

**THE AMERICAN RESPONSE  
TO ITALIAN FOOD, 1880—1930**

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One can hardly pick up a woman's magazine, daily newspaper, or even the *Wall Street Journal* without being confronted by yet another article on the "ethnic" invasion of American food habits. From the redwood beach houses of the West Coast to the glittering high rises of Manhattan's East Side, taramasalata, hummus, aioli, and Chinese shrimp toast have pushed onion and sour-cream dips from the hors d'oeuvres tray. Dishes that are rejected by all but the poorest peasants in a host of Third World countries grace the finest tables in Indianapolis. Vast franchising operations sell millions of dollars worth of so-called Mexican food to millions of Americans who a bare ten years ago equated tacos and frijoles refritos with stomach cramps and diarrhea.

Pundits offer many reasons for this interest in "foreign" food, ranging from increased foreign travel by Americans through the changing structure of home and family life to renewed immigration since the 1960s. Whatever its origins, however, the phenomenon is widely regarded as a departure from American tradition, and rightly so. Ever since the first Englishmen arrived in America and grudgingly adapted some native products to English methods of cookery, American tastes in food have remained resolutely Anglo-Saxon. Wave upon wave of European, African, and Oriental immigration has washed onto America's shores with remarkably little impact on the food habits of the vast majority of native-born Americans. Within one or two generations the children and grandchildren of the immigrants usually adopted Anglo-Saxon eating habits, often rejecting outright the food preferences of their parents and grandparents. Over the years Americans have added ingredients of overseas origin to their cuisine and have even adopted some foreign methods of preparing and serving food, but they have been relentless in domesticating them, integrating them in ways that did not disturb essentially British palates.<sup>1</sup>

Then there is the exception. One major immigrant group, the Italians, the largest of the "New Immigration" of 1880-1921, managed to survive assimilation

with their Old World food preferences and style of eating at least identifiable. Indeed, Italian food was the first major foreign cuisine to find widespread acceptance among native-born Americans. By the 1940s, long before they were making guacamole in their blenders and discussing the relative merits of Szechuan and Hunanese Chinese food, housewives, college students, and professional cooks even in the darkest reaches of Middle America prided themselves on their recipes for spaghetti and meatballs and dined on "Veal Parmigiano" at restaurants with checkered tablecloths and candles mounted in Chianti bottles on the table. Later a seemingly insatiable appetite for pizza would solidify the place of Italian cooking as by far the most popular of the "ethnic" cuisines. Of course, very few Italians in Italy would have recognized any of these dishes in their American form, but millions of Italian-Americans did. Unlike Chinese Americans, for example, who generally found the concoctions served in "chop suey" houses and made-in-Minnesota canned "chow mein" to be abominations, Italian-Americans generally shared the native-born WASP's enthusiasm for the Americanized version of their cuisine. Rather than becoming ashamed of their mothers' cooking, second- and third-generation Italians celebrated it. Indeed, in a community deeply riven by regional and class hostilities, "Italian" food was one of the few sources of pride that the entire community could share, and that pride has subsequently formed a very important bond in keeping their ethnic consciousness alive.

Yet the first generations of Italian immigrants faced tremendous pressure to change their eating habits. The story of how they resisted the forces of assimilation and ended up adapting their food habits to the American environment, creating a cuisine that was distinctive enough to retain the old-country flavors yet attractive enough to turn the tables, as it were, and influence the tastes of the host culture, is an interesting and instructive one, for it gives us some insight into the kinds of forces that cause people to change or retain their food habits.

When the first great wave of Italian immigrants arrived in America in the 1890s and early 1900s, there was no such thing as "Italian food." Italy itself had only recently been unified politically, and the country was marked by profound regional and local differences. The regionalismo and campanilismo of Italian society were readily apparent in food habits, as they still are today. Although the first generations of immigrants tried to duplicate in the New World the cooking of their particular paese, the unavailability of certain ingredients, the relative abundance of others, and the influence of Italians from different regions gradually transformed the large majority's old-country eating habits. Immigrants from Campania, the province of the great port of Naples, and from Sicily formed the two largest groups among the immigrants, and their influence came to be predominant. Theirs was the cuisine of the tomato, onion, oil, cheese, and garlic, so often associated erroneously by Americans with the food of all of Italy. These immigrants, along with sizeable groups from other provinces in the Mezzogiorno, such as Sicily, Calabria, and Abruzzi, whose food preferences were not dissimilar, formed the largest market for imported and domestic Italian-style foods. Imported and domestic foods destined for their tables were thus widely available in the greatest variety and at the most reasonable prices. But their food habits were changing as well, for certain things (some fruits, vegetables, and cheeses) were either unavailable or prohibitively expensive in America, while the poor could more easily afford such items as meat, pasta, and beer.

In the years before the 1920s, however, regional and local influences still ran deep. First-generation immigrants to the cities tended to live in communities dominated by people from their towns and villages in Italy and to shop in stores that spe-

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cialized in their regional foods. Wherever possible, they tried to grow the grapes, fruits, and vegetables of their *paese* in backyard or rooftop gardens. Many still ate *polenta*, the corn meal mush that was the staple of the poor of northern and central Italy; used lard or butter rather than oil in cooking, and retained other regional or local food preferences.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever their region of origin, Italians arrived in an America that was at best ambiguous about their food habits. On the one hand, in the 1890s the eating habits of wealthier Americans were being influenced by the latest trends in England, whose fancy hotels and country-house kitchens were again being invaded by "Continental" chefs, usually bearing recipes from French haute cuisine. Upper-class American hotels, restaurants, and clubs shifted away from the overwhelmingly "American" and English dishes and meals that had previously characterized their menus. By the turn of the century "Spaghetti *Italianne*" had joined the extensive choice of American and French items. It was usually served as one of the first courses, along with or instead of chicken livers, sweetbreads, or other relatively light items. But the Italian invasion of elite dining rooms at around this time appears to have halted with spaghetti.<sup>3</sup>

On the surface this is puzzling, for Italians had long since made their mark in the kitchens of America's finer restaurants and hotels. Indeed, Italians had presided over some of America's best-known restaurants, including New York City's Delmonico's, the pinnacle of nineteenth-century haute cuisine. Yet if their star was rising among American elite taste-makers in the 1870s and 1880s, it seems to have been declining by the 1890s and early 1900s. "At first, the Italians outranked the French in popularity," said a 1909 description of the New York City dining scene. "In the old days... the restaurants cherished by *gourmets* were nearly all owned by Italians.... The truth seems to be that Paris is today the mistress of the art of eating.... If an Italian wishes to make a fortune as a *restaurateur*, he gives his place a French name and models his *menu* after those to which Paris devotes so much talent, even genius."<sup>4</sup> The author was somewhat ingenuous in implying that the earlier Italian-run restaurants were popular because they served Italian food, for this does not seem to have been the case. Indeed in 1889, when Alessandro Filippini, Delmonico's famous chef, published his massive cookery book, there were *no* distinctly Italian dishes among its recipes or menus.<sup>5</sup>

However, the author was certainly correct in noting that by the turn of the century Italians in hotels and restaurants catering to the carriage trade devoted themselves almost exclusively to French food.<sup>6</sup> While he ascribed the phenomenon simply to patrons who demanded what was in fashion in London and Paris, the fact that the character of Italian immigration into America had changed markedly in the previous twenty years must also have discouraged thoughts of popularizing Italian food among the upper crust. Before 1880 the relatively few Italian immigrants to America had often been skilled people from the north of Italy who were relatively acceptable by native-born White Anglo-Saxon Protestant standards. By 1900, however, as the deluge of unskilled and poverty-stricken immigrants from the Mezzogiorno struck America's cities, Italy no longer merely connoted Renaissance palaces and happy gondoliers to the native-born mind. More immediate were images of swarthy immigrants in teeming tenements: sewer diggers, railroad navvies, crime, violence, and the dreaded cutthroats of the "Black Hand." Spaghetti could stay on the menu, but only as "*Italianne*," the French spelling bringing some reassurance that the original Italian dish had been civilized and purified in French hands. (In any event it likely bore little resemblance to anything served in Italy.

Contemporary American recipes called for spaghetti to be cooked to a soggy pulp and served with tomato sauce heavily diluted with broth.) The presumed mediatory role of the French in bringing Italian spaghetti to America made it appropriate that the first major company successfully to market canned spaghetti on a mass scale was the Franco-American Company, whose advertising in its early years emphasized its French recipes and its French chefs.

If the upper class took to French food and at least flirted with Italian and other European dishes in the 1880s and 1890s, the middle classes remained obdurate in their rejection of "foreign" cooking. For gastronomic titillation they might at best be persuaded to try recipes from other parts of the United States. A survey of the recipes in the resolutely middle-class *Good Housekeeping* magazine for 1890 shows virtually no foreign influence.<sup>7</sup> An 1892 article on "Giuseppe's way with macaroni" was exceptional. It said Italian restaurants in America's principal cities cooked pasta "well" but recommended the method of talented Giuseppe and his pretty young wife as the best. Giuseppe's secret for macaroni appears to have been to buy imported pasta in irregular chips (actually a kind of bin-end, which nevertheless cost 10 cents a pound) rather than the long, thin, domestic macaroni, and to add cheese or tomatoes ("a great addition," the author assured skeptical American readers) to the beef stock in which Americans normally cooked pasta. His wife also used hard wheat flour from St. Louis to make "*macaroni a la capellita*" (capelletti or tortellini in much of Italy today), a dish the author found highly attractive, unusual, and tasty.<sup>8</sup> The article demonstrates that although macaroni was well known in middle-class America, the fact that the hard wheat flour of the American Midwest (which Italians call semolina flour) made the finest pasta was not. The reason was likely that semolina flour made pasta that could be eaten *al dente*, whereas Americans ate their macaroni cooked to a pulp. Italian ways of preparing pasta and particularly the many forms of homemade *pasta asciutta* were therefore virtual mysteries.

There is little indication of any growth in interest or appreciation of Italian cookery in the twenty-five years to follow. When Elizabeth Lyman Cabot, a well-educated upper-class Bostonian, toured Italy with her new husband for several months, keeping an extensive journal of all their activities with detailed descriptions of their hotels, nowhere did she even mention the food.<sup>9</sup> Articles on touring Italy in middle-class American magazines extolled the beauties of Rome, Venice, Florence, and Naples, cooed over the simple, smiling natives who always seemed to have a song on their lips and in their hearts, but rarely mentioned their food. Even an article on Venice in a housekeeping magazine managed to avoid describing Italian food. The only culinary reference at all is to some "viands" of an undetermined nature, which made up the author's first Italian dinner. Clearly the author assumed that readers' interest in Italian food would be eclipsed, as hers was, by the Grand Canal and the "gaily dressed party of singers in a brightly lighted gondola" moored at her hotel.<sup>10</sup> In 1913 only ten out of 1200 recipes in the *Around the World Cook Book* could be considered Italian by even a generous-minded reader.<sup>11</sup>

The reluctance of native-born, middle-class Americans to seek out foreign foods and ingredients was reinforced, in the case of Italian foods, by some of the firmly held fears and convictions of the time. The tomato, so important in Southern Italian cooking, was widely regarded in America as harmful throughout most of the nineteenth century. In the late 1880s tomatoes plummeted even further in esteem with the scientific "discovery" that they were carcinogenic.<sup>12</sup> While the cancer scare was short-lived, experts continued to warn that excessive

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amounts of "oxalic acid" still made tomatoes harmful.<sup>13</sup> Cookbooks often warned that tomatoes should be used only in very small quantities.

Another Italian propensity that found little favor in expert American eyes was an enormous appetite for fruits and green vegetables. Unaware of the existence of vitamins, the first generation of nutritional chemists had found most fruits and vegetables to be composed almost wholly of water and proclaimed green vegetables, in particular, to be of little nutritive value and very overpriced.<sup>14</sup> Pork, the main ingredient in the sausages that were practically a working-class staple, was also out of favor with American middle-class cognoscenti. "As an article of food, pork, of late years, does not generally meet the approval of intelligent people and is almost entirely discarded by hygienists," sniffed *Good Housekeeping* in 1890.<sup>15</sup>

Nor were Italian methods of cooking highly regarded. Zestful spicing was regarded as harmful by many, influenced, it would appear, by a turn-of-the-century recrudescence of the ideas of the early nineteenth-century food reformer William Sylvester Graham, who had warned of the danger of overstimulating the senses and wearing down the nervous system.<sup>16</sup> Prohibitionists, tracing a connection between a taste for spicy food and the excessive consumption of alcohol, warned that one led directly to the other. But prohibitionist or not, almost all Anglo-Saxons regarded garlic with particular horror. Even the Italian love of one-dish meals or mixtures of meat, grains, and vegetables ran counter to American nutritionists' warnings that foods mixed together were difficult to digest and therefore taxing on the system.

As for the native-born working classes, much of Italian cooking ran counter to their prejudice against soups, stews, and cheese. One of the more prominent of the first generation of modern American nutritionists, Mary Hinman Abel, spent much of the 1890s trying to convince American workers that soups and stews (commonly dismissed as "pig wash") were healthful and that cheese, which native-born working-class Americans rarely consumed, was indeed digestible.<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, not only were the middle classes decidedly unenthusiastic about Italian dishes in their own homes and restaurants, some were alarmed over the propensity of Italian immigrants themselves to consume Italian food. Upper- and middle-class philanthropists and reformers who were trying to improve the appalling living conditions in the urban slums into which so many of the new immigrants poured, were becoming concerned over its supposedly deleterious economic as well as physical effects on the poor. By the 1890s the idea was gaining currency that the misery of life in the slums could be mitigated if the ignorance of slum dwellers regarding sanitation, personal hygiene, and domestic chores could be overcome. The result was a burgeoning effort to teach "household economics" to slum dwellers, in their homes and in settlement houses. Although subjects involving sewing were usually the most popular among the pupils, the reformers very often regarded those directly involving the kitchen as the most important.<sup>18</sup> Not only did kitchen classes involve elemental health and hygiene, but, because the poor normally spent about half of their income on food, it was hoped that teaching them economy in food purchasing and preparation would provide them with more funds to spend on housing and clothing. But the reformers could not budge Italians on culinary matters.<sup>19</sup> "People of this nationality... cling to their native dietary habits with extraordinary persistence," wrote one public health reformer, reflecting a common frustration of those who tried to help the Italian poor to change their food habits.<sup>20</sup>

There were several reasons for the great difficulty the reformers and social workers encountered in trying to "Americanize" Italian immigrant eating habits. For

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a start, the preparation and consumption of food played particularly important roles in Italian family life, with a host of highly important symbols attached to the ways in which mothers, daughters, fathers, and sons prepared and consumed it. Moreover, it was extremely difficult either to gain entry into Italian family homes and kitchens or to coax the women out of them.<sup>21</sup> This was especially true for something like settlement house cooking classes. Most women, and even their American-born daughters, retained their confidence in the old tradition of family and community-borne recipes and instruction in cooking. Their conservatism regarding the sources of cooking information was matched by their attitudes toward "American" food, which ranged from mere indifference to absolute disgust. Doctors often complained that Italians refused to be consigned to hospital care because they regarded hospital food as inedible.

The contrast between Italians and other immigrant groups, many of whom were at least interested in learning "American" methods of food preparation for use alongside the traditional methods, was exemplified in the transformation of Denison House, a well-established settlement in Boston's South End. In the 1890s, when the district was mainly Irish, its cooking school was popular. Around 1900, however, when the Irish moved out and Italians and other European groups moved in, only the non-Italian immigrants replaced the Irish in the cooking school. Although Italian men supported the settlement's debating, music, and theater societies, the boys attended its boys' clubs, and Italian women went to sewing classes, they were simply not interested in the cooking classes, even though in 1902 a professional teacher of domestic science was added to the staff.<sup>22</sup> Later, when a separate Italian Department was set up, it did not attempt to deal with food in any way.<sup>23</sup> The North Bennet Street settlement house in what became the "Little Italy" in Boston's North End had a very similar experience. Its first cooking course, given in 1880, before the Italian influx into the neighborhood, drew 200 women and girls to its lectures. By the turn of the century, when Italians had become the predominant ethnic group in the neighborhood, cooking classes were drawing only 11 or 12 students whereas sewing classes attracted close to 100. By 1905, when the neighborhood had become overwhelmingly Italian, cooking classes for adults had been abandoned completely. Cooking was henceforth taught only to children, as part of a domestic science course given for the public schools.<sup>24</sup> The "Housekeeping Center" set up in Rochester, New York, in 1906 seems to have run into similar problems. Apparently, its cooking classes evoked interest among Italians only when combined with sewing classes, and even then it was mainly cake-baking that women wanted to learn.<sup>25</sup>

Repeated failure did not deter the social workers, however, for by the early 1900s many of them were convinced that inadequate diet was a cause of the high death rate among the poor that America's first crude mortality statistics seemed to be exposing. In 1904 Robert Woods, the head of South End House, for many years the most important settlement house among Boston's Italians, expressed his concern in the influential magazine *Charities* over the apparent increase in death rates from the first to second generation of Italians who had settled in New England. Not only was this the result of the change from living outdoors in a sunny land to living in crowded tenements, he wrote, but "their over-stimulating and innutritious diet is precisely the opposite sort of feeding from that demanded by our exhilarating and taxing atmospheric conditions." Changing their diets was therefore "the chief step in bringing about the adaption of the Italian type of life to America."<sup>26</sup> (Others found cruder explanations. In 1901 a Buffalo newspaper reporter blamed high infant mor-

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ality among Italian children on the unwillingness of Sicilians to touch their savings accounts, no matter what their children might suffer.<sup>27</sup>)

Many social workers regarded the Italian way of shopping as one of the major impediments to teaching proper food habits. In 1911 Eva White, head of Boston's Peabody House, lamented that a major barrier to teaching immigrants to cook properly was their insistence on shopping in small stores, usually run by their countrymen. "No matter what inducements the larger stores of the city offer," she said, "they will trade with none but their own people."<sup>28</sup> The Boston Woman's Municipal League circulated fliers warning immigrants against buying food from street markets or from small stores that lacked proper sanitation facilities and allowed in dogs and cats.<sup>29</sup> Leaflets in Italian circulated by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor warned that produce purchased from ambulatory vendors and open-air stalls was invariably germ-laden.<sup>30</sup>

By 1911 the teaching of immigrants to cook in the American way was becoming a profession in its own right, even—self-styled—a science. Simmons College in Boston now had an expert in that field who traveled from settlement house to settlement house, with Simmons students in tow, teaching the immigrants how to cook and the students how to teach the immigrants.<sup>31</sup> In her influential autobiography of the previous year America's best-known social worker, Jane Addams, had emphasized the importance of public school cooking lessons in "Americanizing" Italians. An Italian girl who had taken them would "help her mother to connect the entire family with American food and household habits," she confidently declared.<sup>32</sup> Winifred Gibbs, the supervisor of household economy work of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, taught future teachers of Household Arts at Teachers College, Columbia University, how to try to change Italian diets, warning that "any suspicion of harsh criticism" should be avoided, "as the Italians are very sensitive." In 1912 the association mounted an exhibit in an Italian area in Lower Manhattan showing the residents the supposed deficiencies in their diets. It presented an "Americanized dietary with the deficiencies corrected" and taught "correct" methods of preparation of food. Gibbs's description of the exhibit provides a good example of the air of self-assured superiority with which many of these experts pressed their rather bizarre notions on the immigrants. In this case her views were clouded by the erroneous belief that when various foods were mixed together while cooking, a higher proportion of their food value would be excreted by the body than if they had been cooked, served, and eaten separately, in the approved British and American manner. The "typical" dietary of a local Italian child of twelve was listed on a placard and calculated to cost twenty cents a day. "The breakfast was the inevitable 'bread and coffee,'" she wrote. "The other two meals presented an abundance of caloric values, but because of complexity of combinations the dishes were such as to prove a real tax on digestion." Although the American substitute was "of identical food value" (and cost five cents more), Gibbs proclaimed it superior to the Italian because the food value of the Italian menu "was theoretical only, with too little attention paid to strict assimilation." With placards in Italian proclaiming the superiority of the more expensive American dietary to (likely uncomprehending) immigrants, the two sets of prepared meals were actually laid out before their eyes. Gibbs wrote that the placard explained:

Substitution of cocoa shells for coffee—pleasure.  
Introduction of cereal.

Separation of one elaborate dish into three simple ones.  
Use of oil on salad instead of in frying.  
Introduction of milk.<sup>33</sup>

The last two points were favorite themes of those who bemoaned Italian immigrant dietary habits. During the First World War, when imported cheese and olive oil prices rose sharply, investigators from Teachers College would lament finding poor Italian immigrant families "suffering from cold and lack of food, buying 1 and 2 ounces of Roman cheese and small quantities of olive oil. . . . The investigators found many homes in which housewives bought no milk at all because they thought it too expensive and at the same time were buying a small piece of cheese at \$1.25 a pound."<sup>34</sup>

82

These themes had emerged in the Italian pamphlet that the New York association circulated in 1914. It warned that mixing foods together robbed them of their nutritive effects. "It is not right to cook meat, cheese, beans and macaroni together," it said. Rather, the meat should be served alone, and the beans or pasta should be served separately, with cheese. Delicatessens, with their salamis, sausages, pickles, and potato salads, should be avoided, for their spicy foods damaged the stomach without providing any sustenance.<sup>35</sup>

American entry into the world war provided a new impetus to the Americanization effort. Social workers hoped not only that the efforts of the new U.S. Food Administration to conserve food would aid the Allied war effort but that involving immigrants and teaching them how to cook in the American way would heighten their patriotism as well.<sup>36</sup> But the campaign hardly affected most immigrants, and the Italians in particular remained stubbornly immune to outside advice. In part, the Food Administration's problems in reaching Italian and other immigrants lay in its middle-class nature. Under its director, Herbert Hoover, its main thrust was toward voluntary conservation: vast campaigns were mounted to secure housewives' pledges to conserve wheat flour, cane sugar, meat, and other commodities, mainly by substituting other foods for them. These campaigns were usually organized by and around women's clubs and organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, bodies in which immigrants and particularly Italian ones were, to say the least, not particularly prominent. The Food Administration did enlist Jane Addams and other social workers with contacts among the foreign-born to make speeches on behalf of conservation, but their impact was limited. Addams, for example, traveled the country at FA expense, but she spoke almost exclusively to women's clubs, businessmen's clubs, and other middle-class organizations of the native-born, and never, it would seem, to immigrants.<sup>37</sup> The FA did have a Vernacular Press section to reach the foreign-born in their own language, but little of its material was used because it was sent out in English, and most foreign-language papers could not afford to translate its material.<sup>38</sup> That, at least, is what the editors told the FA, but clearly they did not bother to translate it because they also sensed that it would arouse little interest among their readers. And with some justification, for the main reason for the campaign's failure to make a dent among Italian (and other) immigrants would seem to be that in fact there was little they had to learn regarding economy in food preparation and preservation. The realization of this dawned rather quickly on the Food Administration. In September 1917 the Vernacular Press section refused to circulate an article calling for reduced consumption of meat ("We Can Fight Back with Our Teeth") because "practically all the readers of the foreign language press already ate very little meat

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because they couldn't afford to eat much of it."<sup>9</sup> Louisiana's food administrator reported to Washington that "the poorer part of the [Italian] colony... cannot, it seems to us, be impressed by pleas to conserve a little bread, butter, milk, and fat, since it is forced to economize on these articles all the time."<sup>10</sup>

Neither did the campaign to plant Victory Gardens have any impact. Italians, who had a mania for backyard, front-yard, rooftop, and windowsill gardening, already had a much higher proportion of the cultivatable land near their homes devoted to food production than women's club activists ever conceived of having. As for food preservation, few people could equal the Italians in their late summer and fall orgy of canning, bottling, pickling, and drying, when huge quantities of tomatoes, peppers, cauliflower, and other vegetables (not to mention home-grown grapes preserved in the form of wine) were packed into containers of all kinds and loaded into larders, cellars, and any available space, to be drawn upon during the long winter and spring that lay ahead. It is no wonder, then, that the home economists contracted by the Food Administration to lecture on conservation at social settlement houses in Italian areas had little impact. Indeed the Board of Directors of Boston's Denison House, a settlement with a large Italian clientele, were told that at a number of food conservation demonstrations held over the summer of 1917, "the audience was able to give the teacher instructions."<sup>11</sup>

83

If the Food Administration had little impact on Italian immigrants' food habits, it did markedly affect the way the native-born middle class regarded Italian food. Some urban home-demonstration agents began to realize that their lectures on food conservation might be better comprehended if they framed their talks in terms of the foods immigrants actually used, speaking of macaroni in explaining carbohydrates to Italian audiences, for example, and trying to portray conservation lessons as things learned from "the food of the allies,"<sup>12</sup> meaning, very often, Italy. More important, thanks in large part to the new emphasis on substituting beans and other legumes for meat as well as the general search for more economical ways of feeding a family as food prices rose, many home economists and writers for middle-class homemakers' magazines began to take a new, more favorable look at the food of Italy. Of course, no one ever admitted that a sharp reversal was taking place. There were no public recantations by nutritionists and social workers, and admissions like "contrary to our former recommendations" were never used. However, by mid-1918 Italian recipes were becoming commonplace in articles on food conservation. "Meatless days have no terror for our Italian friends of California," began a *Good Housekeeping* article on how to make spaghetti and ravioli.<sup>13</sup>

Abetting this new look was Italy's role as an American ally in the war effort, which helped raise the status of things Italian in American eyes. Thousands of Americans heeded Woodrow Wilson's admonition to join Italian-Americans in celebrating Italy Day in May 1918. They commemorated the third anniversary of Italy's entrance into the war by lining the streets of towns such as Oswego, New York, to watch patriotic parades and listen to stirring tributes to Italian immigrants' contributions to the war effort.<sup>14</sup> No longer the foul-smelling sustenance of crime-ridden Little Italies, Italian food was now what fortified America's sturdy ally in the war against the Hun.

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"Ravioli, favorite dish of our Italian ally, should be served on every American table," said the above-mentioned *Good Housekeeping* article.<sup>15</sup> One of the first Italian cookery books published in English in America, a slim volume written by a Milwaukee woman married to an Italian, also combined solidarity with the new-found ally and patriotic duty at home. Published to raise money for the families of Italian

soldiers, it pointed out that the prototypical Italian meal, with its succession of soup, pasta, rice, vegetables combined with meat, salad, fruit, and coffee, "was in keeping with the suggestions of our Food Administrator that we use a minimum of meats and sweets and a maximum of soups, fruits, vegetables, made dishes and cheese."<sup>16</sup>

Where Italian immigrants had been almost universally condemned by prewar food experts for their use of olive oil, cheese, and other expensive ingredients, they were now praised for their frugality with food. The author of a book defending Italian immigration against those who wished to restrict it wrote that "the housewife will make a cabbage and a knuckle go farther than most native Americans would make a loin of beef and a half dozen vegetables. . . . Nothing is too coarse or repulsive for the Italian peasant to eat, if it is not absolutely poison." (Indeed, he assured his readers, "squid and octopus, though tough and leathery, are not such hideous things to eat as they are to look at.") There were even more ways of cooking polenta and pasta than there were of cooking eggs, "and each way of cooking it seems a little better than the last."<sup>17</sup> The privations of poverty were now regarded as happy training grounds by enthusiastic converts. "Meatless days to the Italian housewife are no problem," wrote a breathless Grace Selden in the October 1918 *Good Housekeeping*, only one month after another author had used a virtually identical lead sentence. "All her days have been meatless days from her *bambino*-hood up. She can concoct a delicious dinner without meat—soup, varied vegetable dishes toothsome as well as nutritious, a salad that is almost too good to be true, a bit of fruit with cheese and coffee, and there you are. It is a *fiesta*." Selden even warned against using bottled Parmesan cheese and admonished readers to buy it by the chunk in a "little Italian grocery store in an out of the way street."<sup>18</sup>

During the prewar debate on immigration, restrictionists had emphasized the supposed Italian propensity toward crime, violence, and working for abysmal wages, while defenders had portrayed them as hard-working and frugal, endowed with sunny dispositions and artistic temperaments. Now food writers began to see signs of the latter virtues in Italian food. "What makes Italian cooking so good?" wrote Selden. "Because of the true artist blood in every Italian's veins. Good cooking requires vision, imagination, a sensitiveness to fine shades of flavor, to beauty of color and form and composition. That is where the Latins have the advantage over us."<sup>19</sup>

One manifestation of the new appreciation for Italian food was a tendency among social workers and reformers to reverse their judgments on the food habits immigrants had brought over from Italy. While the overwhelming majority of immigrants from Italy seem to have regarded their diets as having been vastly improved by the move to America, some looked back at those fresh fruits, vegetables, and other foodstuffs of the Old Country which were unavailable in America with the nostalgic longing of men and women who really enjoy eating. Some Americans seized on these reveries, and by 1920 a revisionist tide was in full flow. Now social workers, reformers, and food writers portrayed Italian immigrants as people who abandoned the sunny abundance of a varied and healthful diet for the meager fare of the tenements of America. Their revisionism was reinforced by recent changes in scientific ideas about nutrition, including the discovery of the first vitamins. Now the old standards, which recommended a very high intake of meat and proteins, were being rapidly eroded; milk, cheese, fruit, and vegetables were recognized as containing important vitamins and minerals, and a frantic search began to discover even more of their health-giving properties. Nutritionists, aware that new vitamins might be discovered any day in foods they had discouraged people from eating, increasingly hedged their bets and emphasized variety and "balance" in diet. In early 1921, in

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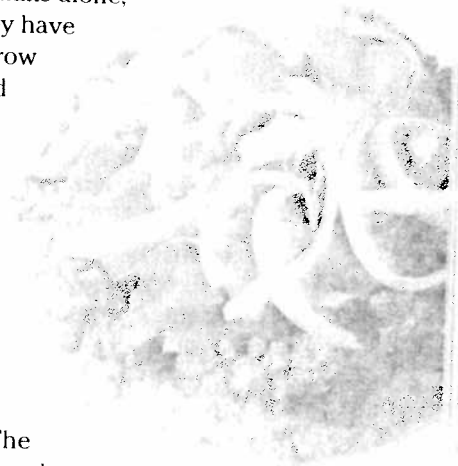
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place of the usual prewar denunciation of the ignorance regarding proper food habits that Italian immigrants brought with them from the Old Country, an article in the *Journal of Home Economics* began by praising the healthfulness of Italian diets. Even the poorest people of southern Italy had fruits and vegetables in abundance, it said. Goats furnished more than enough milk for the family, and the surplus was made into cheese. The people of northern and central Italy had "a very well-balanced diet. . . . The occupation of the southern Italians outside the large cities is fishing," it said, which gave these seacoast people "a more varied diet than the other two groups." In America, alas, immigrants had to face much higher prices for milk, eggs, and other staples, and they were forced to do without ample supplies of these healthful items.<sup>50</sup> "The diet of the Italian in his own country is very well balanced," wrote a prominent dietitian-social worker in 1922. "A taste for meat and sweets was acquired in this country. They have milk, cheese, fruit and vegetables in abundance in Italy but these foods seem expensive here and milk is omitted and cheese and greens are used for flavoring to a large extent."<sup>51</sup> Of course, these ideas were just as inaccurate and the conclusions just as wayward as those which underlay the previous critical stance toward Italians' eating habits. Large quantities of milk were not consumed in Southern Italy, most nonurban Italians were peasants not fishermen, a sweet tooth was not acquired in America, and so on. Nevertheless, some Americans were so affected by the change in attitude toward Italian food that they even advocated abandoning the effort to change immigrant eating habits. "Let the Italians alone," one social worker told Winifred Gibbs of Teachers College. "They have a home life of high standards and a diet rich in energy." "Why grow gray over the home budget of Italians?" an economist asked here. "They are notably frugal, living on simple food and often putting money in the bank."<sup>52</sup>

Although Gibbs and other dietitian-social workers were by no means deterred from their reformist path, their analysis did change in some degree. Some began saying that the problem lay not in the Italian diet itself but in the changes wrought in it by the move to America. They now saw their role as teaching Italians to cook Italian food with American ingredients. "The Italian woman, when she does cook a meal, spends much time and care, and the results are very appetizing," wrote two specialists in the field in 1921. "The raw materials of the Italian diet, many of which were easily procured on their own farms, when combined in home country ways, furnished a cheap well-balanced diet." However, they said, because of the expense of Italian ingredients in America the immigrants often had a poorly balanced diet, "short in some of the most important food elements." Dietitians must therefore teach immigrants how to substitute American ingredients such as vegetable oils for costly Italian ingredients such as olive oil, and to thicken soups with macaroni and rice rather than expensive eggs. "The problem before the dietitian," they said, "is not as much to introduce a complete 'American' dietary as it is to restore the former dietary balance by supplying lost elements."<sup>53</sup>

But Gibbs and her acolytes must have sensed that their endeavor was rapidly being undermined, not only by changes in native-born attitudes toward Italian food but by the dwindling number of immigrants among whom they could spread their unheeded message. The war had effectively closed off most immigration from Europe, including that from Italy; after a renewed influx in 1919 and 1920 the



Immigration Act of 1921 tried to make closure permanent. The Immigration Act of 1924, aimed specifically at immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, succeeded in cutting the prewar flood to a trickle. By the mid-1920s interest in changing immigrants' eating habits was on the wane.

Now the influence began to run in the opposite direction. Magazines began to run favorable articles on dining in Italy. "Italian cookery has a tremendous range," said a *Woman's Home Companion* article in 1924. "The peasants and the lower middle-class live with a Spartan rigidity, as far as food goes. . . . But when you get beyond that you find much elaboration, and many good ideas which are totally unknown to American cooks."<sup>31</sup> An article in the usually chauvinistic *American Cookery* said deep-fried Italian scampi was such a "wonderfully delectable dish" that it had been "pronounced even better than the highly esteemed Long Island scallops of Great Peconic Bay."<sup>32</sup> Of course, one could go only so far: while generally enthusiastic about Italian food, the author echoed the constant refrain of the time, that "the malodorous garlic taints practically everything served, from the salad up, and down. The Italian diet likewise includes a bewildering variety of cheeses and sausages, many of which smell even worse than they look, which is to say a great deal."<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile, recipes for spaghetti and Italian-style macaroni were becoming much more common in homemakers' magazines and on middle-class tables. Although more closely resembling those of Italy than the prewar ones for "Spaghetti Italienne," they were still normally altered to avoid offending the more delicate palates of Anglo-Saxon readers and would have raised many an eyebrow in Naples or Palermo. For example, rarely was garlic used in the tomato sauce—which was about the only sauce ever mentioned in connection with Italian food. A bit of chopped green bell pepper was as daring as *Good Housekeeping* magazine would go, while *American Cookery* had cooks add a tablespoon of Worcestershire sauce to the two cans of tomato soup that formed the basis of its spaghetti sauce.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the signs are there that "Italian food" was rising in status in American middle-class homes.

Americanized versions of Italian food had also spread to non-Italian tables thanks to the increasing sophistication of the food-processing industry. During the 1920s Franco-American spaghetti was joined by equally bland versions from Campbell's, Heinz, and others. However remote these products might have been from foods of the same name in Italy, they made the idea of dining on spaghetti in tomato sauce commonplace in America. Moreover, their blandness and the ease of digesting them, as well as the sugar that laced their sauces, seemingly made them ideal foods for small children, among whom they became great favorites. At the same time American food processors, witnessing the growing success of Italian-American producers of a large variety of pastas, began to branch out from the soft-flour macaroni with the hole in the middle, which had been well-known in America for many years, to the thinner, hard-flour-based, Italian-style spaghetti and vermicelli that were now being extolled as rich in protein.<sup>35</sup> These were joined on grocers' shelves by canned tomato sauces and, soon, "kits" for making "Italian spaghetti dinners." The kits contained spaghetti, a can or bottle of tomato sauce, and a bottle of grated Parmesan cheese. By 1927 giant Kraft Foods had developed a convenient cardboard container, out of which their version of Parmesan cheese could be poured or shaken, and was playing an active role in promoting the cooking of spaghetti with tomato sauce and its cheese.<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps the ultimate recognition that some form of Italian cooking was filtering down through the kitchens of the nation came in 1933. I. B. Allen, a popular radio

cooking teacher at the Woolworth's almost exclusively food tastes. She studied the traditions of gnocchioni. Her first husband was the most popular college cook in the country. His tomato sauce actually contained grated parmesan cheese. Her concerns for fruit were one of the main

In tandem with the realization in past years, the analysis of the changing food habits following might come to Italian immigrants and men from a paring the 1920s, a nationality cannot do their region "sojourners," so practically dried lies came to call the foods of California, came to do for their clientele the southern low-status item example, seem and a variety of regions of Italy and high-status for many of the staple grain food of the inevitable balls, chicken

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cooking teacher in New York City, published a cookbook to be sold exclusively by the Woolworth's chain of 5-and-10-cent stores, whose lunch counters were the almost exclusive preserve of lower-middle and working-class native-born American food tastes. She included a number of Italian dishes in her book, including her versions of gnocchi, polenta (which she called *sopa*), risotto (which she assured readers was the most popular dish that a professor of literature at an old New England college cooked for his students), and a recipe for "Spaghetti Italian" whose tomato sauce actually called for three cloves of garlic as well as one-half cup of olive oil and grated parmesan cheese.<sup>60</sup> As the long years of the Great Depression led to renewed concerns for frugality in the kitchen, "Italian Spaghetti" was well placed to become one of the mainstays of American cooking.

In tandem with this new acceptance was the growth of Italian restaurants, specializing in pasta and catering to the non-Italian trade. Space does not permit an analysis of the evolution of the Italian restaurant during the twentieth century or of the changing food habits of Italian-Americans in the 1920s and 1930s,<sup>61</sup> but the following might constitute a reasonable general hypothesis: the restaurants catering to Italian immigrants seem to have gone through a metamorphosis similar to that of immigrants and their children. They began, often as rooming houses, by catering to men from a particular *paese*, serving food cooked in the style of that *paese*; but during the 1920s, as local and regional loyalties began to weaken and feelings of Italian nationality came to the fore, those which had become restaurants tended to abandon their regional identities as well. With restricted immigration, the market among "sojourners," single men who returned to Italy after a temporary stay in America, practically dried up, and an increasing number of first- and second-generation families came to constitute the clientele of those which survived. Restaurants serving the foods of Campania and Sicily, the regions that provided the bulk of the immigration, came to dominate in the large cities.<sup>62</sup> But the process was not quite so simple, for their clientele from other areas were unlikely to have been enamored of many of the southern regional specialities with which they were unfamiliar or which were low-status items in their own *paese*. Few Southern Italian restaurants in America, for example, seem to have relied on the skills of their regions in cooking octopus, squid, and a variety of low-status fishes in *zuppa di pesce*. Rather, customers from various regions of Italy seem to have gravitated toward those items which were well-known and high-status items in most of the peninsula: namely pasta (at best a Sunday dish for many of the poor in turn-of-the-century Italy, coarse bread and polenta being the staple grain foods in most rural areas), chicken, beef, and veal. Thus the emergence of the inevitable triumvirate on the checkerboard tablecloths: spaghetti with meatballs, chicken cacciatore, and veal parmigiano.

Continuing our brief hypothesis: the first Americans to discover this new cuisine in significant numbers were probably those who went to the Little Italies of the major cities during Prohibition to buy alcohol. While boarding house owners may have been hurt by restrictions on immigration, Prohibition provided some economic compensation. They had traditionally made wine and beer and distilled grappa for their boarders and their friends, and now the competition of neighborhood bars and cafes had been eliminated. Many a boarding house lady expanded her production to meet the new demand, leaving Little Italies and their restaurants practically awash with alcoholic beverages during the misnamed Dry Decade. The large number of non-Italians initially attracted to the restaurants of the Italian sections for this reason probably formed a basis for the increasing popularity of Italian restaurants among non-Italians in the 1930s and 1940s.

restaurants

The Great Depression of the 1930s gave a tremendous boost to the new Italian food. Pasta and tomato sauce, meat sauce, or meatballs became favorites in millions of American homes, their economy and meat-stretching attractions supplemented by their ease of preparation. Not only did social workers abandon their attempts to teach the Italian poor how to cook, they began learning from them. The students at Boston's North Bennet Street Industrial School started to stage annual spaghetti dinners, which appreciative social workers and the Boston Brahmin members of the board of directors attended. The social workers published a collection of the neighborhood women's Italian recipes in English as a fund-raising venture.<sup>1</sup>

By the Second World War, then, the circle had turned almost fully. Not only had spaghetti and tomato sauce (or meat sauce or meat balls) become a staple in millions of American homes, but macaroni and cheese had become the nation's great meatless dish. Its consumption was touted as promoting good health as well as food conservation: an Americanized version of exactly the kind of food that the reformers and "Americanizers" of twenty-five years earlier had condemned. "Spaghetti-bender," a term of opprobrium in the 1920s, was losing its bite. Italians, more than any other major non-British immigrant group, had not only succeeded in resisting pressures to "Americanize" their food but were now watching it rise rapidly in status in American homes and restaurants. This success would in turn reinforce their own tendency to use food as a distinctive source of ethnic pride. That the "Italian food" in which they took such pride was a hybrid, arising from interactions among cross-cultural influences within the Italian immigrant community and the opportunities and restrictions of the New World, was of little concern. No matter that "spaghetti and meatballs" in its American form was practically unknown on the Italian peninsula. To millions of Americans, including Italo-Americans, it had come to connote something of which Italians could be proud.

The Italians thus became one of the few ethnic groups in the United States who retained and indeed cultivated distinctively non-Anglo-Saxon modes of cooking and eating through the second and even the third generations after immigration. Clearly, this extraordinary ability to resist cultural assimilation at the dinner table involved many factors, but one of the most important must have been the changes in the "host" culture's attitudes. For reasons likely related to the centrality of food and its preparation to their family life, Italian-Americans were able to withstand the host culture's conscious attempts to change their food habits and to shrug off its denigration of their food. Indeed, they resisted long enough to witness a perceptible change in native-born attitudes toward their food. Meanwhile, they adapted their food to the new environment while retaining its distinctiveness. The positive attitudes of native-born non-Italians toward this new, hybrid food, attitudes that emerged in the 1920s and 1930s, in turn encouraged Italians to value their food highly, keeping it central to their shared family experience. Perhaps it also enabled them to assimilate the values and habits of the dominant culture in many other ways and yet reassure themselves that they were not deserting the culture of their forebears.

It is difficult to conceive of this kind of cultural compromise occurring had American views of Italian food in the 1930s and 1940s remained as they had been in the years from 1880 to 1916. The various modes of acculturation of immigrants appear to be products of the interplay between the "cultural baggage" that immigrants bring from their homelands and the possibilities in the new environment. If this is so, then, in the case of food habits, much more than the physical environment that the immigrants confront must be taken into account. Indeed, in a modern

world where it is to make the new environment take one of the lesser

## NOTES

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2. The following is inducing persistence grants to Americ
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19. *Good Housekeep*
20. J. M. Albahary, *A*
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22. See Harvey Leve
23. *Quarterly*, Fall 19
24. *Good Housekeep*
25. On Graham, see
26. Greenwood, 198
27. of Corn Flakes' f
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51. "Housekeepers" ]
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55. [1925?] NBIS Pap
56. Association of P
57. Papers, Box 1, F

world where it is possible to import almost any food ingredient if people are willing to make the necessary economic sacrifices, the new geographical and agricultural environment takes a back seat to cultural factors. This, at least, would seem to be one of the lessons of the Italian migration to America.

**NOTES**

1. Waverly Root and Richard de Rochemont made this point in *Eating in America, A History* (New York: Morrow, 1976).
2. The following is a vastly oversimplified description, for space does not permit an analysis of the forces inducing persistence and change in first-generation food habits. A study of the food habits of Italian immigrants to America, on which I am working with Professor Joseph Conlin of the State University of California, Chico, deals with this matter in detail.
3. Restaurant and Hotel Menu Collection, 19th Century Box, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass.
4. Richard Duffy, "New York at Table," *Putnam's* 5, no. 5 (February 1909), 567.
5. Alessandro Filippini, *The Table* (New York: Charles Webster, 1889).
6. At the Culinary Exhibition of Boston's Epicurean Club in 1904, for example, where the professionals in the kitchens of Boston's top hotels, restaurants, and clubs displayed their wares, a good number of the chef/exhibitors were Italian. Yet to a man they presented French dishes as their chefs d'oeuvre: dishes such as Lobster Parisienne, Chaudroid en Bellevue, Salad Bizantine, Boar's Head Alsacienne, and Salad à La Russe. (The last three were French versions of other foreign, non-Italian, dishes.)
7. *Good Housekeeping*, 10 and 11 (1890).
8. Hester M. Poole, "An Italian Dish," *Good Housekeeping*, 16 (January 1893).
9. "E.L.C. 1st European Trip, 1894," Ella Lyman Cabot Papers, Box 11f, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.
10. Mary Nevins, "Venice, Bride of the Sea," *Everyday Housekeeping*, 23 (November 1906), 254.
11. Mary Louise Barroll, *Around the World Cook Book. The Culinary Gleanings of a Naval Officer's Wife* (New York: Century, 1913).
12. *Good Housekeeping*, 15 (December 1892), 268.
13. J. M. Albahary, *Ann. Falsif.*, 2, no. 5, (1909), 140-44, abstract in U.S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations, *Record*, 22 (January-June 1910), 264.
14. See Harvey Levenstein, "The New England Kitchen and the Origins of American Eating Habits," *American Quarterly*, Fall 1980.
15. *Good Housekeeping*, 10 (15 March, 1890), 229.
16. On Graham, see Stephen Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet, and Disability in Jacksonian America* (Westport: Greenwood, 1980). On the line from Graham to latter-day Grahamites, particularly Dr. John Harvey Kellogg of Corn Flakes' fame, see James C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
17. Mary Hinman Abel, *Practical and Sanitary Cooking Adapted to Persons of Moderate and Small Means* (Rochester, N.Y.: American Public Health Association, 1890).
18. The College Settlement House in New York City, for example, taught cooking to girls from the day of its founding in 1890. So did the Hartley House Settlement on the city's West Side, which had a full-fledged cooking school when it was opened by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor to teach the poor how to live frugally. See Association of College Settlements, First Annual Report, 1890, and "Hartley House, An Industrial Settlement," both in Settlements Collection, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Library, Northampton, Mass.
19. See Levenstein, "New England Kitchen."
20. Rene Bache, "What the Very Poor Eat," *Sanitarian*, 52 (February 1899), 107.
21. See Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 139-41, for a description of how the settlement houses in Buffalo, with their "diet kitchens" and sewing classes, failed to affect Italians because they misunderstood and undermined the immigrants' values.
22. Reports of the Headworker, 1897-1927, Denison House, Records, Box 2, Folders 6 and 7, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.
23. Reports of Italian Department, 1907-13, Denison House, Settlements Collection, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Library.
24. North End Industrial Home and North Bennet Street Industrial Home Reports, 1880-1, 1898-9, 1902-3, 1905, North Bennet Street Industrial School Papers (henceforth NBIS Papers), Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College. Children continued to be the only ones taught cooking into the 1920s, after the domestic science classes had moved into the public schools. Then the "Little Housekeepers" program at the NBIS taught 7- to 10-year-old Italian children from the large families of this generally working-class neighborhood the arts of upper-middle-class table setting and serving. "The children play father, mother, two guests, and maid and serve what they have cooked," wrote the head of the program with some considerable satisfaction. Adele B. Lewis, memorandum "Little Housekeepers," n.d. [1925?] NBIS Papers, Series II, Box 100, Folder 42.
25. Association of Practical Housekeepers Center, Rochester, N.Y., Annual Report, 1908-9, Florence Kitchelt Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

26. Robert Woods, "Notes on the Italians in Boston." *Charities*, 12 (1904), 81.
27. *Buffalo Express*, 27 August 1901, cited in Yans-McLaughlin, *Family*, 176. Prewar Italian immigrants wishing to save money did look to food expenditures as a place where cuts could be effected, although the link with high infant and child mortality was dubious at best. Not only did food expenditures constitute a large proportion (normally from 40 to 50%) of any poor family's budget but they were also the most flexible item. "Pasta fagioli tutti giorni" (pasta and beans every day) was a favorite maxim describing how to save money, but the dish as often prepared, with salted pork, tomato sauce, onions, and grated cheese, was by no means innutritious, comparing favorably to much of what native-born Americans in similar economic circumstances were consuming, especially when supplemented with the fruits and green vegetables that Italians were often scorned for consuming in such large quantities.
28. Quoted in *Boston Post*, 8 October 1911.
29. Woman's Municipal League, undated flyer, in Eva White Papers, Box 3, Folder 31(a), Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.
30. Winifred S. Gibbs, "Dietetics in Italian Tenements," *Public Health Nurse Quarterly*, 6, no. 1, (1914) 46.
31. *Boston Post*, clipping, n.d. (1911?), in White Papers, Box 3, Folder 31 (a).
32. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), 253.
33. Gibbs, "Dietetics," 43.
34. Velma Phillips and Laura Howell, "Racial and Other Differences in Dietary Customs," *Journal of Home Economics*, September 1920, 397.
35. Leaflet reproduced in Gibbs, "Dietetics," 45-46.
36. Unidentified newspaper clipping, n.d. (January 1918), in Eva White Papers, Box 3, Folder 32v (a), 10B.
37. Jane Addams File, FA Papers, Box 288.
38. See the voluminous correspondence in this regard in U.S. Food Administration, Records, RG4, 12HM-A3, Box 584, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
39. Memo by F. G. Woodward, 6 September 1917, in *ibid.*, Box 584, File 330.
40. Jno. [sic] M. Parker to R. E. Mermelstern, 22 October 1917, in *ibid.*, Box 584, File 12HM-A3.
41. Denison House, Minutes of Board of Directors' Meeting, 15 October 1917, Denison House Records, Box 3, Folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.
42. Frances Stern to C. F. Langworthy, 10 April 1918, in U.S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations, Records, Record Group 176, Box 595, Entry 5, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
43. Elsinore Crowell, "Peppers and Garlic," *Good Housekeeping*, 65 (September 1918), 63, 121.
44. Luciano Iorizzo, "The Italians of Oswego," in Robert F. Harney and J. Vincent Scarpa, eds., *Little Italies in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society, 1981), 177.
45. Crowell, "Peppers and Garlic," 121.
46. Julia L. Cuniberti, *Practical Italian Recipes* (n.p., 1917), 4.
47. Francis Clark, *Our Italian Fellow Citizens* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1919), 174.
48. Grace Selden, "Vegetable Victories," *Good Housekeeping*, 65 (October 1918), 50, 88.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Michael Davis and Bertha Wood, "The Food of the Immigrant in Relation to Health," *Journal of Home Economics*, February 1921, 67-69.
51. Lucy H. Gillett, "The Great Need for Information on Racial Dietary Customs," *Journal of Home Economics*, June 1922, 260.
52. She replied that the children were still prone to anemia and tuberculosis, and "If there be a full bank account and a depleted health account, whome doth it profit?" Gibbs, "Dietetics," 42.
53. Davis and Wood, "Food of the Immigrant," 73. It is difficult to understand how these experts got the idea that Italians did not thicken soups with pasta and rice and presumably consumed enormous quantities of straciatelli in brodo.
54. Maries Jacques, "Straight from Italy," *Woman's Home Companion*, 5 (April 1924), 64.
55. Antonia J. Stemple, "Eating in Other Lands than Ours," *American Cookery*, 34 (November 1929), 280.
56. *Ibid.*, 279.
57. Katherine Fisher, "Dining in Italy at Your Own Table," *Good Housekeeping*, 92 (October 1931), 85; *American Cookery*, 34 (January 1930). *Good Housekeeping* reserved the Worcestershire (and good English horseradish) for its recipe for the meatballs in its "Italian Spaghetti con Polpetta" (meatballs).
58. Department of Cookery, *Good Housekeeping*, 70 (October 1924), 70, 71, 147.
59. Fisher, "Dining in Italy," 85; Peter Borrás, "Contriving Spaghetti Dishes That Have a Sure Appeal," *Hotel Management*, 1 (January 1927), 27.
60. I. B. Allen, *The Service Cook Book* (New York: Woolworth's, 1933).
61. This matter too will be dealt with more extensively in my work with Professor Conlin.
62. This was not true of all Little Italies, however. In some smaller cities and towns, such as several in California, people from various Northern provinces formed the dominant cultural groups and had a corresponding effect on the food habits of the communities.
63. A publicity photo for the 1935 spaghetti dinner shows two of the Anglo-Saxon board members with a beaming Italian *mamma*, forks full of spaghetti poised for consumption. While admittedly the male of the threesome, Mr. Theodore Lyman Eliot, does seem to betray a trace of apprehension, his female counterpart, Miss Ethel Forbes, looks positively enthusiastic. Photo no. 10640, Reel 11, microfilm of photos, NBIS Papers. The cookbook, which went through two subsequent editions, was *Specialità Culinare Italiane* (Boston: NBIS, 1936).

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