South Dakota State University Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange

Theses and Dissertations

1996

An Examination of Selected Ethnic Foodways in the Upper Midwest

Gregory A. Mader South Dakota State University

Follow this and additional works at: http://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd



Part of the Geography Commons

Recommended Citation

Mader, Gregory A., "An Examination of Selected Ethnic Foodways in the Upper Midwest" (1996). Theses and Dissertations. 1152. http://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd/1152

This Thesis - Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. For more information, please contact michael.biondo@sdstate.edu.

AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED ETHNIC FOODWAYS IN THE UPPER MIDWEST

Ву

Gregory A. Mader

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the

Master of Science

South Dakota State University

1996

AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED ETHNIC FOODWAYS IN THE UPPER MIDWEST

This thesis is approved as a credible and independent investigation by a candidate for the Master of Science degree and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Dr. Donald J. Berg Thesis Advisor date

Dr. Róger K. Sandness date Head, Department

Abstract

AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED ETHNIC FOODWAYS IN THE UPPER MIDWEST

Gregory A. Mader August 15, 1996

Many geographers recognize regional studies as a guidepost of geography. Cultural geographers have long identified the significance of ethnic regions and the differences between various ethnic groups in matters of housing, work, agriculture and diet. In many cases foodways and regional cuisine are distinct enough to act as a key identifier of a cultural region. This thesis uses church and other local cookbooks to identify specific ethnic and non-ethnic foods eaten by the Dutch of Northwestern Iowa, the Norwegians of the North Dakota-Minnesota border area, and the German-Russians of Southern North Dakota. From this source of information, patterns of food use offer insight into diffusion and persistence of these folk cultures.

Key words: ethnic foodways, Upper Midwest, subregions

Table of Contents

Abstr	actii		
List	of Figures		
List	of Maps		
Expla	nation on Recipe Notation v		
Chapter			
	1. Introduction and Overview		
	2. Foodways, Ethnicity and Regional Geography 2		
	3. Geographic Persistence of Tradition 3		
	4. Geography of Subregions 4		
	a. Northwestern Iowa 4		
	b. Southern Red River Valley 40		
	c. South Central North Dakota 53		
	5. Conclusions and Common Theses Among the		
	Regions 60		
	Appendixes of recipes 69		
	Ribliography 9'		

List of Figures

Figure 1. Occurrence of Selected Seasonings in			
the 42 Recipes Appearing in Appendix 129			
Figure 2. "Hotdish Matrix"31			
Figure 3. Occurrence of Selected Common			
Ingredients in Appendix 134			
List of Maps			
Map 1. Subregions of Thesis16			
Map 2. Strongly German Counties20			
Map 3. Strongly Norwegian Counties23			
Map 4. Sons of Norway Lodges24			
Map 5. Strongly Dutch Counties26			
Map 6. Northwestern Iowa45			
Map 7. Southern Red River Valley52			
Map 8. South Central North Dakota58			
Map A-1. Origins of Cited Recipes66			

Chapter 1.

Introduction and Overview

Justification

Many geographers, including John Fraser Hart(1979), recognize regional studies as the pole star of geography. Popular culture celebrates many of the vernacular regions of the United States, such as the Desert Southwest, the Tidewater area in Virginia, or the Amish country in Pennsylvania. In many cases, foodways and regional cuisine are at the root of cultural recognition, such as Cajun country and its spicy food, Tex-Mex culture and food, or San Francisco and sourdough bread.

The Upper Midwest attracts less attention from geographers and travel writers than do other, more populated, regions of the country. The distinctive foodways are often described in the form of humorous anecdotes of lutefisk, or other ethnic staples as evidenced by Red Stangeland, or Lutheran Church Basement Women, a cookbook by Martin and Todnem(1992).

This thesis attempts to demonstrate that a rich ethnic cultural heritage is retained in portions of the Upper Midwest, and one of its key attributes is the distinctiveness of the region's ethnic foodways.

The hypothesis is illustrated by case studies of Norwegian, Dutch and German foodways as practiced in selected areas.

Research Problem and Area

A primary problem of this thesis is cataloging foods commonly eaten by residents of an area, and analyzing the spatial relationships between specific recipes and ethnic groups. This task is complicated by the variety of food now available, and ease of shopping and storage. Easily defined patterns of food production and storage, from a time before commercial means of preservation, are lost.

Many ethnic recipes required specialized ingredients, or preparation techniques that are not offered through supermarkets due to the lack of a national market. Perhaps some authentic recipes will become relegated to festival occasions, and everyday fare will become shaped by homogenized national tastes. This trend seems to be

demonstrated by the ubiquitous "Schwan" trucks bringing identical mini-pizzas and ice cream to residents throughout the Upper Midwest.

A short description of the Upper Midwest's location is relevant in this thesis. Gersmehl(1991) describes this region as roughly including the state of Minnesota, most of Iowa, and North and South Dakota. Shortridge(1989) describes it as being one corner of The Middle West. This area, defined by the Minneapolis-St. Paul regional market (Mather 1972) was settled largely after 1880 (Hart 1972) by immigrants channeled through the northern entry ports and railroads to areas in the Upper Midwest.

Hypothesis

This paper attempts to show that distinctive ethnically associated spatial patterns of cuisine still exist in the Upper Midwest.

Definition of Terms

Several phrases or terms may be unfamiliar to the reader, or are defined narrowly for the purpose of this thesis. This short list of definitions may help the reader.

Upper Midwest-- The geographic region of the United States including North and South Dakota, Minnesota, and Iowa.

Foodways-- The cuisine or dietary preferences of a people, or the dietary expressions of culture.

Cultural Region-- A defined geographic area in which people share common behaviors towards survival, economy, religion, and other traits including foodways, creating a common way of life.

Lutefisk-- Scandinavian dried fish, preserved in lye, and reconstituted for eating.

Lefse-- Scandinavian potato pancake.

Methodology

The fundamental methods of research for this study combined a detailed review of regional cookbooks, church cookbooks, and newspaper references regarding food and/or regional culture, throughout Iowa, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Minnesota.

Through the regional cookbooks, specific recipes that appeared to be popular, or exemplified certain cultural values, were identified and tracked for either home testing, or field investigation. Field investigation of a recipe meant that the food was inquired about within the identified subregion and the author attempted to eat it, talk to others who eat it, or to find a restaurant that serves it.

Third parties who had knowledge of the food often either concurred with or disputed specific facts regarding some of these foods. For example, Jennifer Thom, food editor of South Dakota Magazine, contacted me regarding an article on South Dakota cookery. The author also frequented cafes and small restaurants in each of the areas, and collected menus from each subregion.

Recipes of ethnic and regional foods used in this thesis are listed in their entirety in Appendix 1.

References to these recipes will be in the following form:

Pickled Fish, #2, or #3, Lefse.

Limitations of the Study

This paper is limited by several factors. First of all, the design of the thesis focuses upon three case studies of limited geographic areas. I chose the three areas based on data derived from several ethnic atlases. This study cannot predict what foodways may exist in the next county, nor can it even describe all the possible ethnic foodways within the chosen areas. It merely tries to describe the foodways of one ethnicity within one small area for each of the three selected case study groups.

Second, this study is based on local cookbooks from churches and other civic organizations. It is supplemented by food columns from newspapers and magazines. This primary source neatly fixes location to the recipes, but it cannot account for their origin, or the original creators. As with much folk culture, the actual history is somewhat murky, and may need to be investigated on a case by case basis.

To the author's knowledge no one else has used local cookbooks to determine the location of where foods are eaten. Several recipes in cookbooks were compared against

their locations in restaurants in both the German and Norwegian case studies, and found that similar recipes were being utilized.

The use of commentary from other people should not be considered as results of a rigid interview process, with standardized results. Rather, they are the result of calling people, asking questions, and looking for local inhabitants who have insight into particular foods or foodways. Thus, they are more anecdotal than scientific.

Lastly, the scale of a four state region is overwhelming in the context of a one person study on a cultural phenomenon. Using a geographically limited case study approach to investigate something as complicated as the location of foodways makes the problem manageable, but still limits this study to a generalized view of each region.

Literature Review

Fundamentally, this paper shows that food preferences are culturally established, and have little to do with environmental "constraints." For this reason, many of the books on foodways offer a historical perspective on cuisine and popular tastes. Revolution at the Table and Paradox of Plenty (Levenstein, 1988, 1993) both deal with the history of folk diet in America and how cultural, economic, and media forces changed eating habits. Levenstein's investigation into prevailing beliefs in nutrition and science are very useful. Levenstein notes the numerous occasions where "technocrats" (aka, Nutritionists), believe that uneducated people are malnourished, and that intervention is needed. This led to public, socialized kitchens in New York in the 1910s (Levenstein 1988), and to the button popping army diet standard of World War II of 5,000 calories per day per soldier(Levenstein 1993). This phenomenon of nutritionist designed diets may have influenced the foodways of the Upper Midwest as well as the documentation of dietary standards through the Extension Service, or various media.

Food and Drink in America (Hooker 1981) is a vast compendium of the specific habits of American eating from the colonial period to post war period. This detailed study gives examples, such as how Hessian mercenaries introduced broccoli to America, or the history of oyster bars throughout the East Coast.

One volume, The Human Landscape (Zimolzak and Stansfield 1979), incorrectly asserts that "Certainly climatic and other environmental limitations determine in large measure what food is available and thus influence tastes." Later in this thesis, several examples show the incorrectness of this environmental theory, and illustrate the power of culture to shape the human landscape through commerce and ingenuity.

The study was strengthened particularly by several books from cultural anthropological studies of foodways.

Marvin Harris, Paul Fieldhouse, and others in this field have written on human relationships to cuisine and foodways. These authors discussed the food preferences, taboos, and some of the nutrition background that may explain these foodways. Preferences and taboos prove to be

very useful in distinguishing boundaries and categorizing the data.

Harris's works are very structural in approach.

He examines cultural beliefs about specific foods, and determines origins of these beliefs. He is especially fascinated with food taboos, such as pork, dog, or cannibalism. Although reports of cannibalism do not occur in this region, food taboos again are used as another way of determining boundaries and mapping regions.

Brown and Mussell's Ethnic and Regional Foodways

(1984) was an obvious choice of reference for this thesis.

It is a fine work on the subject of selected foodways, informing the reader on 'Cajun Country' or Italian American food in New Jersey, although it misses the Upper Midwest entirely. This book, however, does provide several examples of the intellectual framework used to study region and food. For example, Susan Kalcik's contribution explores the link between ethnic or regional identity and food choices, such as kosher foods in the Jewish community, tamales and migrant farm workers, and why food choices are sometimes based on 'performance of identity.'

other fine books that deal with foodways include Farb and Armelagos'(1980) book, Consuming Passions, Arnott's (1975) Gastronomy: The Anthropology of Food and Food Habits, and Hilliard's(1972) Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South. Geographer Sam B. Hilliard targets the primary foods of the Old South, such as corn and pork, and writes about the importance of self-sufficiency to the farmers of the time. The value of feeding one's own family offered important insights into the foodways of the farmers of the Upper Midwest as well.

Regional geography explains how one area of the world can be different than its neighbors, and why these differences can occur. Hart(1972), Jensen(1965), Zelinsky(1980) and Steiner and Mondale(1988), all offered guidance on regionalism in America, and how the United States consists of areas that differ from one another.

Joel Garreau's revitalization of regional geography,

The Nine Nations of North America (1981), represents a new

understanding of modern regional ideas. Garreau is

masterful in demonstrating how economics, living patterns

and internal migration creates dynamic regions, such as the

new Southwest or "MexAmerica." Garreau misses food regionalism, however, and how food and location can be related.

One book that shares many similarities with research and reporting with this thesis is Sokolov's(1981) Fading Feast, which takes specific foods, and traces their distribution. Sokolov investigates specific regional foods, including Cajun sausage and Key limes, and seeks the spatial home and diffusion of these foods. Sokolov concentrates on foods that are losing popularity, or have virtually disappeared, and asks why good foods with well established traditions may lose to other, less nutritious or tasty foods.

The accomplishment of Sokolov is to associate particular recipes with certain ethnic or regional groups, and to trace the history and movement of the recipe. This approach serves as a useful tool for discovering ethnic groups throughout a region.

When, for example, one sees The Lefseland Cafe in Hawley, Minnesota, one may assume that at least some Norwegians might live there and investigate further.

Finally, many geographers have laid the ground work for the study of geography and diet. Perhaps the most referred to article on the subject is Sorre's(1962) The Geography of Diet. Sorre believes that the study of geographic foodways is an imperative, writing that, "We must, therefore treat the geography of diet as an essential chapter of human geography." Sorre is particularly concerned that without an understanding of dietary preferences and geography, world hunger will be aggravated due to production mismatches with cultural preferences, or distribution of available food could be mismanaged. In light of these needs, Sorre says that an understanding of regional foodways and the geography of diet are needed in the larger discussion of growing populations.

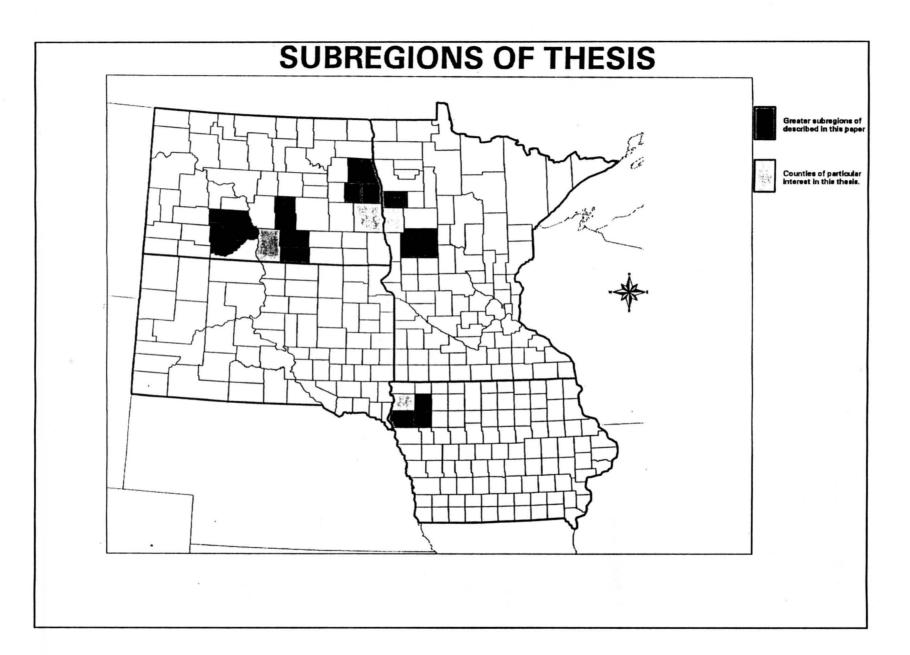
Kariel(1966) proposes a worldwide classification scheme based on protein and carbohydrate sources. Under his methods of mapping, the Upper Midwest, all of the United States, most of Canada, Europe, and Russia all fall into the same classification. Kariel's plan works at a local scale, but to my knowledge, no one has tried to develop it further for use at finer resolutions.

Scope of Study

To limit the scope of this project to the achievable, three geographic areas, that presented a certain ethic homogeneity, were picked arbitrarily as case studies (see Map 1):

- 1. The German-Russians of Emmons County, North Dakota,
- 2. Norwegians of Clay County, Minnesota and Cass County, North Dakota; and
- 3. Dutch community of Northwest Iowa, especially in Sioux County.

The counties in question were identified as ethnic strongholds in atlases by Holmquist(1981), Sherman(1983), Peterson(1904), and Allen and Turner(1987). This case study approach chooses areas where one may hope to identify and study the particular foods of a group without inordinate travel or difficulty.



Short Historical Geography of Three Ethnic Groups

A brief description of the ethnic groups and their origins is useful for establishing a framework for the analysis that follows.

The Upper Midwestern cultural region is founded on Northern European stock largely descended from Germany, Scandinavia, Russia, Ukraine, and the British Isles, and is superimposed on the preexisting Native Americans.

Certainly, many other groups settled here too, but the dominance of the Northern European heritage cannot be over estimated. This legacy transformed a landscape that once was the northern quarter of "The Great American Desert" to "The North American Bread Basket."

These areas tended to be occupied in bursts, once the lands were opened up to homesteading, or other settling activities (Hart 1972). The limiting factors were transportation access, and a long distance to major markets or ports. Much of the growth of the Upper Midwest depended on how rapidly rail service could be brought into an area.

Germans

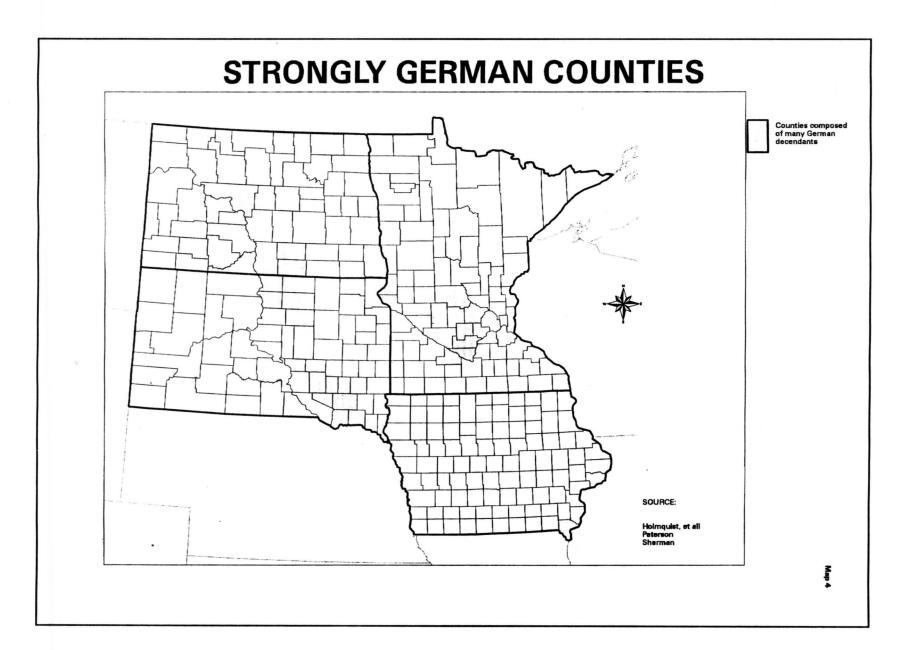
The German heritage is very widespread throughout this region, and varies in origin. Groups originating from Hungary, Poland, Germany, and the Volga area in Russia all call themselves German. These peoples settled in the Upper Midwest in spurts throughout the last few decades of the nineteenth century. These heterogeneous groups brought different traditions and different foodways that are all called German, but vary considerably in texture and detail.

The particular sub-groups presented in this thesis include the German-Russians of South-Central North Dakota and North-Central South Dakota, with references to the geographic Germans (Reichsdeutsch) from what is now roughly modern Germany. The German-Russians came to the United States late in the 1890s through the period of the Russian Revolution. German settlers of the northern Black Sea area, first welcomed to the region by Catherine the Great, were suddenly considered disloyal pariahs in Russia, and were forced to move. At the same time, railway companies in the United States looked for people to populate the newly opened lands of the Dakotas, and

advertised abroad the availability of the cheap land in the Dakotas (Sherman 1983).

The Volga region's physical landscape is remarkably similar to the central Dakotas, consisting of open prairies, a relative absence of trees, and an absence of mountains or truly rough terrain (Sherman 1995). This may have contributed to a sense of "home-iness" that kept the German-Russians here, while driving off and repelling other groups of settlers.

The Reichsdeutsch, or more simply, Germans, moved to the United States in fits and starts, starting from the colonial era. In the Upper Midwest, many settled in southern Minnesota and Iowa, with some heading further west (Sherman 1983; Johnson 1981). They brought with them a strong sense of Germanic tradition, starting German newspapers, Sons of Hermann clubs, German speaking churches, and breweries. In general, these people were more prosperous than their German-Russian counterparts, primarily because they settled earlier in more promising territories.

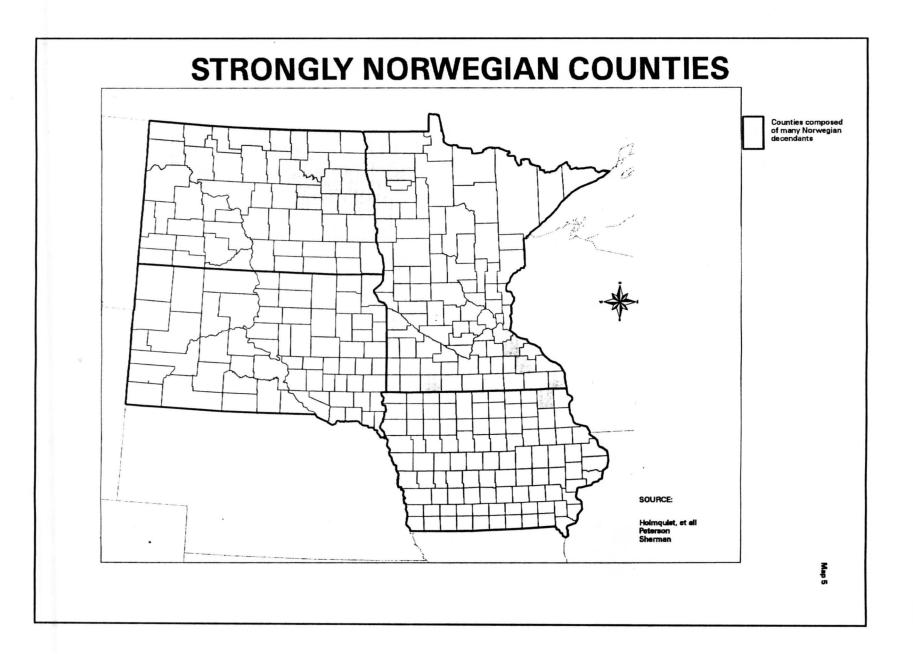


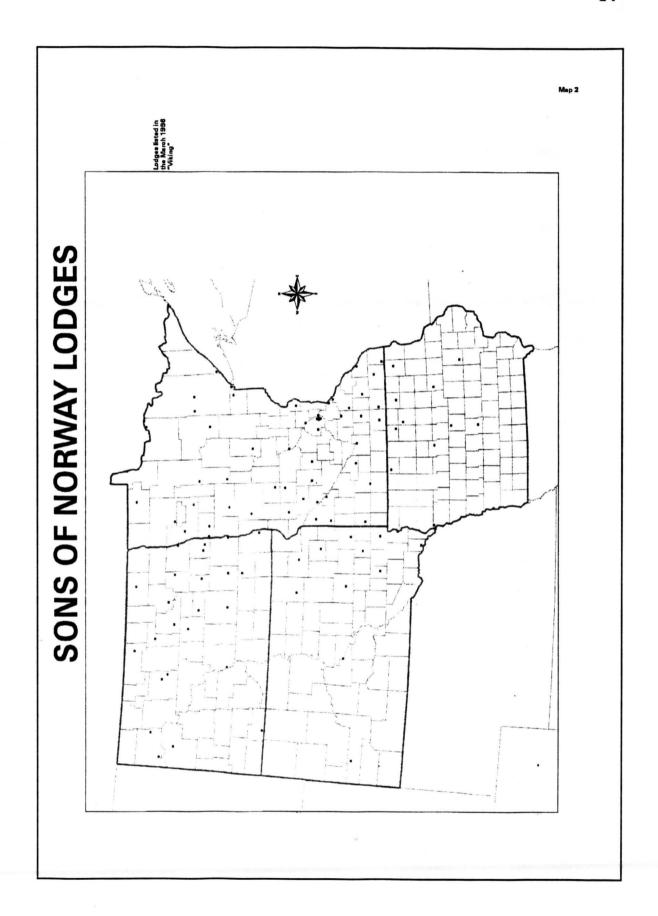
Norwegians

Norwegians have proven to be a very homogeneous group. The Norwegian community has maintained strong ties to Norway, including long distance family relationships. The Norwegian emigrants to the United States often had some family already settled, and the newcomers created communities rapidly. Norwegians were very quick to establish Norwegian language newspapers, churches, and clubs, and to this day maintain a high degree of cultural pride and interest(Qualey, Gjerde 1981). Ethnic pride is noteworthy in the widespread and popular Sons of Norway lodges. These clubs are locally based throughout the Upper Midwestern study area, and correlate well with the counties that have a large number of people of Norwegian heritage (See Map 4).

The Norwegian movement into the Red River Valley of North Dakota started in 1871, and continued up to World War I (Qualey, Gjerde 1981). The Red River Valley area was the last of Minnesota's agricultural regions to be developed, as well as being heavily settled by Norwegians. Clay, Marshall, Norman, and Polk counties share 84 Norwegian

place names between them, and isolated pockets of Norwegian language into the 1980s (Qualey, Gjerde 1981). The Norwegian foods reflect this uniform heritage by having great geographic persistance, and fairly traditional tastes.

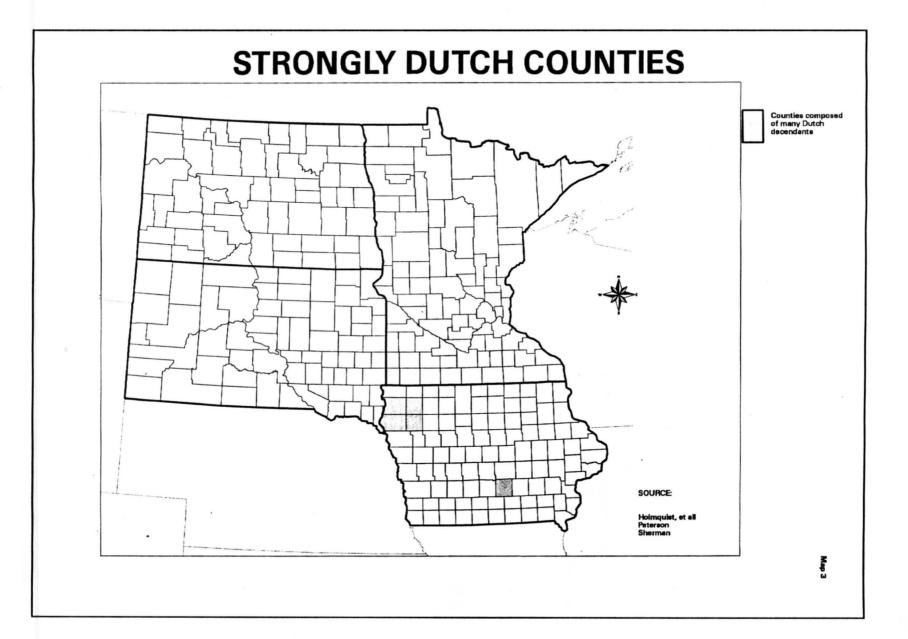




Netherlanders

The Dutch of northwestern Iowa represent one of the smaller, yet highly cohesive ethnic groups that inhabit the region. There are many of these groups, such as the Icelanders in northeastern North Dakota and the Hutterite colonies in both Dakotas. They tend to center around common religious beliefs, shared values and language, and other cultural ties. The Dutch people in the subregion are very centered in the Dutch Reformed Church, and maintain several religiously affiliated colleges within one county (Hake 1968).

This short introduction should offer a general background on the people of the different groups. This paper will now investigate some theories of foodways and culture.



Chapter 2.

Foodways, Ethnicity and Regional Geography

In this chapter, cuisine's cultural framework shall be investigated. Foodways offer some insights into the values of the people preparing and eating the food, such as by reinforcing the sense of identity of the participants, maintaining a sense of thrift, or demonstrating preferences in seasoning.

A first point about foodways and ethnicity is the sense of identity that certain ethnic foods provide the consumers. Susan Kalcik (1984) notes that eating can serve as a 'performance of identity.' People may eat, dress, or speak a certain way to tell the world, "This is ME, I am a Norwegian." They may join groups that say something about themselves, and they can eat foods that other groups consider unpalatable, non-food, or taboo. Examples of broadcasting ethnic identity through food abound in the Upper Midwest, ranging from lutefisk, fishballs, and preserved herring, in the Norwegian community, to chicken foot soup, eaten by the German Russians. Many of these

foods are consumed at ethnic festivals or family meals, thereby reinforcing the ethnic qualities of the festival. Thus, food preferences may reinforce a sense of ethnic identity, and this identity can be part of defining a cultural region, even if specific ethnic foods are not consumed everyday.

A second key point concerning foodways is the persistance of traditions. Although there are countless food choices produced worldwide and available year-round, many groups will maintain some traditional food customs, such as the Knoephle soup of the German-Russians, lefse of the Norwegians, or the home brewed wines of the Hutterites. New foods are incorporated into the food habits, but many preferences are formed early in life and are perhaps those most difficult to change. In some cases, these food preferences lead to winding paths of geographic persistance, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Although quite diverse, the three heritages studied share some commonalties in diet. Defining traits include "folk foods" that are often quite inexpensive and have less

than ten ingredients, the identification with a nationality, and a disinterest in spicy, exotic fare.

Perhaps the most telling food similarity is in avoidance of spicy, exotic food. In Appendix 1, many of the recipes offer little guidance on how to season the food other than "salt and pepper to taste," or small amounts of sugar, garlic powder, or other seasonings(Fig. 1).

Occurrence of selected seasonings in the 42 recipes appearing in Appendix 1

onion	14
garlic	2
parsley	2
soy sauce	2
basil	1
chilies or oregano	0

Figure 1.

In order to judge how well some common spicy foods may be accepted, I asked many people the same question: "Do

your parents or grandparents like tacos?" The answer is an almost universal "NO," or the similar, "Not the spicy kind."

Further, Michelle Brevig, a supervisor at the Calido Chile Traders, a store specializing in salsa at the Mall of America in Minneapolis, confirms this perception.

"Most of our bigger customers are from out of town. Locals only spend \$20 or so," she said.

Judging from these responses, one may believe that bland or less seasoned foods are the norm. Outside ethnic foods that stray from this unspiced formula are often co-opted into the regional framework, by blanding the tastes, substituting more familiar ingredients, and offering people a bridge to experiment with a safe passage back.

One example of the disinterest in seasonings in the Upper Midwest is the 'Hotdish matrix' (fig. 2). In this example, (procured in Brookings by a fellow student but written by an anonymous cook) the basic ingredients for 15,680 possible casseroles are listed by categories.

CREATE YOUR OLD CASSEROLES

PROTEIN FOOD	SAUCE	COOKED VEGETABLES	COOKED PASTA, etc	TOPPING
1½ - 2 cups	CONDENSED SOUP + (LICUID)	1½ cup	1½ - 2 cup	2-4 Tablespoons
Cooked Ham Slivered	Cream of Colory +Hilk	Browned Green Pepper, Colery, Onions	Nobalas	Crushed Potato Chips
Cooked or Canned Chicken or Turkey	Crosm of Chicken +Buttermilk	Cooked or Cannod Green Boans	Hacaroni	Fresh Breed Crum
Canned Luncheon Meat	Crocm of Numbroom+Croam	Cooked or Cannod	Rico	Fried Onion Rings
Cooked Beef, Veal,	Croam of Petato +Sour Cream	Poas	Potatoss	Crushed Corn
	Green Poa +Tomato Juico	Cooked or Canned Carrots	Spaghatti	Flakes
Hard Cooked Eggs	Choddar Choose +Vogetable Juice	Cooked or Canned	Corn	Potato Sticks
Frankfurters	Tomato #later	leparagus	Swcot Potato	Slivered Almonds
Choose	(6			Crackor Crumbs
Cannod Tuna or Salmon				Crushed Stuffing

DIRECTIONS:

- .. 1. Solect one ingredient from each column.
 - 2. Combino selected ingredients and place in 2 quart casserole.
 - 3. Bake in 350 375°F. Approximately 30 45 minutes.

Nowhere in this document is there any mention of spices, seasonings, or added flavoring. Such concerns about flavor are either left to the discretion of the cook, or are not considered important!

One local magazine, Quick & Easy Home Cookin',
published in Davis, South Dakota, reflects these tendencies
by rarely venturing into exotic spices or flavors. The
editor, Pam Schrag, explained that she does not cater to
trendy food fads, rather, she tries "to get recipes that
are quick and easy, and popular with our readers."

Similarly, one may wonder if there is a universal food for the Upper Midwest, one that cuts across ethnic lines, or identifies the whole region. Based on the frequency that it appears in print, jello salads appear to be an omnipresent dish. Pam Schrag, editor of Quick & Easy Cookin' describes jello salads as one of the most popular categories of submissions the magazine receives, especially when whipped topping is added. Jello has become the de rigueur ingredient of many foods of the region.

Jello salads, such as recipes #11, Seafoam Salad, #22, Mountain Dew Salad, or #24, Orange Fluff, all represent

different attempts at creating a sweet, somewhat nutritious, fruity sidedish. Jello salads were found in virtually all of the cookbooks throughout the Upper Midwest, and all follow the same pattern of fruit, nuts, cottage cheese, marshmallows or whipped topping mixed into jello. This family of dishes seems to cut across ethnic boundaries with remarkable ease. Appendix 1 catalogs only four of the many jello recipes. Jello salads appear to be a uniquely American invention, stemming from the invention of powdered gelatin in 1894 by Charles Knox(Lovegren 1995), and first applied to salad sometime in the 1910s or 1920s(Lovegren 1995).

Other recipes often share similar ingredients, or seem to aim for similar tastes. Figure 3 displays some common ingredients and the frequency they appear in Appendix 1.

Occurrence of selected common ingredients in Appendix 1

Potatoes	11
Canned Cream Soups	7
Cream or Evaporated Milk	5
Sauerkraut	3
Sour Cream	2

Figure 3.

Potatoes and cream style soups appear frequently in these recipes, and appear to be valued by the three groups studied. In figure 2, condensed soups are considered important enough to warrant a separate column in the casserole matrix. Potatoes were widely available in Europe prior to immigration, but cooking with cream style soups is an innovation from the 1920s(Lovegren 1995). This bit of regional cuisine is probably American in origin.

Economy in food appears to be valued by the residents of the Upper Midwest. Inexpensive foods or dishes often hold greater appeal than do expensive, fancy dishes.

Examples of thrift include the cookbook, Flat-Out Dirt

Cheap Cookin', or recipe #31, Egg-Milk-Butterless cake, or

#16, Tuna Loaf, an attempt to feed a family of four at approximately \$.35 per person. In these cases, luxurious adjectives are replaced with thrifty ones. Words like "Rich," "Delicious," or even "Nutritious" are replaced by "Hard Times Coffee" (Carlson 1993).

In many cases, the reason given for inexpensive foods is the history of boom and bust in the Upper Midwest. The Great Depression is often cited as an influencing factor for many family food traditions. Lois Phillips Hudson (1984), chronicler of the 1930s in North Dakota, wrote of "small desolations," and documents the destitution faced by many in the Upper Midwest.

Thrift may be as important to some people of the region as are taste, visual appeal, or even nutrition.

Perhaps ancestral memories of poverty or famine still shape the attitudes of at least some residents of the Upper Midwest.

Next, the spatial parameters of the persistence of food traditions will be explored to further elaborate on the basic themes of ethnicity and cuisine.

Chapter 3.

Geographic Persistence of Tradition

Geographic persistence of foods is a particularly interesting area of research. Many foods remain unchanged, although they are separated greatly by time and distance from their geographic origins. Each of the major ethnic groups investigated contains puzzling anomalies of foods that logically would not be found here. For example, some of the German-Russian food is Turkish in origin. Olives, halvah, and some baked goods are tastes imported via the Black Sea trade that originated in Russia (Sherman 1995). It is not surprising that these foods were popular in Russia, given the large turkic population in the southern republics, but it is remarkable that these preferences have migrated with the population to the Dakotas and maintained popularity for a century.

The above mentioned trend is echoed by the Norwegian foodways, where there is considerable persistance of specific foods over time and distance. Lutefisk, lefse, and related provender are available in very standard forms

thousands of miles away from their country of origin, and over a hundred years distant from the immigrants who brought these foods.

The very tenacious threads of this foodway can be found all the way from eastern Iowa to northeastern Montana. Throughout much of this area, there are small lefse factories (strangely not called bakeries) operating in many predominantly Norwegian communities. Lefse is readily available on supermarket shelves throughout the entire year in the larger urban areas.

Salt water fish, such as cod, herring, and sardines, and their by-products (particularly lutefisk) are highly regarded and consumed, even though this area of the country is as far inland as possible in North America. Dried, lyed and canned fish products cannot be seen as a logically desired product for people remote from an ocean if one holds that the environment determines the peoples' preferences. Clearly, Norwegian immigrants brought the way of life they knew, including preferred foods, with them.

One potentially interesting example is the case of Indonesian food in Sioux Center, Iowa. A small deli in

Sioux Center sells boxes of Nasi Goreng mix, an Indonesian rice dish. This box includes serving suggestions of Ketjap (ketchup), pickles, or leeks, all European flavors to compliment this "superb Far Eastern meal" (from the box).

A closer look at the box identifies it as a product of The Netherlands, and suddenly this puzzle begins to make sense. The Dutch of northwestern Iowa maintained interest in the development of their former country to the point that as foods diffused from the Dutch East Indies, and took up residence in The Netherlands, they continued west to the United States, and further, to Iowa. Even though very few, if any, of the farmers of Iowa have ever been to Indonesia, and the Dutch relinquished their claim to the East Indies in 1949, the food channel is unbroken.

Apparently, environment is not the determining factor in these exotic foods. Culture, in the form of tools for food preservation and preparation, explains the expansion of foodways far from their origin. Once a taste is established in a culture, the people who make up the culture will take this taste preference as baggage on their

travels, that is, foodways will be disseminated by the cultural process of relocation diffusion.

Chapter 4.

Geography of the Subregions

Each of the immigrant nationalities in the Upper Midwest is associated with a smaller subregion within. In many cases, popular regions are highly correlated to ethnicity, and place and people become interchangeable in the minds of the residents and their neighbors. The three subregions explored in this thesis are examples of areas closely associated with a specific nationality.

Northwestern Iowa

Northwestern Iowa is a hodgepodge of several different ethnic groups, with Dutch strongholds in Orange City and Sioux Center, Iowa. Orange City hosts a tulip festival each year, its high school marching band wears wooden shoes, and windmill memorabilia is scattered throughout the town. Sioux Center maintains similar interest in it ethnic heritage with displays of windmills, and other Dutch themed landmarks.

Orange City has no Dutch restaurant, but does have one traditional butcher shop, and Sioux Center has only one deli that stocks food items from The Netherlands. When asked why there were no restaurants that served Dutch food, the response from several people was: "Restaurants wouldn't serve it right."

Similarly, it was difficult to procure any local or church cookbooks of the area that featured Dutch cookery.

The one book locally procured, <u>Dandy Dutch Recipes</u> (Baker-Roelofs, 1991) was published by a women from Pella, IA.

Pella was the original settlement for the Dutch of Iowa, before some moved to the Northwest (Hake 1968).

Other cookbooks published by area authors, such as Bruce Carlson, tended to generalize and not incorporate any ethnic cuisine.

The lack of interest in Dutch food was echoed at the Tulip Festival in Orange City in May 1995. The annual festival is the high point of ethnic celebrations for Northwestern Iowa. Among the attractions are wooden shoe making, Dutch dance and music, a parade in traditional clothing, and vendors selling food and sundry tourist

items. Yet not one of these enterprises served Dutch food, save one local benevolent group that made mini pancakes.

Furthermore, many of the residents of this area disclosed that Dutch food was for "special occasions."

Jon Klemme, a former resident of Haywarden, Iowa, reported that his preferred nightly fare is "meat and potatoes, with two scoops of ice cream for dessert." Mr. Klemme, although exposed to Dutch foods throughout his life, explained that Dutch foods "are tough to make right," and thus are not a part of daily life.

A quick check of several recipes, such as Rodekool, #40, or Mashed Potatoes with Sauerkraut and Sausage, #41, however, does not reveal any difficult or time consuming preparation. Rodekool consists of slicing cabbage and apples, boiling until tender and adding butter, sugar and vinegar. The mashed potato dish is equally easy, with the preparation of mashed potatoes, and then sauerkraut and sausage cooked together and added.

Steve Van Aartsen, a former resident of Orange City, describes an alternative theory. "That sort of food (Dutch)

is disappearing. My relatives who have traveled to Holland have commented on how different they eat there," he said.

One contrast between Old World Dutch and New World

Dutch descendants is cheese consumption. Cheese dates to

800 B.C. in The Netherlands, and is still one of the major

industries, with Dutch cheesemakers producing 648,000 tons

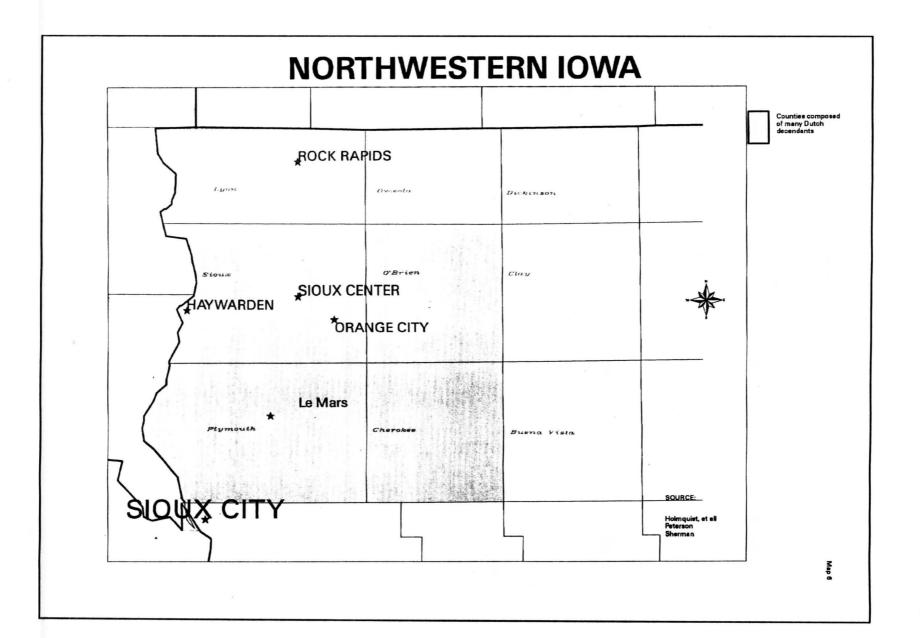
of cheese in 1994. The average Dutch citizen eats 31 pounds

of cheese a year, 11 pounds on sandwiches (Lyons 1996).

Local consumption of cheese appears to be at the United States average of 26 pounds per person (Lyons 1996).

Perhaps the foodways of the Dutch are becoming secondary to the generic Upper Midwestern traditions of meat and potatoes. Given the displacement from The Netherlands, the descendants of the Dutch have had the opportunity to try other foodways, and may have slowly incorporated surrounding foods to the point of exclusion of their own. A guess as to why the foodways have changed might include the small population surrounded by other groups led to adoption of different foods, or the greater availability of different, non-ethnic foodstuffs in modern supermarkets. A point of further research for an

anthropologist might include some detailed surveys or some oral histories to help explain this change.



Southern Red River Valley

In contrast to the Iowan experience, Norwegian food is more commonplace. In an east-west transect of the Red River Valley, restaurants, supermarkets, and clubs all serve fish, lefse, and other specialties. The Sons of Norway lodges often offer Lutefisk nights, and ethnic pride seems to insist on utilizing the Norwegian foodway as a benchmark of identity. One Moorhead, Minnesota, supermarket offers six kinds of preserved herring in jars, and several brands of lefse, compared with the two kinds of herring in jars at a HyVee in Sioux Falls. Norwegian enthusiasm for ethnic food seems to be unrivaled.

Fish and fishing distinguish Norwegian foodstuffs.

The association between fishing as an occupation and the consumption of fish is especially evident in Minnesota.

By 1920, 90% of commercial fishermen on the North Shore of Lake Superior were Norwegian (Qualey, Gjerde 1981). Fish sales in many cases were aimed directly at fellow Norwegian immigrants in the Upper Midwest, hungry for herring and other delicacies (Qualey, Gjerde 1981).

Recipes Pickled Fish, #2, Tuna Loaf, #16, Cheesey Salmon Casserole, #17, Flaked Fish Souffle, #34, and Fish Balls, #35, all display the versatility and affection for fish in Upper Midwest, particularly by Scandinavians.

Lutefisk is the major identifying food. This signature product, made of dried cod soaked in lye and then reconstituted for cooking, is the butt of jokes and is widely recognized as a touchstone of Norwegian culture. It is often produced by large factory operations, such as Olefiskco of Minneapolis, or Mike's Seafood of Glenwood, Minnesota. The fish may have a strong smell when cooking, and it may also develop a jelly-like consistency if it is overdone. There is a strong aversion to lutefisk by many non-Scandinavians, perhaps because of the strong odor.

Although lutefisk appears to be a homespun approach to preserving fish, it has meandered into an ethnic identifier, to be made by an intermediary, rather than by the producer or consumer. Possibly the reason that lutefisk is prepared in a centralized manner is that cod, the primary ingredient, comes through commercial ocean fishing channels, and this processing has evolved as a value added

step in selling the fish. Local fishing may produce suitable fish, but since cod was the appropriate fish in Norway, it appears that it is still the preferred fish. The lutefisk recipe, #36, also notes that the soaking time in lye is one week, and then the fish needs to be soaked in water for another week. This long process also may be a deterrent to home preparation.

Mike Field, owner of Mike's Seafood, has taken the route of middleman a new direction by producing lutefisk frozen dinners to expand his sales of the fish. In the target area of Clay and Cass counties, he has sold over 200 in one day (Sprung 1995).

Lutefisk seems to be best appreciated when prepared by someone else, but many people prefer to make their own lefse. Recipes vary, but the basics of cooked potatoes, cream, flour and butter appear to be constant, with some substitutions of instant potatoes or margarine. Lefse is eaten rolled up, usually having been cut into quarters, and spread with butter and sugar (Berg, 1996).

It appears that some Norwegian foods are being adopted by others or altered into new foods. One former resident of Moorhead, Chris Childers, offered the example of making enchiladas with lefse. He served this mongrel to his wife, and proclaimed it to be "as good as if I used tortillas."

This sense of mix and match cookery is evident by recipe #6, Mashed Potato Pizza. The author of this recipe (evidently one of the Hall family from Hoople, ND), impressed by the relatively new idea of pizza, incorporates the old standard, mashed potatoes, to create a blend of traditional and new foods.

This willingness to change traditional foods has not escaped the attention of food writer Steve Berg, who wrote a recent article on changing Scandinavian foods and restaurants in Minnesota and New York.

Berg (1996) describes the perception of Norwegian food as being "stuck in time," and quotes one chef as saying that while "smoked fish remains, Scandinavian restaurant food has been heavily influenced by French techniques and has incorporated fresh, colorful ingredients from the rest

of Europe and beyond." It would seem that Norwegians are no slaves to tradition.

Other Nordic treats include baked goods. Dried fruits often get added to cakes, probably reflecting a time when fresh fruit was unavailable, but dried fruit was easy to ship to distant places, like the Red River Valley.

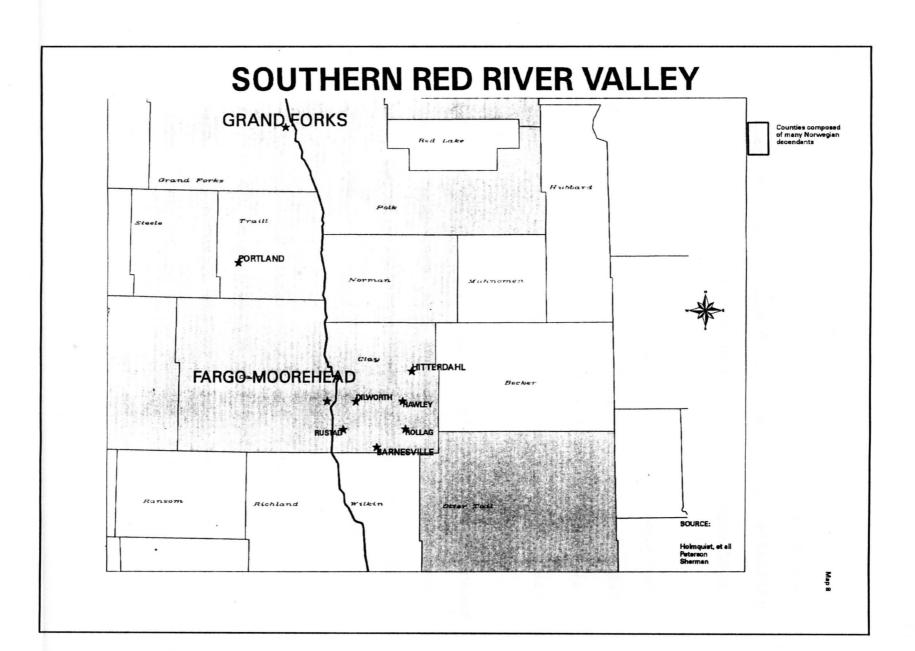
Rosettes and Krumkake are both sweet baked goods cooked on specially designed iron utensils, again mirroring the past, when iron goods were the only kitchen implements procurable. The yen to experiment with existing foods shows up again with recipe #7, Potato Party Mints. This recipe totally substitutes mashed potatoes for flour.

Many of these baked goods are seasonal in nature.

Recipes # 9 and #10 are rhubarb desserts possible only in the summer, during the rhubarb growing season. Others, like krumkake, and rosettes are advent season morsels, and are a part of very strong traditions associating food with Christmas celebrations and family gatherings.

Norwegian foodways display an interesting blend of tradition and experimentation, cod fish products without a proximate ocean, and thrift in spite of success. Foodways

in the Red River Valley tell the larger story of a people accustomed to a formerly maritime lifestyle, immigration, and settlement in a new land, with new food possibilities.



South Central North Dakota

Perhaps the most isolated area included in this study, this subregion is a stronghold of German-Russian ethnicity. William Sherman (1983) in his seminal work, Prairie Mosaic, writes,

For Germans, the century of life in Russia had meant a constant struggle to maintain their national traditions. When they arrived in America, they were equipped to live in a self-contained manner, if they so wished. Special traits of family and community life, of religion and language, all combined to insure their independence. And, in fact, they did preserve their way of life longer than any other North Dakota group. One can still hear German spoken fluently in the taverns and on the street corners of many villages in the southcentral part of the state.

It can be said with a degree of accuracy that Germans from Russia did not want to become Americans; rather, they wanted to be Germans in America.

Southcentral North Dakota remains true to its own ethnic foodways, with many of its original recipes found widely at restaurants and at home. Butcher shops will still save chicken legs for soup stock or fried chicken feet, and pancakes will be liberally dosed with cinnamon, a common German favorite.

German peasant foods, often involving fried potatoes or dough, are eaten not just as festival fare, but as common food preferred by many to more Americanized provender. Recipes #42 Knoephle soup, #18, Fleishchuechle, and #19, Kase Knifla, all show similar eastern European themes of fried or boiled dough, sometimes filled with meat or cheese, potatoes as the main vegetable, and a simple approach to seasoning.

Fleishchuechle in particular seems to be another touchstone food for an ethnic heritage. It is composed of lightly seasoned hamburger fried in a dough pouch, often served with onions and ketchup. Knoephla soup has migrated out of the strictly German tradition to become a regional, pan-ethnic soup. Its popularity is remarkable considering

it is a simple boiled dough and potato cream soup, and is rather high in fat and low in many nutrients.

Any one of these three food items often will be found at most of the cafes or family style restaurants in the area. Even the Dairy Queen in Mandan, North Dakota, has a reputation not for its ice cream, but for its fleishchuechle. Off the beaten track, even more authentic foods may be found, such as recipes #14, Sour Cream Spaghetti, or #15, Borscht. Sour cream and spaghetti seems like an unusual combination, but it could be considered to be another cream sauce with noodles, similar to stroganoff or pasta alfredo.

Noodles are highly favored by the German-Russians.

Many people make their own noodles by rolling out egg rich doughs and cutting them by hand. This sort of pasta is almost always eaten fresh and not dried. An unusual use of fresh noodles in Hague, North Dakota is Noodles with Watermelon. This recipe is exactly what it appears to be: cold noodle served with cold watermelon, sometimes with a little mayonnaise added. It is served during the warmest months of summer, as watermelons ripen. Whether this is a

new world innovation, or watermelons were available in Russia is unknown by the author.

Noodle with Watermelon is among the most inexpensive of all the recipes investigated in this thesis. If one uses a homegrown watermelon, and homemade noodles, as was intended by the creators of the recipe, this meal would cost pennies per serving. This thriftiness occurs with many of the other recipes in southcentral North Dakota. By using simple dough, inexpensive meats, and root vegetables, meal costs are extremely low, even for large families. Many of the ingredients can be grown in the farmstead garden, or butchered from home livestock, and require little in the way of storage or preservation. The cold winters in North Dakota made meat storage easy during much of the year, and root vegetables can be stored easily in most homes with a cool closet or root cellar.

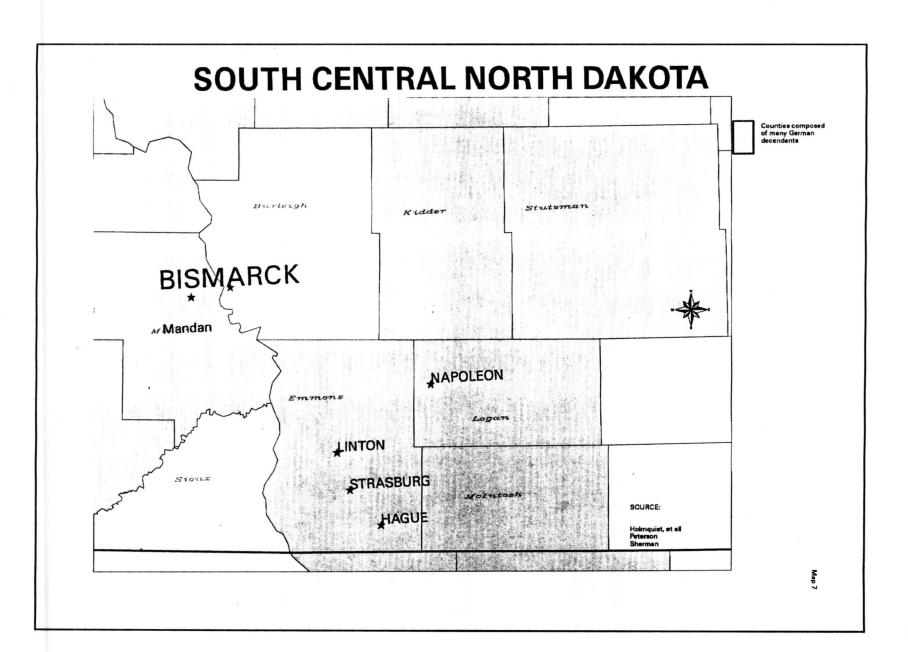
The overpowering themes in the German-Russian foodways are of thrift, self-sufficiency, and strong ethnic roots.

These cultural attributes in food correlate highly to

Sherman's writing of the German self-contained lifestyle,

and the German bid for autonomy after leaving Russia.

As much as these German-Russian traits are displayed in foodways, there is also some adoption of outside influences, similar to the Norwegian experience. Prime examples are recipes #21, Italian Dinner, or #29, African Chow Mein. While neither of these recipes bears the slightest resemblance to the purported nationalities, they do exhibit an attempt at duplicating an "exotic" or "foreign" fare that is commendable in its attempt at adventure, if not the actual ingredients or preparation. Other examples of culinary boldness are found in recipe #26, Not the Same Old Chicken. This recipe mixes very salty onion soup mix with mayonnaise, and sweet-sour preserves to coat a chicken prior to microwaving the bird. Aside from the fact that microwaved chicken is often quite tough, the bizarre combination of flavors guarantee that this is 'Not the Same Old Chicken.'



From looking at specific recipes of the three different ethnic groups, three different patterns emerge of traditions and folk foodways. The Dutch seem to have chosen to adopt "American" cuisine and forsake many Dutch recipes. The Germans and Norwegians have chosen to retain many more foods, and eat them at least on festival occasions. The Norwegian consumption of fish appears to be very high, in spite of no proximate ocean. Further study into quantities of fish sold in this area versus the national average might be interesting.

The German use of noodles, dough, and potatoes appears to retain many older patterns of cooking, and according to Sherman(1995), these foods are relatively unchanged from their Russian roots.

Also, the Germans and Norwegians have elected to blend some traditional flavors with newer ones, choosing to adopt and incorporate new ingredients into traditional foods.

Next, this thesis will summarize the main points of the paper, and offer conclusions and points for further study.

Chapter 5.

Conclusions and Common Themes Among the Regions

Food is inextricably linked to identity for many ethnic groups, but not to all of them. The Dutch of northwestern Iowa, although highly motivated to preserve their ethnic heritage in such ways as a high school marching band wearing clogs and ethnic costumes, have few ties to traditional foods of The Netherlands. This is sharp contrast to the Norwegians and German-Russians who either use specific foods as cultural hallmarks, or cling to ethnic foods based on availability or preferences.

In general, nationalities still are associated with cuisines, but the interest in preserving these associations by eating specific foods everyday may vary widely.

Thriftiness and economy of food present the greatest shared traits of the ethnic groups studied. This is the case whether it is the inexpensive dough dishes of the German-Russians, or the preference for formerly less expensive, preserved fish by the Norwegian, or lastly, the simple meat and potatoes dining of the Iowa Dutch.

These peoples, with different histories and origins, share a common frugality that is attributed by many of those interviewed as being a memory of the Great

Depression. This might help explain the last fifty years of these people, but does not explain the origin of the recipes with non-English names. It would seem more plausible that life in Europe was difficult and poverty was common, so that when immigrants came to the Upper Midwest, they already had cultural tools of survival to deal with limited choices of food.

This explanation seems to be confirmed by the simple fact that people did want to move to the United States, rather than from the United States back to Europe. One only has to look to the Irish Potato Famine and other disasters to further validate the idea that the frugal, efficient foodways were keys to survival for many in Europe, and were well established before these people migrated to America.

There may have been a self-selection process of immigration, so that only those people with well developed survival skills, and a strong motive for leaving, such as poverty, chose to immigrate to the United States.

Wealthier people may have less reason to leave the comfortable surroundings of home. This reasoning might skew the foodways of the ethnic groups studied away from more expensive foods.

From this study, it appears that most people of the Upper Midwest prefer inexpensive, mildly spiced foods, whatever their ethnic origin may be. Fancier fare is available, and consumed, but often as a special occasion, or a rare treat.

Secondly, spicy foods are not in favor among any of the studied groups. While strong tastes are acceptable, such as sauerkraut or pickled fish, highly seasoned foods, especially when seasoned with chilies or other hot spices, are appreciated by few residents. Younger people are most likely to experiment with these flavors, and highly Americanized Mexican, Chinese, and other foods are finding favor in restaurants in the Upper Midwest. Jon Klemme, an acquaintance mentioned earlier in this thesis, disclosed that he breaks into a sweat from eating tacos served in restaurants. Spicy foods are held in low esteem by many, and exotic, hot, or foreign foods are often

co-opted into a milder form, and changed to include more familiar ingredients before being welcomed into the local tastes. Pizza went from being an exotic foreign dish, with anchovies and peppers, to a dish that may be topped with sauerkraut, or made with a mashed potato crust.

Finally, the geographic persistance of these foodways is very strong. Cuisine is just another example of culture acting as humankind's toolbox of solutions in dealing with nature. Food preferences are examples of solutions to what was available and edible in Europe, and these tastes migrated with the people. The example of Nasi Goreng is an extreme version of diffusion, yet is a valid and interesting one. The area wide consumption of lutefisk, an item that is not required to sustain life or balance diets, attests to the persistance of dietary habits. Once these preferences in food are established, they can be very difficult to break.

This paper has presented examples of foodways of only several ethnic groups within the Upper Midwestern region.

Thus, it is not universal in its coverage, nor was it intended to be. Many additional groups need to be

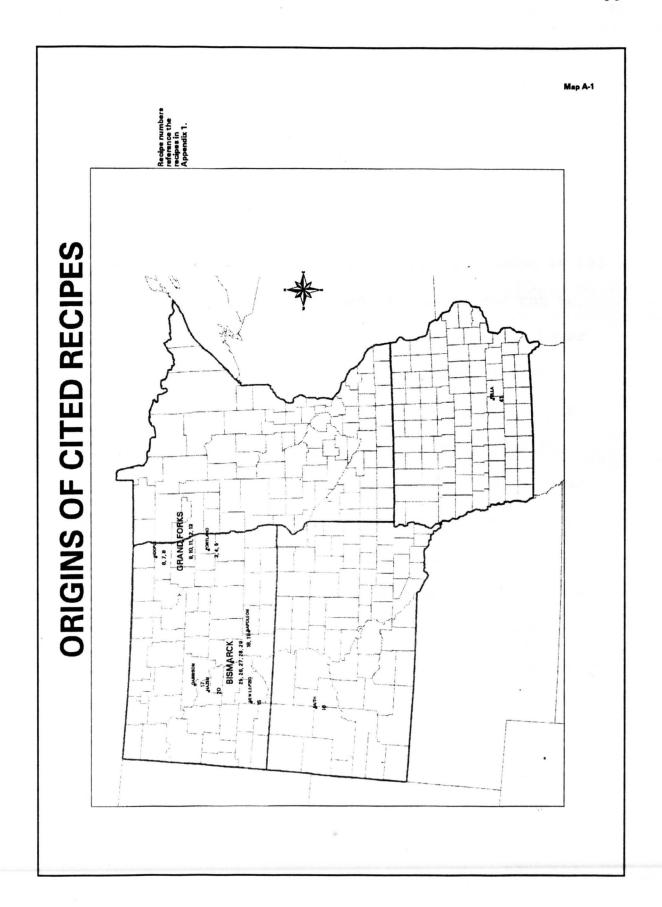
researched, in greater depth, to gain a more comprehensive view of the interplay between culture, settlement, geography, and foodways. In addition, the fundamental question of homogenization of American culture and food require spatial analysis to map the spread of such phenomena as frozen foods, chains of fast food restaurants, and television advertising of foods. Thus, the entire geographic pattern has not completely emerged, but this work has generated a broad outline that other geographers may choose to follow.

Appendix 1

Mea Culpa

The recipes in this appendix are written as they came from the cookbooks, notecards, or the authors of the recipes. I did not in anyway try to modify them for organization or grammar. I believe that recipes are intellectual property, and I have tried to give credit to the individual cooks cited in cookbooks or other documents whenever possible. In some instances, the individual who actually created the recipe is not known, and I humbly acknowledge their anonymous work.

Also, whenever possible, I located the origin of the cited recipe on Map A-1. In some examples, no location was given, or given vaguely, and these cases remain a mystery.



1. Venison in Sour Cream

1 container Sour Cream

1 can Cream of Mushroom Soup

Venison Roast

Dill

Salt, pepper, and lard top of roast with thick bacon or fat salt pork. Put fat in roasting pan, add meat, and put in hot oven (450°) for about 15 minutes. Baste often. Lower heat to 300° and cook for another 30 minutes. Remove strips of fat with spatula. "Frost" the roast with 1 cup sour cream, covering all exposed areas. Sprinkle with dill, and return to oven for one hour or until sour cream has browned and formed a crust. Remove meat from roaster, cook down fat with 1/2 cup of boiling water, stir in 2 tablespoons flour, and cook until absorbed. Add mushroom soup, 3 tablespoons cognac and boil. Stir in remaining sour cream and dill for instant sauce. A six pound roast serves 8.

Johanna Meier

(South Dakota Centennial Cookbook, p.159)

2. Pickled Fish

1 cup salt 2 tablespoons pickling

spices

white onions 3/4 cup white port

white vinegar northern or walleye

1 1/4 cups sugar pike fillets

Put fish in a brine of 1 cup salt, and 1 quart water. Soak for 48 hours. Pour off brine, wash fish and cut into bite sized pieces. Layer fish and white onion rings (cut thin). Don't pack jars tightly. Fill with white vinegar. Soak for 24 hours. Drain and throw away the vinegar. Cook 2 cups white vinegar with sugar and pickling spices. Cool. Add white port and pour over fish and onion rings. Let stand in jars in refrigerator 7 to 10 days before eating.

Wes Broer

(South Dakota Centennial Cookbook, p.165)

3. Lefse

7 cups riced potatoes 1 Tbsp. sugar

2/3 cup evaporated milk 1 Tbsp. salt

1/4 cup Crisco or margarine 2 cups flour

Mix potatoes, milk, Crisco, sugar and salt together. Cool overnight. In the morning add flour. Roll out and bake on lefse grill. (I use 2 Tbsp. Crisco and 2 Tbsp. margarine). Sophie Enger

(Aurdal Lutheran Cookbook, p.106)

4. Rommegrot

1 cup butter

1 qt. milk

Sugar and salt to taste 3/4 cup flour

Use method like making white sauce. Melt margarine; add flour. Add warm milk and cook over low heat. Add sugar and salt to taste. Melt a little margarine or butter and put over grot, sprinkle sugar and cinnamon on top.

Corinne Hefta

(Aurdal Lutheran Cookbook, p.106)

5. Microwave Rommegrot

1/2 cup margarine

1/2 cup flour

1 Tbsp. sugar

1 cup cream

1 cup milk

Micro. Temp.: High

Time: 2 + 3 to 4 minutes

Melt margarine. Then add flour, sugar, cream and milk. Stir with whisk as you would like white sauce. Cook 2 minutes in microwave. Take out and stir well. Cook for 3 to 4 minutes more. Butter oil should rise to the top, if not, cook a few more seconds. Serve with sugar and cinnamon sprinkled on top. Tastes real good.

Peggy Fyre

(Aurdal Lutheran Cookbook, p.175)

6. Mashed Potato Pizza

1 pounds potatoes, preferably russet

1 cup white flour

Salt to taste

Freshly ground black pepper to taste

3 1/2 tablespoons olive oil, divided

- 12-ounce can plum tomatoes
- 12 ounces mozzarella cheese 1/2 cup grated Parmesan
- 2 tablespoons chopped fresh basil

Preheat oven to 400° . Bake unpeeled potatoes (about 45 minutes); scoop pulp out of shells, and mash. To make potato dough crust, in medium bowl, with your hands thoroughly mix potatoes, flour, salt, and pepper to a smooth paste. Brush 2 9-inch pie pans with 1 tablespoon olive oil. Divide potato dough in half and spread half the dough 1/4-inch thick on the bottom of one of the pans and up the sides. Sprinkle lightly with 1 tablespoon oil. Repeat with rest of dough in second pan. Prebake crust for 10-15 minutes. Drain tomatoes and cut into strips; lay on potato dough. Shred mozzarella cheese, grate Parmesan, and chop basil. Sprinkle dough with cheeses and basil. Sprinkle 1/2 tablespoon oil over all. Return pizzas to oven, and bake 20-30 minutes longer until cheese is bubbly and golden brown. Cut each pizza into 6 wedges and serve.

(Hall's Potato Harvest Cookbook, p.180)

7. Potato Party Mints

1 medium potato, any type to make 1/2 cup mashed

1-1/2 cups sifted powdered sugar

1/2 teaspoon flavoring (lemon, peppermint, etc.)

Food coloring

Granulated sugar for

coating

Peel potato, and cut in half. Boil until tender when pierced with a fork (about 20 minutes); drain, mash, and cool. To the mashed potato, add powdered sugar, food coloring, and flavoring; knead well with hands. Roll into small balls. To flatten, press down with fork or cookie press; dip in granulated sugar. Refrigerate until serving.

Other Idea

 Use candy molds instead of pressing down with fork or cookie press.

(Hall's Potato Harvest Cookbook, p.294)

8. Oriental Oven Goldens

6 medium potatoes, preferably yellow

3/4 cup butter or margarine

1/4 cup soy sauce

2 tbl sesame seeds

1/2 cup crushed cornflakes or crushed crackers
Sweet and sour sauce for dipping

Preheat oven to 400°. Cut each unpeeled potato into 8 wedges lengthwise. Place potatoes on a baking sheet with sides. Melt butter and combine with soy sauce. Brush butter mixture over potatoes.

Sprinkle potatoes with crushed cornflakes and sesame seeds.

(Or put cornflakes, seeds, and potatoes in plastic bag and shake to coat.) Bake for 35 minutes or until crisp and lightly browned. Dip in sweet and sour sauce.

(Hall's Potato Harvest Cookbook, p.234)

9. Rhubarb Apple Crisp

3 Medium Apples 1 lb. Rhubarb

1 Tbsp. Lemon Juice 1/3 Cup Sugar

1 Cup Flour 3/4 Cup Brown Sugar,
packed

1/2 Tsp. Cinnamon 1/2 Tsp. Nutmeg

1/2 Tsp. Ginger 1/2 Cup Butter or
Margarine

Peel and chop apples into chunks. Chop rhubarb. Mix the fruit, lemon juice, and sugar together and spread in a 2 quart baking dish. In a bowl, combine flour, brown sugar, spices, and margarine. Mix until it is the consistency of coarse cornmeal. Spread over fruit. Bake at 350° for I hour.

Mickie Nakonechny

(Holy Family Cookbook, p. 225)

10. Rhubarb Dessert

1 Graham Cracker Crust 1 1/2 Cups Mini

2 Cups Milk Marshmallows

1 Cup Rhubarb 1 Cup Cool Whip

1 Cup Sugar 1/2 Cup Water

1 Vanilla Instant Pudding 2 Tbs. Cornstarch

Cook rhubarb, sugar, water, and cornstarch until thick, pour over crust. Mix mini marshmallows and Cool Whip and pour over cooled rhubarb and crust. Prepare pudding and

pour over dessert. Sprinkle graham cracker crumbs over all.

Can be made a day ahead.

Alicia Osorno

(Holy Family Cookbook, p.225)

11. Seafoam Salad

1-6 Oz. Lime or Orange Jello 1-6 Oz. Cream Cheese

2 Cups Whipping Cream 1 Can Pears or Mandarin
Oranges

Dissolve jello in pear juice plus water to equal 2 cups. Boil. Chill until egg white consistency. Mix together cream cheese and pears. Whip cream until Cool Whip consistency. Mix jello, cream cheese and pears, fold in whipped cream. Chill.

Nadine Bartak

(Holy Family Cookbook, p.370)

12. Reuben Burger Pie

MEAT PIE SHELL:

1 Lb. Ground Beef

- 2/3 Cup Quaker Oats
- 1/2 Cup Thousand Island Dressing
- 1 Egg
- 3/4 Tsp. Salt

- 1/4 Tsp. Pepper
- 1/8 Tsp Garlic Powder

FILLING:

- 1-16 Oz. Can Sauerkraut, drained
- 2 Cups (8 Oz.) Shredded Swiss Cheese
- 11/5 Tsp. Caraway Seeds

Combine all ingredients for meat shell; mix well. Press onto bottom and sides of 9"pie plate. Bake in preheated moderate oven, 350 degrees, for 15 minutes: drain. Combine all ingredients for filling; toss lightly, mixing well.

Spoon into partially-baked meat shell. Continue to bake 10-12 minutes, or until cheese melts. Cut into wedges and serve with additional thousand island dressing.

Variation: To prepare in microwave oven, cook meat pie shell in microwave oven 6-7 minutes, rotating dish 3 times. Drain. After filling, continue to cook in microwave oven 5 minutes, rotating dish 3 times.

Mary Belanus

(Holy Family Cookbook, p.245)

13. Skillet Dinner

8 or 12 Oz. Bacon, cut into 1" squares

1 or More Large Onions

6 Medium Raw Potatoes

1 Lb. Hamburger

8 Raw Carrots

Salt and Pepper to taste 1/2 Cup Water

In bottom of large cold skillet place bacon. Over this crumble hamburger, then layer onion, potatoes, and carrots. Salt and pepper each layer lightly. Put stove on and let bacon sizzle for 5 minutes. Then add 1/2 cup water. Cover pan lightly, turn to medium heat and cook for 30 minutes or until vegetables are tender. Serve from pan.

Joan Martindale

(Holy Family Cookbook, p.245)

14. Sour Cream Spaghetti Sauce

- 24 ounce long spaghetti noodles
- 1 cup minced onion
- 2 tsp. garlic salt

1 1/2 lb. ground beef

2 1/2 tsp. salt

1 cup butter

1 tsp. pepper

- 2 cans mushrooms
- 2 cans cream of mushroom soup
- 3 cups sour cream

Saute onion and garlic salt in butter over medium heat.

Add meat and brown. Add salt, pepper, mushrooms and cook

for 5 minutes. Add soup and simmer uncovered for 10

minutes. Stir in sour cream and heat through. Cook your

spaghetti as usual and add your meat sauce. Serves 6-8.

Lori Opdahl, Manfred, N.D.

(KFYR 60th Anniversary Cookbook, p.140)

15. Borscht Soup

4 large potatoes

3 large carrots

3 stalks celery

1 large onion

1 medium beet

1 tbsp. salt

1 tsp. pepper

2/3 cup rice

1 cup green beans 2/3 cup cabbage

4 beet tops (leaf and stem) 6 dill leaves

onion tops celery leaves

1 sprig parsley 1 bay leaf

1/2 cup peas

Canned, fresh, or frozen vegetables may be used. Peel potatoes and carrots. Dice all vegetables, bring to a boil in 8 cups water. Cook until soft, add 1 quart tomatoes or juice and bring to a boil. Chicken or beef broth may be used as part of liquid. Serve with cream.

Rocelia Schock

New Leipzig, N.D.

(KFYR 60th Anniversary Cookbook, p.209)

16. Tuna Loaf

1 cup soda cracker crumbs 1-61/2 oz. can tuna,

drained

1 can cream of celery soup 2 slightly beaten eggs

Mix all ingredients together. Place in greased 8x8 inch baking dish. Bake at 350° for 40 to 45 minutes.

Dianne Hellekson, Faith, S.D.

(KFYR 60th Anniversary Cookbook, p.185)

17. Cheesey Salmon Casserole

1 lb. can salmon

3 tbsp. butter

3 tbsp. flour

2 cups liquid (salmon

liquid & milk)

1 quart sliced cooked potatoes 1/2 cup salad dressing

1/2 cup shredded cheddar cheese

1 tsp. mustard

1 tsp. worcestershire sauce

Drain and flake salmon, saving liquid. Malt butter and blend in flour. Add liquid gradually, cook until thick and smooth, stirring constantly. Arrange potatoes, salmon, and sauce alternately. Combine remaining ingredients and spread on top. Bake 375° for 30 minutes in a 13 x13 inch pan. Can microwave for 15 minutes on high in a casserole or glass pan.

Mrs. Dennis Schumaler, Garrison, N.D.

(KFYR 60th Anniversary Cookbook, p.185)

18. Fleishchuechle

1 cup cream

3 eggs

1/2 tsp. soda

1 cup milk

1 tsp. baking powder

3 tbsp. lard

5 cups flour

Mix all ingredients together, make a stiff dough. Roll out and cut into squares. Prepare hamburger seasoned with salt and pepper to taste and one onion. Fry hamburger and add 1 can sauerkraut, drained. Place 1 spoonful on dough square fold over and seal edge. Seal edge of dough by trimming with a saucer. Deep fry until nicely browned. I also use this same dough for Kase Knifla, recipe as follows.

19. Kase Knifla

- a carton dry curd cottage cheese
- 1 egg

1 small onion

- 1 tsp. salt
- 1/4 tsp. pepper or to taste

Place a spoonful of cheese mixture on rolled out dough and cut into squares. Fold in half and seal with edge of saucer. Boil in salted water for about 5 minutes, then fry

in oil or margarine until brown on both sides.

Mrs. Charles Rau, Napoleon, N.D.

(KFYR 60th Anniversary Cookbook, p.171)

20. Sauerkraut with Buttons

1 pint sauerkraut 1 small onion

2 tbsp. crisco 1 tbsp. sugar

1 cup water pepper and salt

Button dough:

3 cups flour 3 eggs, beaten

1 tsp. salt water

Cook the sauerkraut until tender. Combine the egg, flour and salt. Add enough water to make a dough thick enough to be dropped by spoonfuls into boiling salt water. Boil until the buttons are cooked through, drain and mix with the sauerkraut and serve.

Mrs. Randy Maas, Hazen, N.D.

(KFYR 60th Anniversary Cookbook, p.164)

21. Italian Dinner

1 lb. ground beef 2 tsp. salt

1/2 tsp. pepper

1/2 tsp. paprika

1 can (#2) tomatoes

1 can (#2) cream style

corn

1 medium size pkg. egg noodles

1/4 lb. grated cheese

- 1 large green pepper, chopped 1 large onion, chopped
- 3 tbsp. salad oil

Fry chopped green peppers and chopped onion until it begins to brown. Add ground beef and cook or fry. Add noodles which have been cooked and drained. Add tomatoes and corn, mix well and pour into large roasting pan. Bake 1 hour at 300°. When ready to serve, sprinkle grated cheese over the top.

Mrs. Cynthia Schnabel, Mercer, N.D. (KFYR 60th Anniversary Cookbook, p.165)

22. Mountain Dew Salad

1 large pkg. lemon Jello 2 c. hot water

1-3/4 cup. Mountain Dew

2 bananas

1 cup miniature marshmallows

1 small can crushed

pineapple

1 pkg. (3-oz.) lemon pudding 1 box Dream Whip
Dissolve jello with hot water in cake pan. Add Mountain Dew
and chill until it thickens. Slice 2 bananas, add
marshmallows and spread pineapple on top. Chill until firm.
Cook lemon pie filling according to directions. Cool and
add Dream Whip. Spread on top of jello. Chill. Top with
chopped nuts, if desired.

Mary White

(The Best of Quick & East Cookin, p.55)

23. Orange Fluff

- 1 small container cottage cheese
- 1 small container whipped topping
- 1 pkg. (3-oz.) orange gelatin 1 small can drained crushed pineapple
- 1 small can mandarin oranges

 Mix cottage cheese and whipped topping together; add dry

 gelatin. Add pineapple and oranges. Refrigerate for several
 hours.

Editor

(The Best of Quick & East Cookin, p.55)

24. California Salad

3 oz. cream cheese

1 medium can pineapple

drained

1 c. pecans, chopped

1 bag miniature

marshmallows

Mix all together and garnish with maraschino cherries.

Donna LeNette Baron

(The Best of Quick & East Cookin, p.55)

25. Red Cinnamon Apples with Tiny Pork Sausages

1 C. sugar

18 little pork sausages

6 cored apples with upper peelings removed

1/2 C. water

1/3 C. small red

cinnamon candies

Custard cups, muffin tins or baking pan to hold 6 apples

Boil together 5 minutes the sugar, water and candies. Place apples, peeled side down in hot syrup and cook 5 minutes. Meanwhile, brown the pork sausages in skillet. Remove apples from syrup and place peeled side up in individual baking containers or 1 pan. Place 3 browned sausages in

center of each apple. Pour red cinnamon syrup over all. Bake till tender,350° for 30 minutes. Serves 6.

Serve hot in leafy green wreaths of watercress or lettuce, accompanied by fluffy rice with cheese sauce. A nice holiday late supper.

Mrs. W. Schmaltz

(Church of St. Anne, p. 142)

26. Not The Same Old Chicken

1-21/2 to 3 lb. chicken 1/2 box (1 pkg.) dry

onion soup

1/4 C. mayonnaise

1/2 C. apricot-

pineapple preserves

Arrange chicken in 12x8x2" dish with thickest parts to outside edge of the dish. Mix remaining ingredients in a small bowl and spread over chicken, completely coating each piece.. Cover with wax paper. Microwave at high 18 to 22 minutes, rotating dish 1/2 turn after 10 minutes. Allow to stand 10 minutes before serving.

Mrs. W. Schmaltz

(Church of St. Anne, p. 142)

27. Easy Soup Hotdish

1 can cream of celery soup 1 can chicken gumbo

soup

1 can mushroom soup 1 can beef soup

1-6 or 8 oz. pkg. chow mein noodles

1 pound hamburger

1 onion

Brown 1 pound hamburger and 1 large onion. Combine all of it and bake at 3500 for 1 hour.

Betty Brady

(Church of St. Anne, p.64)

28. Potato, Ham Casserole

- 10 large, cubed, cooked potatoes
- 1 lb. cubed, minced ham

3 cans mushroom soup 1 C. milk, mix with

soup

1-4 oz. can mushrooms, drained 1 medium chopped onion

11/2 C. shredded Cheddar cheese

3 to 4 T. bacon bits

1 C. raw, shredded carrots 1/2 tsp. black pepper

11/2 C. crushed dry bread crumbs

1 stick melted butter or margarine

Mix first 10 ingredients in large bowl, then spoon into 5or 6-quart casserole. Mix crushed bread crumbs and melted butter or margarine. Sprinkle over potato mixture, then bake at 325° for 1 hour. Serves 15 to 18.

Crushed chips or any choice can be used in place of the bread crumbs. Also ham instead of minced ham.

Delores Huisman

(Church of St. Anne, p.65)

29. African Chow Mein

- 11/2 lbs. hamburger, browned 1 can chicken noodle soup
- 1/2 C. onions (chopped), browned
- 1 can cream of mushroom soup
- 2 C. celery (cut up), browned 1/2 C. soy sauce
- 1 C. Minute rice 1/2 C. slivered almonds Mix all ingredients into browned hamburger, onion and celery. Sprinkle with Chinese noodles before baking at 350° for 45 minutes.

Ruth A. Anderson

(Church of St. Anne, p.65)

30. Boiled Spice Cake

2 c sugar

1 c butter

2 c raisins

2 c water

2 tsp cinnamon

1 tsp salt

2 tsp cloves

Put in pan and bring to boil, then cool.

Add: 2 tsp soda

3 c flour

Bake at 350 degrees about 40 minutes.

(Scandinavian Home Cooking, p.46)

31. Egg-Milk-Butterless Cake

1 c sugar

1/2 c lard

1 c raisins

1 c water

2 c flour

1 tsp baking powder

1 tsp soda dissolved in hot water

1 tsp cloves

1 tsp cinnamon

1/4 tsp nutmeg

1/4 tsp salt

Boil sugar, lard, raisins, water, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg and salt for 3 minutes. (Boil 3 minutes after it starts to bail). Take off the stove and let cool (real cold). Then stir in flour, baking powder and soda. Bake in a slow oven for 1 hour (300 degrees or until done).

(Scandinavian Home Cooking, p.47)

32. Eggless Spice Cake

Bring to a boil:

1 c sugar 1 c water

1/2 c margarine 1/2 c raisins

1/2 tsp cinnamon 1/2 tsp allspice

1/2 tsp cloves

Cool, then add:

1 3/4 c flour 1/2 tsp salt

1/2 tsp soda 1 tsp baking powder

Bake 45 minutes (or longer) at 350 degrees. May add nuts. (Scandinavian Home Cooking, p.47)

33. Eggless White Cake

Sift together: 2 c cake flour 1/2 tsp soda

1/2 tsp baking powder 1 tsp salt

Cream together: 1/2 c shortening 1 c sugar

Add dry ingredients alternately with 1 c buttermilk and 1 tsp vanilla or lemon flavoring. Bake in moderate oven.

(Scandinavian Home Cooking, p.47)

34. Flaked Fish Souffle

2 c flaked fish (salmon)

1/2 c butter

2/3 c flour

 $1 \frac{1}{2}$ c milk

1 1/2 C milk, heated 5 eggs, separated

salt and sugar to taste 1/4 c bread crumbs

Melt butter in a pan and stir in flour. Add milk gradually and cook over low heat, stirring constantly, until mixture thickens. Remove from heat and stir in egg yolks. Season with a little salt and sugar and fold in egg whites, stiffly beaten. Sprinkle a buttered baking dish with bread crumbs and fill with alternate layers of batter and fish. Seat in a shallow pan of water and bake at 350 for 50 to 55 minutes, or until center is firm. Serves six.

Angie Thompson

(Scandinavian Home Cooking, p.20)

35. Fish Balls

2 c cooked fish (any left over fish)

1Tbl Worcestershire sauce 3 Tbl flour

1 Tbl minced parsley

1Tbl onion juice

3 eggs, separated

Free fish from skin and bones and mash to paste. Beat egg yolks thick and add flour, salt, onion and parsley. Stir in fish and Worcestershire sauce and fold in stiffly beaten egg whites. Fry spoonfuls in deep fat.

(Scandinavian Home Cooking, p.20)

36. Lutefisk

9 lb. dried fish

2 lb. slaked lime

1 1/3 lb. washing soda

Water

Saw the fish into convenient pieces if necessary. Place in a wooden receptacle and cover with cold water. Let it lie for a week, changing water every day. Make a solution of the slaked lime, soda and fifteen quarts of water. Place the fish in this solution under weights to keep the pieces in position as they swell. Add more water if necessary to

keep the pieces covered. In about a week, or when properly softened through, take out, rinse thoroughly, and place in cold water for eight days, changing water twice daily during the first few days. Cut in pieces the size you wish to serve, skin, and wash. Tie in a cloth and place in boiling water to cook for ten or fifteen minutes until tender. Serve with drawn butter.

(Scandinavian Home Cooking, p.21)

37. Serving Lutefisk

Soak fish several hours. Cut off fins and cut fish in about 4 sections. Put fish in kettle of cold water, add salt and bring to a boil gradually. It will be done when brought to a full boil. If boiled too long the fish will fall to pieces. Drain, remove skin and serve with drawn butter.

(Scandinavian Home Cooking, p.21)

38. Lutefisk (Baked in the oven)

Soak lutefisk for 1 hour in water, drain. Put into a roaster with a rack in the bottom. Salt it. Cover pan with foil and put a lid on.

Let steam in its own juice.

Put into a 400 degree oven for 20 minutes.

(Scandinavian Home Cooking, p.21)

39. Baked Lutefisk (A recipe from Alaska)

Line a baking pan with large aluminum foil. Put in the amount of prepared (pre-soaked) luterisk you wish to serve. Sprinkle with salt. Bring the foil up over the fish, covering it completely, crimping the edges together. For 10 to 15 pounds of fish, bake one hour at 325 degrees, or else bake a half hour at 400 and 15 minutes at 350.

(Scandinavian Home Cooking, p.21)

40. Rodekool

2 pounds red cabbage 1/4 cup sugar

2 tart apples 1/4 vinegar

2 tbl butter 1/4 tsp allspice

Core cabbage and apples, and cut into small pieces. Cook mixture in boiling water until tender, about 35 minutes.

Drain, and add butter, sugar, vinegar, and spices.

(Dandy Dutch Recipes, p.58)

41. Mashed Potatoes with Sauerkraut and Sausage

6 to 8 large potatoes

1 jar sauerkraut

butter

1 1/2 pounds sausage

1/2 cup milk

nutmeg

Boil potatoes until tender, and drain. Add butter and milk, and mash into a puree'. Simmer sauerkraut with sausage for 20 minutes, and add to potatoes. Sprinkle with nutmeg and serve.

The Strawtown Inn, Pella, IA (Dandy Dutch Recipes, p.80)

42. Knoephle Soup

Dough

1 3/4 cups flour

1 egg

1/2 cup water

1 tsp salt

Soup Base

1 cup diced celery

1 cup chopped onion

11/2 cup diced potatoes

3 chicken bouillon cubes

4 cups milk

1/2 cup cream

salt and pepper

To make knoephle, combine dough ingredients to make a stiff

dough, and chill. Roll two tablespoon of dough on floured board, and cut into two inch squares with pizza cutter.

Boil dough for 20 minute, stirring often, then drain. For soup, saute celery and onions in margarine, add potatoes and bouillon cubes, and add water to cover ingredients, and cook for 25 minutes. In a large kettle, combine the cooked knoephle and potatoes mixture, and add the milk and cream. Simmer 20-30 minutes, stirring occasionally.

Marion Mader

(Bismarck, ND)

Bibliography

Allen, James P. and Eugene J. Turner. <u>We the People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity</u>. 1987. New York: MacMillan.

St. Anne's Church of Bismarck, ND. date unknown. <u>Cookbook</u>. Waverly, IA: G & R Publishing.

Arnott, Margaret L., ed. 1975. <u>Gastronomy: The Anthropology of Food and Food Habits</u>. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Aurdal Lutheran Church Women of Portland, ND. date unknown. Aurdal Lutheran Cookbook. Gwinner, ND: J & M Printing.

Baker-Roelofs, Mina, ed. 1991. <u>Dandy Dutch Recipes</u>. Iowa City, IA: Penfield Press.

Berg, Steve. 1966. Scandinavian cuisine scarce in Vikings' hometown. Minneapolis Star Tribune. May 15.

Brown, Linda K. and Kay Mussell, eds. 1984. <u>ethic and Regional Foodways in the United States</u>. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Carlson, Bruce. 1993. <u>Flat-Out Dirt Cheap Cookin'</u>. Sioux City, IA: Quixote Press.

Challey, Myrtle, et al. 1965. <u>Favorite Recipes of the Great Plains</u>. Louisville, Kentucky: Favorite Recipes Press.

Ekstrand, Morry, and Florence. 1976. <u>Scandinavian Home Cooking</u>. Seattle, WA: Scandinavian Needlepoint.

Farb, Peter, and George Armelagos. 1980. <u>Consuming Passions</u>. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Garreau, Joel. 1981. <u>The Nine Nations of North America</u>. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Gersmehl, Phillip. 1991. <u>The United States and Canada</u>. Minneapolis: self published notes.

The Hall Family, Edinburg, ND. 1993. <u>Hall's Potato Harvest</u> <u>Cookbook</u>. Minneapolis, MN: Bolger Publications.

Hake, Herbert V. 1968. <u>Iowa Inside Out</u>. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Harris, Marvin, and Eric B. Ross, eds. 1987. <u>Food and Evolution</u>. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Harris, Marvin. 1985. Good to Eat. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Hart, John Fraser, ed. 1972. Regions of the United States. New York: Harper & Row.

Hart, John Fraser. 1981. "The Highest Form of the Geographer's Art." Annals of the Association of American Geographers. V72:1, pp. 1-29.

Hillard, Sam Bowers. 1972. <u>Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860</u>. Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Holly Jaycee Auxiliary, Holly, MI. 1976. <u>Family Favorites</u>. Kansas City, Kansas: Cookbook Publishers.

Holmquist, June Drenning, Ed. 1981. They Chose Minnesota, A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society.

Holy Family Catholic Church, Grand Forks, ND. date unknown. Holy Family Cookbook. publisher unknown.

Hooker, Richard J. 1981. <u>Food and Drink in America</u>. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Hudson, Lois Phillips. 1984. <u>The Bones of Plenty</u>. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. 1965. <u>Regionalism in America</u>. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

St. Joseph Cathedral Club, Sioux Falls, SD. 1979. <u>Favorite Recipes from our Best Cooks, or A Book of Favorite Recipes</u>. Shawnee Mission, KS: Circulation Service.

Kariel, Herbert G. A Proposed Classification of Diet. <u>Annals of the American Association of Geographers</u>. V56:1, pp. 68-79.

King of Kings Lutheran Church and School, Roseville, MN. 1987. <u>Silver Anniversary Cookbook of King of Kings Lutheran</u> <u>Church</u>. Olathe, KS: Cookbook Publishers.

KFYR Radio, Bismarck, ND. date unknown. 60th Anniversary Cookbook. publisher unknown.

Levenstein, Harvey. 1993. <u>Paradox of Plenty</u>. New York: Oxford University Press.

Levenstein, Harvey. 1988. <u>Revolution at the Table</u>. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lovegren, Sylvia. 1995. <u>Fashionable Food, Seven Decades of Food Fads</u>. New York: MacMillan.

Lyons, David. 1996. Cheese Culture. World Traveler. V28:2, pp. 34-42.

Martin, Janet, and Allen Todnem. 1992. <u>Lutheran Church</u> <u>Basement Women</u>. Hastings, MN: Redbird Productions.

Overgard, Zeta, ed. 1989. <u>The Best of Quick & Easy Home Cookin'</u>. Davis, SD: Parkside Publishing.

Peterson, E. Frank. 1904. <u>Historical Atlas of South Dakota</u>. Chicago: S. Wangersheim.

Qualey, Carlton C. and Jon A. Gjerde. *The Norwegians*, from Holmquist, June Drenning, ed. 1981. <u>They Chose Minnesota, A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups</u>. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society.

Rosemount American Legion Auxiliary Unit 65, Rosemount, MN. 1992. Rosemount Unit 65 Cook Book. Rosemount, MN: Better Design.

Sharpe, J. Ed, and Thomas B. Underwood. 1973. American Indian Cooking & Herb Lore. Cherokee, NC: Cherokee Publications.

Sherman, William C. 1983. <u>Prairie Mosaic: An Ethnic Atlas of Rural North Dakota</u>. Fargo, ND: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies.

Smith, C. Earle, ed. 1973. <u>Man and His Food</u>. University, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Sokolov, Raymond. 1981. <u>Fading Feast</u>. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Sorre, Max. 1952. The Geography of Diet, from Wagner, Phillip, L., and Marvin W. Mikesell. 1962. Reading in cultural Geography. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

South Dakota State Historical Society. 1993. The Official South Dakota Centennial Cookbook Rapid City, SD: Dakota West Books.

Sprung, Christopher. 1996. The sweet smell of success? The Fargo Forum. February 7.

Steiner & Mondale, 1988, <u>Regions and Regionalism in the United States</u>, Garland Publishing, New York.

WNAX, Yankton, SD. 1946. <u>Five Years With Your Neighbor Lady</u>. publisher unknown.

WNAX, Yankton, SD. 1961. <u>Your Neighbor Lady Book</u>. publisher unknown.

WNAX, Yankton, SD. 1967. <u>Your Neighbor Lady Book</u>. publisher unknown.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. 1979. North America's Vernacular Regions. Annals of the American Association of Geographers, V70:1, pp. 1-16.

Zimolzak, Chester E., and Charles A. Stansfield. 1979. <u>The Human Landscape</u>. Columbus: E. Merrill Publishing.

Interviews

Berg, Donald, February, March, and June 1996, Former resident of Fargo, ND.

Brevig, Michelle, March 1996, supervisor at Calido Chile. Traders, Mall of America, Bloomington.

Childers, Chris, December 1995, Norwegian, and resident of Moorhead, MN.

Klemme, Jon, May 1995, Dutch, and former resident of Hawarden, IA.

Sherman, William C., May 1995, Author and lecturer on North Dakota culture and ethnic history.

Shrag, Pam, December 1994, publisher of Quick and Easy Home Cookin'.

Speece, Wynn, December 1994, WNAX food broadcaster. Thom, Jennifer, March, 1995.

Van Aartsen, Steve, May 1995 and January 1996, Dutch, and former resident of Orange City, IA.

Van Aartsen, Henry, May 1995, resident of Orange City, IA.

Van Hove, Gary, May 1995, resident of Sioux Falls, SD.