

Fall 2017

The Melting Pot: America, Food, and Ethnicity: 1880-1960

Jacob Kaus
jgk21@zips.uakron.edu

Please take a moment to share how this work helps you [through this survey](#). Your feedback will be important as we plan further development of our repository.

Follow this and additional works at: http://ideaexchange.uakron.edu/honors_research_projects

 Part of the [Cultural History Commons](#), [Food Studies Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kaus, Jacob, "The Melting Pot: America, Food, and Ethnicity: 1880-1960" (2017). *Honors Research Projects*. 590.
http://ideaexchange.uakron.edu/honors_research_projects/590

This Honors Research Project is brought to you for free and open access by The Dr. Gary B. and Pamela S. Williams Honors College at IdeaExchange@UAkron, the institutional repository of The University of Akron in Akron, Ohio, USA. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Research Projects by an authorized administrator of IdeaExchange@UAkron. For more information, please contact mjon@uakron.edu, uapress@uakron.edu.

The University of Akron

**The Melting Pot:
America, Food, and Ethnicity: 1880-1960**

A Research Paper Submitted to
The History Department and Honors College Faculty
in Candidacy for the Honors Degree in History

Department of History

by

Jacob Kaus

Akron, Ohio

September 2017

Contents

Illustrations	iii
Introduction	1
Chapter I. Anglo-American Cuisine before 1880- an Introduction	5
Chapter II. America's Culinary Melting Pot, 1880-1960	9
Conclusion	32
Bibliography	34

Illustrations

Figures

- 1 Lewis Hine, *Tenement Family, New York*, 1910
- 2 Raphaelle Peale, *Still Life with Steak*, 1817
- 3 Unknown, *Lunch at Delmonico's Restaurant*, c. 1902
- 4 Norman Rockwell, *Freedom From Want*, 1943



Figure 1. Lewis Hine, *Tenement Family, New York*, 1910, New York City Public Library, accessed September 1, 2017, <http://siteslab.org/deac/the Feast/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/7-Hine-1024x731.jpg>

Introduction

Food by default must play a large part in our lives. Without it, we would cease to exist, all dying from starvation and lack of nutrients. However, for at least a thousand years, where written records, literature, and art can show, food has been much more than a simple means of survival. Alongside this much simpler use, food has served as a confluence of people, their cultures, morals, and lifestyles. Regardless of accuracy, a certain type of food, ingredient, or way of cooking can define a people to others outside, just as a language or a way of dress can. Food and its seasonings, spices, have had a particularly interesting life in America since its inception in the late eighteenth century, as this country has had at least three large waves of immigrants,

each interacting and mingling with the pre-existing American culture to create something unique- an amalgam of various ingredients and mixtures from around the world.

Most interesting to note from a historical perspective is how each successive generation of immigrants underwent a cycle of denigration or at the least, indifference, from the existing Americans, eventually over time gaining acceptance from them as other, newer immigrants came into the country. These new arrivals' cultural morals, perceived behaviors, and foodways (both those real and imagined by the existing population) made the previous immigrants seem far less offensive to the established citizens, bringing the two groups closer to one another through the unfortunate use of judgement and classicism. This is most notably shown at the turn of the twentieth century, where "classical" Americans coming from protestant English stock had scoffed at the catholic Irish flooding into the country during the preceding century, but stopped focusing solely on them by the 1920s when worrisome "swarthy" southern Europeans like Italians or Slavs appeared to be becoming a large majority of the population. This will be discussed more in depth later in this paper, how both immigrants and their foods became more accepted (and in some cases, stereotyped or genericized) by the majority of other Americans.

Distinct types of food meant different things to people- French food, regarded around the world at the time as the classiest culinary repasts available, was reserved for the upper classes in America until the 1880s, and only gained popularity with the middle class truly in the 1960s when Julia Child's books and tv shows began. Chinese food excited American diners, even though Anglo-Americans looked with disdain upon the cooks themselves- some of the earliest and most common "ethnic" recipes available from early twentieth century cookbooks are Chinese. While their cultural authenticity is doubtful, the abundance of Chinese style dishes in American cookbooks showed an interest in something different, and pointed towards the variety

of dishes and styles in vogue today. Italian food, while not thought of as being so high class as French food, was considered by the middle class as being affordable, hearty, and filling- even if for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Anglo-Americans associated the people who made the food to be swarthy criminals reeking of garlic and oil. Lastly, German food, while not as outwardly prominent as the previous ethnic offerings in America, deeply ingrained itself within the cultural and culinary stylings of the country. Frankfurters and hamburgers are today the quintessential American foods- both hail directly from German immigrant recipes introduced into America during the time period this paper covers. Without these disparate ethnic influences arriving in the United States when they did, the country today would lose much of its own culinary heritage and be completely unrecognizable.

This merging of cultures, foods, ingredients, and ways of thinking coalesced and solidified beginning in what is termed “the Gilded Age,” the period following the American Civil War, around 1880, when immigration to America increased, class boundaries began to be erased or moved, and merging between disparate peoples began. This paper follows that trend through the turn of the century, through two world wars that pitted many American immigrants or sons of immigrants against citizens of their past homelands. Harsh as it is, public opinion is often quickly turned against those who happen to belong to the nationality of a wartime enemy, regardless of the person’s American citizenship and patriotism. During the world wars, many of these sons and daughters of the Old World strove to ensure that in no way did they stand out from any other Anglo-Americans around them, eating foods that were commonly accepted. This furthered the homogenization of American food culture, with immigrants and their families choosing to accept and add to the confluence of food in their adopted country. Finally, the paper ends its coverage in the late 1950s and early 1960s, with the explosion of the American middle

class and the popularization of cooking as an art as well as a hobby, personified by writer/personalities like Julia Child, who ensured that the once lofty, unattainable French cooking was adopted and enjoyed as a part of the American diet regardless of class or skill.

Past this point, the effect of European and classical Old-World cuisines (as well as the relative number of those areas' immigrants coming to America) began to dwindle, having been sometimes subtly and other times overtly mashed together to create a unique American cuisine. While cuisine never ceases changing, the influences from more recent immigrants to the country, such as those from Latin America, have yet to be removed from their origins completely and become wholly American. For example, most Americans today do not order pizza and think of it as an Italian specialty, nor do they order a hamburger and think of German street food. However, when ordering something as widespread and nationally accepted as tacos or burritos, it is still undeniably considered to be Latin in origin. As time goes on, this may change, but at the time of writing, it is more historically sound to stop the examination before the overall introduction of these influences into the country.

All in all, food, cookbooks, restaurants, and cuisine in general are fascinating ways to look at American history, especially due to the way that we can connect to it in the modern era. Other historical artifacts or imagery, such as pure literature, artwork, music, or architecture can be completely tied to a certain time. People in the modern era may not have a point of reference on the home life of people in the 1850s, their manner of dress, or the books they read. However, with extreme ease, an interested person today can find a recipe for something served during the time period, create it themselves, and directly taste something that people made to eat over one hundred years ago. This connectedness with a historical era is something that is rather unique to food- by simply creating a recipe, one can directly experience something that was commonplace

long ago, instead of simply reading about it. Tying this in with American immigration, for example, someone with Polish ancestry could recreate a meal common to Polish-Americans at the time of their arrival, such as sour rye soup, or another large stew meant to be served to a lot of people. Not only would this mirror the tastes and flavors of a recent immigrant to the country, it would also help to solidify the fact that stews and other one pot, multi food meals were popular both in the old country and in their new home due to the cramped locations they lived in.¹ Scenes such as that depicted in Figure 1, with eight mouths to feed in a small room, were commonplace in immigrant homes, which is not at all the case today. While cooking and tasting a stew may not help someone today feel the struggle of living in a small apartment with three to four other people, it at least allows us to have a direct understanding of *why* meals like this were important to certain immigrants in the past. In addition, by looking at the “ethnic” foods of the past, one can gain a meaningful perspective on how immigrants and their culinary cultures affected American cuisine and lifestyles, leading us to the mish-mash of gastronomical options available for consumption and creation in the country today.

Chapter I:

Anglo-American Cuisine before 1800- an Introduction

From America’s colonial beginnings till the late nineteenth century, the United States and its citizens in general held very closely to the culinary heritage inherent to their British background. The idea of a “Melting Pot,” which would much later be used to describe the way

¹ Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 107.

European immigrants melded into the American culture as a whole in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is not really applicable to America's early years as a result of this adherence to British cuisine. James McWilliams, a specialist in colonial American food culture, writes on the subject, "In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, the melting pot implies something more complicated and unfinished. At this time, people were not so much assimilating into a dominant culture as they were trying to figure out precisely what the dominant culture would be."² Americans were still trying to find their way in politics, sovereignty, culture, and food- creating their own culinary identity would be a tall order with everything else at the forefront at the time. Their dedication to adhering to their British diet was so strong, that rather than add new vegetables and plants native to the American continent, colonists and early Americans seemingly waited until these latest items gained favor in Europe before being re-imported back to the colonies for their own consumption.³

The only food readily accepted by colonists was Indian corn, and that was out of necessity- wheat brought directly over from Britain did not adapt well to the American climate, and did not grow quickly enough to support the colonist's needs.⁴ As such, Indian corn is possibly one of the first "foreign" foods that was adopted and melded into Anglo-American food culture. By 1650, corn and cornmeal were accepted as a hearty food for American families in the colonies, and by the mid eighteenth century, cornmeal pudding could even be considered high class- recipes featuring "Indian Meal Pudding" were popular in Virginian upper-class cookbooks of the 1750s.⁵ However, this import from the Native Americans was by far an outlier in early

² James E. McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), 6.

³ Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table*, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ James McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating*, 9.

Anglo-American food circles. Natively grown staples like tomatoes, peppers, and beans all were far more popular after they had been exported to Britain and popularized there.⁶ Even after the Revolutionary War, when the country fought to separate itself by force from the British and their government, much of the country continued eating exactly as their enemy did. Food historian Harvey Levenstein writes on this lack of change in tastes, “Even before independence, waves of immigrants from Europe and Africa washed onto America’s shores, but left few traces of their cuisines on the American table.”⁷ So why did Americans not change their diets very much for a century? According to many contemporary sources, it was not because Americans were not interested in food, far from it- visitors from European countries often noticed the huge portions of food at every meal Americans tended to eat quickly and in silence, a practice the foreigners considered quite crass, to say the least.⁸ It wasn’t until much later, after the American Civil War, in the period sarcastically termed “the Gilded Age” by author Mark Twain, where financial stratification and the emergence of an upper class opened America to the influence of other cultures. At first, this was only that of French cuisine, widely considered for generations as elegant and sophisticated, which finally found a home in the restaurants and eateries frequented by the upper class. However, as time went on, more cultures were absorbed and enjoyed by the American populace in general.

Finances were by no means the only reason behind the lack of change in American cuisine before the 1880s- another large problem was the sheer geographic size of the United States, even in its earlier years. We are used to seeing a variety of seasonal vegetables and fruits in our grocery stores today, whether it be the heart of winter or a steaming day in summer.

⁶ James McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating*, 12.

⁷ Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table*, 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

Oranges come to chilly Ohio in December from temperate California or Florida where it is still warm enough for them to grow. Surprisingly, this phenomenon is not as recent as one would imagine- the spread of railroads across the continent after the Civil War in the 1870s as well as advances in refrigeration technology allowed these foods to be spread across the country for the first time.⁹ However, before that, any attempt to transport quickly decomposing foods across long distances ended in failure, as wagons and horses in the open air took far too long for anything to survive the trip. As such, cuisines and the types of food consumed in regions were directly tied to who lived there and what could grow seasonally in the area. For example, in Colonial America, the New England region was well known for its reliance on local fish gained from the area's rich waters, and had a diversified agricultural crop in their limited farmlands. On the other hand, in the Southern colonies, especially Carolina and Georgia, agricultural land was largely devoted to cash crops like cotton, tobacco, and indigo. Most of their foodstuffs were imported from the Old World and a little from the New England colonies (wheat), again some American colonies' links to the British culinary style and making a unified American food style difficult to create.

Geographic separation between areas prevented the mixing and homogenizing that would occur later on in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in part because it was too hard to do so. When ingredients from different corners of the country, especially beef and pork from the Midwest and Central states, was able to be shipped cheaply and safely to urban centers on both the Atlantic and Pacific sides of the country, the melding of cultures and culinary backgrounds was able to begin. America was set to change its one-hundred-year fling with the British culinary

⁹ Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table*, 7.

taste, and begin gradually moving towards the diverse set of foods, ingredients, and recipes seen clearly today.

Chapter II:

America's Culinary Melting Pot, 1880-1960

The term “Melting Pot” as applied to America generally is meant to represent the way that differing immigrants (usually European) who would have had little to no contact or interaction in the Old World all came together to create a homogenized new culture in the United States. Some scholars argue that America’s “Melting Pot” ended up being more like a “salad bowl” instead, with distinct cultures being thrown together in a bowl, not mixing together, just being individual pieces serving as parts of a whole.¹⁰ However, as this paper will show, immigrants (especially those from Europe) significantly affected the Anglo-American culinary background, and assisted in opening it to outside influences. As such, “Melting Pot” seems a particularly valid term when applied to the turn of the century and the immigrants who arrived here and their effect on the existing American culture. The fact that both Melting Pot and Salad Bowl themselves relate to food is no accident, as one of the easiest ways cultures spread and intermingled was through cooking and eating- late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban boardinghouses and tenements were crowded places where avoiding the sights, smells, and even tastes of other ethnic groups was not very likely. While turn of the century immigrant’s first experiences with American food and quantities were not very pleasant (food served to

¹⁰ Elijah Anderson, “Beyond the Melting Pot Reconsidered,” *The International Migration Review* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 262, accessed September 12, 2017, *Jstor*.

immigrants at Ellis Island, the entry point to the country for most at the time, was served *sans* eating implements, and was often simply boiled beef), this would change once they finally got into the “land of opportunity” they had heard so much about in their old country.¹¹

When thinking about the amount of food eaten around the turn of the twentieth century, one imagines that the heaviest, freshest meals were created and served by those that lived in rural areas, as opposed to those living in tenements in crowded cities. However, that was not at all true. Rural areas were often marked by subsistence farming- people only growing as much as they can to survive, too poor to explore or elaborate on the things they themselves could eat. In contrast, even though lower-class sections of cities were very cramped, poorer immigrants in the working class found ways to create their own foods and ingredients rather than relying entirely on restaurants, canned foods, or delicatessens. Historian Katherine Leonard Turner discusses this phenomenon in her work *How the Other Half Ate*: “In yards and cellars working-class Chicagoans made wine, cheese, and pasta, raised chickens, butchered pigs, and smoked meat. Slovak and Polish immigrants to Chicago kept chickens and smoked meat on Chicago back lots- activities considered public nuisances- as late as 1929.”¹² This leaning towards raising their own meat was one of the most important facets of European to American immigration- in their previous countries, whether it be Ireland, Italy, or Poland, universally, European diets were marked by a lack or minimum of meat, simply because it was far too expensive for most families to afford. From America’s beginnings, that had always been different.

¹¹ Vincent J. Cannato, *American Passage: The History of Ellis Island* (New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2009), 140.

¹² Katherine Leonard Turner, *How the Other Half Ate: A History of Working-Class Meals at the Turn of the Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 87.



Figure 2. *Still Life With Steak*. Painting by Raphaelle Peale, 1817, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, accessed September 1, 2017, <https://bjws.blogspot.com/2012/11/a-few-still-lives-by-raphaelle-peale.html>.

As shown above in Figure 2, an 1817 painting by Raphaelle Peale, an early American artist (and son of the painter Charles Willson Peale, famous for his portraits of founding fathers), depicts a *huge*, fresh piece of beef, alongside a few vegetables. In Europe, meat was highly expensive and was only eaten on special occasions. In America, however, citizens of all classes, not just the richest, ate meat almost every day in one form or another.¹³ While not all people would have feasted upon slabs of meat like the one Peale painted, the central focus on meat itself (and beef in particular) above vegetables and other ingredients was definitely telling of America's culinary tastes. Generally, as Turner notes, "The 'American diet' seemed to

¹³ Katherine Leonard Turner, *How the Other Half Ate*, 4.

incorporate more cakes and other sweets, much more meat, and more coffee- in short, more of the food considered luxuries in the Old World.”¹⁴ More of everything- while this brings up uncomfortable images of America’s current media frenzy about obesity and overeating today, it is important to note that this had a different connotation before now. As food historian Robert Dirks writes in his work on food in the Gilded Age (the period following the American Civil War to the First World War):

The dishes that many had only savored in their thoughts actually began appearing on their plate. Scots, who had taken pleasure in a piece of bacon or a shred of corned beef once a week, ate meat three times a day in places like Chicago and Pittsburgh. Bohemians, whose milk had been stripped of cream in Czechia, bought milk with cream in Chicago and drank it year-round. St. Louisans from Campania, who once had to be content with watching others eat spaghetti, could now cover it with tomato sauces rich in pig fat or olive oil and delight in it every day.¹⁵

All across the country, all different immigrants, all experienced the same explosion of food availability once they moved to the United States. The turn of the century was a time of booming industry and building- this overabundance of proteins and fats likely helped build up the energy of working class immigrants laboring to earn a living through manual labor, survive the Great Depression, and fight two World Wars.¹⁶

Another “forced” method of contact between the Anglo-American groups and more recently immigrated southern European tastes was the late nineteenth century requirement of dinner parties held by middle class housewives.¹⁷ The housewives, especially those aspiring to higher social standing, were expected to hold fancy, multi-course meals for a group of men and women in their class- the more extravagant, the better. As Levenstein remarks, “When guests

¹⁴ Katherine Leonard Turner, *How the Other Half Ate*, 6.

¹⁵ Robert Dirks, *Food in the Gilded Age: What Ordinary Americans Ate* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 129.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁷ Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table*, 61.

were entertained, not only the food but the table, flower arrangements, silver, linens, china, and glass were expected to reflect the creativity and inventiveness of the hostess.”¹⁸ This variety grew and grew as each successive housewife attempted to outdo her previous host by creating something even more lavish than the last. Of course, no one woman could accomplish this on her own, so, to spread the workload out, many Anglo-American women employed a servant girl. Before the 1880s, the servant classes were dominated by Irish and German immigrants, who were often considered not as sophisticated as their employers, but as time went on, slowly became more synonymous and accepted as white, upwardly mobile Americans, moving into higher paid jobs like secretaries or schoolteachers. As these northern European servant girls left the workforce, it left the Anglo-American housewives with a dilemma- they would either have to find a way to make these extravagant dinner parties by themselves, or, they would have to give in and try to let the swarthy, difficult southern European immigrants, alongside blacks and Asians, into their kitchens.¹⁹ While at the time, following the patterns established in the past by elites, kitchens in upper and upper-middle class homes were often separate from dining rooms and were only intended for use by the servants- (they also took their meals in the kitchen, never at the same table as their employers) the simple fact that these immigrant women were cooking for the Anglo-American women influenced and mixed cultural foods with one another.²⁰

As these newly minted twentieth century women were not professionally trained, and often had little experience with cooking by themselves, a new type of learning and cookbook writing arose in America to combat this deficiency in knowledge. One of the first and most famous proponents of this new way of thinking was Fannie Merritt Farmer, second principal of

¹⁸ Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table*, 61-62.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Hans J. Teuteberg, “The Birth of the Modern Consumer Age: Food Innovations from 1800,” in *Food: The History of Taste*, ed. Paul Freedman (London, England: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2007), 150.

the Boston Cooking School, founded to teach women the skills necessary to make home cooking easy and straightforward.²¹ Her cookbook, *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book*, first published in 1896, has not been out of print since then- a continuous availability of over one hundred and twenty years! One of the main reasons for its solidification as a staple in early twentieth century American kitchens comes from Farmer's usage of standard measures in all her recipes, as well as two chapters worth of recounting kitchen basics, such as types of cooking, how to de-bone poultry, preserving, timetables for cooking, and even *how to build a fire*.²² These basics would have been left out of cookbooks published less than a century before. For example: a recipe for Winter Squash pudding from Lucy Emerson's *The New-England Cookery*, published in Vermont in 1808, contains little in the way of practical instruction or standardized measurements:

Core, boil and skin a good squash, and bruise it well ; take 6 large apples, pared, cored, and stewed tender, mix together ; add 6 or 7 spoonfuls of dry bread or biscuit, rendered fine as meal, half pint milk or cream, 2 spoons of rose-water, 2 of wine, 5 or 6 eggs beaten and strained, nutmeg, salt and sugar to your taste, one spoon flour, beat all smartly together, bake.²³

This recipe was intended for a professional chef or an upper-class woman with servants to assist her in the production of the meal. This audience, with their experience, used these guidelines to recreate the recipe- step by step instructions were not necessary, as the reader could fill in the blanks, like cooking time or the actual size of a 'spoon', on their own.

Farmer's work changed this completely, setting a standard that is still followed in American cookbooks today. For example, her recipe for sour milk gingerbread first lists the six

²¹ Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table*, 83.

²² Fannie Merritt Farmer, *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1896), viii.

²³ Lucy Emerson, "A Crookneck or Winter Squash Pudding," in *The Cookbook Library: Four Centuries of the Cooks, Writers, and Recipes That Made the Modern Cookbook*, ed. Anne Willan, Mark Cherniavsky, and Kyri Claflin (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 274.

ingredients necessary for the recipe in a two-column format, as in modern cookbooks.

Standardized measurements, like 1 cup molasses or 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ teaspoons baking soda, ensured that the results Farmer got at the Boston Cooking School could be replicated seamlessly in American homes across the country. The actual body of the recipe's instructions varies from Emerson's earlier one as well:

Add milk to molasses. Mix and sift dry ingredients, combine mixtures, add butter, and beat vigorously until smooth. Pour into a buttered shallow pan, and bake twenty-five minutes in a moderate oven.²⁴

The addition of modifiers like *until smooth* and the addition of definite times for baking and cooking ensured that as long as readers were able to follow simple directions, their work in the kitchen could be as successful as they wanted it to be. Practical schooling was not necessary, experience towards more complex cooking and improvisation could be gained simply by following the rules set down in the cookbook.

A similar cookbook from the late 1930s represents the continuation of this lineage in American cookbooks, as well as the then popular reluctance to include many exotic recipes beyond French cooking. As will be discussed later, French cooking had long been considered in America to be "high class," and as such, worthy of appreciation by American diners. It was not until this period, however, when middle class women were beginning to be encouraged to try creating the cuisine in their own American kitchens as opposed to upper class restaurants and homes. The cookbook in question, Ruth Berolzheimer's *The American Women's Cookbook*, published in 1938, follows in Farmer's footsteps by containing a lengthy introductory section detailing cooking basics and tips for building a menu, signifying the rise of entertainment dining that would typify the period. The recipes cover a wide variety of Anglo-American staples, like

²⁴ Fannie Merritt Farmer, *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book*, 408.

Roast Beef or Yorkshire pudding, as well as traditional French ones, such as Lobster Thermidor. However, the cookbook also contains a few additions reflecting the widening cuisine influences gained by immigrants and changing opinions, like Wiener Schnitzel and the then in-vogue chop suey.²⁵ The name of the cookbook itself is indicative of the modern amalgam of the country's cuisine: the *American Woman's Cook Book*. This was a book of recipes for American women, regardless of their cultural background. All these different recipes were considered acceptable and encouraged to be cooked at parties and for the family. The relegation of other cuisines to specialty restaurants or foreign enclaves in America was beginning to change, allowing for immigrants and their cultures to fold into the overall culinary background of the country.

As times changed, and women were expected to do more of the cooking themselves, rather than rely on the work of hired hands, cookbooks and food/home economics magazines and periodicals flooded the market by the 1920s. Magazines like *American Cookery*, published by the Boston Cooking School, America's first teaching kitchen, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Better Homes and Gardens* popularized and glamorized the idea of women cooking for themselves and their families, regardless of their ethnic background.²⁶ These written and visual media outlets were vectors for both the spread of ethnic cooking to different sectors of American homes, but also its homogenization.

For example, perusing a stack of *American Cookery* magazines from 1921-1931, one finds a handful of ethnic recipes across the ten years, but upon examining what they entail, realizes that they are mostly ethnic in name only. The recipe that occurs the most across the years is that of chop suey, a Chinese dish involving sliced pork fried with vegetables. The first,

²⁵ Ruth Berolzheimer, ed. *The American Woman's Cook Book* (Chicago, IL: Consolidated Book Publishers, Inc., 1938), 242; 248; 334.

²⁶ Tim Miller, *American Home Cooking: A Popular History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 65.

published in the June-July 1924 issue, appears in an article about “Mah Jongg Suppers,” dinners to serve while the housewife and her friends are playing the then popular Chinese game of Mah Jongg. The author, Josephine Bessems, notes that with the Chinese-ness of the game “comes an interest in Chinese cookery, in order that we may have refreshments in keeping with the spirit of the game. When we think of Chinese food, we naturally think first of chop suey. It is an interesting fact, however, that this, the most misunderstood dish in the world, is a purely American product, and until quite recently was unknown in China. It was invented in this country by the Chinese restaurateurs for American consumption.”²⁷ Bessems’ recipe for chop suey contains pork, onions, lard, beef stock, cornstarch, and a tablespoon of “Chinese sauce,” which in this case means soy sauce. In any case, to modern eyes, the addition of a single *tablespoon* of soy sauce alone to meat and onions really does not denote a Chinese recipe, and to her credit, Bessems does state that Chop Suey is not a Chinese recipe at all, but an American one. However, that does not stop the editors of the magazine and others like it from continuing to publish the recipe, enticing white housewives to try “Chinese” cooking. In this way, ethnic cooking became more widespread, but homogenized at the same time- more people were cooking “Chinese” food, but it was all a whitewashed version of an ethnic original. My great grandmother, a daughter of an Irish immigrant, cooked a recipe like the one listed here in the 1950s in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania- hardly the city one thinks of when thinking of Chinese immigration or Asian food in general, especially in 1950. As time went on, this beginning of an interest in ethnic dishes evolved into a wholehearted acceptance for other cultures in the American repertoire.

²⁷ Josephine Bessems, “Mah Jongg Suppers,” *American Cookery*, June-July 1924, 20.



Figure 3. Lunch at Delmonico's Restaurant, c. 1902, accessed September 1, 2017, <https://i.pinimg.com/736x/53/77/73/537773743c3ba92ea5d186de846a46f7--ladies-luncheon-gilded-age.jpg>

Chinese was not the only “ethnic” cuisine that had any relevance to American culture at the turn of the twentieth century- since the “Gilded Age” in the 1880s, French cuisine had been considered by the upper class as the finest, fanciest cuisine that one could create and consume. One of the first restaurants in America considered “world class” by those in the country and out was Delmonico's in New York City, founded in 1827 by two Swiss brothers, John and Peter Delmonico, which reached its heyday by the 1880s.²⁸ Most of what is known food wise about

²⁸ Paul Freedman, *Ten Restaurants That Changed America* (New York, NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2016), 4.

Delmonico's comes from the published works of its longtime chef, French-born Charles Ranhofer, most notably *The Epicurean*, published in 1893. Ranhofer's work at the restaurant is unique and significant in the grand scheme of American cookery because of how he served not only French *haute cuisine*, like foie-gras (goose liver) in aspic (gelatin) but also American ingredients with a French flair, such as Terrapin à la Maryland (cut-up terrapin turtle cooked in butter and Madeira with cream and mashed hard-boiled egg yolks).²⁹ This melding of American and French cuisine was something that was very unique to the time- the fusion cuisines combining two disparate ethnic food types (French-Asian, Mexican-American, etc.) popular today were unheard of during that time period, and yet, as pictured in figure 3 above, men and women filled the dining room of Delmonico's under Ranhofer's watch to indulge in up to *fourteen* courses worth of it.³⁰ During the restaurant's heyday in the nineteenth century, and for the first half of the twentieth, French cooking both in America and for the most part, in the rest of the world, was solely enjoyed in fancy restaurants like this- but the sheer volume of both diners and the money they poured out at these eateries shows the prominence they had in food culture at the time, regardless of its absence from home cooking and mastery by housewives themselves. By the 1960s, this completely changed in America with the help of female writers and television- most prominently, American-born Julia Child, and her seminal cookbook, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, which will be discussed later in the following chapter.

Alongside these other ethnic cooking backgrounds introduced both by immigration and public interest, German cooking too weaved in and out of Anglo-American culinary practices and directly lead to the creation of something the rest of the world considers American, the

²⁹ Paul Freedman, *Ten Restaurants That Changed America*, 28-29.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

hamburger.³¹ Named after the German city of Hamburg, the “Hamburg Steak” was served in America as early as 1836 in as fancy a restaurant as Delmonico’s. However, this was just ground beef formed into a patty and served alone with vegetables. The stereotypical American hamburger did not emerge until the end of the nineteenth century. Food historians are not entirely sure where exactly they came from- one account claims it was invented at a county fair in Wisconsin in 1884, another in Ohio in 1891, and another in 1900 at a still open restaurant called Louis Lunch in Connecticut.³² Regardless, with the emergence of national hamburger chains like White Castle in 1921, and McDonalds in the 1950s, this formerly German-American food had turned into an American icon- sometimes a negative one to the rest of the world. However, hamburgers were not the only food legacy that German-American immigrants added to the melting pot of American cuisine around the turn of the twentieth century. Compared to their Italian, Chinese, and even French counterparts, looking around today, one would not readily notice German restaurants and German specialty stores in America- there are not that many. Nonetheless, when examining such disparate American cuisines as Texas-style Beef Barbecue and sausage, a traditional German food, as well as the dumplings, pies, and pork dishes of Pennsylvania Dutch and Amish residents, it is extremely easy to see how German cooking persists in American cuisine today.³³

Not all immigrant groups during the period discussed here had as deep or noticeable effect on American cuisine as Chinese, German, or French influences did. That is not to say that other groups had no effect at all on the overall path that American food has taken since the 1880s- they have, just not in as readily noticeable ways. One such group is that of Jewish

³¹ Elliott Shore, “Dining Out: The Development of the Restaurant,” in *Food: The History of Taste*, ed. Paul Freedman (London, England: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2007), 329.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, 321.

immigrants, separated into two differing sets by scholars: Orthodox Jews, who followed the dietary restrictions of their religion as closely as possible, and on the other hand, “unorthodox” or “liberal” Jews, who did not adhere so strictly.³⁴ The former group, forbidden from eating Pork and products derived from the hoofed animal extremely prevalent as a food source in America during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries placed Orthodox Jews at a disadvantage to immigrants of different creeds around them. Even with this, however, these immigrants still experienced the wealth of meat options available in the country at the time compared to their origin nations.

For example, a group of Orthodox Jews surveyed in 1895 in Chicago, a primary meatpacking city at the time, showed the stark differences between what they previously consumed in their native Russia versus what they ate on a daily basis in their new home. Dirks describes the daily diet in Russia, “A breakfast in Russia might have consisted of barley soup with oats; for dinner, perhaps some potatoes and milk or maybe some barley with peas or lima beans flavored with a speck of chicken fat.”³⁵ The only trace of animal protein in their entire day came from a tiny piece of fat from a chicken. In America, this completely changed. These same immigrants, while still adhering to their religious dietary laws and enjoying a larger portion of vegetables than their gentile neighbors, mixed in a fair amount of beef, chicken, and fish that was unheard of in Russia. One of the most lasting impacts this group helped bring about was that of today’s “hot dog.” The Orthodox Jewish need for cheap, kosher foods, available quickly to those working jobs and living in tenements in crowded cities at the turn of the twentieth century allowed companies like New York’s Hebrew National (formed in 1905 by a Russian Orthodox Jew, Theodore Krainin) to grow and market their product to others outside the Jewish

³⁴ Robert Dirks, *Food in the Gilded Age*, 107-111.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

community.³⁶ Just as Germany's "Hamburg steak" became the quintessential American hamburger, Jewish immigrants' popularization of what became the hot dog created an indelible impression on America's food heritage.

An interesting way to look at the lasting effect these disparate groups has had on American cuisine up to this point is by looking at the quintessential lunch staple, the sandwich. When one thinks of a sandwich, what are some of the first fillings that come to mind? Most likely, it is a product of one of the immigrant food cultures that came to and melded with the America of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To name a few, a sandwich piled high with roast or corned beef, salami, black forest ham and swiss cheese all in between two slices of Jewish Rye bread, reflecting America's English, Irish, Italian, German, Swiss, and Jewish influences all in one meal.³⁷ Slathering the bread with mayonnaise and Dijon mustard can even add a reflection of French cuisine on the American sandwich. This is an amusing, somewhat mouthwatering, and, pardoning the unavoidable pun, a quite *cheesy* metaphor to describe how modern America's cuisine has taken parts from myriad immigrants and made it into something new and unique. Italian salami would never have been combined with Irish corned beef in 1888. Today, we think nothing of putting these two (and more) together and eating the result!

This Americanization of multiple foreign foods and their peoples shows exactly what the "melting pot" theory of immigrant assimilation did to create a new, unique native cuisine. In addition to factors like urban living and community grouping inside larger cities (Chinatowns, Little Italies, etc.), common experiences also accelerated this process. Two of the biggest shared experiences past the turn of the twentieth century were the World Wars, in which millions of American men of myriad ethnic backgrounds experienced together. Soldiers must eat, and the

³⁶ Robert Dirks, *Food in the Gilded Age*, 111.

³⁷ Megan Elias, *Lunch: A History* (New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 44-45.

rations they were served again go to show the assimilation of foreign foods into daily American cuisine. While it is doubtful these were highly delicious renditions of these foods, American sailors during the first World War were often served half a pound of grilled hamburger and a serving of spaghetti for dinner.³⁸ Again, these two dishes are not the most ethnic meals that come to mind when thinking of German or Italian cuisine, but, as shown earlier, both foods have readily identifiable roots in their respective mother cultures, and were readily subsumed into American cuisine as early as the 1910s. Sociologist Milton Gordon wrote in his 1964 work *Assimilation in American Life* that American national ideal has long been set in stone. He writes, “It is the *Mayflower*, John Smith, Davy Crockett, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln that define the American’s self-image, and this is true whether the American in question is a descendent of the Pilgrims or the grandson of an immigrant from southeastern Europe.”³⁹ American icons of the past and national unity against a common enemy assisted these men and their families, regardless of their backgrounds, together under one national cultural umbrella.

³⁸ Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table*, 199.

³⁹ Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1964), 128.



Figure 4. *Freedom From Want*. Painting by Norman Rockwell, 1943, Norman Rockwell Museum, accessed September 1, 2017, https://www.nrm.org/wp2016/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Freedom-from-Want_3_5.jpg

The postwar America that emerged as G.I.s returned from overseas following the Second World War was a different one than that which existed before hostilities began in many ways, but most significantly in the home. When thinking of the stereotypical mid-twentieth century home, images like that pictured above in Figure 4 immediately come to mind. Note the focus on a well-set table surrounded by well-dressed white people, nary a hair out of place on any of them, the wife or mother happily placing a gigantic bird down in front of the voracious family, with her husband behind her ready to assume his only culinary duty, carving the meat. As anyone who has cooked, especially for a large crowd like this, will know that this scene is not often

played out as cleanly as Norman Rockwell painted it. The mother would likely show some strain from preparing such a gigantic meal, and might have a *few* grease stains on her apron showing her efforts in the kitchen. Similarly, the people around the table might not be as sparkling as these are. At the time, while this brings up an uncomfortable taste of sexism in today's judgments, perfection in the home at the time was expected from women, whether it was mothers or wives.

Just as the media today affects how people view themselves and what they aspire to be, magazines, television shows, and movies of the postwar era created and reinforced these ideas of femininity and roles in the home. Harvey Levenstein, a modern American food historian, points out a somewhat humorous fact about the depth of the supposed monopoly of women over food preparation in the home. He writes, "male food writers for women's magazines were often forced to assume female pseudonyms. Marshall Adams, one of *McCall's* best food writers and editor of its *McCall's Food Service Bulletin*, wrote under the pen name "Marsha Roberts."⁴⁰ Was this because the intended readership was housewives, and that they would distrust the input of just a man? This is unlikely, as Levenstein notes later, "When *Better Homes and Gardens* featured seafood dishes from four famous restaurants, the recipes were credited to the male chefs of each and accompanied by the comment that this kind of "perfection in seasoning and cooking could be achieved [only] by a knowing chef."⁴¹ For example, the previously discussed Delmonico's restaurant, headed by the lauded Charles Ranhofer fit this pattern perfectly, as Paul Freedman notes: "As was the case at most fancy restaurants, the Delmonico's cooking staff were

⁴⁰ Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 104.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

exclusively men, and there was a firm division in this era between the male chef as restaurant professional and the female household cook.”⁴²

There were some cracks in this façade of male dominance in the American culinary world- as previously mentioned, Fannie Merritt Farmer’s *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* published at the turn of the twentieth century played a large part in assisting housewives of the new middle class to create dishes and entertain that would have been unheard of a century before. However, it was not until the 1950s and 1960s when high class dining, usually relegated to professional chefs in restaurants like Ranhofer’s Delmonico, was brought to the middle class. One of the main movers in changing this male centric idea was American-born Julia Child, famed for both her co-written 1961 tome *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, as well as her 1963 public television series *The French Chef*, which for the first time, directly introduced American housewives to legitimate French cuisine. The preface of the book states:

No out of the ordinary ingredients are called for. In fact the book could well be titled ‘French Cooking from the American Supermarket,’ for the excellence of French cooking, and of good cooking in general, is due more to cooking techniques than to anything else... Anyone can cook in the French manner anywhere, with the right instruction.⁴³

As opposed to previous authentic French cookbooks, like Charles Ranhofer’s *The Epicurean*, Child and her co-authors succeeded in both writing an authentic cookbook that covered as many tenets of French cooking as possible, but also in creating one that was accessible by regular middle-class housewives. It was resoundingly popular- the copy in the possession of the author of this paper is the twenty fourth printing from 1973, meaning that in the twelve years since its first edition, so many people had bought the book that each year *TWO* print runs were needed to

⁴² Paul Freedman, *Ten Restaurants that Changed America*, 26.

⁴³ Julia Child, Louisette Bertholle, and Simone Beck, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* (1961; repr., New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 1:vii.

meet the demand every year for the work.⁴⁴ So what was the catalyst for the widespread acceptance of French food all of a sudden? In the interim between the 1920s and the postwar period, French food had even taken a tumble from its lofty position at the top of the American culinary food chain, Prohibition taking a large toll on the wine-heavy restaurants.⁴⁵ Many authors credit Child's television program based on the book, *The French Chef*, with directly showing housewives that mistakes could be made in the kitchen without ruining everything, in fact, they were to be expected. Levenstein writes: "Instead of a meticulous man with a thin moustache and a foreign accent performing magic tricks in the kitchen, here was a six-foot-tall woman who huffed and puffed as she hefted large joints of meat, dropped things, and encountered enough near-disasters to allow plenty of instruction in how to compensate for them."⁴⁶ The woman depicted in Norman Rockwell's *Freedom from Want* by no means resembles Julia Child- this idea of a clean, unharried wife who never makes mistakes was finally shown to be incorrect, or at least, highly unlikely- and middle class housewives (or younger men, newer cooks) identified with that.

Ethnicity and its differences to the idealized white majority depicted by Norman Rockwell and others like him still played a large part in postwar America. One of the most divisive ingredients in American cookery was garlic- today highly innocuous, considered flavorful and desirable, and used in many recipes, but in the previous century, highly offensive and suspicious, used only by the immigrant minority. Stewart H. Holbrook, a popular male writer of the time, opined in *American Mercury* magazine, "garlic, according to an unofficial yet decisive survey of American home life... is a weed used only by long-whiskered Socialists and

⁴⁴ Julia Child, *Mastering the Art Of French Cooking*, 1:vii.

⁴⁵ Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty*, 45.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 143.

other foreigners. Only a small portion of the good American wives in my survey have ever seen or even smelled it.”⁴⁷ Seen, or *even smelled it*- Holbrook was obviously indulging in some exaggeration when he wrote that, but, it still serves as a general point about how undesirable garlic, its smell, and by extension, the people who used it in cooking were thought to be in the prewar and early post-war period to the average housewife.

The group of immigrants who were most associated with the deviant garlic were the Italians, southern Europeans who, in staid American-born eyes, represented the least positive parts of immigration in manner, cuisine, and bearing. Italian-American baseball star Joe Dimaggio, known by many at the time for his athletic exploits, had to assure *Life* magazine readers in 1939 that he “did not slick back his hair with olive oil and ‘never reeks of garlic.’”⁴⁸ Imagine a modern sports star having to apologize or reassure about something like that in a national publication- it is quite clear that food and ingredients are not so tied to ethnicity as they once were. When thinking today of ethnic foods or restaurants that are most common compared to others, Chinese and Italian eateries top the list. In America, there are over 40,000 Chinese restaurants as well as over 28,000 Italian restaurants- not counting pizzerias!⁴⁹ In comparison, there are only around 14,146 McDonalds restaurants in the United States, a chain that seems to be everywhere in the country.⁵⁰ According to many scholars as well as contemporary writers, this has been the case since both groups began arriving in America following the Civil War. In general, both groups refused to separate themselves entirely from their native food culture even in the face of the “melting pot” culture that assisted in homogenizing the cultures and foodways

⁴⁷ Stewart H. Holbrook, “Gastronomy in the Woods,” *American Mercury*, July 1930, 339.

⁴⁸ Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty*, 29.

⁴⁹ Paul Freedman, *Ten Restaurants That Changed America*, 173.

⁵⁰ “Number of McDonald’s Restaurants in North America from 2012 to 2016, by country,” Statista, accessed September 1, 2017, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/256040/mcdonalds-restaurants-in-north-america/>

of other groups around them. Even with the then popular conception of Italians as anarchists or gangsters (Sacco and Vanzetti, Al Capone, the Mafia, etc.), already homogenized white Americans were somewhat eager to try out and enjoy Italian cuisine.⁵¹ Food historian Paul Freedman's recent work, *Ten Restaurants that Changed America*, contains a chapter focused around Italian eateries using for an example a once wildly popular Italian restaurant in New York City, Mamma Leone's.

Founded in 1906 by the titular "Mamma," Luisa Leone, the Italian restaurant grew from a small 20-seat eatery to a cavernous dining room that could seat 1,200 diners at a time by the mid-1950s.⁵² While of course this humongous size is not typical of Italian restaurants and eateries in America, it is telling of how popular Italian food was, even in the still relatively unadventurous era when Italian-American baseball stars assured fans they did not reek of garlic. As previously discussed, American cuisine had always been centered on generous portions and a wide variety of things to eat, giving a plausible reason for the popularity of Italian restaurants and cooking, as their meals were generally thought to be large and filling. Mamma Leone's was no different, shown when Freedman describes the menu:

As was customary at Italian restaurants, there was a set dinner of multiple courses that included cheese, garlic bread, a relish tray of celery and olives, and a choice of pastas (meatballs and spaghetti, lasagna, or gnocchi); then came entrees such as veal dishes, fried calamari, steaks, and chops. This was not the place for anyone eager to lose weight.⁵³

This abundance of food and wine that flowed in Italian cuisine and the restaurants that dished it out to non-Italian Americans seems to have helped clear up the "garlic smelling gangster" association that had once formed the basis of opinion about Italian immigrants. Plus, as

⁵¹ Paul Freedman, *Ten Restaurants that Changed America*, 178.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 189.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 196.

Freedman notes- “The restrictive immigration laws passed by Congress between 1917 and 1924 had been targeted particularly at Mediterranean Italians, but the enactment of these laws ended the perceived threat that native Anglo-Saxon “stock” of the United States would be overwhelmed by migrants of dubious racial status.”⁵⁴ So, no longer was it necessary for white Americans to worry that their old backgrounds would be entirely eradicated by swarms of swarthy European immigrants- why not indulge in their heartening, friendly cuisine then?

Mamma Leone’s succeeded in attracting clientele to its dining room from 1906 to the mid-1990s when it closed. At its peak, the restaurant served 4,000 diners a day.⁵⁵ While Freedman notes that New York natives, like food critic Craig Claiborne, eschewed Mamma Leone’s as they considered its clientele to be largely comprised of tourists, this in itself is vital in understanding the amount of acceptance Italian food found in American culture. If that many people, from around the country, each day visited one restaurant out of the thousands in the city, and heartily ate the Italian food offered there, surely, it is clear that the food that Italian immigrants like Luisa Leone brought to the American palate was deeply acceptable and liked by a majority of the white, Anglo-Saxon population, even in the unadventurous 1930s-1950s.

Looking at an Italian cookbook from near the end of this period, in 1953, clearly shows the trend in the widespread adoption of the Italian cuisine into American homes. Proudly proclaiming itself as “The Complete Italian Cookbook” with “over 800 selected recipes,” Rose Sorce’s *La Cucina* is representative of the acceptance Italian cuisine had come to in the country. Unlike her near contemporary Julia Child, Sorce does not delve deep into kitchen basics, or stress the ease, simplicity, and reward of her brand of cooking, only depicting it as a rich and traditional style. The recipes contained therein demonstrate the way in which Italian cuisine

⁵⁴ Paul Freedman, *Ten Restaurants that Changed America.*, 195.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 196.

became Italian-American: thirty-six very different recipes for spaghetti, but also American staples such as meatloaf, barbequed spare ribs, fried chicken, and roast turkey.⁵⁶ She does not separate these more traditionally American recipes from the others, they are intertwined with seemingly exotic Italian dishes like spaghetti Neapolitan (in reality pasta with a tomato sauce, sausage, mushrooms, and ham).⁵⁷ The work, and others like it, were meant to be Italian-American in name as well as practice: containing recipes from both cultures, to be prepared by cooks of all backgrounds. While cookbooks such as this helped give birth to food purists who decried the ‘authenticity’ of Italian-American foods typified by restaurants like Mamma Leone’s and those in *La Cucina*, it directly goes to show how well Italian melded with American cuisine and was accepted by casual cooks around the country.

As we have seen through both Charles Ranhofer’s *Delmonico’s*, and Luisa Leone’s *Mamma Leone’s*, from 1880 onwards, dining out was a suitable eating solution not only for the upper classes but lower classes as well. The growth of the middle class following World War I helped foster an environment that enabled immigrants and their ethnic cuisines to prosper and become a daily part of the American diet. However, not everyone was able to afford the rich French cuisine served at the *Delmonico* table- those in the emerging middle class had to look elsewhere for reliable culinary repasts. Tim Miller notes the process under which this chain of events occurred:

Excluded from the finest French restaurants, the middle class began frequenting ethnic restaurants... This set of ideas upended the dining values of the upper class by promoting the idea that all kinds of ethnic foods, like Italian or Chinese, could be as good as French food. Even if a given middle-class family were unfamiliar with all the foods served at a Greek or Italian restaurant, the waitstaff and owner, anxious to appeal to a new set of patrons, were usually happy to entertain them.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Rose L. Sorce, *La Cucina: The Complete Italian Cookbook* (New York, NY: Twayne Publishers, 1953), 57-69; 101; 113; 133; 148.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁸ Tim Miller, *American Home Cooking*, 96.

In part, this explains the huge popularity of Mamma Leone's Italian restaurant, and others like it- middle class families, both those that lived nearby and those that were tourists, felt confident by the 1920s and onwards that Italian food, like that served at Mamma Leone's was just as desirable as that served in upper class French restaurants.

Conclusion

As this examination shows, food, ethnicity, and immigration played a crucial role in the emergence of a new American cuisine from 1880 to 1960. Prior to 1880, America still held strongly to the food and stylings of its political ancestor, the Britons- boiled meats, unadventurous, subtly spiced meals, unadulterated with any radical flavorings, whether it be served at a party, in a restaurant/inn, or in the home kitchen. However, by the end of this period, America fully embraced culinary diversity in those same locations due to the influx and melding of European immigrants into the country. Some had greater acceptance than others- French, Italian, and Chinese cuisines all quickly found homes in the mouths of Anglo-Americans, but the ability to change was finally there. For example, even though the final form was not very authentically Chinese at all, 1920s cookbooks encouraged interested housewives to try their hand at creating Asian food for themselves, opening the way to a different food style, or at least, showing that it was acceptable for white Anglo-American women to try the cuisines of other ethnicities. In addition, dietary needs of groups such as Orthodox Jews created a demand for readily available kosher foods- one of which resulted in the creation of today's American hot dog craze. Over one hundred years of culinary stagnation finally began to move towards the widespread influences and cultures readily available in American food today. Garlic, derided even as far into the twentieth century as 1930, features prominently in cookbooks from the end

of the period, such as Julia Child's *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, and today, is in many recipes without any connotation of its former status as a marker of peasantry and criminal backgrounds. Similarly, Julia Child's television show *The French Chef* in 1963 began the extensive line of popular cooking television shows that continue through to today, visually showcasing foods of all different ethnicities and backgrounds to American cooks, encouraging them to try new cuisines separate from their own heritage. Many women of the upper and middle classes moved away from having servant girls and instead spent more time in the kitchen themselves- and those that did still have servants often were "forced" to employ women from southern Europe, usually the less accepted cultures, bringing another form of culinary cultural contact into play. While the 1950s and 1960s would also mark a darker period in American cooking with the heavy emphasis on tv dinners and frozen fish, the pieces were all in place around that would lead to the culinary world we know today. Without the changes that immigrants from Europe brought to America from 1880 to 1960, the culinary landscape we seen in America today would be a markedly different, extremely boring one.

Bibliography

- Albala, Ken. *Cooking in Europe: 1250-1650*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.
- . *Food in Early Modern Europe*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.
- Anderson, Elijah. “Beyond the Melting Pot Reconsidered.” *The International Migration Review* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 262-270. Accessed September 12, 2017. *Jstor*.
- Anderson, Lynne Christy. *Breaking Bread: Recipes and Stories from Immigrant Kitchens*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010.
- Bauch, Nicholas. *A Geography of Digestion: Biotechnology and the Kellogg Cereal Enterprise*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017.
- Bessems, Josephine. “Mah Jongg Suppers.” *American Cookery*, June-July 1924.
- Cannato, Vincent J. *American Passage: The History of Ellis Island*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2009.
- Cohen, Elizabeth S., and Thomas V. Cohen. *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.
- Child, Julia, Louisette Bertholle, and Simone Beck. *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*. Vol. 1. 1961. Reprint, New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973
- Dalby, Andrew. *Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000.
- Davidson, Alan. *The Oxford Companion to Food, 3rd ed.* Edited by Tom Jaine. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Defourneaux, Marcelin. *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*. Translated by Newton Branch. London: George Allen and Unwin LTD, 1970.
- Dirks, Robert. *Food in the Gilded Age: What Ordinary Americans Ate*. Lanham, MD: Rowman

- & Littlefield, 2016.
- Elias, Megan. *Lunch: A History*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.
- Farmer, Fannie Merritt. *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1896.
- Freedman, Paul H., editor. *Food: The History of Taste*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.
- . *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.
- . *Ten Restaurants That Changed America*. New York, NY: Liveright Publishing, 2016.
- Gordon, Milton M. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Holbrook, Stewart H. "Gastronomy in the Woods." *American Mercury*, July 1930, 338-41.
- Kronld, Michael. *The Taste of Conquest: The Rise and Fall of the Three Great Cities of Spice*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 2007.
- Levenstein, Harvey. *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003.
- . *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003.
- Martino, Maestro. *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*. Edited by Luigi Ballerini. Translated by Jeremy Parzen. Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2005.
- McWilliams, James E. *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Miller, Tim. *American Home Cooking: A Popular History*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.

- Norton, Marcy. *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Palma, Pina. "Of Courtesans, Knights, Cooks and Writers: Food in the Renaissance." *MLN* 119, no. 1 (January 2004): 37-51. Accessed November 5, 2015. Jstor.
- . *Savoring Power, Consuming the Times: The Metaphors of Food in Medieval and Renaissance Italian Literature*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013.
- Paxson, Heather. *The Life of Cheese: Crafting Food and Value in America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013.
- Sorce, Rose L. *La Cucina: The Complete Italian Cookbook*. New York, NY: Twayne Publishers, 1953.
- Shaffer, Marjorie. *Pepper: A History of the World's Most Influential Spice*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2013.
- Shore, Elliott. "Dining Out: The Development of the Restaurant." In *Food: The History of Taste*, edited by Paul Freedman, 300-331. London, England: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2007.
- Singman, Jeffrey L. *Daily Life in Elizabethan England*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.
- Smith, Andrew F. *American Tuna: The Rise and Fall of an Improbable Food*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012.
- . *Eating History: 30 Turning Points in the Making of American Cuisine*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2009.
- Taillevent. *Le Viandier de Taillevent*. Translated by James Prescott. Eugene, OR: Alfarhaugr Publishing Society, 1989. Accessed December 6, 2015.
- <http://www.telusplanet.net/public/prescotj/data/viandier/viandier1.html>
- Tauteberg, Hans J. "The Birth of the Modern Consumer Age: Food Innovations from 1800." In

- Food: The History of Taste*, edited by Paul Freedman, 232-261. London, England: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2007.
- Turner, Jack. *Spice: The History of a Temptation*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.
- Turner, Katherine Leonard. *How the Other Half Ate: A History of Working-Class Meals at the Turn of the Century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014.
- Vester, Katharina. *A Taste of Power: Food and American Identities*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015.
- Vita, Oretta Zanini de. *Encyclopedia of Pasta*. Translated by Maureen B. Fant. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009.
- Willan, Anne, Mark Cherniavsky, and Kyri Claflin. *The Cookbook Library: Four Centuries of the Cooks, Writers, and Recipes That Made the Modern Cookbook*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012.