "just be herself, without bending down to anybody."

One early picture shows the restaurant's interior, in those days called the H&H Cafe after Helen and her husband Hubert Maybelle. It looks pretty much like any diner in the 1940s—gleaming white Formica countertops, chrome stools with dark leather seats bolted to the floor. A neon sign shines through the window onto the dark sidewalk outside. When deciphered in reverse it reads "Catfish—Louisiana Fried Pies." Other photographs depict Helen, young, proud, and laughing in her waitress's costume, and the restaurant's spotless tables full to capacity with other young, proud, and laughing African Americans, dressed to the nines and out for a good time.

Over the years the outfits change. Pillbox hats become Afros. The cafe's bright postwar gleam gives way to a brown-and-gold, crushed-velvet glamour. Famous faces begin to appear among the anonymous diners. Joe Louis. Martin Luther King, Jr. Sidney Poitier. Muhammad Ali. Jesse Jackson. Nelson Mandela. Looking at them, one begins to realize that the laughing girl in the waitress's dress has become a woman of formidable standing in the world. And yet on this as on any other day, the low-key, motherly presence in the booth is delivering orders to the kitchen and greeting the everyday people who still come in for a piece of that catfish and a bit of pie. Helen Anglin, the seventeen-year-old who moved North from Alabama all those years ago, has become an institution.

We are prone to pass by places like Helen's restaurant without giving them much thought. "Soul food" has become commonplace in American cities, especially in the industrial Midwest. Street corners in African American neighborhoods are crowded with rib joints, chicken takeout stands, and fish markets. Usually one or two of these has a reputation as a "funky" place for white people to go on a Friday night when they cross to the other side of town to hear music. And there might even be a takeoff on a Soul Food kitchen in a white neighborhood, replete with old license plates hanging on the walls and hot sauce on the red-and-white checkered tablecloths.

What we forget, however, is that until 1963, when Malcolm X recorded his life story for "autobiographer" Alex Haley, there was no such thing as "Soul Food." What there was in urban black neighborhoods, was an African American culinary tradition that centered on two principles: Southernness and commensality. The story of how these principles became "Soul Food" is the story of how a transparent and mundane fact of life—food—became a harbinger of an urban, black ethnic identity.

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When Helen Anglin said she didn't want to "bend down to anybody," she expressed a sentiment shared, and voiced, by fellow migrants time and again—and by "anybody" she didn't just mean white bosses. The upward percolation of Southern rural culture in Northern black neighborhoods was a direct response to the integrationist aspirations of an established black middle class, as well as to the city's white majority. This Southern rural culture was expressed in many recognizable forms: blues and jazz music and certain language idioms, to name just two. Another is Southern food, now known as Soul Food. African Americans became a "melting pot" unto themselves,² absorbing and integrating flavors from various aspects of their African and Southern pasts while, if I may stretch a metaphor, spicing the American consciousness at the same time.

The "discovery" of a distinctly African American cuisine in the middle decades of the twentieth century articulated a multi-dimensional unity among urban African Americans centered on their heritage as Africans, slaves, sharecroppers, and industrial workers. But it also revealed the ambivalence that class and regional loyalties brought to bear on the lives of African Americans, as migrants and urbanites struggled with questions of "respectability" and "authenticity" within the community. As this essay will show, food became one of the issues which illustrated this struggle in material, concrete terms.

Food businesses like Helen Anglin's cafe, as well as grocery stores, butcher shops and bakeries, are especially important to this story because they were the conduits through which an everyday aspect of rural Southern culture, like eating, became remarkable, in a literal sense, in the city. Choices about what to eat and where to spend money on necessities and leisure activities educated migrants in the consumer culture of an urban society they were eager to join, as did the marketing techniques entrepreneurs used to draw people into black-owned businesses. Exercising their freedom to spend hard-earned wages on what they wanted was just one of the ways migrants resisted "bending down."

The process of becoming entrepreneurs and consumers was, paradoxically, a submission to the middle-class values that dominated American society and an expression of individuality and ethnic pride. Using food as a vehicle for displaying Southern identity, migrants made effective use of the free market system without subordinating their new-found freedom to a "soulless" mass culture. In doing so they helped forge a new urban black culture in which all African Americans had a stake.

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Chicago was the second-most popular destination, after New York, for the migrants who left their rural homes during what has become known as the Great Migration. Nearly all migrants to Chicago settled in the area south of downtown known as the "Black Belt," "Bronzeville," or the "Black Metropolis." The geographic and racial isolation of this community, bordered to the north and east by whites, to the south and west by industrial sites and immigrant neighborhoods, makes it a unique site for studying the development of an urban black community. So does the attention paid to the Black Metropolis and its neighbors by the University of Chicago's School of Sociology during those crucial mid-century decades. Chicago at this time was a virtual laboratory for observing the relationship between ethnic and American cultures and peoples.

In 1920, Chicago was a city of approximately 2.7 million people, 33.9% of whom were classified "foreign born" or "Negro" by the U.S. Census; 109,000, or 1.1%, of these were African American. A little under half were migrants who had come from the Deep South since 1916 to join the workforce, primarily in the meat-packing, domestic and personal service, and steel industries. As the Depression and World War II slowed immigration to a trickle by the standards of the early twentieth century, African Americans flowed freely northward to make up the difference. By 1944, African Americans made up 9.3% of Chicago's 3.6 million residents. By the end of World War II, there were almost eight times as many migrants in the city's African American population as there were "natives"—people who had been born in or had spent most of their lives in Chicago before the Great Migration began.

The migration was disruptive for both migrants and natives. Naturally, newcomers experienced some culture shock and were often the victims of conmen and jesters who saw them as an easy target. But the excitement of the city, the freedom to live without bending down to white people, and the promise of a cash wage were enough to make the hardships worthwhile. Natives, on the other hand, felt besieged. In the twenty-five years prior to the Great Migration, the native black community had developed its own churches, institutions, political base, and class structure. Status was based on a carefully cultivated notion of "respectability" that took its cues from Booker T. Washington's integrationist philosophy. "Middle class" for native black Chicagoans in 1920 was not defined so much by income level as it was by going to sober, moderate churches, supporting appropriate organizations, and exhibiting refined behavior in public. A steady, if not high, income was important, and acceptable leisure habits were essential.

The increase in the number of "backwards" blacks moving into the Black Metropolis was cause for concern in the native community. Most newcomers did not conform to Chicagoans' carefully cultivated standards of respectability, especially in regard to leisure and consumption habits. For urbanized people, eating proper foods in a sanitary, civilized setting such as the home or a restaurant was a natural that indicated one's level of respectability. In fact, one of the things on which natives prided themselves was the high level of integration in Chicago restaurants, which they attributed to their unassailable manners and refined tastes. Natives resented it bitterly when migrants' unseemly behavior caused the city's finer establishments to restrict all Negroes. For these reasons, food became prominent in urban African American consciousness.

In the earliest days of the Great Migration, disapproval of migrants' eating habits is most clearly demonstrated in the pages of the *Chicago Defender*, a nationally circulated and highly respected African American newspaper. In advertisements, weekly health and home economics columns, and restaurant reviews, the

Defender's middle-class prejudices were often demonstrated in discussions of food.⁹ Feature articles such as one entitled "Pig Ankle Joints" railed against the "unsightly, unsanitary eating places and wagons" which catered to the migrant class's desire for familiar, down-home foods.¹⁰ Less straightforward but more condescending criticism came in the form of "advice." In January 1916, a Defender reviewer described the opening of a second location of a popular upscale restaurant, The Elite. "Hundreds and hundreds of Chicago's elite" waited to be let in to the "most beautiful, perfectly appointed" eating place in the Black Metropolis. One of its main attractions, like many swank Chicago restaurants catering to a white clientele, was its Chinese cooks, who were considered exotic and cosmopolitan, even though they prepared the standard steak-and-potatoes middle American fare. "Soon the race will have a Rector's or a Vogelsang's of its own," the reviewer raved.¹¹ This seems notable in light of the fact that black cooks were prized in the South's finest homes and dining rooms, but the Southern cuisine they created was not considered refined by an urban clientele. The column "The Housekeeper," by Mrs. F. Fletcher, urged African American women to prepare foods that were fashionable in the white women's magazines of the day, emphasizing European dishes (hot cross buns, "violet-colored hard-boiled eggs on lettuce," nasturtium and cucumber finger sandwiches), table settings (the importance of having a French asparagus plate), and rituals (serving tea).

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Even more to the point, however, was the prejudice against food practices that smacked of Southernness. Mrs. Fletcher advised against eating vegetables, recommending them "for their laxative effect" only and claiming they "have little nutritive value,"¹² a notion that went against the Southern emphasis on greens, legumes, sweet potatoes, and corn. In 1920 Dr. A. Wilberforce Williams's column on health regularly criticized eating habits associated with Southern food, remarking that heavy meats, excessive carbohydrates, and especially hot sauces and condiments were deleterious to the liver and would cripple the digestive system of anyone over forty. "The normal stomach needs little or no condiments when food is properly cooked," he wrote. These kinds of statements in the publication that was acknowledged as the voice of "The Race" in Chicago contributed to a stereotype of migrants as backwards, unclean, and sorely in need of modernization.

With their sidewalk barbecue pits, "chicken shacks," and public consumption of watermelon, an ugly stereotype of Southern migrants soon developed, no less among the black middle class than among white Chicagoans. Migrants could not understand what the problem was. Southern food was simply dinner. It tasted good and it was traditional. It was a way of preserving something that reminded them of home and family when they moved into the unfamiliar urban environment. And it was healthy. Faced with inexplicable opposition from members of their own race, migrants began thinking of "down-home cooking" as something unique and special. Migration strengthened their desire to preserve their traditions. Migrants' symbolic identification with Southern foodways was reinforced as communal meals continued at family dinners, holidays, and community gatherings. A market was created for the grocery stores, butcher shops, and restaurants that catered to these food preferences and the community that sustained them. Food became a symbolic battleground for the public image of the race, with middle-class native Chicagoans advocating the abolition of Southern food practices while migrants publicly perpetuated them.

In order to understand the significance of foodways in Southern consciousness, it helps to consider the circumstances under which they were established. Southern

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cuisine was largely created by African American cooks, as an amalgamation of African, European, and early American resources and preparations.

Using foods indigenous to North America but resembling African plants, as the American sweet potato resembles the African yam, and foods imported from Africa and cultivated on American soil like peanuts (known as "guba" on the West Coast of Africa and "goobers" even today in the United States), watermelon, and okra, slave cooks created a new cuisine with the cornmeal and cured pork that were their daily staples on the plantation. Slaves also supplemented this diet when they could by growing some of their own vegetables, such as American leafy greens that resembled African ones, turnips, cabbage, eggplant, cucumbers, tomatoes, onion, garlic, and hot peppers, all of which had been cultivated in West Africa since they were introduced by traders in the sixteenth century. These fruits and vegetables had been important sources of nutrients in the African diet; fortunately, they also grew well in the Southern climate. Hunting small game and fishing provided additional resources. In some cases slaves were allowed to raise their own pigs and chickens.¹¹

By combining the foodstuffs and methods of African and Anglo-American cuisines, the lexicon of Southern African American foodways was created: fried chicken and fish; barbecued pork; boiled greens with "pot likker;" roasted sweet potatoes; one-pot dishes which, depending on the region had names such as "sloosh," "cush-cush," or "gumbo;" corn bread, corn fritters, corn pone, cornmeal mush and hominy grits; stewed legumes like black-eyed peas, field peas, and beans and rice; and of course the African-descended watermelon were all typical African American foods. Most significantly, however, black people developed an affinity for the parts of animals normally discarded by whites: entrails, known as "chitterlings" (pronounced "chitlins"); pigs' heads, which were made into "souse," a kind of head-cheese; pigs' and chickens' feet, and so on.

Slaves' meal structure varied from plantation to plantation, or from farm to farm. As a rule, breakfasts were large, in order to fortify workers for a day in the field. Lunch was made of breakfast leftovers carried to the worksite in buckets, and suppers were one-pot meals or "boiled dinners," put on to cook in the morning and served up when people returned to quarters at the end of the workday. On the larger plantations, cooking was usually done by a staff of slaves who prepared meals for the whole group. In other places, slave women were expected to cook for their own families in their cabins during their "time off." In either case, on Sundays and holidays they typically ate large celebratory meals with extended kinship groups, sometimes with all the slaves on the plantation or from the surrounding area. This practice had a precedent in the communal style of eating which was, and still is, central to life in African villages. Commensality persisted in the agricultural setting in the form of picnics and Sunday dinners after slavery was abolished, establishing itself as one of the most important features of Southern African American culture.

African Americans also invented new rituals that combined African harvest celebrations and American agricultural procedures. Hog-killing, in particular, became a time of year for large gatherings centered on eating. Between Christmas and New Year's Day, if the weather was cold enough, the hogs would be slaughtered and preserved. Fresh organ meats like the jowl and chitlins were prepared with special side dishes such as black-eyed peas, an indigenous African legume believed to bring good luck for the New

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Year. In early July, when the corn was "laid by" and the cotton and hay had been harvested, slaves traditionally indulged in religious meetings in which they thanked God for a good season and consumed a great quantity of fresh chicken, fish, vegetables, and that summer favorite, ripe watermelon. This festival was enhanced in the years after Emancipation by its connection to American Independence Day.¹⁴

Emancipation from slavery, with all its newfound freedoms, also brought with it harder times on the nutrition front for many black families, as it did for many Southern whites. Except for the rice that was raised in the coastal regions of the Southeast, Southern landowners had focused on profitable agricultural products—tobacco, cotton, and indigo, for example—rather than on sustenance crops.¹⁵ A good deal of the South's food had been imported from the "bread basket" of the North, a situation that had proved crippling during the Civil War.¹⁶ Agricultural problems such as the boll weevil and soil exhausted by nutrient-draining tobacco and cotton crops compounded the issue for sharecroppers who were barely feeding their families on the meager returns from their farming efforts.

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Additionally frustrating was many white landlords' refusal of tenants' right to farm portions of their land for food. This practice forced some sharecroppers to buy food on credit from landlord-owned stores, compounding their debt and making it nearly impossible to save money.¹⁷ The prospect of using one's money to buy items of one's choice, at the businesses of one's choice, was remote for people caught in the endless debt cycle. The memory of this humiliation was to have significant consequences for migrants when they found themselves in the city earning cash wages.

Former slaves, resourceful as they had always been, made the best of the situation by continuing to live "low on the hog," growing as much of their own small food crops as they could manage, preserving perishables during the harvest season, and relying heavily on small game, foraging and fishing for their sustenance. Communal eating, a hallmark of the slaves' social life, became increasingly important to freemen. Eating traditional foods together forged a spiritual connection between those present and the ancestors of the past, as each family cobbled together what little they had into the great feasts described by Southern black authors like Zora Neale Hurston.¹⁸

For all these reasons—economic hardship, personal pride, and the concept of commensality—food came to represent the resilience of the African American people in the South. Furthermore, traditional cooking was seen as nutritious. Despite bouts with starvation and disease, when black people had enough food, they felt they could work harder and longer than anybody else. This belief was verified by a U.S. Department of Agriculture study in 1939. The study showed that at least in the summer months, when fresh fruits and vegetables were available, the vitamin, mineral, and protein content of poor, Southern African American families' diets was higher than that of whites who spent the same amount of money on food. Furthermore, it was "established that a large number of Negro urban families handle their food money better than white urban families of corresponding economic status."¹⁹ Black families' justified faith in the food traditions learned from generations of mothers and grandmothers were not likely to be displaced by the nutritional warnings of *Defender* critics like Mrs. Fletcher and Dr. A. Wilberforce Williams.

The economic, social, and nutritional roles that Southern foodways had historically played in the lives of African Americans were not going to be easily cast aside in the city. Quite the contrary; migrants managed to retain their foodways despite opposing forces much more pressing than their new neighbors' disapproval.

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Overcrowded housing with scant-to-inoperable kitchens²⁰ and work schedules that kept many people away from home at mealtimes both could have prevented migrants from continuing time-consuming food preparation and elaborate extended-family dinners.

But nutritional anthropologist Norge Jerome, in her work on African American migrants to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, noted that while the industrial work schedule did cause some changes in the structure of daily meals, it did so slowly and without a great deal of impact on the content of the meal. As a result, migrants' eating habits remained remarkably consistent with their rural Southern roots.²¹ Furthermore, Jerome's work indicates that migration enhanced African Americans' awareness of the role of food in their heritage, since the practice of Southern cooking and ritual of the Sunday dinner or church picnic consciously reinforced the cultural connection between the rural South and the urban industrial setting.

Jerome noted two major changes in migrants' daily meal patterns taking place over the course of a two-year period after migration: one, meals became lighter, often excluding some of the high-calorie, high-protein foods that had been so necessary to the performance of heavy manual labor in the South; two, the order in which meals were eaten changed to accommodate urban work and school schedules. Both of these changes, however, occurred within the context of the Southern food lexicon described earlier. The traditional Sunday meal remained unchanged from its Southern model in either content or context.²²

A few factors in this dietary pattern emerged as significant indicators of the persistence of Southern foodways in Jerome's study. One was the subjects' valuation of the time spent, cost, and variety of dishes in their urban meals, especially Sunday dinners, in order to maintain the quality of the food they had been accustomed to in the South. They did not, for the most part, use canned or convenience foods so readily available in the city to prepare traditional meals, although they had no objection to eating them as "American" food.²³ One exception to this was in the preparation of sweet desserts, which were sometimes prepared from processed ingredients. Another is the persistence of seasonal eating. Migrants continued to eat lighter, vegetable-based boiled dinners in warm seasons and heavy, dried-legume-based dinners in cold seasons, despite the year-round availability of fresh vegetables and dried legumes. Also, Jerome's subjects considered the accessibility of favorite Southern foods, rather than exposure to new foods or more dietary variety, to be one of the chief advantages of moving to the city. This was particularly true of sweets and desserts, once served primarily at special dinners, which became more common in the urban setting with the year-round availability of cake mixes, commercial jellies and preserves, processed sugar, and fresh milk.²⁴

Lizabeth Cohen has argued that African Americans contributed to the growth of mass culture in Chicago through their acceptance of brand-name foods and the chain stores that sold them. Contrary to expectation, however, "blacks disappointed those who assumed an integrated American culture would accompany uniformity in tastes."²⁵ The complexity of Cohen's argument is enhanced when considered in light of the ways in which African Americans' food choices created a dynamic relationship with the marketplace for necessities and leisure goods and services.

As Cohen says, mass culture... offered blacks the ingredients from which to construct a new, urban black culture.²⁶ Again, the culinary metaphor is apt. For while the ingredients may have been the same for blacks and whites, the result was something uniquely African American. The combination of the cash wage, which

provided liquid spending money; the variety of businesses at which consumers could choose to spend that money; and a visceral attachment to traditional Southern black culture made a potent broth in which urban African American culture as we know it today is steeped. At the center of this newfound consumer power was the idea of freedom. Ralph Ellison's nameless migrant in *Invisible Man* describes the excitement one could feel over its simplest expression, after purchasing a baked sweet potato from a sidewalk vendor.

I took a bite, finding it as sweet and hot as any I'd ever had, and was overcome with such a surge of homesickness that I turned away to keep my control. I was walking along, munching the [sweet potato], just as suddenly overcome by an intense feeling of freedom—simply because I was eating while walking along the street. It was exhilarating. I no longer had to worry about who saw me or about what was proper. To hell with all that, and as sweet as [it] actually was, it became like nectar with the thought.³⁷

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The pursuit of pleasure was an integral part of migrants' sense of freedom. Drake and Cayton listed "Having a Good Time" as the second "Axis of Life" around which migrants' "individual and community life revolves"—after "Staying Alive," but before "Praising God," "Getting Ahead," and "Advancing the Race."³⁸ An illustration of this was the home life of "Baby Chile" and "Mr. Ben," two of the sociologists' more colorful characters:

Baby Chile called us to the kitchen for supper—a platter of neckbones and cabbage, a saucer with five sausage cakes, a plate of six slices of bread, and a punchbowl of stewed prunes (very cold and delicious). Baby Chile placed some corn fritters on the table, remarking, "This bread ain't got no milk in it. I did put some aig (sic) in it, but I had to make it widout any milk"

Though this household represented extreme poverty and social disorganization, its members attempted to maintain a few family rituals... Everyone always said a Scripture verse before meals. Sometimes, Mr. Ben would playfully give as his verse, "rise, Peter, stay and eat," or Slick would quote the shortest verse in the Bible—"Jesus wept."... Christmas, Thanksgiving, Easter, birthdays, or a Joe Louis victory usually called for a special party of some sort.³⁹

Along "the Stroll," the section of State Street between 29th and 36th Avenues, leisure activities of all kinds awaited anyone with money in his or her pockets. Music clubs, dance halls, theatres, and movie houses owned by both blacks and whites offered an after-hours escape from the gray world of the factory, as did restaurants that catered to both the refined tastes of the middle class and the more down-home desires of migrants. Even as the middle class emulated urban white culinary trends, enterprising newcomers and their wiser native counterparts were beginning to exploit migrants' spending power.

Business owners began marketing themselves to these new consumers. "When you are walking out stop at the Blue Bird Inn" advertised Mrs. Eva C. Bird in the 1921 edition of *Black's Blue Book*. Owners appealed to the round-the-clock schedules of their customers with signs such as "Open All Night" or "Open from 4:30 A.M. to 1 A.M." Some business owners appealed directly to their Southern clientele's tastes. "Home cooking our specialty" became de rigeur in *Defender* advertisements. "Freshest Fish Received Daily, Live Shrimp and Crabs," announced S. L. Williams's ad, designed to

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attract clients from the coastal regions of Georgia, Louisiana, and the Carolinas. "Hot Biscuits," "Barbecued Chicken-Barbecued Fish," and "Watermelon," said others.²⁴

But having fun was not migrants' only motivation for patronizing black-owned businesses. Migrant entrepreneurs also played a social role in the African American community. New migrants commonly sought out businesses owned by people from their hometowns and congregated with old friends and acquaintances there, just as they had done in the South. Produce and meat markets served as neighborhood meeting places. Since communal eating was characteristic of Southern black foodways, lunch counters, "chicken shacks," and barbecue wagons took their place alongside urban fixtures such as ice cream shops, hot dog stands, and chili parlors as sites where people ate and socialized together.

In a study of the social world of elderly black men in Chicago's Near South Side neighborhood, University of Chicago sociologist Mitchell Duneier emphasized the role restaurants played in sustaining a sense of a living past being practiced in the context of a modern community:

If it is impossible to transplant to [the cafe] the particular sounds, smells, and sights of the old neighborhood, at least here black regulars can enjoy the kind of solid food in good company that brings back images of a world that once existed for them...just the fact that an inexpensive meal is prepared the old-fashioned way, with natural ingredients on a stove or in an oven satisfies their longings...Comments such as "Mamma cooked from the basics" or "Mamma never used packaged stuff" are typical of a generation of black men who feel very much at home in a cafeteria that offers its patrons a kind of food that is symbolic of the integrity of their older way of life.²⁵

Ownership of food-related businesses quickly became one of the most popular occupations outside of industry for African American migrants. As early as 1919, migrants made up the majority of black business owners in Bronzeville.²⁶ A nationwide study by the Negro Business League in 1928 found that restaurants and groceries were the two enterprises which constituted the largest group of black entrepreneurs, totaling 30% of all black-owned businesses.²⁷ Among African American women, Restaurateur was ranked first among the "clean" occupations, with two-hundred and thirty-five women claiming that title in 1930.²⁸ Groceries and restaurants rated second and fifth, respectively, in Drake and Cayton's assessment of the ten most numerous types of businesses owned by African Americans in Chicago in 1938.²⁹

One theory that explains this phenomenon is the relative ease with which migrants could set up shop in the food business. After all, having grown up in an agricultural environment, nearly everyone had firsthand experience producing and preparing food. Selling it didn't seem like too great a leap. Furthermore, it didn't require any specialized education or training, unlike opening a drugstore or beauty parlor, two other popular non-industrial professions in the African American community.³⁰ Groceries and lunch counters could be opened without a great deal of startup capital, a perpetual problem for minority entrepreneurs.

From the first, the black press promoted Bronzeville residents' patronage of African American enterprise. As early as 1917, the *Defender* ran articles supportive of neighborhood entrepreneurs. Again, though, the prejudices of middle-class leaders were apparent. In an article entitled "Patronize Worthy Race Enterprises Along the Stroll," a columnist called "The Wise Old Owl" listed notable restaurants like the

Elite and the DeLuxe, promising that these establishments were "of the highest class." "Any self-respecting person can visit them. A primary virtue of race businesses is that the proprietors keep a close eye on things and won't allow any troublemakers to harass lady customers."¹⁷ It was no secret that middle-class folks thought it distasteful to have to share public space with "lazy, jitterbugging" migrants.¹⁸

More radical members of the black media took a different approach. When the Depression threatened black entrepreneurs' and industrial workers' livelihoods, papers like the *Whip* encouraged African Americans to show economic solidarity with a "Don't Spend Your Money Where You Can't Work" campaign. The engine of capitalism, however, assured that their efforts had only limited success. Advertising was a major source of these papers' revenue, up to 70% during the worst years of the Depression.¹⁹ And not all—not even most—advertisers were black entrepreneurs. As much as three-quarters of the businesses in the Black Metropolis were owned by non-blacks—mostly Jews, but also Greeks and Italians—and the papers could not afford to alienate this valuable source of revenue.²⁰

The fact is, advertising was not something with which migrant entrepreneurs were necessarily familiar. At least in the South, about half the black-owned stores relied on word-of-mouth rather than advertising for their customer base.²¹ Some of the more savvy owners figured out early that capitalizing on their Southern roots would bring people in. Advertisements highlighted pointedly Southern names, like "Dixie Fish," "Florida Eat Shop," and "Georgia Food and Fish Hut." Others pointed to their Southern specialties: "Hanson's Chitterling Shack," "Arletta's Creole Food," "Lillian's Old Fashioned Cooking—Hot Biscuits Daily," "Gumbo Our Specialty." Still

others offered whole traditional Southern meals. The Subway Lunch Room promised "Wholesome Home-Cooked Meals, Specializing in Boiled Dinners and Hot Biscuits." Geneva's Lunch had a special Sunday dinner "for the whole family," featuring "Expert Southern Style Cookery JUST LIKE HOME."²²

But owning a business in the Black Metropolis was a challenge, and many hopeful entrepreneurs did not have the resources or the skills to make it work. The lack of training in business principles made it difficult for many less-educated migrants to establish consistent bookkeeping procedures or implement modern marketing techniques. Competition from white-owned businesses, especially chain stores, and lack of investment capital plagued entrepreneurs constantly. Some black consumers were uncertain about shopping at black-owned businesses. And the Depression hit African American businesses and consumers particularly hard.

1924 to 1929 have been regarded as the golden years of the Black Metropolis. The Depression had not yet begun, and seventy-five thousand wage earners supported a prosperous and well-educated professional and business class.²³ By 1929, Chicago outranked New York as the site of the most black-owned businesses in the country.²⁴ By then, African Americans were spending \$39 million annually in the Black Metropolis, \$20 million of that on produce, groceries, meat, eggs, and dairy products. Although the total figure rose as migration increased, to \$81 million in 1934 and \$150 million in 1945,²⁵ the stability of the market began to break down, making it harder and harder for entrepreneurs to sustain successful businesses for more than a few years.

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The stability and financial resources of black-owned businesses was closely related to the banking system. Chicago was in fact the site of two prosperous African American banks. But the infrastructure that should have been built between banks and businesses never was. Small businesses were, frankly, a bad risk. Their fortunes were inclined to shift dramatically with every turn in the economic and personal lives of their owners. Black-owned banks had limited capital to lend. Always speculative by nature, these banks suffered a terrible blow when the Stock Market crashed in 1929. Without them, many small businesses were forced to close down, severely restrict the extension of credit, or turn to white-owned banks, a solution that was denied all but the most established black business owners. This made competing with whites doubly difficult. Problems with the banking system are not adequate, however, to explain black entrepreneurs' financial difficulties. After all, immigrants had to overcome many of the same obstacles and yet they maintained some very successful businesses. Business historians have suggested that a major part of the problem was what E. Franklin Frazier called the "tradition of business hypothesis." The majority of migrants' lack of training in business principles and low levels of education made it difficult for them to establish consistent bookkeeping procedures, marketing plans, and inventory methods.¹⁰

There was also the problem of location. During the early days of the Great Migration there were plenty of black-owned businesses along State Street, in the heart of the Black Metropolis. But as more and more migrants moved in overcrowding increased, which made commercial space more valuable. Not only did it become more expensive to run a business on State Street, but many landlords, black and white, refused to rent space to people who did not live up to their ideals of respectability. This excluded many migrants. By 1938, in the prime retail district on 47th Street between State and Cottage Grove, only two of the forty grocery stores and eight of the twenty-one restaurants were owned by African Americans.¹¹ Plenty of entrepreneurs tried to make a go of it in the peripheral areas, but being off the Stroll naturally meant fewer dollars went into African American coffers.

Competition with white shop owners and chain stores was one of the biggest reasons for instability. Many black business owners blamed the problem on lower class peoples' affliction with the "white man's psychology," namely, that migrants had been brainwashed into thinking they had to shop in a white-owned store, either because whites would punish them if they didn't or because white stores were necessarily higher quality than black ones.¹² Whether this was the case or not, there were several other things complicating black consumers' willingness to shop in black-owned businesses. One of these was the prevalence of "Depression businesses." These were "small, poorly stocked back room stores." One man described his shop this way: "When I started this business in 1933... I had a small amount of money and could not find a job so I decided to open a grocery. If worst came to worst, I would at least have something to eat." The seat-of-the-pants mentality of these kinds of owners fostered people's suspicions that they were cheats, as did the dingy conditions of the stores.¹³

There was also the issue of credit. Paying on credit was familiar to migrants who had purchased most of their store-bought food on the system in the South. It also served as a safety net in the event that a family member lost his or her job and cash was not readily available.¹⁴ White small business owners were more likely to have the resources to offer credit to regular customers, which meant black business owners were caught between a rock and a hard place: if they didn't offer credit, they risked losing their customers altogether to someone who could. But if they did offer

credit, they risked losing, not just some of their revenue, but possibly all of it. Whether folks were genuinely out of work, or proved to be cheats who sustained themselves by skipping out on bill after bill, a store couldn't just give merchandise away.

Chain stores did not offer credit either, but they did gain some popularity among black consumers. They certainly had a unique advantage in distribution. Chain stores competed aggressively with small businesses in the central distribution depots such as the Water Street and Randolph Street markets, where their high-volume orders cost much less per unit than the wholesale prices paid by small, "one-truck" shops. Numbering only 7,723 in 1920, by the 1930s, grocery chains had added 23,000 stores to their ranks. Most of these were "supermarkets," including meat, fish, dairy, and bakery departments.⁵¹ Although chains were slow to move into poorer neighborhoods like the Black Metropolis,⁵² the Depression helped them realize the economic potential inherent in poor communities. Not only did the poor need to buy necessities at the lower prices chain stores could offer, government relief agencies actually encouraged them to shop at chains.⁵³

Still, chain stores did not completely corner the market on African American business. True, they offered cheaper goods than local stores. But, contrary to expectations and stereotype, African Americans did not always buy the cheapest goods available. Studies of purchasing decisions in the Black Metropolis and other urban black neighborhoods show that quality, particularly in foodstuffs and clothing, was a primary concern. Of the brand-name products they purchased, like flour, shortening, sugar, baking powder, and coffee, African American consumers preferred the more expensive brands.⁵⁴ And although chain stores' pre-weighted, packaged foods did calm customers' fears of being cheated in stores selling bulk goods, chains did not necessarily stock the specialty foods migrants needed to prepare traditional meals.

Small business owners responded to competition from the chains by concentrating on the non-packaged specialty goods and familiar Southern brands the chain stores did not carry. A 1936 study showed that in one week the average black family consumed 2.5 pounds of pork (half that amount was of the salt-cured or offal variety), 1.1 pound of poultry, 1.3 quarts of buttermilk, 1 pound of tomatoes (fresh or canned), 1.2 pounds of cabbage or other greens, and 1.3 pounds of snap beans, in addition to packaged goods like wheat flour, cornmeal, and sugar. Overall a black family consumed 5 quarts less milk, 2 pounds less of white potatoes, and 1 dozen less eggs than a size- and economically-comparable white family (who were statistically more likely to be regular chain-store shoppers), and 1 pound more fresh fish.⁵⁵ Smart African American entrepreneurs fought the chains by being aware of their customers' preferences. They stocked live poultry, "Southern-grown" produce, and cold watermelon. They also challenged chain stores with promises like "We are big enough to offer you bargains" and brand-name stock such as Hydrox ice cream and Birdseye Frozen Foods. Like the restaurants, many of the markets touted their Southern connection by noting their Southern specialties like condiments made in Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and other Southern states. Some placed prominent ads in the *Defender* using the Alaga syrup tag line "An old favorite in the South" with a tantalizing picture of Alaga over a stack of warm pancakes.⁵⁶

By 1938 African Americans owned half the businesses in the Black Metropolis, but only spent 10% of their consumer dollars in them.⁵⁷ Turnover was high. Researchers estimated that between 60 and 95% of the new stores that opened,

closed within several years. Some of the most hopeful entrepreneurs were in the restaurant and grocery businesses. Around 35th and 40th streets, between 35th and 40th streets, and between 40th and 45th streets, there were food-related businesses that would have been successful in the first five years of the century.

In the 1930s, the rise of retail stores in the Black Metropolis was a major factor in the area's economic decline. Retail stores' entrance into the area and the closing of many small businesses and butcher shops, presumably as a result of the Great Depression, were factors in the area's economic decline. In the 1930s, the area's economy was in a state of decline. Many businesses went out of business, and the area's economy was in a state of decline. The area's economy was in a state of decline.

Southern migration and the rise of retail stores in the Black Metropolis were factors in the area's economic decline. The area's economy was in a state of decline. Many businesses went out of business, and the area's economy was in a state of decline.

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For readers who want to know more about the area's economy, there are many resources available. The area's economy was in a state of decline. Many businesses went out of business, and the area's economy was in a state of decline.

Many entrepreneurs in the area were successful in the 1930s. The area's economy was in a state of decline. Many businesses went out of business, and the area's economy was in a state of decline.

closed within seven years." Ironically, this does not seem to have discouraged hopeful entrepreneurs. Rather, the Depression stimulated the opening of new restaurants, groceries, and meat and fish markets. In the less prime retail locations around 35th and State, the total number of black-owned businesses jumped from forty-seven to seventy-seven, and at 31st Street it jumped from nine to seventy-one in the first five years of the Depression.¹⁰ Assuming that approximately 30% of these were food-related, as in the 1928 and 1938 studies reported here, about fifty of these would have been restaurants or food markets.

In the 1930s and '40s the number of black-owned food businesses continued to rise. Retail stores suffered a minor setback with the rationing following United States' entrance into World War II. The same forces that worked against groceries and butcher shops, though, bolstered the market for restaurants and lunch rooms, presumably as rationing limited the availability of foods for home cooking, and as women worked longer hours and had less time to spend in the kitchen. Scott's Business and Service Directory reported in 1947 that during the war thirty food stores went out of business while fifty-nine new restaurants, lunch rooms, barbecue, fish, and chicken shacks opened. In fact, the total number of dining establishments had jumped to 442 from 278 in the preceding years, with the number of lunch rooms rising most dramatically, from 92 to 258. Barbecue shacks became numerous enough to warrant a separate section in the directory.

Southern migrants continued to account for most of the African American business ownership in the Black Metropolis, outnumbering native Chicagoans by a ratio of thirteen-to-one by 1947. Mississippians owned most of these businesses, followed by Tennesseans, Louisianans, Alabamans, Georgians, and finally Illinoisians, with entrepreneurs from the less-represented Southern coastal and border states, West Indians,¹¹ and others from the United States following.¹²

One thing that makes African Americans' continued interest in restaurant and grocery store ownership explicable was the class status and political clout attached to being an entrepreneur, especially in a business with such a strong social dimension. Helen Anglin was a case in point:

For readers who do not presently understand the connotation of "African American work force" in the year 1939, I hope [I may] bring forth enlightenment. Dishwashing for the Army Corps of Engineers in Memphis, Tennessee, was a step up from the babysitting and other domestic chores which I did [before migration]. This was my initial experience in the restaurant business. Other African Americans who were doing the same or similar sort of work were neither as young nor as uneducated as I was, but their explanation for holding such low-paying jobs was "This is the best job I can get," and the explanation was real. After numerous odd jobs... in Chicago, I returned to the restaurant business as a waitress.... At age 17, I was married and we opened a restaurant. The H&H Cafe did indeed achieve a recognition which led to many significant relationships and experiences in my life... with the local religious, professional, business, and political leaders who were among my customers.

Many entrepreneurs saw themselves as "missionaries of capitalism," whose job it was to lead the black community in realizing the American dream of self-sufficiency. In the South, as in Europe, the aristocratic pretensions of landowners and military leaders had bestowed prestige. But in the industrial North, it was the business people who were exalted.¹³ Bankers, insurance company magnates, and store owners had historically been the leaders of the African American community, as

they were in other ethnic neighborhoods. Business owners became highly visible, taking out large advertisements featuring prominent photos of themselves, in the black business directories and church bulletins. They also performed a vital philanthropic function, granting credit and taking up collections for the needy. They were employers of other African Americans. As such they were natural spokespeople for The Race.

This prominence of the business class was especially so as the idea of a separate black economy, promoted by the *Whip* and (somewhat) by the *Defender*, grew in popularity. This was not only true for migrants. Even natives, with their faith in Booker T. Washington's integrationist picture, could realistically support a segregated self-help organization like the Negro Business League.⁶¹ This emphasis on cooperation among all African American business owners, native and migrant, and the overwhelming numbers of entrepreneurs with Southern roots, gradually led to an easing of tensions over the social issues that had so disturbed the native middle class in the early days of the Great Migration.

By the 1930s the influence migrant business owners wielded in the Black Metropolis began to be felt in the reduction of public clashes between natives and migrants, as a sense of Race solidarity was built. The prejudice migrant foodways once caused faded as Southern food and eating rituals became more normalized within the African American community. As early as 1925 writers to the *Defender* began urging tolerance for Southern eating practices, noting their underlying common sense if not their modernity. In one such article, James M. Davis reprinted a piece from a Brookings, Georgia, white newspaper ridiculing local African Americans for refusing to eat the wild blackberries growing near a spot where pesticides had been sprayed. Their reluctance deprived them of an important, and free, supplement to their summer diet. Davis urges the urban *Defender* audience to see the Southerners' choice not as superstitious or simpleminded, but as wise and demonstrative of agricultural peoples' folk wisdom about food.⁶⁵

Also in 1925, the *Defender's* children's page began running a cooking column for girls. Although most of the recipes were for the kind of European dishes Mrs. Fletcher favored, occasionally something with a decidedly Southern name turned up. Amid the recipes for Cucumber Sauce, Angel Lemon Pie, and Spanish Potatoes were those for "Mammy's Sweet Potato Pudding," "Southern Fried Chicken," and "Creole Stew." That the latter, unfortunately, was a blend of shellfish, parsley, flour, and salt that no Louisianan would recognize is less significant than the fact that this seems to demonstrate an effort to grant some Southern dishes a bit of respectability, and to acknowledge their role in African American traditions worth passing on to a younger generation.⁶⁶

The degree to which Southern foodways had become mainstream by the middle years of the Great Migration is best illustrated by a 1935 feature article entitled "This Will Be a Warm Dish for Chicago Society." It described the efforts of "Chicago pioneers" Mr. and Mrs. Henry Teenan Jones, owners of that favorite restaurant of the native set, *The Elite*, to plan a menu for their thirty-seventh-anniversary gala. Mr. and Mrs. Jones reportedly both loathed pork—she "can't look a pig foot in the eye," the article states—but felt obliged nonetheless to include "enough chitterlings (pronounced chittlens) to serve a goodly group of Chicago society." The Joneses only had one problem. "As all good lovers of this delectable dish know, July is not a chitterling month—Neither, for that matter, are April, May, June, August, or September."⁶⁷ This article is interesting for its juxtaposition of the imminently respectable Joneses, ignorant about traditional Southern food and too refined to eat pork, and the

worldly audience be ignorant enounce it, but ki tone, serious ab about the Jones native Chicagoar numbers. By 194 soring a Folk Fest tional food, and t gies for making p

The gradual American comm urban African An wards, unclean, a mon traditions a oped a sense of e just one of thos Southernness ar made them a nat dom. Paradoxica as far as natives integrate most fi food businesses ical transformati their mark on ur

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1. Helen Anglin retr self some soul fo about how and v African American "essentially the e sense of racial hi cle in the *New* Autobiography of
2. Elaine Locke use
3. Drake and Cayton
4. Burgess and Nev
5. Spear, 147.
6. Grossman, 129.
7. The picture Ma Massachusetts, g well. Alex Haley :
8. Drake and Cayton

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worldly audience of the *Defender*. With a wink and a nod, readers are presumed to be ignorant enough of a "low class" food like chitterlings to not know how to pronounce it, but knowledgeable enough to know when it is in season. The author's tone, serious about the important occasion about to take place, but humorous about the Joneses' social dilemma, demonstrates the easing of tensions between native Chicagoans and the migrants who made the city their home in such large numbers. By 1940, the *Defender* reports that the NAACP Ladies' Auxiliary is sponsoring a Folk Fest to celebrate Southern heritage through music, dancing, and traditional food, and the Women's Page has a feature on canning and the latest technologies for making preserves at home.⁸⁵

The gradual adaptation of migrant foodways by the mainstream African American community demonstrates the integration of rural Southern culture into urban African American consciousness and the acceptance of migrants not as backwards, unclean, and in need of modernization, but as brothers and sisters with common traditions and heritage. Like European immigrants, Southern migrants developed a sense of ethnic identity around important symbols of rural culture. Food was just one of those symbols, but the primacy of two important ethnic values—Southernness and commensality—were so central to Southern foodways that it made them a natural vehicle for the expression of migrants' sense of individual freedom. Paradoxically, one of the very things that made migrants most visibly ethnic, as far as natives were concerned, was also one of the things that allowed them to integrate most fully into the urban consumer economy. Traditional foodways and food businesses were perfectly matched to assist in the social, economic, and political transformation of rural migrants into urban consumers, and to help them make their mark on urban black consciousness.

Ironically, it was the unbridled enthusiasm with which urban African Americans adapted Southern foodways that was to create tension between those who stayed in the South and those who had fled. As urban black identity became more potent, people began exploring the African roots of this familiar cuisine, unearthing the ancient origins of traditions submerged in the daily lives of Southerners. By the time Soul Food was "discovered" in the 1960s, Southerners were already grumbling about the pretentious "uppity cityfolk." A battle over black authenticity ensued, with food once again playing a prominent symbolic role. The continuing story of this tempest in a cast-iron pot is a subject for further study.

NOTES

1. Helen Anglin remembers her mother calling her to the table as a child, saying "Here honey, come get yourself some soul food." But there is no consensus among scholars of culinary and African American history about how and when this phrase came into common usage. Clarence Major, author of *The Dictionary of African American Slang*, says that the term "soul" became common in jazz circles in the 1930s, and meant "essentially the essence of blackness, a feeling for one's roots as demonstrated in black music and culture, a sense of racial history." As to Soul Food, however, Major cites no references to it in print until 1964, in an article in the *New York Times Magazine*, and Malcolm X mentions his landlady cooking soul food in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X, Alex Haley and Malcolm X* (59).
2. Elaine Locke uses this term to describe black migrants to New York in *The New Negro*.
3. Drake and Cayton, 8.
4. Burgess and Newcomb, 59-63.
5. Spear, 147.
6. Grossman, 129.
7. The picture Malcolm X paints of his "high-class, educated, and important" neighbors in Roxbury, Massachusetts, going off to their jobs "in banking," or "in securities"—as janitors—illustrates this point very well. Alex Haley and Malcolm X, 41.
8. Drake and Cayton, pp. 74.

9. *Defender*, January 10, 1920. Editorial page.
10. *Defender*, May 29, 1915, front page.
11. *Defender*, January 23, 1915, "Society" page.
12. *Defender*, March 15, 1915, women's page.
13. There are many excellent sources on slave diets, notably in Eugene Genovese's *Roll Jordan Roll* and Lawrence Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* but also in the cookbooks of Jessica B. Harris and Kathy Starr, which provide histories of African American food, often handed down orally through these women's families.
14. Cookbook author Kathy Starr remembers her grandmother telling her that the Fourth of July "is our most important holiday. It means freedom to black people, freedom from slavery" (42).
15. Hilliard.
16. James M. McPherson. *Ordeal by Fire: Civil War and Reconstruction*. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1982) 376-380.
17. Jones. *The Dispossessed*.
18. For a particularly vivid account of a Southern black community's food sharing, read Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, especially Chapter 5, in which villagers throw a huge picnic to commemorate the lighting of the town's first streetlamp.
19. Table from the Department of Agriculture study is included in Sterner, 122.
20. Spear, 148.
21. Jerome's study was conducted in 1965-66, but there is no question that the food patterns she describes are contiguous with those of the earlier twentieth century. She compares the dietary patterns of her migrant subjects to those collected by Vance in 1932, Cussler and Debive in 1941, and the USDA food consumption report of 1935-36. Jerome, Norge, Randy F. Kandel and Gretel H. Pelto. *Nutritional Anthropology: Contemporary Approaches to Diet and Culture* (NACADC).
22. Jerome, Norge, 1667-1669.
23. Jerome et al., NACADC, 287. Folklorist Anne Sharman, in interviews with urban African American women, discovered that her subjects did make a distinction between "Southern" or "soul" foods and "American food." American food was defined in various ways, but generally referred to "food that white people eat" (remember the distinction between black and white diets in the South) or "foods they might eat if they had unlimited financial resources"—things like steak, fast food, and processed food. Curiously, some respondents also included Chinese and Italian food in this category. "From Generation to Generation: Resources, Experience, and Orientation in the Dietary Practices of Selected Urban American Households," in *Diet and Domestic Life in Society*. (Anne Sharman Janet Theophano, Karen Curtis, and Ellen Messer, eds. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 174-203.
24. Jerome et al., NACADC, pp. 293-300.
25. Cohen, 147.
26. Cohen, 148.
27. Ellison, Ralph. *Invisible Man*. New York: Random House, 1952. pp. 258. (originally published 1947).
28. Drake and Cayton, pp. 385.
29. Drake and Cayton, pp. 608-609.
30. All advertising is listed in *Black's Blue Books* of 1917 and 1921 and issues of the *Chicago Defender*, 1915-1935.
31. Duneier.
32. Grossman, 155.
33. Johnson, 101-103.
34. Drake and Cayton, 436.
35. Drake and Cayton, 438.
36. Sterner, 125.
37. *Defender*, May 8, 1917, 4.
38. Drake and Cayton, 456.
39. Drake and Cayton, 411.
40. Cohen, 426.
41. Edwards, 126.
42. All advertising copy comes from *The Chicago Negro Business Men and Women and Where They Are Located*, 1912 (publisher unknown, located at the Chicago Historical Society Special Collections), *Black's Blue Book, Business and Professional Directory* (Chicago: Ford S. Black, 1917), *Black's Blue Book: Directory of Chicago's Active Colored People and Guide to Their Activities* (Chicago, 1921 and 1923), and *Scott's Blue Book* (Chicago, Illinois, 1947).
43. Drake and Cayton, 78.
44. Cohen, 152.
45. Drake and Cayton, 437.
46. Light, 21.
47. Drake and Cayton, 436.
48. Light, 165.
49. Edwards, 142.
50. Edwards, 135.
51. Lebhar.
52. Cohen, 112.
53. Cohen, 236.
54. Edwards, 56.
55. Sterner, 111.
56. All advertising copy comes from *Scott's Blue Book*, published Chicago, Illinois, 1947.
57. Light, pp. 118.
58. Lebhar, 87 and Co
59. Drake and Cayton
60. Efforts to find out ing this period ha successful foreign After the 1964 Imr pattern of entrepr of Soul Food is, hc
61. Scott's *Business a* note the kinds of we could tell whe
62. Anglin, Helen May
63. Heinze, Andrew, 1
64. Cohen, pp. 148.
65. *Defender*, June 21
66. *Defender*, Februar
67. *Defender*, July 6, 1
68. *Defender*, Septem

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57. Light, pp. 118.
58. Lebharr, 87 and Cohen, 34.
59. Drake and Cayton, pp. 436.
60. Efforts to find out more about entrepreneurship and foodways among West Indian migrants to Chicago during this period have been singularly unfulfilling. Unlike New York City, which had a large contingent of highly successful foreign black businesses. Chicago did not seem to have been a destination for these immigrants. After the 1964 Immigration Act the West Indian population of Chicago jumped significantly and repeated the pattern of entrepreneurship seen in New York in the 1920s and '30s. Their contribution to the development of Soul Food is, however, outside the scope of this paper. For more on this subject, see Marilyn Halter.
61. Scott's *Business and Service Directory*, 1947. It is unfortunate that the compilers of this interesting list did not note the kinds of businesses owned by these people along with the statistics on states represented so that we could tell whether migrants from certain regions concentrated their efforts in food businesses.
62. Anglin, Helen Maybell. *My Mythical Rubberband*. Chicago: Soul Queen Publishing Company, 1994. pp. 2-3.
63. Heinze, Andrew. 189-90.
64. Cohen, pp. 148.
65. *Defender*, June 21, 1925. Editorial page.
66. *Defender*, February 14, 1925. "Defender Junior" page.
67. *Defender*, July 6, 1935, 6.
68. *Defender*, September 7, 1940, 4.

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