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## Foodways, Families, and Festivities: Ethnobiology and Cultural Conservation in a Rural Missouri Community

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Foodways, Families, and Festivities:

Ethnobiology and Cultural Conservation in a Rural Missouri Community

Foodways, Families, and Festivities:  
Ethnobiology and Cultural Conservation in a Rural Missouri Community

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in Anthropology

By

Ian Carter Smith  
Kansas State University  
Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology, 2009

May 2013  
University of Arkansas

## **Abstract**

Food customs and traditions bind human groups together in many ways—socially, geographically, temporally, and emotionally. This thesis describes the intricate relationships between food, ritual, and cultural identity in a rural German-Catholic community in Missouri. By drawing on the anthropological, cultural geographical and folkloric literature surrounding rural Missouri, a portrait of foodways emerges, which in turn illuminates valuable, often understated regional cultural traditions. Religion and ritual are understood as crucial to the continuity of regional identity—it is reinforced and made resilient through shared social action. The dispersal of ritual feasts and fasts throughout the calendar year regulates collective behavior, interactions, conversations, and the pace of “everyday life” in this little-studied region. These community behaviors and rhythms are most apparent when studied ethnobiologically, as customary bonds forged between humans and their natural environments and resources. Foodways studies examine carefully the production, preservation, distribution, and consumption patterns of regional foods. These studies have a rich history of ethnographic description that bridges the gulf between eating as a mere mechanism of survival and eating as a culturally constructed event. Specific recipes and knowledge of food preservation are displayed focally during family reunions and meals, highlighting the unspoken, powerful link between region-specific subsistence practices and the social values and identities shared and sustained within this German-Catholic community. Given the recent decline of rural farming communities throughout the United States, this thesis seeks to convey how cultural continuity in a rural community is preserved through eating together, and how food, family, and kin-based rituals collectively reinforce the social fabric in this uniquely Midwestern cultural landscape by addressing questions of how cultural memory is preserved through foodways, the role that community institutions play, and the manner in which these social institution’s articulations of shared values,

mutual support, and self-sufficiency are made visible. Ultimately, this thesis serves to illustrate, on a broader level, how foodways studies can inform ethnographic understandings, the histories, beliefs, and behaviors that foster continuity in cultural life.

This thesis is approved for recommendation  
to the Graduate Council.

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Dr. Justin M. Nolan

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Dr. Kirstin Erickson

## **Thesis Duplication Release**

I hereby authorize the University of Arkansas Libraries to duplicate this thesis when needed for research and/or scholarship.

Agreed

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**Ian Carter Smith**

Refused

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**Ian Carter Smith**

## **Acknowledgments**

Special thanks are due to the staff of the University of Arkansas Graduate School and the department of Anthropology for all of their help. Many thanks to Dr. Peter Ungar and Dr. Kirstin Erickson for their valuable guidance and support. My thesis committee and advisor have provided constructive reviews of this material. Of course, any and all mistakes with in the text are the responsibility of the author.



## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to the countless people who have influenced my life to this point. My academic mentors Dr. Justin M. Nolan and Dr. Tiffany L. Kershner, and the people of Eugene and Mary's Home for their time and acceptance, to my wife, Kate Smith, for everything, my parents, Gene and Mary Smith, for always being there, and to the rest of my family, new and old, for providing the context that surrounds this thesis. This work would not have been possible without all of your love and support.

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## **Chapter 1: Scope of the Study**

Previous scholars have examined the preservation of foodways through community cookbooks while other scholars have studied the role of the family reunion. In my work the two approaches merge to become a study of the expression of foodways through recipes preserved in cookbooks used to create a community meal at a family reunion in Mary's Home, MO. While the recipes in these cookbooks provide a historical record of food use by individuals within the community they are also recreated at the family reunion in new ways to reflect the contemporary contexts of the individual cooks. Meals are cooked using substitute ingredients as taste and availability changes. This is analogous to how children learn about their community's values and beliefs through participation in ritualized activity led by their elders. Although the next generation continues many of the traditions of their community, it is always the case that some adaptation occurs. This is the fluidity of culture that makes it difficult yet fascinating to study. Changes in the environment, technology, and society create a need to adapt that we can trace using the methods described above.

## **Theoretical Background and Rationale for Research**

For most inhabitants of (post)modern Western societies, food has long ceased to be merely about sustenance and nutrition. It is packed with social, cultural, and symbolic meanings. Every mouthful, every meal, can tell us something about ourselves, and about our place in the world. As Arjun Appadurai states, food is both “a highly condensed social fact” and a

“marvelously plastic kind of collective representation” with the “capacity to mobilize strong emotions” (Appadurai 1996:3). In a world in which self-identity and place-identity are woven through webs of consumption, what we eat signals who we are (Warde 1997:2).

Foodways as a research topic may focus on human and environmental interaction at several levels of scale; from the transatlantic voyages of many fruits and vegetables today to the study of a single household’s daily subsistence activity (Pieroni and Vandebroek 2009:2; Wilson 1999:12). Specialized studies examining regional foodways may focus on individual food habits such as food procurement, preparation, and/or preservation (Counihan and Esterik 2007:6; Nolan 2007:3). Here we find an overlap between the wealth of regional folkloric works and the emerging literature on localized foodways. Regional foodways research in cultural anthropology, ethnobiology, and folklore has been conducted recently throughout the Americas, ( (Humphrey 1991:5; Yoder 2000:10; C. Paige Gutierrez 1992:3), Africa (Goody 1982), Asia (Cheung and Tan 2007:24), and Europe ( Bell and Valentine 1997:5; Heinzelmann 2008:7). In the United States researchers have continued to find that cultural and historical dynamics and the environment where people are born, live, or settle, have shaped the patterns of behavior surrounding foodways.

Knowing this much, why then should a small rural town in the American Midwest capture anthropological attention as the site for such a study? The often understated vibrance of the rural U.S.A. is represented through a wealth of cultural material, including art, oral tradition, and architecture (Marshall 1981:2; Marshall 2013:3; Brown and Schafft 2011:16; Allen 1992:8). Although folklorists have documented regional eating habits and identity in other parts of

America (Yoder 2003:108), Middle America remains relatively undocumented (Matson 1994:8; Marte 2007:284; Camp 1989:5). John A. Burrison defines folklore (used interchangeably with folk traditions, folk culture, and folklife) as a “community-shared resource of accumulated knowledge, learned informally, preserved through memory and practice, and passed on through speech and body action to others in any group whose members have a common bond” (Burrison 2007:19). Clearly foodways and folklore scholars tread common ground.

The pivotal role of family ties in rural foodways is well acknowledged as is that of religion (Sackett and Haynes 2011:20; Wirzba 2011:12). Religion and ritual are frequently analyzed in an effort to understand how identity is reinforced and made resilient through shared action. The dispersal of ritual feasts and fasts throughout the calendar year regulates social behavior. This arrangement of communal behavior is noticeable when studied in a foodways context. The study of foodways includes the production, preservation, and consumption of food. These studies have a rich history of ethnographic description that bridges the gap between eating as a survival mechanism and eating as a social act. The role of specific foods in a family reunion provides the link between subsistence practices and the shared religious identity that helps sustain the German-Catholic community. During a time when rural farm towns are on declining economically throughout the United States, findings here offer hope and promise, by illustrating how social practices and regional identity are preserved by eating together, and bound by shared identity expressed through ritualized behavior.

The underlying ritual patterns and processes of everyday life are central to the structure and design of culture itself if we follow Warner and Lunt’s observations of ritual process

(Warner and Lunt 1973:22). In ceremony, in special sacred and secular events, and in marking the passage of humans through the phases of life, ritual frames and segments social processes and meanings. Ritual is an important vehicle for learning culture, intricately interwoven with the ways in which, through thought, humans become cultural beings and maintain their separate cultures over time and space. In the rural Midwest, for instance, food festivals provide venues for extended families to reconnect, geographically, emotionally, and fundamentally. Food rituals revivify kinship bonds between brothers, sisters, parents, grandparents, and others now scattered across the country. I draw here from Arnold Van Gennep's 'Rites of Passage' where the idea that socialization is an important aspect of the human lifecourse punctuated by observable and emotional events was enunciated. Victor Turner who popularized many of van Gennep's concepts, while expanding on them, and Solon Kimball who with Conrad Arensberg (Arensberg and Kimball 1968:8) brought van Gennep's ideas to the forefront of anthropological research into community structure with their work in Ireland (Turner 1995:7; Gennep 2011:66). Social structure has a long history of study as well (Bourdieu 1977: 72). Here we join the theoretical camps of structuralism and symbolic anthropology which have informed foodways studies since Levi-Strauss's 'Raw and the Cooked' and Mary Douglas's 'Purity and Danger' which each looked for meaning behind what and how people eat with regards to what is thought about it (Douglas 2002:8; Levi-Strauss 1983:23). Bourdieu's focus on habitus as a structuring structure that guides personal decisions through describable actions but for indescribable reasons is found in the social act of eating (Bourdieu 1984: 196). Food, after all, is a culturally charged category serving both pragmatic and highly symbolic roles. The "embodied practice" of eating is often governed by "commonsense" decisions that take shape through the act of eating (Sutton 2001:

18). These unconscious choices take place only with the social universe intact, imposing self-guiding habitual dispositions, thus ritualizing the mundane without attention to it, creating memory and identity through social complexity. These theorists and their work allow us to narrow our focus , building on a framework of practice and standing on the shoulders of giants we may attempt to analyze the multifaceted role of food in cultural settings.

When food is present, ritual is not far away. Food preparation and presentation is ritualized because it is systemized, organized according to established regulatory beliefs and behaviors (Humphrey 1991:5). With an explicit focus on place and consumption, Robert Sack's discussion of community in Bell and Valentine's edited volume 'Consuming Geographies' is particularly relevant to this work on religion and foodways. He argues in favor of local community, with its 'particular system of production, consumption and other social relationships which overlap and are enclosed within a single space. For the people living there, the place becomes their world" (Sack 1992:89).

For families and individuals the foods they select and the ways they prepare and serve them shape identity. This identity shaping may be done consciously or unconsciously yet is on display through food choices. Further, the foods they select are often determined by the region in which they live. Foodways are present in every culture over space and time, obviously sustaining life, but beyond survival the creative relationships established between people and food carry metaphoric and symbolic meanings. Ethnic cuisines bear traditions and important cultural markers, and yet both the foods and their meanings evolve to include different ingredients and implications over time (Douglas 2002:18). For me, the territorial definition of social identity is

encapsulated by the dialectical interaction between humans and their environment which shapes foodways by limiting availability, scattering or concentrating resources, and so strongly determining the character of local cuisine that food-maps which tie geography and culture to nutrition have become one way to measure regional identity in the United States (Albon 2007:255; Marte 2007:283). Relationships implicit in the structures of local dynamics work because a sense of place (Allen 1992:7) connects what we eat with who we are.

In a community with shared religious convictions and where the majority of inhabitants are connected through consanguineal or affinal relationships, a family reunion provides an opportunity to see a large portion of the community interact (Neville 1978:172; Sack 2001:44). For most of the year the members of the community interact with a small circle of people. For the reunion, many relatives will travel to the small community, mixing with those members of the community who form the connection to the locality. The meals consumed at these reunions speak volumes about the values, beliefs, and histories among individuals, and how the shared culture and environment continuously shape these displays of food culture. According to Howard Wight Marshall while studying foodways in the “Little Dixie” region of Missouri, “food traditions indicate environmental and economic forces, but they also indicate wholly cultural ones as a functional and often symbolic threading of deep-seated patterns of thought and custom.”(Marshall 1979:402). Religion is one such cultural force that is deeply connected to food. Eating has been an incentive for and aspect of going to church for many a mid-westerner. In the fellowship of church meals, many community members feel strong connections to elements that sustain a regional as well as a perhaps distinctly German-Catholic worldview.



## **Plan of Thesis**

In the pages to follow three primary research questions will be addressed: 1) How is cultural memory preserved through foodways? 2) What role do community institutions play in this preservation? 3) What events allow us to see these social institutions' articulation of shared values made visible? We begin with an introduction to the study region and the people who live there. This introduction traces the history of the study area from its inception to the present. A review of the research methods and design employed in the study leads into a deeper examination of cultural change in Missouri focusing on ecological, technological, and demographic change surrounding foodways and in particular, food preservation. Foodways are then used to situate a family reunion as a religious, ritualized, social event where cultural conservation and reinvention flourish.

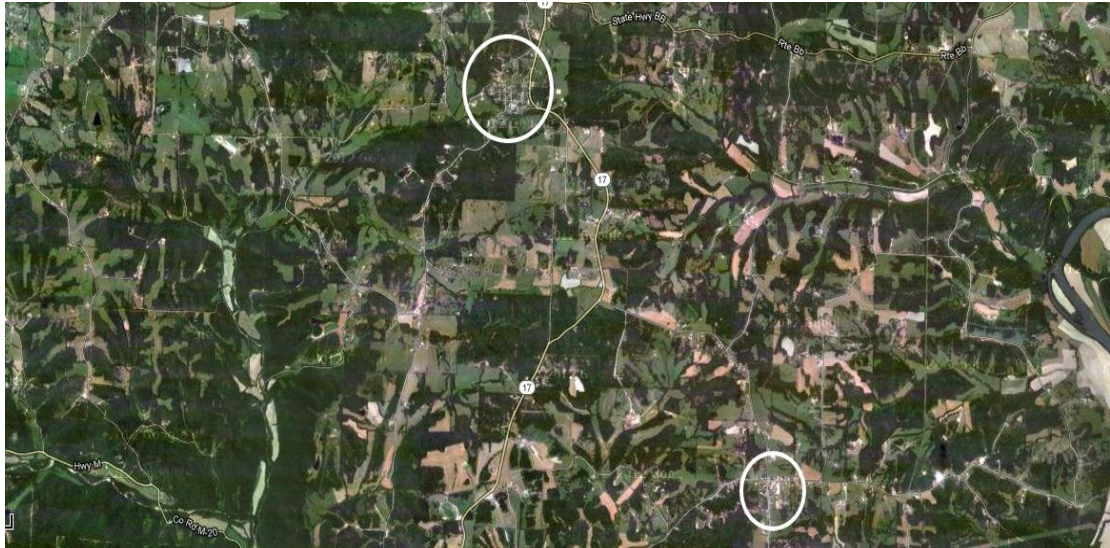
## **Chapter 2: The Study Region & People**

### **Introduction**

This is an ethnographic snapshot; a story of two towns: Eugene, the larger of the two, and Mary's Home. Over the past two years I spent time with the fine and friendly people of this Mid-Missouri community. Based in the geographical heart of Missouri is a community comprised of several hundred people. Straddling the border between Cole and Miller County, the community demographically represents much of Mid-Missouri (Missouri Department of Health and Senior Services 2011:3). Inhabitants of the study area are of German-Catholic descent, a regional ethnic pattern shaping much of the area culturally. On a larger scale it is helpful to think of the area as a crossroads of regional identity. Mid-Missouri is influenced by the Great Plains and Central states as well as the Upper South and the Ozarks. This blends with local history creating a cultural, social, and material landscape that is entirely Missourian and while retaining its own German-American identity within the Great-Plains (Gerlach 1986:13). Previous anthropological work in Missouri has been conducted supporting the idea that regional ethnic patterns have played an important role in shaping the cultural landscape of Missouri (West 1945:8; Gallaher 1962:227; Nolan 2007:4).

Missouri is surrounded by eight distinct neighbor states: Iowa, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas and Nebraska. It may come as no surprise that Missourians consider themselves at once Midwestern and Southern. This versatility is also felt in the state's natural landscape, from the soft hills of the Northern plains to the majestic Ozark Mountains in the South and the countless rivers and lakes sprinkled in between. Missouri is

home to many caves due to the dolostone and sandstone geologic makeup of the landscape pocketed with shale deposits. A mix of urban and rural culture, Missouri has a sound economy to support this population, ranging from aerospace, transportation equipment and food processing to agriculture products.

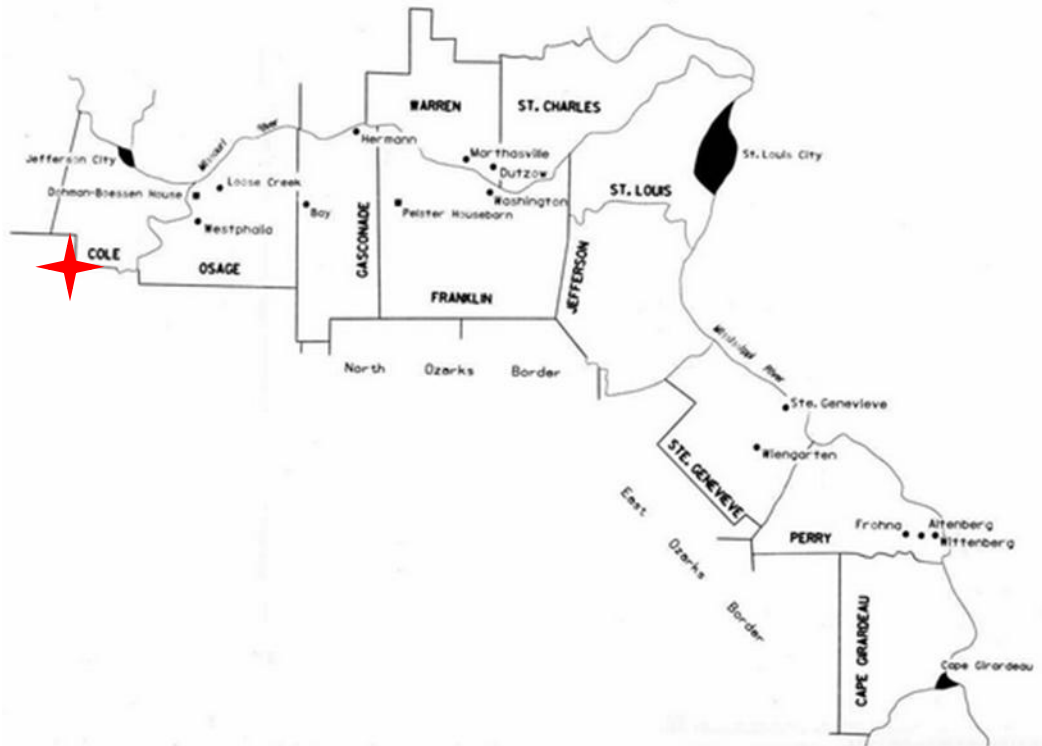


**Figure 1. Eugene, circled at top, and Mary's Home, circled below on satellite view of region.**

### **History of Mary's Home and Our Lady of the Snows Church**

Nestled between Jefferson City and the Lake of the Ozarks, Mary's Home retains a distinctive beauty, an atmosphere of pastoralism that small Midwestern towns afford. The majority of the present residents have lived in this quiet community close to the Osage River all of their lives. As one resident reckons, "There is a feeling of closeness in Mary's Home that has

been present for the past one hundred years and can only be described as a neighborhood spirit. This same spirit allowed the people to feel they are bound together as one large family”.



**Figure 2. German Settled Missouri displaying locational stability according to Carl Saur (Denevan and Mathewson 2009). Red star indicates location of study area.**

Presented here a history of the area as told by Reverend Patrick J. Shortt, the current leader of the parish of Our Lady of the Snows Catholic Church, and additional information collected through church records. The town of Mary’s Home was originally to be given the name “Morgan” when, in the 1880’s; early settlers in the area were petitioning the government for a post office. Robert Morgan, a local tavern proprietor and land owner, was honored by this

suggestions, however, Father Cosmas Seeberger. Priest of the parish, was outraged at such an idea. In his sermon Father Seeberger stated “I founded this place, there was nothing here before I came. And now, without so much as a whisper to me, your pastor, you have taken this matter into your own hands and named this post office after a Protestant, a Yankee, a saloon keeper, while, a founder of the place, I have the right to give it its name. This town belongs to the Mother of God, and its name shall not be “Morgan”, but “Mary’s Home”. What do you imagine, does your mother think of this act of infidelity? See to it that this wrong is righted at once.” Consequently, the name on the petition was changed and the town officially became known as Mary’s Home.

When Father Seeberger first ventured into Miller County in the early 1880’s, he found a rough, wooded region that was sparsely settled by people of predominantly German background. Few fields had been cleared and the roads were little more than muddy cow and mule paths. At that time the early German settlers that Fr. Seeberger encountered traveled solely by foot, by mule, or by boat on the Osage River.

The Osage River divided the existing “parish” into two parts. Father Seeberger would say a mass at St. Elizabeth church on the east side of the river and the families west of the river would attend when possible. The location of the church in St. Elizabeth caused an inconvenience for those families, especially during times of flood. It was deemed necessary to establish a parish west of the Osage River in what is now the community of Mary’s Home. Father Seeberger was now busy travelling between St. Elizabeth and Mary’s Home to say mass. Although services were held in a church at St. Elizabeth, the members west of the river had no church to call their

own. For a little over two years, two families volunteered the use of their homes to Father Seeberger to use for mass. One of these homes was owned by William and Helen Berendzen whose descendants still reside in the area. Eventually, Father Seeberger and his parishioners saw the need for a permanent church.

A dispute then arose over where the new church would be located, each farmer demanding it be built closer to their farm. To end the discussion, a spot was chosen where two of the main roads in the area met. On November 16, 1882, five acres of land were purchased by the parish for the amount of \$30.00. On two later occasions land was purchased in order to extend the parish grounds. On May 26, 1888, 1 ½ acres were purchased for the sum of \$25.00 and then an additional ½ acre was acquired for \$50.00 January 29, 1889.

On August 5, 1885, Bishop J. Hogan of Kansas City dedicated the first church in honor of St. Mary. The original church was a 30 foot by 40 foot wood frame building erected at a cost of approximately \$2,000. The wooden floors and plastered walls were a result of hours of effort put forth by local volunteers. Each parishioner was also responsible for providing wood for the pot-bellied stove that supplied the heat for the church during the winter months. Apparently the stove did not supply sufficient heat for the entire church. Several Sisters of the Order of the Adorers of the Blood of Christ recorded in their files that the stove sat in the middle of the church causing several problems. One of which was that those who sat near it roasted on one side and froze on the other. It was sometimes so cold that the wine cruet had to be set near the stove until Offertory to keep the wine from freezing. With the organization of the new parish came added duties for the priest. Father Seeberger's schedule was so hectic that with two masses each

Sunday, he frequently was not able to eat his first meal until 4:00pm. Parishioners arriving early for mass were instructed to say the rosary and sing hymns until Father Seeberger arrived.

With the new parish also came new citizens to Mary's Home. This influx produced a need for merchants to provide necessary items to a growing community. Between 1886 and 1887 a general store was built. Another general store/saloon was built and remains in operation today. Other businesses in Mary's Home around this time included a lime kiln, a copper shop, a wagon shop, a blacksmith, and a doctor's office. In 1886, Father Cosmas Seeberger was succeeded by Father Charles Meyer, who was followed by Father Walser. In 1887, Father Charles Meyer returned to Mary's Home as the first resident pastor. It was probably during his two year stay that the first parochial residence was erected.

In the spring of 1889, Father Lambert Nipper arrived as pastor in Mary's Home. He served the parish until 1892, when he was replaced by Father Groth, who was the first diocesan priest assigned to St. Mary's of the Snows Parish. During Father Nipper's time in Mary's Home that an attempt was made to set down some guidelines for the efficient operation and maintenance of the parish and its grounds. In notes taken at a parish meeting on January 16, 1889, it was decided that "...in case any building is done in the parish each man shall donate five days labor each year; if he doesn't work he shall be assessed \$1.00 per day for the five days...". It was also agreed that "... each family shall give three bushels of corn a year to feed the pastor's horses; if you have no corn, then give a load of good hay and some oats; anyone that does not have corn, hay, or oats must pay \$1.50. Anyone who neglected to so was to be '*ausgeschlossen*' German for locked out, or barred from the church.

In May of 1888, Bishop J. Hogan of Kansas City administered the Sacrament of Confirmation for the first time in Mary's Home. Awaiting the bishop's arrival by horse and wagon, people lined the streets of the small community in hopes of personally greeting him. At any time thereafter, when the bishop came to Mary's Home, he was met in a similar fashion, for the people felt it was such an honor. Between 1892 and 1906 several more priests served as pastor in Mary's Home.

Shortly after the church was remodeled in 1906, it burned to the ground on January 1, 1907. Father Francis Kavelage, the pastor at this time, was first alerted to the fire while hunting rabbits. Enjoying his hobby on a nearby farm, Father Kavelage happened to notice remnants of burning altar lace in the air. Arriving back in town too late, he and his parishioners watched the church burn. It was believed the fire was caused by incense that was left burning by the altar boys. Until a new church could be completed, services were held in the school. During 1907, the new stone church, measuring 45 by 90 feet, was erected at a cost of \$12,000. The rock for the church came from a local farm, and again, much of the labor was donated by members of the parish. The work progressed smoothly and quickly. The cornerstone for the church was laid June 20, 1907 and the completed edifice was dedicated in 1911, standing on the exact spot where the old frame church had stood. The rebuilt church (pictured on page 42) still stands proudly over one hundred years later, although renovations have been necessary to keep the interior in good condition as the wear and tear of daily use has taken its toll on the building. Today, parishioners from Eugene and Mary's Home flock to Our Lady of the Snows Church to listen to Reverend Patrick J. Shortt deliver mass. Those arriving from Eugene have only a few miles to travel down a paved road. When Mary's Home was young the town of Eugene established itself as the



railway expanded its tracks to better serve the demand for commerce in the growing Great-Plains states.

## **The History of Eugene**

The history of Eugene begins with the Rock Island Railroad, as there was no town of Eugene until the railroad was built. The right of way, also known as the roadbed, for the track was started in 1901. Most of the farmers and other members of the community, worked on the track along with their teams of horses or mules. This work provided a livelihood for farmers during a particularly painful dry year which yielded a negligible harvest.

The final tracks were laid in the fall of 1903. In the meantime the Eugene Tunnel, the longest tunnel on the line between St. Louis and Kansas City, had been completed. By 1904 trains were running. Matthew Shelton was served as the first depot agent in a boxcar set up to serve as the depot. In the summer of 1904 excursion trains ran from Eldon to St. Louis, going down early and coming back late at night, taking people to the World's Fair and picking up passengers all along the way. Train fare was roughly \$2.50 for the round trip.

In 1903 the town was surveyed and laid out in lots, with streets, and alleys. Luke Melton and Eugene Simpson donated the land for all streets and alleys. Mr. Melton owned all of the east part and Mr. Simpson the west part of what was to become Eugene. The town was originally named Melton. Unfortunately, there existed a Milton, Missouri, and the mail was mixed up frequently enough, that the name was soon changed to Eugene.

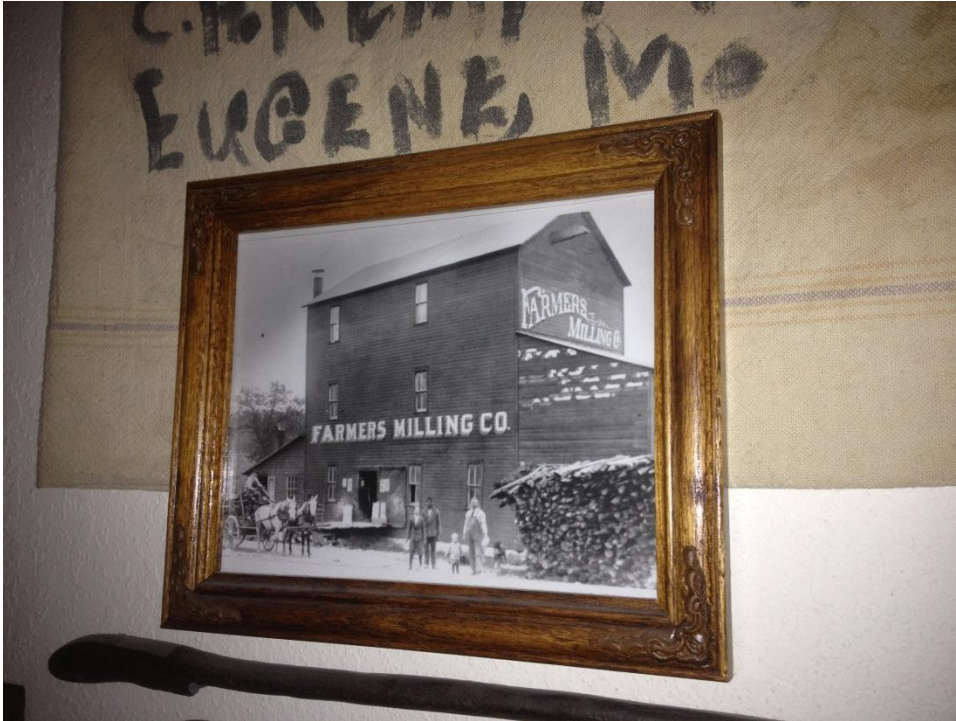
Late 1903 and 1904 saw the beginning of Eugene as the first businesses were founded within the town and people began building homes on the new lots. The first general store was owned and run by a man named John Kalaf, who later moved to Mete, Missouri. Previously there had been two tiny stores where such necessities as baking soda, sugar, coffee, and kerosene (called coal oil back then) could be bought. One of these stores, owned by a Henry Bodaker, was run from a room in his home. The Bob Shepard family owned the other store, also in their home.

A two story stone building, half a block long, was erected in 1905-1906. Located where the fire house and the post office now stand, it housed the Eugene Mercantile Company and the Walter Haynes General Store, as well as the Bank of Eugene, which later became the Eugene State Bank. This building later burned in March 1922.

Eugene was home to two medical doctors by 1905. Dr. Frank Devilbiss kept his office in the Eugene Mercantile Store. Dr. Tandy Lee Glover lived upstairs above his drug store before moving into a house of his construction. Two flour mills also stood in Eugene that year. Frank Groose and Mr. Kempker owned the Farmer's Milling Company, owned solely by C.H. Kempker in later years. The Ritchie Mill belonged to J.L. Ritchie. Eugene also had a lumber yard and a blacksmith shop.

A two-story, two-room school was built in 1907. Its inaugural freshman class entered in 1912. In the spring of 1925 the school moved to a new brick building in the west part of town. The school moved again in 1961, this time to a new building on Highway 17 about a mile from town. Since then, the school has expanded with a greater number of rooms and classes serving a number of nearby communities. The Eugene News and The Eugene Enterprise provided

newspaper coverage for Eugene citizens from 1908-1912. A canning factory existed at this time as well, canning tomatoes grown by local farmers. This factory employed a large number of people from around the Miller and Cole counties.



**Figure 3. This mill, owned by the Kempkers, was built beside the Rock Island Railroad tracks in Eugene. Photo by the author.**

The years between 1910 and 1920 saw as many as four profitable general stores in Eugene, all conducting business simultaneously, although the population remained between 150 to 200 people the needs of a busy community supported them. People from the large territory around Eugene traveled to town to sell their produce and to trade. The stores sold hardware,

groceries, dry-goods, and would buy eggs, butter, chickens, and in the fall, turkeys. This produce was then shipped onward by the Rock Island Railroad.

For entertainment the community largely relied on school connected social activities such as programs on Friday afternoons for parents included a variety of home cooked dining delights such as pie suppers, box suppers, and catfish suppers. Instead of a parents and teachers association (P.T.A.) a Literary Society was organized. The Literary Society was mainly for entertainment, but it also supported the suppers and benefitted the school and community by providing an additional outlet for community interaction. Picture shows also provided an early form of entertainment. In the early teens picture shows would arrive via train to the town.

The trains themselves historically provided a form of entertainment. Passenger trains, two each way, went through soon after noon each day. Local passenger trains stopped at every stop while fast trains had fewer stops and farther destinations. On Sunday, after noon dinner, townsfolk would go to the depot to watch the trains go by. Most of the young folks and some of the older ones would be there. This often provided the highlight of the week for some farmers. Young men would often walk along the rails after trains had passed. In addition to the day trains, there were two night passenger trains that did not stop at small stations. They could be flagged down with a lantern to let people on or off.

Reverend Shortt related the story that at that point in the communities early years “a small circus would come to town once in a while and set up a show on the school ground or a nearby pasture. Picnics were also held for the town and school. The town band would play at these events and dancing was common. All of this was before the time of automobiles, so cross-

country trips were made with horses and wagons or buggies. Surries or hacks were two-seated vehicles that were also sometimes used”

The trains and surries have come and gone for these towns. Cars and tractors have replaced them. Changes in technology have been dramatic but they have not gone unchallenged in these communities. What has changed and what has remained relatively unchanged is much easier to examine than pin-pointing the precise reasons for said changes.



**Figure 4. Exterior of Mary's Home mercantile store. Photo by the author.**

## **The Region Today**

Today, Mary's Home and Eugene exist as a tribute to the strength of early settlers and the ingenuity of their descendants. The mercantile store is still there though providing an assortment of commercial necessities while also serving as a local meeting place where customers may sit a spell and share a story and a drink. The local chapter of the Knights of Columbus (K of C) has a strong presence, holding fundraisers and Lenten fish fry's. Fish fry's are taken seriously with carefully designed fry crews announced in the church weekly. Ozarks Germans, more than most groups, have remained where they originally located (Cozzens 1943:290; Marshall and Goodrich 1986:56). Locational stability, as Carl Sauer observed, has been a distinguishing characteristic of this particular group (Denevan and Mathewson 2009:88). This stability led me to suspect that key events such as the family reunion, K of C meals, and conversations over steaming hushpuppies and crappie could be attended to determine how local foodways support cultural continuity. I began my research in the fall of 2010. I happened onto this field-site unexpectedly as I was beginning my graduate studies at the University of Arkansas.

Recently married, I found myself immersed in the stories of my new grandmother who was raised in a very small town in Missouri. I come from a family of travelers. Rarely is one generation sessile and instead a constant movement between generations has resulted in the absence of a geographical sense of home. Listening to E.W., I learned about a community whose constituents had not led the nomadic lives of my relatives. Instead, a large proportion of the town could trace their lineage back to the first German settlers who arrived in the 1820's in the company of other German-Catholics looking for available farmland on which to settle. Early

German settlers in Missouri, like E.W.'s ancestors, established themselves as successful farmers, millers, and tradesmen upon settling (McCandless 2000:301). At first I resisted my interest in the community because it did not meet the anthropological litmus test of the exotic. I asked myself how I would be able to hold my head among my colleagues when describing my fieldwork among rural Missourians. Would I be criticized for studying my own culture? These concerns are approached by Donald Messerschmidt who discounts them by reminding us that if anthropology is the study of the human and social conditions broadly conceived then studies of North American "modern" cultures have a definite role to play as we apply the methods of our field to understanding contemporary issues at home (Messerschmidt 1981:9). I had to admit that the experience of simply touring the river bottoms and surrounding area in K.K.'s car, sandwiched between her and a friend, left me with a piqued interest. As the oak and walnut trees crept by the car rolled over the undulating hills left by the river. Homes belonging to deceased relatives and spots where important local landmarks once stood comprised the bulk of the conversation. Without prompting, many changes in the social landscape of the area were mentioned by K.K. and E.W. With this in mind, and a homemade portion of summer sausage, presented to me by K.K. as a "welcome to the family" gift, I moved forward with my research in the hope of applying this approach to a small Missouri town.



**Figure 5. Interior of Mary's Home mercantile store. Photo by the author.**

### **Chapter 3: Research Methods and Design**

A comprehensive suite of methods combines both qualitative and quantitative research. This places data in the proper background, adding context, and making the results coherent (Munck and Sobo 1998:28). To do this, participant observation at special events, food shopping/gathering trips, during meal preparation, and consumption is necessary; addressing the research problems of this thesis by participating in actions considered either routine or noteworthy by my respondents themselves. Several extended-family suppers, local organizational meals, and a family reunion meal were attended. Church services were often a part and parcel with these events, most commonly held before gathering at a nearby location to eat. Non-directed or semi-directed interviews conducted at these events provide examples of informal exchange



where respondents are asked questions about their daily lives *in situ*. Life histories of respondents provide ‘food stories’ and lend context to the study by revealing food beliefs, how foodways have transformed, and how cultural knowledge is transmitted (Miller and Deutsch 2010:6). Additionally, surveys devised by the author will provide demographic information while also gathering respondent-specific foodways information. This survey may be found in the appendix of this thesis as well as the approval form by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) that permitted its use. Community produced cookbooks have been used to reconstruct individual and community histories (Theophano 2003:12). When coupled with contemporary data gathered through ethnographic methods these records may be traced for insight into changing foodways through time.

In determining regional or ethnic group membership a methodological assumption that groups, both ethnic and regional, are most usefully defined internally, using the group’s customary behaviors and traditions as key factors (Douglas 2003:19). This approach is significant because foodways in regional cultural groups are rooted in tradition but express dynamic aspects of in-group culture through a process that is highly charged with meaning. Foodways bind individuals together, define the limits of a group’s outreach and identity, distinguish in-group from out-group, serve as a medium of inter-group communication, celebrate cultural cohesion, and provide a context for performance of group rituals (Humphrey 1991:64). With an explicit focus on place and consumption, Robert Sack’s discussion of community is particularly relevant to this work. He argues in favor of local community, with its ‘particular system of production, consumption and other social relationships which overlap and are enclosed within a single space. For the people living there, the place becomes their world” (Sack 1992:5).

Foodways may be used to understand the power sustaining the continuity of ethnicity and region as matrices for the membership of individuals in groups. Mainstream Americans frequently use food as a factor in the construction of cultural identity and find in the traditional dishes and ingredients of “others” that eat differently from themselves a set of convenient ways to categorize ethnic and regional character ( Brown 1984:10). Memory is constructed by individuals but shaped by community practices “since patterns of provisioning, eating, and food sharing have long constituted a domain densely packed with core cultural values and thickly entangled webs of social relations” (Holtzman 2009:7) they may be used to interpret collective memory. Cookbooks produced for national consumption and ethnic restaurants convey relatively static concepts and reinforce stereotypical assumptions of food procurement and availability that are further homogenized by the imperatives of the marketplace (Bower 1997:3). By avoiding those complications compiled cookbooks, put together by “locals for locals”, may be used to identify key foods to regional identity by their frequency of ingredients or methods of preservation (Ireland 1981:110).

In order to examine the current state of regional foodways in Central Missouri, 30 farmers as respondents were selected from the community of Mary’s Home and Eugene, MO. Farmers were identified by reputation as those who work locally as subsistence growers, cultivate agricultural products commercially, or are otherwise dependent on growing their own food for subsistence (Bernard 1994:44). This included both male and female individuals mostly over the age of sixty. These individuals were initially be selected by reputation (Martin 2012:8) followed by the “snowball” sampling technique (Bernard 1994:22) in which one informant recommends another, and he or she in turn recommends another, and so on. In the first interview

phase, a survey will be used to collect individual ethnobotanical knowledge from all 30 informants, along with sociodemographic information including age, occupation, income, length of residence in community, amount of experience outdoors, and other relevant data (Thursby 2008:34). Initial contact was made through two key respondents whom I will refer to here as E.W. and K.K. The information sought was of a kind frequently held strongest in the minds of the older members of a community (Bicker, Sillitoe, and Pottier 2004:203). These individuals frequently have the longest “living memory” and when looking to identify changes over time it is these people who are the most useful and who I sought directly (Allen 1992:173). This was not difficult as the local population is aging progressively as a result of out-migration of their successors. Most respondents were consequently over the age of seventy and in one case close to being a centurion. The “living memory” of my respondents may therefore be expected to extend over sixty years for the majority of those queried. When interviewed about their childhoods in the area, respondents responses fell into three rough categories that describe the changes frequently experienced and held salient; ecological, technological, and demographic change.

Culture is an ever-adapting, dynamic web of social facts. This is influenced both by the biological processes going on within the human body and the external variables experienced by the individual within their social environment and their physical environment. A snapshot of a culture can be taken through ethnographic methods of data collecting and may be examined using an interdisciplinary approach under the methodological lens of food studies, folklore and, anthropology. By bringing these approaches together, an understanding of contemporary rural foodways may be reached using historical records, personal narratives and participant observation.

## **Chapter 4: Food Preservation and Cultural Change in Central Missouri**

### **German-American Farmers in the Heartland**

Comprising two small towns of close proximity, a few hundred people, and crossing the border between Cole and Miller County, we find a cultural community that in many ways represents much of Central Missouri locally. On a larger scale it is helpful to think of the area as a crossroads of regional identity. Missouri is influenced by the Great Plains and Central states as well as Southern traditions and Ozark folk life. This blends with local history to create a regional menu that is entirely Missourian and yet also retains its own German-American identity within the Great-Plains (McCandless 2000:302; Ross 2004:15).

Social institutions such as the church and the K of C help keep members of all ages involved in community activities. Agriculturally based organizations for children include Future Farmers for America (FFA) and 4-H Club. These groups introduce children to animal husbandry and plant care while teaching responsibility, facts of life and death, and often times, agricultural economics. Although some animals raised for show will be sold for breeding purposes it is normal for children raised on farms to understand where their food and family's livelihood comes from. With food crops and vegetable gardens a direct connection is established in the youth's mind between plant and the effect environmental conditions have on their condition. The true cost of food, a combination of the time, labor, and resources spent to obtain food is highlighted as children practice farming while remaining under the protective umbrella of the

family. Youth involvement in these organizations also involves the entirety of the family as mom and dad often serve as both financier, teacher, and chaperone.

Likewise, the role of the church is multifaceted. Weekly gatherings at Our Lady of the Snows, the local Catholic Church, are attended by eighty percent of the community on average. A much smaller percent of the congregation, comprised mostly of retired or semi-retired community members, attends services multiple times a week. Mass serves as a reminder of shared ideals and concerns. It brings members of the community into frequent face-to-face contact and provides many social opportunities for gathering to create and perpetuate long-standing traditions. Church services are discussed in more detail in chapter five. The K of C is a social organization that acts as a service off-shoot of the Catholic Church, counting a large portion of the male members of the congregation in its ranks. Fundraising meals are organized year round and dinners following religious holidays are two of the main activities that the K of C provides for the community. Attending a steak dinner provided an excellent opportunity to see how the organization works. The K of C local chapter is a small, beige building a few hundred yards from the church and mercantile store. A separate open-sided building serves as the grilling station. Members of the K of C cook teams provide chef and waiter services combining with a bring your own beer and serve yourself attitude for drinks and dessert. Those doing the actual grilling are the oldest males in the group. Waiters and busboys are comprised of the newest initiates into the fraternal organization and thus pay their dues to the organization and their community through service in this manner.

Through all of this, food has been a silent running trend, acting as a socially-binding, culturally-situated, necessary though expressive common denominator. The ability to grow a food crop and husband livestock before processing that product into food is a dwindling skill amongst the majority of the U.S. population though one that is growing in popularity as Robbins and Nolan note in their essay on traditional hunting methods in Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas (Robbins and Nolan 2006:69).

The past hundred years have seen a multitude of technological and social changes as American culture has followed a distinct trend of population migration from rural farms to urban cityscapes (Berry 1996:8). Foodways have shifted as well. Local foodways have fallen in favor of complex methods of transportation that link multiple wide-ranging populations in networks of foodway dependence. More steps and stages are being added to the route a plant or animal takes from farm to table. The American family farm has become increasingly isolated as their neighbors move to the city to seek a different life or are bought out by industrial-scale agricultural enterprises. At the same time the isolation that has encouraged the retention of traditional ways has decreased with changes in communications and transportation technologies (Roberts 1971:211). In spite of these conspicuous changes, the family farm and farmer have persevered as an indelible part of the Missouri cultural landscape.

## **Changes All Around**

Ecological concerns fall into this category due to their involvement with the interaction of humans and their environment both biotic and abiotic. These include the attention of many to perceived changes in seasonal climate, the disappearance of ecologically salient species, and evolving land-use patterns. Respondents specifically mentioned the loss of species abundance in the area over time. Red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) and Bobwhite quail (*Colinus virginianus*) are conspicuously absent from the woods and pastures. A noted increase in coyotes (*Canis latrans*) was also mentioned. Catfish (*Ictalurus punctatus*), a local channel dweller, have decreased in size as well as number. One gentleman remembered catching fish by the net full as a young man on the Osage River. Residents trying their luck along the shore line of the river today do not yield the same results, reflecting the anthropogenic effects of overharvesting and a documented decrease in water quality (Schubert 2001:2).

Traditional hunting techniques include tricks for catching muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*), rabbit (*Sylvilagus sp.*), and other small game with set traps. Guns have also been used to hunt for both animals directly sought for their taste as well as the opossum (*Didelphis virginianus*), a pest animal that some believe is also an acquired taste. Describing how to deal with these critters around the farm one man recalls:

A rifle of almost any caliber or a shotgun loaded with No. 6 shot or larger will effectively kill possums. I would use a light to look for possums after dark. If a possum hasn't been spooked, it will usually pause in the light long enough to allow an easy shot. Once spooked, possums don't move too quick though. They will usually climb a nearby tree where they can be located with your light. We

would chase running possums on foot or with a hound dog. If you lost the track, you would run to the last place where you saw the animal, stop, and listen for the sound of claws on bark to locate the tree the animal was climbing.

Sometimes possums can be snuck up on when approached quietly and killed by a strong blow with a club, but they can be surprisingly hard to kill that way. They can be taken alive by firmly grasping the end of the tail. If the animal begins to “climb its tail” to reach your hand, lower the animal until it touches the ground. This will distract the opossum and cause it to try to escape by crawling. Once you had them, you could sell the skin for 15 cents, which was money back then, and sometimes we would cook the meat as well, though I think possum meat is too greasy.

Personal narratives like the one by W.G. above are a valuable part of Central Missouri’s living legacy of regional foodways. Recalling a childhood spent wandering the river bottoms in search of game provided a way for some children to add to their household income or to garner some pocket cash to spend at the mercantile store. Stopping by the river shallows to set simple snare traps allowed W.G. to catch small game. An intimacy with the landscape may be created through necessity as in the case of W.G. who turned his routine walks of several miles past the Osage river into a ritualized act of checking and setting traps before and after class. Wild game such as the possum or white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) are cohabitants of the local ecosystem who find themselves competing with farmers for resources and space such that it is not surprising to find a wealth of information on how to combat such potential pests while also



finding valuable meat for the cook-pot (Allen 1993:60). Morels (*Morchella sp.*) in the spring and black walnuts (*Juglans nigra*) in October provide delectable collectables for knowledgeable foragers in the woods while berries of all kinds provide a sweet pleasure when come upon in the warm August sunshine (Fine 2003:26).

The domesticated species within the cultural environment were also mentioned frequently. Farmers in the area remember a time when hogs and sheep were as much a part of the landscape as the cattle that pepper the fields still. Presently, farm families infrequently keep a pen of hogs for sale and sheep have also vanished. One respondent believed that “a while back there was a case of footrot going through the farmland. It would spread to an entire herd of sheep before much could be done about it if you weren’t careful”. Footrot (*Bacteroides nodosus* and/or *Fusobacterium necrophorum*) is a, virulent and severe, debilitating disease that may lead to significant economic loss from reduced wool growth and quality, poor ewe fertility, poor growth rates, and reduced value of sale sheep for farmers with infected herds. An unintended consequence of the loss of sheep farming in the area has been a dramatic decrease in working farm dogs. Previously, Great Pyrenees and other herd-guarding dogs could be found outside on the farm but today most dogs are solely companion animals.

Cattle farming in middle Missouri has not escaped transformation either. Accounting for the majority of livestock sales in the state, preferences for and the sale of cattle breeds has shifted from Hereford to Black Angus. Distinct breeds such as the Charolais have given way to “very mixed breeds” that appear similar to one another when brought to auction at the feedlot. This

change reflects how local farmers have adapted to their role in the national cattle industry and market by raising breeds that market finds favorable.

Changes in wildlife population ecology like those above may be driven by technological or demographic changes as described below ( Hufford 1994:17). Indeed, technological changes have been shown to produce dramatic and unpredictable effects on other aspects of society (Pelto 1987:3). The advent of refrigeration (originally with gas refrigerators) ended the days when a farmer would need to drive his wagon to the store and back to get a block of ice for the ice box. Today refrigeration reduces spoilage and the risk of food poisoning while also allowing for the greater consumption of convenience foods. The loss of the horse that followed the arrival of the motorized tractor was also mentioned numerous times as a major change that made it possible for farmers to plow more land in less time, but it also lead to increased wind erosion that depleted soil viability. Initial inquiries into community member's experiences around the farm often led to discussions of traditional folk medicine as accidents and scrapes around the farm often left one far from a doctor but in need of some attendance. The role of the horse or cow crosses over from a mere provider of traction to one of multiple uses when additional cultural knowledge surrounding them is considered. In one case a respondent told me about a time when he was a boy and his father was seriously burnt working to repair an engine. At the time cattle and horses were often kept in pastures near enough to the house that a quick walk would get one to the domesticates. These animals could then be startled into movement and subsequently into providing fresh manure. My respondent recalls catching the fresh manure in a bucket before it hit the ground. This was then smeared on his fathers burnt arm to form a cool, sterile compress. The

conclusion of this tale was reinforced by the assertion that his father's burn healed without scarring, emphasizing the value in this folk knowledge.

One particularly important event in the history of the area was the closure of the train line by the Rock Island Railroad that stopped in town. These major events punctuate the history of the area and have shaped its methods of food preservation. Food preservation prevents and delays microbial decomposition and damage from mechanical causes, insects and rodents. It ensures more interesting and nutritionally adequate family meals and ensures a safer food intake (Eastman 2002:180). Food preservation is adaptive, a result of expressive behavior, technology, and subsistence like all folkways; food preservation may be examined to identify culturally important foods and the rituals associated with their preparation and consumption (Marshall 1979:407).

This continuity of technologies in the face of rapid change indicates that the preservation of local foods in community foodways is important. Food preservation techniques would be originally determined by local ecology. When a group or individual migrates they bring that cultural knowledge with them. What knowledge stays and what fades away is a vital question if we are to then establish why such knowledge proves resilient. Through this research a number of food preservation methods have been identified as part of the region's foodways. Techniques and the recipes that describe or require them pepper the compiled cookbook to reveal their key role in sustaining the community.

## **Food Preservation in the Region**

Ethnographic research conducted here documented a plethora of food preservation techniques actively used in the community. Participation in the collection, preparation, and consumption of food in the Mary's Home and Eugene community exposed the researcher to the importance that this knowledge plays for the people there. Methods of temperature control such as freezing reduce the rate of growth of microorganisms preventing the breakdown of cells caused by enzymes and enabling people to store meats and produce as long as low temperatures remain. Salting is a popular method commonly used in meat and fish and less in fruits and vegetables. In some foods, salting is combined with other methods like smoking, fermenting, drying, and freezing to reach the desired effect. Sausages and hams require these methods. Drying, one of the oldest methods of food preservation works by reducing moisture content thus preventing microbial growth. Exposure to dry air or heat also works to make dried foods lightweight and easier to store than before processing. Smoking is usually combined with salting and drying and used to preserve fish and meat giving the food a preferred appearance, flavor, and odor.

Sugar preservation draws out water through osmosis and prevents fruits from spoiling. The high cost of sugar makes this a relatively costly activity compared with other methods such as salting. Fruits preserved this way are commonly consumed at special occasions or during the winter as a treat. Common sugar preserves are diverse in number and vary in composition enough to make the differences meaningful. Jellies are made by cooking fruit juice with sugar until they become transparent and bright colored. Jam meanwhile consists of the cooked and

crushed fruit plus sugar. Marmalade caters to those who like citrus peels mixed in while conserve uses two or more kinds of fruits. Candied fruit is concentrated with syrup and glazed candied, perhaps the most time intensive, it is first dipped in fresh glucose for a shiny appearance, before rolling in sugar.

The term pickled and the act of pickling generally applies to food that is preserved in a brine or vinegar. Essential ingredients include fruits and vegetables (firm flesh, free of blemishes), vinegar (renders a characteristic flavor, preserves by inhibiting growth of microorganisms), sugar (acts as a preservative, adds sweetness), spices (gives flavor), and other preservatives (alum and/or tawas for crispness). Canning works by packing food in tightly sealed tin cans or canning jars and heated at high temperature. Heating destroys harmful microorganisms to ensure safe consumption at a later time. Specific recipes within the compiled local cookbook serve as a repository of food preservation knowledge and preference.

Main Protein Ingredient	Recipe Total
Beef	55
Chicken	21
Pork	24
Game Meat	10
Seafood (including fish, shrimp, and crab)	8
All Main Dishes	108

**Table 1. Recipes including animal protein as the key ingredient collected during interviews show a strong reliance on beef characteristic of a Midwest diet.**

A survey of over one hundred recipes, as seen in table 1, showed a clear preference for beef as the main protein consumed, constituting half of the “main dish” recipes in the book and supporting a claim for this region’s connection to the breadbasket of the Midwest where cattle is king (Albon 2007:257). The setting down in print and binding of these recipes ensures that this information will remain in the community as accessible knowledge as long as they have shelf space.

Listed below are a few recipes recorded through interviews with members of Our Lady of the Snows School and Catholic Church in Mary’s Home, Missouri involving local methods of food preservation.

#### Summer Sausage

S. K.

5lbs. hamburger

2 ½ tsp. black pepper

5 rounded tsp. Morton Tender Quick Salt

1 ¼ tsp. garlic salt

2 ½ tsp. mustard seed

1 ¼ tsp. onion salt

2 Tbsp. liquid hickory smoke

Mix well. Cover and refrigerate. On the 4<sup>th</sup> day, mix well again, form into 5 rolls. Place on broiler pan over grease catcher. Place on bottom rack of oven. Bake at 140 degrees for 8 hours. Turn every 2 hours. Forms own casing.

## Blood Sausage

M. H.

1 gal. ground pork head meat (mostly fat)

2 c. water from cooked head meat

2 heaping c. flour

salt & pepper to taste

½ gal. blood

Mix all together. Put in small cartons and freeze.

## Sweet Pickles

J. B.

2 gal. cucumbers

6 c. vinegar

2 c. coarse salt

1/3 c. pickling spice

4 gal. cold water

1 Tbsp. celery seed

3 Tbsp. alum

8 c. sugar

Wash cucumbers and put in stone jar or crock. Make a brine of the coarse salt and one gallon of water. Bring this to a boil and pour over the pickles. Let stand one week (in hot weather, skim daily). Drain the pickles and cut lengthwise (will shrivel if not cut). The next 3 days make a solution of one gallon of water to one tablespoon of alum. Bring this to a boil and pour over the pickles. Use fresh water and alum each day. On the 4<sup>th</sup> morning drain pickles. Heat to boiling 6 cups vinegar, 5 cups sugar, pickling spice and celery seed and pour over pickles. On 5<sup>th</sup> morning drain vinegar and spices. Add 2 more cups of sugar to the vinegar and spices. Bring

to boil and pour over pickles. On 6<sup>th</sup> morning drain vinegar and spices and add 1 more cup of sugar and bring to boil. Put pickles in jars with vinegar mixture. Seal.

#### Tomato Preserves

H. K.

7 c. cooked tomatoes

1 Tbsp. lemon juice

½ tsp. salt

broken cinnamon stick

2 c. sugar

Scald and peel tomatoes. Chop and cook. Add the above ingredients and cook till thickness desired.

#### Grape Wine

P. S.

12 oz. can frozen grape juice

¼ tsp. dry yeast

4 c. sugar

1 large balloon

Soften yeast in a little warm water. Place all ingredients in a gallon jug. Add water to within 3 inches from top. Put balloon on jug for air lock. Set in closet or dark room for 4 to 6 weeks. Enjoy!



## Gooseberry Pie

S.K

5 c. wild gooseberries

1 tbsp. cornstarch

1 2/3 c. sugar

2 tbsp. butter

1/2 c. flour

homemade pastry for a 2 crust pie

Roll out pastry and fit into a 9 inch pie pan. Combine gooseberries, sugar, flour and cornstarch together and place in the pie crust. Dot with butter. Roll out top crust, place over the filling and cut slits in crust. Seal to bottom crust and flute edges. Bake at 425 degrees for 50 minutes.

## Canning Beef

In memory of M.H by A.L.

14lbs boneless roast, cut in 1 1/2 inch pieces

1 tsp. salt (in each quart)

1/4 tsp. pepper (in each quart)

Place beef cubes in jar. Don't pack tight. Add salt and pepper and seal jars. Don't add water to the jars. Fill pressure canner with 2 quarts water and place jars in canner. Let canner heat up good, then pressure at 15lbs. pressure for one hour. Makes seven quarts.

### Freezer Corn

A.L.

4 qts. Corn

4 tsp. salt

1 c. sugar

1 qt. water

Combine all ingredients and bring to boil. Boil 10 minutes. Stir to keep from sticking. Cool kettle in cold water. Pack in freezer containers using bring to cover corn. Freeze. To serve use the already seasoned brine. Add butter while heating. Enjoy.

### Turnip Kraut

N.J.L.

1 egg (room temp. for testing)

salt water

Mix salt and water until salt is dissolved. Place whole egg in brine. Egg should stand on end on bottom of container. If egg comes to top of brine it is too salty. If too salty, add more water and stir until egg stand on bottom of container. Peel turnips, chop. Pack chopped turnips into jars, pack tight. Pour salt water solution over packed turnips. Solution should be ½ inch over turnips, seal jars and set in dark room. Let stand for a few weeks. This is from a German cookbook. I have made it, and it is good.

Skunk

T.K.

1 fresh skunk

Skin, clean and remove the scent bags (carefully). Put in a strong solution of salt water and parboil for approximately 15 minutes. Drain off the water, add fresh water, season, and steam slowly for 1 hour or until tender.

Hasenpfeffer (Marinated Rabbit Stew)

K.K.

1 rabbit (2 1/2 to 3 lbs.)

Marinade

3 cups red wine vinegar

3 cups water

1/2 cup sugar

1 md. onion, sliced

2 carrots

1 tbsp. salt

1 tsp. pickling spices

1/4 tsp. pepper

To Coat Rabbit

1/3 cup all purpose flour

1 tsp. salt

1/4 tsp. pepper

A Dutch oven or a large, heavy sauce pot having a tight-fitting cover will be needed. First, clean and cut rabbit into serving-size pieces (setting aside portion of fat) then put rabbit pieces into a deep bowl and cover with a mixture marinade and vegetables. Cover and put into refrigerator 2 to 3 days to marinate turning rabbit pieces often. Drain rabbit pieces, reserving marinade. Dry rabbit on absorbent paper. Strain the marinade and set aside. Coat rabbit pieces evenly by shaking two or three at a time in a plastic bag containing a mixture of dry ingredients. Heat 3 tablespoons rabbit fat in the Dutch oven or sauce pot. Add the rabbit pieces and brown slowly, turning to brown evenly. Remove from heat. Gradually add 2 cups of the marinade. Cover and simmer 45 minutes to 1 hour, or until meat is tender. Pour into a screw-top jar 1/2 cup of the reserved marinade. Sprinkle 1/4 cup of flour onto the liquid Cover jar tightly and shake until mixture is well blended. Slowly pour 1/2 of the mixture into cooking liquid, stirring constantly. Bring to boiling. Gradually add only what is needed of remaining mixture for consistency desired. Bring to boiling after each addition. After final addition, cook 3 to 5 minutes. Arrange the rabbit pieces on a serving platter. Pour some of the gravy over the rabbit and serve with the remaining gravy.

Demographic changes form a third grouping that encapsulates the remaining comments on local change. The isolation of the rural farmer has been lessened through improvements in communications technology of course but it is the impact of families moving to the city as the younger generation follows national trends and forsakes the farm for the urban landscape (Amonker and Gerlach 1988:99). Population in the surrounding area has in fact grown slightly in spite of this movement as the countryside is increasingly threaded with new infrastructure, business, and modern “gentlemen farmers” of independent means who farm chiefly for pleasure

rather than income (Berry 1996:200). Religious and class homogeny in the community ensures some continuity of regional cultural knowledge (Goody 1982:144; Salamon 1995:234) as does the fading practice of primogeniture in the area. While agriculturally based communities with strong patrilineages often involve the practice of leaving the majority of land to the first born son there has been a slow movement to reserve lands for additional children to inherit as well. All but a handful of recent transplants in the community are self-described German-Catholics of middle class. The values and beliefs shared by the community are on display in the following recipe on how to preserve a husband. Along with the more traditional recipes listed before, which focused on methods of food preservation, this recipe illustrates how community values may be preserved in the face of change as well.

#### How To Preserve A Husband                      - Anonymous Mary's Home Resident

Be careful in your selection; do not choose too young and take only such as have been reared in a good moral climate. Some insist on keeping them in a pickle, while others keep them in hot water; however, this tends to make them sour, hard, and sometimes bitter. Even poor varieties may be made sweet, tender and good when garnished with patience, sweetened with smiles, and flavored with kisses. Then wrap them in a mantle of love, keep warm with a steady fire of domestic devotion and serve with peaches and cream. When thus prepared, they will keep for years.



## **Chapter 5: Religion, Foodways, and Ritual: Social Aspects of Church and Reunion**

This chapter describes the important relationship between food, ritual, and the formation of identity. By drawing on the anthropological literature surrounding these topics it is possible to paint an accurate picture of the role that foodways play in sustaining regional cultural traditions.

The widest impact throughout the social sciences on the study of ritual was the translation of Arnold van Gennep's 'Les rites de passage'. This translation permitted later researchers to use van Gennep's structures to examine community rituals. Alan Howard focused on the local community with its internal rituals, including those of the church (Howard 1970:158). Additional research into religion and community in the United States has been carried out since then on farming (Davis 2008:16; Fick 2008:3; Madden and Finch 2008:43) and food in general (White 1995:150; Wirzba 2011:8).

Listening to E.W., I learned of a community whose constituents had not led the nomadic lives of my relatives. Instead, a large proportion of the town could trace their lineage back to the first German settlers who arrived in the 1820's. I expected to find a network of individuals being socialized and resocialized into this Missourian farm community in a place where they could confirm and maintain their strong ties of kinship and friendship (Vitek and Jackson 1996:19). In these expectations, I was following my advisor's advice to focus on the gathering as an "event" and to delineate the structure and process of the individual and group interactions and activities in time and space which help establish shared identity. This gathering is a "rite of intensification" for the rehabilitation of the participants conducted in a learning environment for members of the family as predicted and described by Turner. The family reunion is a rite of

intensification because it serves to reestablish order and meaning in the lives of the extended family before, during, and after the reunion itself. Efforts made to organize and orchestrate a reunion often involves several matriarchs who are put in charge of directing their closest kinto bring the needed chairs, tables, coffee urns, foods, drinks, and more to the site of the event. This event provides an approved venue for reminiscing about the past while sharing food with those identified as kin, a designation reinforced through participation in the reunion.

I found all these social structures and processes, serving needs within the society that I had expected; but I also discovered a symbolic center for a religious universe, a stage for enactment of the meanings that lie at the heart of the drama of German-Catholicism. I found people telling and retelling the story of what it means to be a part of their community through their symbolic use of social groupings, time, space, and materials: a story of what it means to be a human in this cultural context (Douglas 2002:240). I began to conceptualize the church ceremonial community as a symbolic expression of this particular culture; and I began to attempt to uncover its internal segments for further exploration. Believing that foodways in a community is a gateway to understanding what those people experience through sight and sound, taste and touch, attending community events involving food gives the ethnographer a deep feel for their lives (Stoller 1989:130). One of these internal segments proved to be the family reunion, a social form that appears within all the gatherings I have investigated for German-Catholic Missourian kin-religious life. Serving as the center piece of the family reunion is the family meal. In part a presentation of past traditions and also a reflection of the current community, foodways at the Berendezen family reunion plays a key role in the ritual process of memory making and cultural continuity.



## **Family Reunion as Ritual**

The family reunion is an event where the performance of shared values and the creation of meaning are apparent (Neville 2005:24). It has a specific form and pattern, with a beginning, a middle, and an end, and is recognized clearly by those who are "native participants," analogous to "native speakers" of the cultural language. Its key elements (or fixed features) include the assembled kin who define their relationship to one another as that of descendants either of one common ancestor or of one couple who moved to the locality of the reunion (possibly from another country) in a particular year (Ayoub 1966:416). In our case it is almost entirely the case of the former instance. The story of the ancestors becomes an essential ingredient in the symbolic inventory of the reunion. Turner calls this type of story the "foundation narrative" (Turner 1995:65). The assembled kin gather to honor their common ancestor in a sacred place—an old home, a country church, or a camp-meeting ground or community hall. They assemble on a regular basis. Once a year is the most common meeting cycle, but it may be less frequent or crisis-centered, as in the case where the family assembles only when one member dies and they all attend the funeral.

In the unfolding script of the reunion, as people arrive, they place food on a table in the church social hall. Quite quickly casserole dishes and large glass bowls with mysteriously preserved fruits quivering in a gelatin mass begin to dot the table. Baskets of home baked rolls,

pies, and cakes also find their way to the table. Eventually, an order takes shape as a self-serve buffet style of dining comes into focus. This is followed by a return to the nearby church for service. In this way the family members renew their religious convictions together. Those in attendance are dressed casually. Ties and coats are not required in church and would, in fact, make the individual stand out like a sore thumb surrounded by the durable denims and work shirts worn by most. Popular regional sports teams and the local chapter of the Knights of Columbus are also well represented on jackets and hats. Hymns are sung with the shrill cry of a baby going unnoticed or a familiar enough event that it has been deemed not to warrant intervention. Service concludes with a call to prayer and the singing of “America the Beautiful”. Following mass, family members may visit inside or wander the grounds. Then they proceed to visit with kinfolks. They bow their heads for a blessing of the meal, file past the tables filling their plates, sit together to eat, gossip, and reminisce, play popular ball games and/or have a family meeting, and perhaps look through family albums. Sometimes they clean the graveyard at the church or listen to preaching or to public recitation of stories and tales. What do these individuals tell themselves about why they participate in the event?

In this instance, the family reunion was held in the town’s multi-purpose hall. This sits behind the church of Our Lady of the Snows. A plain building measuring roughly five hundred feet by one hundred feet, the hall is covered by a peaked roof and designed with enough windows to permit natural light and to prevent a gloomy, industrial feel from pervading the place. Between the hall and the church we find a small building functioning as the community fry shack for chicken and catfish suppers. Upon arrival I found the hall filled with people arranged around a dozen or so long tables while many more wandered in and out of the building.

For the roughly two hundred relatives in attendance, the hall provides plenty of space for dancing and running around by the children. One side of the hall, facing the church, is arranged to serve as a podium for speakers as the event progresses. The rear and side walls of the hall are also lined with tables upon which rest the food and drinks for the party as well as the raffle prizes donated by family members. These tables are piled high with homemade door prizes of blackberry wine, gooseberry pie, and the crown jewel of the reunion, a quilt made by several family matriarchs between the previous reunion and the current one. This quilt functions as a literal tapestry of community value that is threaded, passed from the eldest female members of the family to the newest (Hunt, Zeitlin, and Hufford 1987:113). In this manner, many of the door prizes are awarded to individuals who represent the values of family ties and hard work.



**Figure 4. Our Lady of the Snows Catholic Church. Photo by the author.**

Awards are given to the oldest and youngest members of the clan present, a prize to the furthest travelled, and even one for the most recently married couple. In this way the idea that a family will support you and provide you with a sense of surprise, whimsy, and belonging is encultured in the next generation through family reunion activities of eating, talking, and

working alongside one another. Intergenerational differences and similarities are on full display at the reunion. Tensions between generations may manifest over discussions of the food present at the table. Arguments over the use of new technology to smoke meat electrically versus over a “real” fire mingle with conversation over the best way to keep a pie crust from burning in the oven. These tensions are non-threatening in the atmosphere of the event however and provoke debate rather than sparking dissent. While members of the family from different generations may use different technologies to prepare their contributions they all share the common trait of representing more than mere sustenance. As mentioned previously, these foods are often homemade dishes popular among the community. Recipes contained in community cookbooks are used as a base while additional ingredients may be used or ignored as individual taste and the availability of ingredients turns an historically based food into a tasty message of community welfare.

The reunion carries a message, or a sequence of interrelated messages, through the arrangement of individuals using their space, time, and material items in symbolically relevant ways. In looking about to answer the question "Who comes?" one observes and discovers through inter-viewing and listening that those who attend are a kin group, a group bound together by their identification with a common ancestor and with each other. In many cases it is the job of the middle-aged members to organize the event and carry out the bulk of the ceremonies. Older family members and children find places of honor at the reunion however. Families are headed by older members who may be the children or grandchildren of the founder, and each person sees himself or herself in relation to the others as "cousins" and as members of "the Berendezen family". The existence of a shared patriarchal ancestor unites the hundred

people present who sit in groups of color coded t-shirts to easily express their familial relationship to one another. Blue, green, yellow, red, purple, and white forms a palate of relations made recognizable to the casual observer.

Individuals are ranked informally according to age or closeness to the ancestor being honored, and the elderly hold a place of honor. The wisdom and respect for age in this ritual setting provide a counterpoint to the problems of neglect found by many aged members of our modern society (Salamon 1995:42). For the members of the extended family that now reside in the city we find that the liminality of the ritual reverses the attitudes of the busy city and places older, more traditional values in the forefront. Children also are important in the celebration of the reunion, for they are the symbol of continuity, the testimony that life will go on. The names of individuals who have died in the past year are read aloud, as are the names of infants attending reunion for the first time. Attendance at the reunion is expected to go part in parcel with the addition of more food to the table or small prizes to be raffled off during the event. Attendees are handed a raffle ticket as they enter the building and later raffle prizes are drawn. Prizes include homemade elderberry wine, barbeque sauces, and additional gifts that express the donator's participation in local foodways. If the reunion is held near the old home place or home church, a visit to the cemetery pays homage to "those who have gone before"—the saints and the ancestors who, together with the living, belong to the family in one circle of life. For this one day the family is united, unscattered, and cohesive. It is an ideal family—a family as it "ought to be." If asked why this is the ideal situation a family member is apt to appeal to the maintenance of tradition and that "this is the way we've always done things, because it works".

The portrait that emerges is a community bound together emotionally, through history, place, and behavior. The timing of the gathering also communicates through its placement in the unstructured and uncharted liminal territories of holiday times: Saturdays, Sundays, and summer—that institutionalized semi-sacred period between Memorial Day and Labor Day in which Americans engage in antistructural behaviors of various kinds (Falassi 1987:10; Gutierrez 1995:12). In space the reunion also is sacred. The reunion returns participants to an ideal past in rural America by going home to grandmother's house or by going to camp meeting grounds in the country. Rural spaces, retreats to hallowed grounds of churches and graveyards, withdrawals to summer havens in the mountains or by the seashore; all are associated with a rural past.



**Figure 5. Our Lady of the Snow's Cemetery. Photo by the author.**



**Figure 6. Mary's Home community event center. Photo by the author.**

The language of the reunion ritual is spoken through the arrangement of objects and material culture, in the return to traditional foods, in the display of scrapbooks and genealogies, of pictures of the ancestors, and reminiscences of times past. It is spoken in telling stories of taming the wilderness and starting a farm, founding a church, and raising a large family. It is spoken in the recitation of stories about children, about the funny things they did or said, in the creating of a family folklore, generated in the hum of contented conversation punctuated by laughter.





**Figure 7. Chicken frying shack between church and event center. Photo by the author.**

In the German-Catholic ceremonial meal, children play similar roles year after year as they pass through the ritual. Before they step foot in the church or community hall they begin the process of the ritual. En route to the reunion, the child can be heard to moan "Why do we have to sit here for so long and do this?" And the respective guardian or parent will be heard to answer "We have to do this because your great-great-grandfather came to this country in 1814. . ." or "We have to do this because it is important to know who your family members are," "to know your relative," "to know about where your roots grew." The child is learning their own culture, absorbing bits and pieces, putting together sequences that make sense, figuring out what a scrap of behavior means, finally understanding what everybody was laughing about, learning when to stand still for prayers and speeches and why one does not walk on the graves. Through trial and

error, the child gradually assembles enough pieces of the puzzle to form a picture of what things mean and how to be a member of a family in American culture. This knowledge allows them to successfully navigate their cultural environment with cultural competence.

What then can we discover about cultural transmission from the study of this gathering? This ritual within the cultural life of rural German-American Catholics, an almost tiny, cultural group within one region of the United States has much to offer scholars interested in the resilience of rural communities. In placing data of the reunion in its theoretical and methodological context of ritual and foodways, and in searching for the connections revealed here among culture, structure, process, and enculturation it becomes possible to discern

A ritual or a gathering is, by definition, an event in which cultural process and symbolic encodement of meanings can be discerned through the study of behavioral patterning and the patterning of other elements. Through identifying the ritual events that form the symbolic center of a culture (whether of the church, school, ethnic group, town or country), and then discerning the internal order and pattern of these events and the cultural messages they carry in their symbolic content, one can discover a significant locus for the transmission of local knowledge (Joyner 1999:13). In so doing, however, one must see these events against the broader patterns of events that affect the overarching loyalties of their participants. Culture-carriers and culture-catchers are actors who operate at various levels within the community and bring their own concerns to these ritual acts. One place to look for culture-specific ritual events is in the rites of passage accompanying the human life cycle. Another place to look is in community and cultural rituals marking stages, cycles, and shifts. In these rituals: baptisms, weddings, funerals,

and cyclical cultural celebrations like family reunions, we find the encodement of the deepest level of cultural meanings around life, death, and social reproduction. Our interest in rites of passage, however, is limited to their usefulness as transitional events within specific cultures. We understand that these rites act as a key to unlocking cultural process itself and discovering the mysteries of how humans learn and why they learn what they do.

In most modernized national societies, culturally distinct units are scattered residually, interspersed with other cultural groups in town and urban settlements appropriate to various levels of socioeconomic positioning. This is true especially of those populations not often labeled "ethnic" or "minority." The ritual and ceremonial life of ethnic and minority peoples more often receive the attention of sociologists, anthropologists, and folklorists, who recognize that gatherings for religious festivals, ceremonies, and ethnic holidays provide a focus for enculturating children in the old ways of life (Neville 1978:12). Too often, however, the explanation stops with how these events serve to transmit the traditional ways, as if they are some relic of a past world rather than an integral part of an ongoing community life and a design for the cultural future (Watson and Caldwell 2005:218). It seems reasonable to expect that among all scattered urban people, both those traditionally known as ethnic and those traditionally known as elite, the ritual settings of rites of passage and/or other cultural cycles will give us a framework for the study not only of cultural differences in the ritual process but also of cultural differences in the learning process and of variations in the symbolic expressions of culture in the face of rapid social change. These gatherings for ritual celebration are, I am suggesting, the visible evidences of the existence of a greater expanse of cultural forms and meanings that are at other times maintained in the heads of the culture-carriers, waiting for a gathering in which to

take on social shape. The language of ritual may remain unspoken but not forgotten and at every opportunity is, in fact, brought out and spoken with intensity and enjoyment.

This speech may also be expressed through kinesics and proxemics. At the reunion it is in the cries of delight when a child wins a door prize or the look of satisfaction on the faces of the elderly as they watch the younger generations whirring with energy around them, reconfirming the sense that their community is alive and well. Hugs and handshakes are frequent as are back-slaps and head-shakes. Where would one find a better locus of encoding the details necessary for an individual to recognize and participate in a particular form of community than in a ceremonial event such as a family reunion? I believe that this is indeed the case as my experience has permitted me to understand how the effort of production that goes into the creation of foods for ritual consumption is pregnant with shared meaning. Those who give and receive hand-made foods are also provided with a sense of importance and valued as members of the community worthy of such effort.

It is important, in my opinion, to separate for clarity the various aspects of ritual behavior and symbolic encodement that I have been talking about. One of these aspects is "rehabitation" in a behavioral sense, identified by Catherine Bell "rites of intensification" in which the participants are programmed repetitively (Bell 2009:47). Family members at the reunion perform familiar songs, dances, and customs as they re-learn their own history. Precedents are followed that allow for one speaker at the front of the room to address the group at a time. These addresses frequently are comprised of familiar stories and folk-histories that enrich the enculturation of those present. A second aspect is the cognitive encodement of a

symbolic world as identified by the sociolinguists and linguistic ethnographers. This second aspect echoes Weber's conceptualization of culture as a "web of meanings" in which humans exist, suspended, after having woven the web themselves through their symbolization (Weber, Baehr, and Wells 2002: 113) Foods such as gooseberry pie exemplify the attachment of meaning to meals creating a symbol of family well-being at home in the Missouri ecosystem while traditional German recipes like sauerkraut exemplify how foods attached to cultural identity may also preserve methods of food preservation unintentionally.

### **Creating Culture while Consuming**

This symbolic dimension of rituals in the learning process must not be ignored. The learning of language is seen as integral to the learning of culture; ritual is a cultural language through which the child learns to symbolize the world and learns how to order life within that world of meanings (Bell and Valentine 1997:112). Through this language children learn from their families what foods are symbolically important to their sense of identity. A survey of dishes present at the reunion reveals that time intensive foods may be found in abundance. Locally collected vegetables, fruits, nuts, mushrooms, and game find their way to the table and silently illustrate the knowledge that has enabled farmers in the region to flourish. I suggest that we draw upon a combination of the study of ritual as process, with methods and materials from the fields of linguistics, folklore, and symbolic anthropology in order to emerge with a deeper and clearer analysis of the power of rituals in contemporary life. There is a rich, mostly unexplored territory for the study of food in American ritual life and in the cultural life of our

subgroups, our regions, and our plurality of religions and nationalities, though some attention has been paid (Anderson 2005:63; Gutierrez 1992:5; Diner 2003:300; Matson 1994:83) more will hopefully be given to the role of food among American farm communities.

A handwritten note from one of my respondents captures neatly the essence of the family reunion's ability as an event to bring a community both local and genealogically near but geographically distant together in ritual celebration:

*"Dear Ian,*

*I don't know if you remember us, but Leander and I met you at the Berendezen Reunion last October. We really enjoyed our visit with you.*

*I don't know if my answers are of much help to you, you probably got much more exciting information from other people, but here it is in the short form.*

*We have lived on our land all but one year of our fifty-six years of marriage and plan to stay as long as possible.*

*I think I told you that E.W. was my first grade school teacher in a one room schoolhouse. I believe that you told us that you married her granddaughter. Small world. We meet someone new at each Reunion, how wonderful family Reunions are. It's hard work to organize but always worth the effort to see everyone together again. "Good luck" and we hope to see you again at the next Reunion.*

*L.B &D.B."*



## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

Either through, or in spite of these demographic, technologic, and environmental changes, the foodways of this community have remained intact, though not without changes in the rituals associated with them. Today more food is purchased from the regional grocery chain than from the local mercantile store. A Big-box store, a large, physically imposing building and part of a larger chain, thirty miles down the road to the Lake of the Ozarks serves as an additional alternative, yet locals deliberately shop at the local stores to keep them open and in business. Why have foodways remained intact and how? A large part of the answer to that question is the role of the local Catholic Church and its supporting social organizations like the Knights of Columbus, which has helped preserve local cultural through the compilation of cookbooks and the continued act of bringing the community together through communal ritual action. This action encompasses the rites and rituals within the community that foster the transmission of cultural knowledge through food procurement, preparation, and preservation. What results is a powerful way to reinforce shared values. The family reunion, where studies of community, church, kinship, and foodways intersect, provides the ethnographer with a way to document this performance of values.

Returning again to the social organizations within this Central Missourian region we look to the church as playing a central role in maintain local foodways. Attending church service and following the codes of dress, rhythms of the hymns, and rise and fall as mass is performed one is reminded to take time to care for the sick and needy in the community by way of a cooked meal. Among the pews we find members of the local Knights of Columbus. They act as a social



organizational offshoot of the Our Lady of the Snows Catholic Church and promote continued ritual action outside of the chapel. Hosted by the Knights, who are entirely local farmers and church goers, fund-raising steak dinners and Lenten fish fries help establish group identity as intergenerational teams of elder Knights and those young men nearer the age of eighteen, when they are deemed “practical Catholic men” and may gain active status in the organization of their fathers and uncles, join in effort around the grill and fry-shack, encouraging the transmission of the shared values, beliefs, and customs we call culture. This enculturation occurs outside of the schoolhouse and may be unconsciously absorbed by the youth yet it is not without structure and is no doubt as useful as long division and proper grammar are to the cultural comprehension of the individual that allows them to navigate through life.

This paper has shown that ecological, technological, and demographic change has impacted farming communities over the better part of the past century. There, regional foodways and identity have stayed vibrant because of the very mode of life that created them. A sense of self-sufficiency combined with community values expressed and relearned through the ritual actions of foodways at community events like family reunions continues to nourish the American farmer as they prepare to face future challenges while preserving the folkways and foodways that have gotten them this far. Future research directions for foodways and cultural conservation include the documentation of the material culture of foodways with narrative context. This has been used to document and support the resilience of indigenous identity in North America and Mexico (Salmon 2012:12).

Early German settlers in Missouri established themselves as successful farmers, millers, and tradesmen bringing their traditions of hasenpfeffer, streudel, blood sausage, sauerkraut, and wine making. All of these foods are still found at special events and around the table in German-American communities (Mitchell 2010:5; Heinzelmann 2008:11; Ross 2004:17; Barrick 1987:54). The past hundred years have seen a multitude of technological and social changes as American culture has followed a distinct trend of population migration from rural farms to urban cityscapes. Foodways have shifted as well.

Local foodways have fallen aside in favor of complex methods of transportation that link multiple wide-ranging populations in networks of foodway dependence. The American family farm has become increasingly isolated as their neighbors move to the city to seek a different life or are bought out by industrial-scale agricultural enterprises. In spite of these conspicuous changes, the family farm and farmer have persevered. This may be because the food served and consumed will fulfill two kinds of needs: nourishing the physical self and satisfying the palate on the one hand and expressing the ideals and values of the community enacted through the reunion on the other. The children who attend the reunion will leave having formed a stronger sense of identity connected to their place in the family and the ritualized foodways that they learned there.

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## Appendix

### Foodways Survey

Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Male/Female (circle one) Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
Religious Affiliation, if any: \_\_\_\_\_ Ethnicity: \_\_\_\_\_

1) What is/was your occupation?

\_\_\_\_\_

2) How long have you lived in this area?

\_\_\_\_\_

3) Do you farm or raise animals? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, what do you grow/raise?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Has this changed over time? If so, how and why do you believe it has changed?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4) Do you hunt? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, what do you hunt?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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Has this changed over time? If so, how and why do you believe it has changed?

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- 5) Do you have a home garden? \_\_\_\_\_  
If so, what do you grow and at what time of year?

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Has this changed over time? If so, how and why do you believe it has changed?

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- 6) Do you forage for edible plants? \_\_\_\_\_  
If so, what plants do you collect?

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Has this changed over time? If so, how and why do you believe it has changed?

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7) Where do you shop for food?

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Has this changed over time? If so, how and why do you believe it has changed?

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8) Do you obtain food from any other sources? (ie. Family, Neighbors, Church members)

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9) Are there any foods that you associate with specific holidays and/or times of the year?

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10) Are there any foods that you associate with the region where you live?

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If you would like to have a conversation about the topics mentioned above please leave your information below including your preferred method of contact (email, phone number, etc.)

Thank you!

## IRB Approval

January 17, 2012

### MEMORANDUM

TO: Ian Smith  
Justin Nolan

FROM: Ro Windwalker  
IRB Coordinator

RE: New Protocol Approval

IRB Protocol #: 12-01-402

Protocol Title: *Ethnobiology in Mid-Missouri: Foodways, Folkmedicine, and Continuity*

Review Type: ☒ EXEMPT ☐ EXPEDITED ☐ FULL IRB

Approved Project Period: Start Date: 01/17/2012 Expiration Date: 01/16/2013

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Your protocol has been approved by the IRB. Protocols are approved for a maximum period of one year. If you wish to continue the project past the approved project period (see above), you must submit a request, using the form *Continuing Review for IRB Approved Projects*, prior to the expiration date. This form is available from the IRB Coordinator or on the Research Compliance website (<http://vpred.uark.edu/210.php>). As a courtesy, you will be sent a reminder two months in advance of that date. However, failure to receive a reminder does not negate your obligation to make the request in sufficient time for review and approval. Federal regulations prohibit retroactive approval of continuation. Failure to receive approval to continue the project prior to the expiration date will result in Termination of the protocol approval. The IRB Coordinator can give you guidance on submission times.

**This protocol has been approved for 30 participants.** If you wish to make *any* modifications in the approved protocol, including enrolling more than this number, you must seek approval *prior to* implementing those changes. All modifications should be requested in writing (email is acceptable) and must provide sufficient detail to assess the impact of the change.

If you have questions or need any assistance from the IRB, please contact me at 210 Administration Building, 5-2208, or [irb@uark.edu](mailto:irb@uark.edu)

