Legacy

Volume 10 | Issue 1 Article 2

2010

Food of a Life and Century: From Homegrown to Frozen Food Southern Illinois' Regional Diet Change through the Twentieth Century

Rachel Wolters

Rachel Wolters

Food of a Life and Century: From Homegrown to Frozen Food Southern Illinois' Regional Diet Change through the Twentieth Century

"We cooked the sausage outside in black pots, and the rest of the steer or pig inside. Then we would can the ribs and sausage, and salt and dry other parts of the animal. This kind of work was hard, but it was fun."[1] This statement was given by Esther, a ninety-year-old rural Southern Illinoisan woman. Esther was describing how her family prepared meat from a butchered steer or pig by cooking and canning or salting and drying animal parts in the 1920s and 30s. The especially interesting part of her statement was that she said that this hard, dirty work was "fun." Difficult labor was a natural aspect of life in rural Southern Illinois throughout the twentieth century, and people who grew up on farms often retained this outlook on life as they grew older and moved into towns. Thus, when commercialized, processed food was gradually introduced, these people still held on to their prior beliefs and tastes concerning food. That is, although people began to eat more food bought from stores, most of the food that they ate was still grown on their own land. As time passed, Southern Illinoisans did change their diets to incorporate what might be considered the standard national diet. However, today, they still eat some of the same food that they did almost a century ago. And while Southern Illinois rural society has increased their diet over the past century, they have been able to retain much of their food diet consistently throughout their lives because of their upbringing, which was based on farming.

Although the revolution of the American diet has been written about numerous times and in many different ways, the specific diet change in rural Southern Illinois has rarely been studied. The most comprehensive, academic pieces concerning the Southern Illinois diet change in the twentieth century are works by Jane Adams. Adams is a professor at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale who studied farm life in Southern Illinois' counties. One of her pieces was an article called, "Resistance to "Modernity": Southern Illinois Farm Women and the Cult of Domesticity," which explains the role

of women on farms. From the article, Adams expanded her research to include a book entitled, *The Transformation of Rural Life.* This book studied the lives of seven farming families in Union County, Illinois, and how farming changed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[2] As farming production advanced, it became specialized and many people no longer found it necessary to produce most of their food. Southern Illinoisans did continue to have small gardens, but they did not feel the need to grow everything that they wanted to eat. Most material found on diet change in the United States in the twentieth century can be applied to most of the country. Therefore while numerous sources were useful in describing the overall diet change of people in Southern Illinois, very few pieces were specifically directed toward Southern Illinoisans.

Many people who farmed, or at least grew what they needed to eat, in Southern Illinois in the early twentieth century do not continue that way of life today. While many rural-born Southern Illinoisans may still have gardens, they usually do not live off of their land. Two of the three people interviewed for this study grew up on a farm, while the other person lived in the country, but only grew a large garden for the family. Esther Wolters grew up on a farm in rural Steeleville, Illinois. She was born in 1919, and today lives in the town of Percy, Illinois. For half of her life, her diet consisted of food that was grown by her and her family.[3] Claude Husband was born in 1928 and grew up on a farm in rural Steeleville as well. For about the first twenty-five years of his life, he subsisted mostly off of food grown on his land. Like many Americans, his diet began to change in the 1950s, after World War II.[4] Laura Husband was born in 1932 and grew up in the country west of Murphysboro, Illinois. She did not live on a farm, but her family did grow food for themselves.[5] Once again, the largest changes in her diet began to take place in the 1950s. Similar to many rural Southern Illinoisans in the first half of the twentieth century, these people ate mostly what they either grew or could pick off of the land. Even when their diets began to change because of technology introduced in the 1940s and 50s, they often retained many aspects of their earlier diet throughout their lives.

A memoir written by Edith Rendleman also gives wonderful insight into the lives of a farmwoman who lived through the twentieth century. Rendleman wrote about the livestock raised on her farm and the types of food that her family ate in their rural Union County community. "Food and Culture in Southern Illinois – A Preliminary Report," by Bennett, Smith, and Passin

also was written about Southern Illinoisan diets. It focused on the relationship between the ethnicities of people in Southern Illinois, what they ate, and how their varying diets were passed down through generations. The report was published in 1942 and included studies of German, English, and African American diets.[6]

From the 1920s through the mid-1940s, rural Southern Illinoisan food lifestyles reflected largely those of the nation as well. By the 1920s, the processed food industry was a larger business than steel and textiles.[7] However, many rural communities across the nation seldom bought these canned goods and manufactured food items. Most of the meals for rural people consisted of food grown or butchered on their own land. Growing most of their own food proved important during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The Great Depression did not change what many Americans ate, but it definitely did not affect what rural Southern Illinoisans ate.[8] They continued to grow and eat the same food that they had in the past. Esther Wolters remembered that her eggs had still cost six cents a dozen during the Depression as they had before, and that her family was able to grow the same crops that they had produced prior to the Depression because they were not affected by the droughts.[9] Harvey Levenstein makes the argument that many Americans' diet actually improved during the Great Depression because people cut back on things like insurance, but not on what they ate.[10] Americans' diet became better because people not only had the same foods available to them, but they also increasingly bought canned goods and other store-bought items to expand their diets.

From the 1920s through World War II, Southern Illinoisans ate a variety of items grown on their farms. The region of Southern Illinois studied in the report by Bennett, Smith, and Passin was populated overwhelmingly by people of German heritage. This German diet was still largely reflected in the meals of these residents in the early twentieth century. People enjoyed beans, potatoes, pork, beef, soups, cottage cheese, rye bread, pickled vegetables, head-cheese, buttermilk, liverwurst, and blood sausage.[11] Vegetables were grown in the spring, picked in the late summer or early fall, and then canned for the winter. Hogs were often butchered twice a year, and the steers once a year. Berries were picked to supplement the diet, and were often used in making preserves and jellies. Bread and butter were made in the home, and cows were kept for milk. Families would often use fish or wild game to increase their meat diet as well.

Most of the food that Esther Wolters ate was grown or raised by her and her family. She raised sorghum to make cookies, cakes, and pies. Her family also made many jellies throughout the year, and made peach and apple butter as well.[12] Laura Husband and her family would pick berries from the nearby woods to enhance their meals, and these would often be canned as well.[13] Edith Rendleman also lived on a farm all of her life. In her memoir, she related the kinds of food she usually ate, and what food she grew on her farm. Her family also made jelly in the fall which would last until the next fall. There was always a jar of jelly on the table for every meal of the day. Along with jelly, she also remembered canning pickles and sauerkraut. Rendleman wrote that her family had their own milk cow and made their own butter. She also recalled that she made a lot of soup and cottage cheese, and ate beans almost everyday for dinner.[14]

In Esther Wolters's family, potatoes, corn, and beans were all grown in the garden, and whatever the family could not eat right away would be canned for the winter months.[15] Most of the food that Claude Husband ate in the first half of the twentieth century was grown on his own land. From the garden he ate such items as sweet potatoes, white potatoes, beans, corn, beets, tomatoes, apples, peaches, and strawberries. In the summer, these items would be eaten fresh, and in the fall they would be canned for the winter.[16] Laura Husband's family was not involved in commercial farming, and therefore most of the food that they grew came from their own garden and was strictly for themselves.[17] The food that they could not eat directly from the garden, they would can, such as potatoes, green beans, and corn.

Esther Wolters explained that she ate a lot of eggs when she was young. She raised the chickens herself, and sold the eggs to make money for her family.[18] Adams says that it was very common for Southern Illinois women to raise chickens, and that raising them was almost always the woman's job.[19] Esther not only raised chickens for their eggs, but she ate them too. Chickens would be butchered a few times a year, with around fifty being butchered at one time. The style in which the chicken was usually served at the table was fried.[20] Figure 1 is a picture of Lena Wolters, Esther's mother-in-law, sitting outside of her chicken house in 1939. The chickens in the photograph included several different types of chickens, but they were all considered spring chickens. Behind Lena is the large chicken house which was home to over one hundred chickens. Within a few days, all of the chickens in the photograph were slaughtered.

Figure 1[21]

Other Southern Illinoisans also relied heavily on the presence of chickens on their farms. Claude Husband's family raised chickens to eat and then sold the eggs. Once a year, Claude's family would butcher some chickens after the cockerels got over three pounds. This would be the only time of the year that Claude got to eat fried chicken.[22] Chicken could be bought from the store, but it was expensive and therefore Southern Illinoisans usually chose to raise them instead. Laura Husband's family raised chickens, and they ate the eggs and chickens themselves.[23] Edith Rendleman also raised chickens and sold the eggs to nearby neighbors to earn extra money. Rural men usually did not give their wives money to spend at the store. Consequently, Rendleman's mother sold chickens and eggs to buy the family clothes and necessary groceries.[24] Bennett, Smith, and Passin also found that low income households often needed to sell items such as meat, eggs, and milk to supplement their family's income.[25]

Livestock was common on almost every farm in Southern Illinois. Esther Wolters stated that pigs and steers were always butchered outside, the sausage would be cooked outside, and then the rest of the meat would be cooked in the home. From the pigs, Esther would can most of the meat, and salt and dry some also. Beef was mostly canned. Some of her favorite meals from these animals included pig feet with cabbage and backbones with sauerkraut. Esther explained that meat made in the early twentieth century also tasted better due to how it was prepared. She stated, "Ham

was just as good the next day, you could even eat it before it was fried; now you can't do that because there's no taste."[26] Esther said that the canning and smoking process that people used on their farms left the meat tasting better and lasting longer than when meat was bought from the store. Formerly, ham was not dangerous to eat before it was cooked; but, now, after being processed and preserved, ham can no longer be eaten before it is cooked.

Claude Husband and his family also raised livestock to butcher twice a year. These animals included pigs and steers. Most of the beef would be canned, while most of the pork was cured. Claude canned outside of the home by placing a tub on three rocks, filling it with water, building a fire around it, placing jars in the water with meat inside of them, and then making sure that the cans were being heated by the fire. This was the process by which his family canned their beef.[27] Edith Rendleman also raised a lot of livestock on the farm which included hogs. Four to six families would help each other with the hog butchering, and each family would butcher between four and six hogs. From the hogs, such treats as hams, shoulders, sides of bacon, heads, ribs, backbone, and feet would be eaten. The heads would be made into head cheese and the feet would be pickled.[28]

Southern Illinois families also hunted to supplement their meat diets. Laura Husband's brothers hunted a lot of wild game and fished.[29] The men in Edith Rendleman's family also often hunted and trapped to supply meat for the table. They brought home coons, possum, muskrats, mink, and squirrels. The squirrels were often eaten for breakfast.

Esther Wolters grew up on a farm only two and a half miles from town. However, her family only bought necessities from the store. These items included sugar, flour, coffee, oatmeal, and salt. In cases such as Laura's, where no livestock was raised, families would also buy their meat from the local grocer.[30] In many instances, families could not afford to buy items that they needed from the store. Consequently, instead of using cash to make their purchases, they traded items, like eggs and especially butter, to buy store goods.[31] In an interesting article by John W. Bennett, "Food and Social Status in a Rural Community," Bennett argued that Southern Illinoisans needed their farms to raise some money so that they could afford to buy store items.[32]

World War II had an impact on Americans' diet due to the rationing of food. There were many Americans who were not happy about food rationing because they felt that it was unfair to many

people and that it overstepped the government's boundaries.[33] There were two categories of food stamps for rationing: canned goods and fresh food. As more and more canned goods were being produced every decade, even the rural societies began to eat more canned goods, especially canned vegetables. Processed foods, including canned goods, began to boom during the war because they simplified cooking for families and used less of women's valuable time.[34] When rationing set an exact amount of canned goods and fresh food that families obtained each month, many rural families wanted more canned goods and less fresh food. Rural families did not need many fresh food stamps because they grew almost all of what was considered fresh food themselves: the food that came from their gardens or the livestock that they raised. Esther Wolters received "B" stamps that allowed her to purchase some meat and canned goods including "pork n' beans", corn, pineapple, and apricots.[35] However, Esther still grew much of the food that she ate during World War II. Claude Husband said that the food rationing did not affect his family too much because his family would trade town people meat stamps in exchange for stamps to purchase sugar.[36] Southern Illinois rural families were affected some by food rationing during World War II in relation to the canned goods that they bought, but most of their diets still consisted of the same items they had eaten for the past few decades.

While many Americans during World War II were demanding more canned goods, the supply was not there. Many of the canned goods produced in the United States went to war with the American troops, and there was a shortage for American citizens. However, the shortage of canned goods brought a rise in the amount of frozen food consumed by Americans. Frozen food packaging took fewer materials that were needed in the war effort as well. They took less paperboard, parchment, waxed paper, and cellophane than canned goods. But, in 1942, military bases in the United States also began to use frozen foods, and frozen foods were put on the rationing list. By 1945, however, most troops were overseas, and therefore frozen foods were no longer rationed. The surplus created caused Americans across the United States to increase their supply of frozen food because it was cheaper and easier to obtain than some canned goods at that time.[37] Rural Southern Illinoisans who had either iceboxes, or could afford to purchase refrigerators, bought some frozen items. However, frozen food was much more popular in towns, where less food was grown.

In the mid-1940s through the 1950s, broad changes in

technology and food production transformed what Americans ate, how food was stored, and how it was prepared. The largest contributor to advances in the variety of food available was the popularity of refrigerators and deep freezes in homes. Refrigerators had been used in homes since the 1920s, but they had cost around $600 apiece. Many people continued to use iceboxes until the 1940s when refrigerators were only $150 apiece because most people could not afford an expensive refrigerator in exchange for their relatively cheap icebox.[38] In rural Southern Illinois, many people still chose not to buy a refrigerator until the 1950s, or even later, because they did not need one for the food that they grew. In 1927, an article appeared in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* in which Homer Grant praised the utilities in the modern kitchen. The mechanical refrigerator could run on gas, insulation in stoves caused a savings on heat, and sinks were great for washing vegetables. Table appliances such as waffle irons, toasters, grills, and percolators were useful in the kitchen as well.[39] Grant's statements referred to the availability of these products and not to their actual use by all Americans. For Southern Illinoisans, the kinds of statements Grant made in his article would have been better suited to describe the use of electrical appliances in Southern Illinois in the 1940s and 1950s when they were first being used in that region.

Americans also needed to have electricity available in their homes before they could have refrigerators and deep freezes. In Southern Illinois, most people had electricity in their homes by the late 1940s. Laura Husband had electricity in 1945, but did not have a refrigerator until after she was married in 1950.[40] Claude Husband had electricity in his home in 1947 and a refrigerator the same year.[41] Esther Wolters had electricity in 1948, but did not have a refrigerator until 1960.[42] Edith Rendleman had electricity in her home as early as 1942.[43] The difference in the years that people bought refrigerators and when they first had electricity is due to not only the income of the individual families, but also to their diet. Laura Husband's family did not eat a lot of frozen food and therefore did not feel the need to spend money on a refrigerator because their icebox still suited their needs.[44] Esther Wolters did not want a refrigerator prior to 1960 because most of her food still came from the garden and the family farm. Her icebox still satisfied her needs as well.[45] Claude Husband's family did want a refrigerator soon after obtaining electricity, and could easily afford one. They had earned quite a profit during the war, and wanted to freeze more items and can less. Freezing food was a simple

process when compared to canning, and it took less preparation time. The refrigerator enhanced the diet of Claude's family as well because they began to buy more items from the store because they could store them. These items included margarine, cheese, ground beef, wieners, frozen strawberries, and ice cream.[46] Nonetheless, Claude's family still grew the majority of their food on their farm and was supplementing some of their diet.

Innovations in stoves appeared in the late 1940s. Many Americans installed electric stoves soon after they had electricity. Southern Illinoisans were no different. Laura and Claude Husband both had electric stoves placed in their homes in the same years that they had electricity installed.[47] In the early twentieth century, prior to the electric stove, many people had kerosene stoves in their homes. These stoves were practical for both cooking food and heating the home. Kerosene stoves were not only replaced by electric stoves, but many people bought gas stoves instead. Esther Wolters bought her first gas stove in 1952.[48] Acceptance of new stoves in the home was allowed by Southern Illinoisans and Americans as a whole because newer stoves made cooking easier and was much safer than the older stoves. The new stoves did not change Southern Illinoisans diets too much, but they made it easier to cook food.

Smaller kitchen appliances were available in the early part of the twentieth century, but were introduced to rural communities largely in the 1940s and 50s. In the 1940s, items such as blenders, carving knives, mixers, can openers, and coffee grinders were common in many American homes.[49] Claude and Laura Husband began using a toaster, mixer, and other small appliances in their home because they were wedding gifts given to the couple in 1950. If they had not been given these items, they said that it was possible that they would not have bought them until many years later.[50] Esther Wolters did not use small appliances in her home until the 1970s, when she began using a mixer and a coffee maker. The decade when families began to use small electronic appliances was determined by how much Southern Illinois families relied on their own gardens and livestock to continue to feed them and how much they relied on grocery stores and supermarkets. Many Southern Illinoisans continued to fix their traditional food in the same traditional ways.

Rural Southern Illinoisans sought to expand their diet to a degree because of family members moving into urban areas, and because of the increasing presence of processed food in local grocery stores and supermarkets. Adams argues that young family members who

either moved into urban areas after the war, or saw expanding technologies and brought them home, increased a family's use of new technologies.[51] Introduction of food and technology to rural areas because of travel to urban areas is evident in Laura and Claude Husband's lives as well. After they were married in 1950, they lived in St. Louis County for about one year. When they moved back to rural Southern Illinois, they continued to buy store bought items while they lived in a small town. They bought all of their meat and some of their vegetables because they had been introduced to this type of diet while they were living in a city.[52]

The expansion of supermarkets in Southern Illinois and the nation drove out the local country stores and also expanded the diet of local residents. By 1953, supermarket sales accounted for almost one-half of all grocery sales in Southern Illinois.[53] The expansion of these national supermarkets allowed for the nationalization of food. When Americans visited supermarkets, they could obtain the same food in Southern Illinois as they could in New York or Los Angeles. Processed foods were not restricted to one area of the country. "Jell-O," for example, became the symbol of 1950s food and was available anywhere in the country.[54] The television also expanded Southern Illinoisans and the rest of America's diet as well because people saw ads for food on television which they could conveniently purchase at their local supermarket. Bennett, Smith, and Passin reported that it was perhaps due to aspirations of being more like the urban middle class that a dependence on stores began to thrive in Southern Illinois.[55]

In Southern Illinois, it appeared that diets also began to expand exponentially when children in the home were sent to school in the 1950s and 60s. These children were introduced to many processed foods at school, and they wanted to continue eating them once they returned home. Claude and Laura Husband similarly explained that they began to drink more milk from the store and to eat more cereal, bread, and lunch meat after they had children. Although Claude and Laura moved back to the rural countryside of Southern Illinois in 1954, they continued to eat many foods bought from the store because of their experiences in the city and their children's preference for these items. Claude and Laura did begin to harvest a garden and to can vegetables again, but they also still bought soups, frozen foods, some canned vegetables, cakes, pies, cookies, and candies from the store.[56] This period shows how Southern Illinoisans combined the new food introduced to them along with their traditional diet.

While many Southern Illinoisans began to eat mostly store-

bought goods in the 1950s, others did not expand their diet until much later. Esther Wolters did not eat a large amount of store-bought goods until the 1970s. During this time, her husband's doctor recommended that he drink a lot of cranberry juice. Since Esther and her husband had to go to the store weekly for the juice, they began to buy more groceries from the store each time that they went.[57] In this case, Esther had not been exposed to many processed and store food until she actually started going to the store herself. She lived in a small community where she concentrated on growing her garden and working on the family farm. And while her children may have been exposed to more modern food at school, they still brought home cooked meals to school for their lunch. Esther was perhaps still part of the Old Country generation who liked to eat more traditional food prepared by Germans in the area, and although she modernized her diet through the twentieth century, she never fully relinquished the traditional diet of her youth.[58]

The 1980s and 90s were decades where the variety of food expanded for Southern Illinois once more, but there were no more great advances in food preparation or storage. The microwave was largely used by the 1980s. Claude and Laura Husband began using their microwave around 1980 and still use it today.[59] Esther Wolters first bought a microwave in 1994, but soon returned it because she feared the radium that the microwave might produce. She later had another one in her home when her grandchild lived with her, using it for some meals. But today she rarely utilizes it.[60] Besides increased use of microwaves in homes, the same appliances that were widely used in the 1950s continued to be used in the 80s, 90s, and even today. There have been advances in these individual appliances, but not substantial inventions, like the refrigerator.

While Southern Illinoisans continue to buy most of their food from the store, they buy items similar to (if not the same as) those they bought in the 1950s and 60s. Like many parts of the United States, frozen food, meat, bread, desserts, and canned goods are still some of the top sellers. Individual diets have progressed in the past few decades only because of personal preferences for different food. For example, Claude and Laura Husband did not start eating fast food until the 1970s, when they ate at their first McDonald's.[61] They have increasingly eaten fast food in the past decades as Americans everywhere continue to eat out. Esther Wolters never ate fast food very much, but in the 1990s she did discover a fondness

for pizza, and in the mid-1990s she began ordering frozen food bi-weekly from Schwan's.[62] These examples show that although no major advances in food technology have taken place in the past few decades (such as the invention of the refrigerator,) Southern Illinoisans still have increased their diets to include food that they had not eaten before.

Finally, as people who grew up in the early twentieth century pass away, the food traditions that they carried with them do as well. However, in some parts of the country, and in Southern Illinois, there remains nostalgia for fresh food off of the farm or for food prepared in old-fashioned ways. Across the United States, the production of food has become specialized and food travels from one end of the country to the other.[63] Farmers often grow only one or two types of food in a high production environment. Farm families no longer live off of their own land. In Southern Illinois, there is a movement by farmers to put more locally grown produce into the region's grocery stores, farmer's markets, restaurants, schools, and prisons. Farmers are working with the Illinois Local and Organic Food and Farm Task Force to promote the local food movement in Southern Illinois. However, the region has a high poverty rate and low access to quality food because of the growing dependence on food from supermarkets, such as Wal-Mart. Produce and food grown in local markets travel less, and therefore need fewer chemicals to keep them fresh. Even with the benefits of buying locally grown food, the movement has had difficulty in establishing a successful local market.[64] In recent decades, there has also been an increase in cookbooks, recipes, and articles that encourage traditional or old-fashioned foods. These readings promote cooking with fresh fruits and vegetables, home-butchered livestock, and fish and game that are indigenous to Southern Illinois. Many traditional recipes for Southern Illinoisans included German, French, Italian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian styles of food and cooking.[65]

Southern Illinois food diets have changed with the decades of innovations, but they have also kept traditional aspects. In rural Southern Illinois, older people have passed down to their children the importance of growing gardens and canning some of their vegetables. Livestock is still often slaughtered. Many of the traditional foods and ways of preparing home cooked meals will soon be lost as succeeding generations only remember processed foods and store bought items. However, some aspects will still survive because of the sense of tradition among rural societies

and families in Southern Illinois. Rural Southern Illinoisans grew up in the twentieth century growing their vegetables in gardens, making their own bread and butter, and butchering their own meat. Through innovations in technology, these people began to buy some of their food from grocery stores, but not all of it. A sense of growing what you need and raising it yourself still exists in rural Southern Illinois. In the spring and summer, Claude and Laura Husband still grow a vegetable garden. In the last few years, Esther Wolters and her family still made apple butter, and in the basement of their home, on rows and rows of shelves, still sit jars of yearly canned home vegetables.

Figure 2[66]

Notes

1 As quoted by: Esther Wolters, interview by Rachel Wolters, 3 October 2009.

2 Jane Adams, *The Transformation of Rural Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 6.

3 Wolters, interview.

4 Claude Husband, interview by Rachel Wolters, 23 October 2009.

5 Laura Husband, interview by Rachel Wolters, 23 October 2009.

6 John W. Bennett, Harvey L. Smith, and Herbert Passin, "Food and Culture in Southern Illinois – A Preliminary Report," *American Sociological Review* 7 (October 1942): 650.

7 Harvey A. Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table* (University of California Press, 2003), 151.

8 William H. Young, *The 1930's* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002), 96.

9 Wolters, interview.

10 Harvey A. Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (University of California Press, 2003), 24.

11 Bennett, Smith, and Passin, "Food and Culture," 645-60.

12 Wolters, interview.

13 Laura Husband, interview.

14 Edith Rendleman, *All Anybody Ever Wanted of Me Was to Work* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), 58, 60, 61, 63, 80.

15 Wolters, interview.

16 Claude Husband, interview.

17 Laura Husband, interview.

18 Wolters, interview.

19 Adams, *Rural Life,* 90.

20 Wolters, interview.

21 Lena Wolters and Chickens. Photograph in collection of Esther Wolters. 1939. Obtained by the author, 30 November 2009.

22 Claude Husband, interview.

23 Laura Husband, interview.

24 Rendleman. *All Anybody Ever Wanted,* 71, 76-79.

25 Bennett, Smith, and Passin, "Food and Culture," 651.

26 As quoted in: Wolters, interview.

27 Claude Husband, interview.

28 Rendleman. *All Anybody Ever Wanted,* 71, 76-79.

29 Laura Husband, interview.

30 Ibid.

31 Adams, *Rural Life*, 90.

32 John W. Bennett, "Food and Social Status in a Rural Society," *American Sociological Review* 8 (October 1943): 569.

33 Robert J. Sickels, *The 1940's* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004), 101.

34 Sherrie A. Inness, *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 158-59.

35 Wolters, interview.

36 Claude Husband, interview.

37 "The War Years – and Boom," *Frozen Food Age* 51 (December 2002): 38.

38 Sylvia Whitman, *What's Cooking?: The History of American Food* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Co., 2001), 57, 67.

39 Homer Grant, "Electricity is Fairy Godmother of the Kitchen," *The Chicago Daily Tribune,* 3 July 1927.

40 Laura Husband, interview.

41 Claude Husband, interview.

42 Wolters, interview.

43 Rendleman. *All Anybody Ever Wanted,* 153.

44 Laura Husband, interview.

45 Wolters, interview.

46 Claude Husband, interview.

47 Claude Husband and Laura Husband, interviews.

48 Wolters, interview.

49 Sickels, *The 1940's*, 105.

50 Claude Husband and Laura Husband, interviews.

51 Jane Adams, "Resistance to "Modernity": Southern Illinois Farm Women and the Cult of Domesticity," *American Ethnologist* 20: 103.

52 Claude Husband and Laura Husband, interviews.

53 Adams, *Rural Life,* 169.

54 Whitman, *What's Cooking,* 70.

55 Bennett, Smith, and Passin, "Food and Culture," 656.

56 Claude Husband and Laura Husband, interviews.

57 Wolters, interview.

58 Bennett, Smith, and Passin, "Food and Culture," 652.

59 Claude Husband and Laura Husband, interviews.

60 Wolters, interview.

61 Claude and Laura Husband, interviews.

62 Wolters, interview.

63 Deborah Fitzgerald, "Eating and Remembering," *Agricultural History* 79 (2005): 394.

64 Karen Binder, "A Fresh Look at Fresh Food," *Southern Illinoisan,* 22 March 2008.

65 Joanne Will, "Make History in Your Kitchen Cooking Old-Fashioned Foods," *Chicago Tribune,* 13 November 1976.

66 Jars of Canned Food. Personal photograph taken by the author, 26 November 2009. The photograph includes jars of beets, tomatoes, and pickles on the top shelf, and green beans, apple butter, and fruit on the bottom shelf. Dates for the jars range from the early 1990's through 2008.