

Ideas of Italy and the Nature of Ethnicity:
A History of Italian Food in Australia with
Case Studies

Tania Cammarano

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Discipline of History

School of Humanities

University of Adelaide

January 2018

Included Publications	5
Abstract	6
Thesis Declaration	8
Acknowledgements	9
Introduction	11
Literature Review	20
Methodology	32
Imagining Italy in Australia	36
Romantic Italy	37
Glamorous Italy	40
Attitudes Towards Italian Migrants	47
Italian Ethnicity as a Resource	59
Overview of Thesis Structure	61
Statement of Authorship for Chapter One	66
Chapter One: Leggo’s not-so-Authentico: Invention and Representation in 20th Century Italo-Australian Foodways	67
Introduction: Leggo’s is Italian...Isn’t It?	67
Background	69
Bendigo Roots, 1910s to 1925	71
An Italian Accent, 1950s to 1975	73
Italian Glamour, 1975 to 1978	78
Authentically Italo-Australian, 1978 to the present day	80
How Did Leggo’s Become “Authentically” Italo-Australian?	85
Statement of Authorship for Chapter Two	87
Chapter Two: The Perfect Cheese Company: Ethnic Entrepreneurs and the Business of Relationships	88
Introduction	88
Background of Natale Italiano, an Ethnic Entrepreneur	91
Relationship with Migrant Consumers	95
Selling Cheese to Migrants	97
Advertising	99
Pushing into the Mainstream	105
Relationship with Anglo-Australian Retailers and Consumers	111
Educating the Audience: Sellers	112
Educating the Audience: Consumers	117
Royal Melbourne Show	117
Advertorials	118
Recipes in Advertisements	119
<i>The Feminine Touch Wine and Food</i> (1978)	124
Relationship with Anglo-Australian Authorities	126
Innovators	127
From Ethnic Outsider to Mainstream Insider	134
Conclusion	141
Statement of Authorship for Chapter Three	145

Chapter Three: Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia’s First Italo-Australian Cookbook	146
Introduction	146
Is it an “Italian” Cookbook?	152
A Cultural Product of Australia	163
Accessibility	164
Fidelity to Origins	168
Intelligent and Witty	169
Audience	171
Why was it Written?	173
Statement of Authorship for Chapter Four	177
Chapter Four: Sweet and Savoury: Pasta in Popular Australian Cookbooks, 1860-1975	178
Introduction	178
Methodology	180
Defining “Pasta”	185
Versatility	188
Pasta as a Substitute for Meat and Suitable for Vegetarians	189
The Influence of Religion	190
Health and Dietary Beliefs	193
Classing Pasta as a Vegetable	196
Pasta in Different Courses	198
Pasta for Breakfast	199
Pasta for Dessert	201
Economy and Frugality in the Kitchen	206
Pasta is Cheap but Nutritious	208
Pasta and Leftovers	209
Macaroni Cheese	211
Convenience	212
Long Shelf Life	212
Ease	213
Speed	214
Fresh Pasta	215
Tinned Spaghetti	217
Fluidity of Italian Ethnicity	220
Definition	220
Pasta has Italian Origins	222
Pasta is Made in Italy	224
Pasta Can Cross Ethnicities	226
The Use of French Language in Pasta Recipes	226
Pasta Dishes Associated with Other Ethnicities	228
Pasta is Used in “Italian” Dishes	230
Pasta is a Way to Experience Italy	239
Elizabeth David’s <i>Italian Food</i> (1954)	240
The <i>Margaret Fulton Cookbook</i> (1968) Versus <i>Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook</i> (1973)	242
Conclusion	244
Conclusion	247
Chapter One: Leggo’s not-so-Autentico: Invention and Representation in 20th Century Italo-Australian Foodways	249

Chapter Two: The Perfect Cheese Company: Ethnic Entrepreneurs and the Business of Relationships _____	251
Chapter Three: Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia’s First Italo-Australian Cookbook _____	253
Chapter Four: Sweet and Savoury: Pasta in Popular Australian Cookbooks, 1860-1975 _____	256
Discussion _____	257
Limitations and Future Directions _____	265
Appendix A: Ankeny, Rachel A., and Tania Cammarano. “Leggo’s Not-so-Authentic: Invention and Representation in Twentieth-Century Italo-Australian Foodways.” In <i>Representing Italy Through Food</i>, edited by Peter Naccarato, Zachary Nowak, and Elgin K. Eckert. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. _____	273
Appendix B: Cammarano, Tania. “Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia’s First Italo-Australian Cookbook.” In <i>Eat History: Food and Drink in Australia and Beyond</i>, edited by Sofia Eriksson, Madeleine Hastie, and Tom Roberts, 42–75. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. _____	287
Appendix C: Chapter Four Cookbook Sample: Chronological Order and Bibliography__	304
Chronological Order (with shortened title) _____	304
Bibliography of Cookbooks and Recipe Booklets _____	306
Bibliography _____	312
Primary Sources _____	312
Archives _____	312
Co.As.It Italian Historical Society (IHS) _____	312
National Archives of Australia (NAA) _____	312
Public Record Office Victoria (PROV) _____	313
RAS Heritage (Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria) _____	314
State Library of NSW _____	314
University of Melbourne Archives (UMA) _____	314
Books and Book Chapters _____	315
Business Records (Not Accessed Through Archives) _____	316
Cookbooks and Recipe Booklets _____	316
Newspapers and Periodicals _____	321
Statistics _____	323
Television Advertisements _____	323
Secondary Sources _____	323
Bibliographies _____	323
Books and Book Chapters _____	323
Conference Proceedings _____	332
Cookbooks and Recipe Booklets _____	333
Journal Articles _____	335
Newspapers and Periodicals _____	337
Online Sources _____	338
Theses _____	339

Figure 1 - "Italian" Recipes by Decade

Included Publications

Ankeny, Rachel A., and Tania Cammarano. "Leggo's Not-so-Autentico: Invention and Representation in Twentieth-Century Italo-Australian Foodways." In *Representing Italy Through Food*, edited by Peter Naccarato, Zachary Nowak, and Elgin K. Eckert. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.

Cammarano, Tania. "Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia's First Italo-Australian Cookbook." In *Eat History: Food and Drink in Australia and Beyond*, edited by Sofia Eriksson, Madeleine Hastie, and Tom Roberts, 42–75. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.

Abstract

There is a widely held belief that Italian food was introduced to Australians and made popular by Italian migrants who arrived in large numbers after World War II. While this narrative is often repeated in popular media accounts, it is overly simplistic and ignores the complex interplay of factors that occur when what are perceived as new foods are introduced into existing cultures. This trope does, however, provide context for this thesis which explores the history of Italian food in Australia with the aim of deconstructing this narrative and understanding the circumstances that have led to the acceptance and even celebration of Italian food, and its relationship to the status of Italian migrants.

While much has been written about the impact of Italian migrants on Australia's food culture, this literature has been dominated by non-scholarly accounts. Scholarly research has been largely limited to exploring the subject from a single perspective, either that of the dominant culture or that of the Italian migrants. To address this gap in the literature, this thesis employs a cultural history approach and utilises a case study model to explore this history from both migrant and host culture perspectives.

By using a wide and diverse range of primary sources including business records, cookbooks, advertisements, newspapers, magazines and archival documents, each case study explores a specific but inter-related aspect of the history of Italian food in Australia. The first study examines how a publicly listed Australian company with no links to Italy came to see the economic benefits of producing an "authentic Italian" food product in mid-20th century Australia (Leggo's). Conversely, the second study demonstrates how what began as a typical Italian migrant food business in the 1930s was able to achieve mainstream success (Perfect Cheese Company). The third study explores the motives of a group of Italian migrants linked with fascism who published what is essentially Australia's first Italian cookbook (*First Australian Continental Cookery Book*) in 1937. The fourth study also uses cookbooks as its

primary source and examines how over a 115-year period a representative sample of them has recommended the use of pasta.

This thesis argues that the success of Italian food in Australia is a result of the actions of individuals and businesses from both the majority and minority cultures. While material factors such as industrialisation and immigration are frequently invoked when explaining change in Australia's food culture, this thesis highlights the largely overlooked role of conceptual factors, in particular ideas about Italy that have circulated in Australia since colonisation. It also explores the ways that individuals and groups were able to harness and exploit the dynamic nature of ethnicity within the context of a rapidly changing society. This research lays to rest a number of myths about how food culture changes. In doing so, this thesis makes a significant contribution to the fields of food studies, migration studies, business history and Australian history.

Thesis Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

I acknowledge that copyright of published works contained within this thesis resides with the copyright holder(s) of those works.

I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

I acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

Tania Cammarano

15 January 2018

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped me to produce this thesis. Firstly, without the support and assistance of my principal supervisor Professor Rachel A. Ankeny at the University of Adelaide and co-supervisor Dr Catherine Kevin at Flinders University I am certain this thesis would not exist. I am grateful to have been guided by two women whose deep knowledge, intellectual rigour and generosity is, quite frankly, inspiring. Thank you for getting me over the line in what has been both a challenging but ultimately rewarding experience.

I would also like to thank the History Department at the University of Adelaide, in particular the postgraduate coordinators, for all of their support, as well as Professor Emeritus Barbara Santich, whose contribution to food history in Australia is unparalleled.

I would also like to acknowledge the Co.As.It Italian Historical Society (IHS) for their excellent and vital work in collecting and preserving the history of Italian migrants in Australia. I extend my thanks in particular to Dr Paolo Baracchi for assistance with accessing the IHS archives and helping to make contact with members of the Italian community who I would also like to thank including Professor Alfredo Luzi, Pino Bosi and Sir James Gobbo. I am grateful to Paolo for his encouragement and enthusiasm for my project, as well as for opportunities to speak about my research at the IHS which were both enjoyable and enlightening.

There are many others who I would like to thank including Kate Murphy at Simplot Australia, Dr Annette Shiell at the Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, Dr Colin Bannerman and Dr Michael Symons as well as the staff at the University of Melbourne Archives and Public Record Office Victoria. I would also like to thank the many librarians of special collections at various institutions who were generous with their time and knowledge, and it would be wrong of me not also to acknowledge Dr Kelly Donati and Dr Lilly Cleary at William Angliss Institute for excellent PhD-related advice.

Chapters from this thesis were presented at various conferences in both Australia and Italy, and I am indebted to the participants who provided useful feedback. In particular I would like to thank Dr Blake Singley whose assistance in finding a physical copy of *La Cucina Continentale* was invaluable. I would also like to thank the editors of *Representing Italy through Food* (2017) and *Eat History* (2013), who accepted Chapters One and Three of this thesis for publication, and for the advice of the anonymous reviewers of those chapters.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. They say it takes a village to raise a child, but it arguably takes more than a village to raise two children while their mother is trying to complete a thesis. To my parents and my family more widely, I have relied on you practically every single day since I began this project and I know I could not have done it without your help. The list of your services runs long but includes baby-sitting, endless espresso, lunches delivered to my desk and, more often than not, dinner for my entire family. To David Southwell, who in a professional capacity provided his excellent editing advice, but in a personal capacity kept me sane (most of the time) and well-hydrated with cups of tea. I want you to know that I recognise the sacrifice you made for me and am so grateful for your patience, encouragement and support. Not to mention taking A1 and A2 out to the park more times than I could count so that I could understand the cheesemaking legislation of 1930s Australia.

It seems fitting that I am writing these acknowledgements at the kitchen table of my 94-year-old nonna. I want to dedicate this to her, my parents, and the Italian migrants like them, who came to this country with a lot of hope and courage, and not much else. I hope I have made you proud.

Introduction

Italian people in this country have had enormous influence upon the food habits of Australians. When I [was] first a University student in Adelaide the only place you could eat out in Adelaide after 7.30 at night was ‘The Embassy Dining-Room’ in King William Street and let me tell you that the Anglo-Saxon Celtic food was a disgrace to the great cuisine of that country. And the first change came with the establishment of ‘Allegro’s’ Restaurant in Rundle Street and after that ‘Mamma Gina’s’...and Italian food styles and habits swept this country with the migrants. We ate so much better than before. Do you know before the Italians came here, do you know what Australians cooked their food in—dripping. What fell of [sic] the roast on Sunday and it tasted awful. Alright if it fell on Yorkshire pudding otherwise it wasn’t too good.¹

The late Don Dunstan—former premier of South Australia, promoter of multiculturalism, and well-known *bon vivant*—included this observation in an address to a conference on Italian heritage in 1986. I have no doubt that it was well received by the Italians in the audience. I know this because Italians and their descendants, of whom I am one, love to hear how they have been responsible for “civilising” Australia through their food. They delight in being told how Australians ate overcooked mutton and boiled potatoes, and called that dinner, prior to the arrival of Italian migrants. Then Italians, those great bearers of culture and Western civilisation itself, came with their delicious foods, served them with generosity and ate in convivial circumstances; the Australians, unschooled in proper commensality, could not help but be impressed and ultimately seduced. Even if this outcome was an unintended consequence of these migrants’ moves to Australia, pride is still inspired in their descendants when hearing, for instance, prominent Walkley Award-winning native journalist David Dale

¹ Don Dunstan, “Italian Heritage,” in *Conference Proceedings: Italians in Australia Conference 1985/Australia’s Italian Heritage Conference 1986* (Brunswick, Vic.: Vaccari Italian Historical Trust, 1987), 112.

say that their parents and grandparents “transformed us [Australia] in just 50 years from one of the dullest places on the planet to one of the most interesting places—helping to make our national drink cappuccino, our national dish spag bol [spaghetti bolognese] and our national attitude playful and generous,” particularly when this occurred without conscious efforts on the part of the migrants themselves.²

Dunstan and Dale are not alone in these observations. While Dunstan does not explicitly credit these changes in food habits to the Italian migrants who arrived after World War II as part of Australia’s mass migration scheme, it is these Italians who are most typically applauded not just for introducing Australians to Italian ingredients and Italian cuisine, but helping to revolutionise their general eating habits.³ While it is true that higher visibility, acceptance and popularity of foreign foods and the mass immigration program of the 1950s did coincide, to attribute dietary change solely to Italian immigration, or immigration in general, is to ignore the many other social, economic and cultural factors that interact and contribute to significant changes in foodways, as have occurred in Australia over the past sixty years. It is also to ignore historical evidence that shows post-World War II Italian migrants may have had key roles to play in increasing exposure to and popularising Italian foodways, but they could not and did not introduce either the ingredients or the cuisine to Australia.

Most obviously, the dominant narrative pays no attention to the detail that Italians were the largest non-English speaking ethnic group in Australia by the time of the 1933 Census. While some scholarly and popular accounts have acknowledged the contribution of pre-World War II Italian migrants with regards to food production and distribution,⁴ they are often ignored in

² David Dale, “Ciao to the Italians as Australia Adopts New Cultures,” *Sun-Herald*, July 23, 2006, 56.

³ It is likely that Dunstan is talking about post-World War II Italian migrants because an early mention of Allegro’s Restaurant in an Adelaide newspaper is in 1946. See “Allegro’s Restaurant,” *Sport*, August 31, 1946, 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article216295699>.

⁴ A 1979 series of articles in *The Age* documented Melbourne’s pre-World War II Italian restaurateurs, see, for example, Anne Latreille, “Molina’s: A Family Flavor,” *Age*, August 7, 1979, 16; Anne Latreille, “Good Talk, Good Food and Good Wine,” *Age*, August 21, 1979, 17. Scholarly works include Anne Reynolds, “A Short History of Italian Cafes and Restaurants in Sydney,” *Modern Greek Studies (Australia)*

media accounts.⁵ The Italy-born in Australia at this time may have numbered only 26,756, when the country's total population was 6,629,839;⁶ however these Italian migrants, and those (admittedly few) who came before them, planted the seeds of a local Italian food industry with many firms engaging in the production of foods commonly associated with Italian cuisine such as salami, pasta and pecorino cheese.⁷ The Perfect Cheese Company, founded in 1930, was one of these companies and its history is explored in Chapter Two of this dissertation. There also were Anglo-Australian firms producing Italian food products,⁸ particularly in North Queensland,⁹ where there was a significant pre-World War II Italian population.¹⁰ Italian restaurants existed well before the Second World War, with Vincent Fasoli, born in Como, establishing Fasoli's in the late 1890s. The restaurant went on to become "the temple of Bohemia in Melbourne"¹¹ and the menu typically featured salami "believed by all to be of horseflesh,"¹² minestrone, ravioli, risotto, tagliatelle and osso buco.¹³

& *New Zealand*) 10 (2002): 136–55; Vicki Swinbank, "Brief History of the Development of Italian Cuisine in Australia—Part 1," *Italian Historical Society Journal* 3, no. 1 (1995): 5–9; Vicki Swinbank, "Brief History of the Development of Italian Cuisine in Australia—Part 2," *Italian Historical Society Journal* 3, no. 2 (1995): 13–15.

⁵ See, for example, Bernard Salt, "The Past Is a Different Country, with a Limited Palate and Fewer Conveniences," *Weekend Australian*, October 25-26, 2014, 17; Victoria Hannaford, "From Bolognese Sauce to Black Squid Ink: The Evolution of Italian Food in Australia," *Daily Telegraph*, December 2, 2014, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/lifestyle/food/sydney-taste/from-bolognese-sauce-to-black-squid-ink-the-evolution-of-italian-food-in-australia/news-story/79900cbc099799cd4aa7d932b835d3ce>.

⁶ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1933. Part X.—Birthplace*. (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1936), 734–35. "Full-blood Aboriginals" were not included in this Census and were excluded until the 1971 Census.

⁷ Companies who produced Italian-style food and were already established prior to World War II include smallgoods makers Tibaldi in Victoria and pasta makers the Borgia Brothers in South Australia.

⁸ These firms include Thos. Reynolds (Rinoldi brand) and Hancock's Golden Crust (Kookaburra and Forex brands).

⁹ The Standard Dairy Company of Brisbane and J.C. Hutton both made Italian-style cheese for the Queensland market.

¹⁰ The 1933 Census records 8,358 Italy-born citizens in Queensland, meaning the state had the largest number of Italians in Australia, which equated to 0.9 per cent of the entire Queensland population. The state with the highest percentage of Italians, however, was Western Australia where the Italy-born made up 1 per cent of the much smaller 438,852 total population.

¹¹ J. Alex Allan, "Bohemia in Melbourne: The Romance of Fasoli's," *Argus*, August 6, 1932, 6, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4466907>.

¹² Robert Henderson Croll, *I Recall: Collections and Recollections* (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, 1939), 44.

¹³ Allan Wynn, *The Fortunes of Samuel Wynn: Winemaker, Humanist, Zionist* (North Melbourne, Vic.: Cassell Australia, 1968), 60.

While there were others around Australia, the Italian restaurants in Melbourne's CBD in the 1920s and 1930s were highly visible to the Anglo-Australian population and were frequented by the educated and bohemian classes.¹⁴

The popular narrative also relies on a series of assumptions with regards to the Anglo-Australian diet prior to the arrival of Italians, namely that this diet was monotonous and monocultural. While most Australian cookbook writers did value "good, plain" cooking in the Federation period, this preference did not override their high regard for variety and innovation.¹⁵ Historian Barbara Santich has described Australian cooks as both highly adaptive in devising dishes and very creative. As she argues, the canon of cake, pastry and dessert recipes that can be found in many early 20th century Australian cookbooks is testament to this creativity.¹⁶ There is no denying that the Australian diet was based on the British model, with its emphasis on meat as the main component, but it is frequently forgotten that Britain was comprised of four distinct cultures and ethnicities. Even Dunstan in the quote above describes "Anglo-Saxon Celtic food" as being a "disgrace to that country," but which country did he mean? Scottish, Irish, Welsh and English food have been conveniently flattened into one monoculture in contemporary discussions of Australian food habits of the past. However, as Andrew Junor argues, each of these ethnicities had distinct food traditions which they brought with them to Australia.¹⁷

An emphasis on a single food culture also ignores any contribution made by other ethnic groups who had small but visible populations in the 19th century, such as the Germans, as well

¹⁴ For a description of these restaurants, see Mietta O'Donnell, *Mietta's Italian Family Recipes* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2000). For a description of Sydney's early Italian restaurants, see Reynolds, "A Short History of Italian Cafes and Restaurants in Sydney."

¹⁵ For details of the themes which were prevalent in Australian cookbooks, particularly those in circulation in the Federation period, see Colin Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books* (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1996).

¹⁶ See "Chapter 6: Land of Cakes" in Barbara Santich, *Bold Palates* (Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 2012).

¹⁷ Andrew Junor, "Backward, British and Bland? A Cultural History of Food in Mid-Twentieth Century Australia" (PhD diss., Monash University, 2015).

as the indigenous population. While these contributions were mostly ignored by the majority of Anglo-Australians and arguably did not have significant effects on the mainstream diet, they did have clear influences in other ways. For example, German migrants, who had interactions with both Aboriginal inhabitants (the Peramangk) and English settlers in South Australia's Barossa Valley, produced what is regarded by many as one of Australia's few regional cuisines.¹⁸ On the subject of indigenous foods, Santich has illuminated how exchanges between the British and the Aboriginal population did result in some Anglo experimentation with indigenous foods; although they did not have far-reaching effects. It is incorrect and unhelpful to erase them completely from the history of Australia's pre-World War II culinary landscape by referring to the food of the past as strictly monocultural.¹⁹

The dominant narrative also suggests that there was no foreign food in Australia prior to Italian mass migration, but this was clearly not the case. Chinese eating houses run by Chinese migrants have existed in Australia since the gold rush of the 1850s. Historian Barbara Nichol explains that while these early establishments might initially have served familiar food primarily to their own countrymen, or, as in the case of John Alloo's eating house on the Ballarat goldfields principally "western" food to the miners, by the early 20th century there were Chinese restaurants in both Sydney and Melbourne that were competing for non-Chinese customers by producing menus which featured "continental"²⁰ or English dishes as well as Chinese ones.²¹ In addition to Italian restaurants, there was a plethora of Greek-run

¹⁸ Angela Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food* (Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 1999).

¹⁹ Barbara Santich, "Nineteenth-Century Experimentation and the Role of Indigenous Foods in Australian Food Culture," *Australian Humanities Review*, no. 51 (2011), <http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-November-2011/santich.html>.

²⁰ "Continental" food was a term predominantly used to describe food from European cuisines, but was sometimes used more broadly as a description of all foreign food.

²¹ Nichol acknowledges that there are questions about whether John Alloo also served Chinese food to western customers, and she notes that there is debate over the "authenticity" of the Chinese food served in the early 20th century. Barbara Nichol, "The Breath of the Wok: Melbourne's Early Chinese Restaurants" (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2012).

food establishments, although these mostly served Anglo-Australian favourites.²² There were also French restaurants and so-called continental restaurants, which typically served a mix of French, European and Anglo-Saxon dishes.²³

Recipes for foreign food, or, more precisely Anglicised versions of foreign food, can also be found in the pages of 19th century English cookbooks which were brought into Australia, as well as cookbooks published in Australia.²⁴ Cuisine, by its nature, absorbs foreign influences: these tendencies can be detected in the most popular English cookbooks used by Australian colonists including Eliza Acton's *Modern Cookery for Private Families* (1845) and *The Book of Household Management* (1861) by Isabella Beeton which included French, Indian and Italian recipes, or at least Victorian interpretations of these dishes.²⁵ In regards to Italian recipes in Australian-published cookbooks, a recipe for "Rizzolletti," deep-fried rice balls similar to Sicilian arancini can be found in Zara Aronson's *XXth Century Cookery and Home Decoration* (1900); a recipe for "Risotti [sic] Milanese" is featured in *The Kookaburra Cookery Book* (1912); and a recipe for "Polenta," that staple of northern Italy, sits beneath one for the traditional Irish potato dish, "Colcannon," in *The Australian Household Guide* (1916).²⁶ In the 1930s, with Australia experiencing a brief vogue for continental cookery, Anne Dyason's *A Cook's Tour for Cooks* (1931) features a recipe for "Zabaglione," while *The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book* (1937) contains "Fritto Misto," an Italian dish of crumbed and fried meat, vegetables and/or

²² Effy Alexakis and Leonard Janiszewski, *Greek Cafés and Milk Bars of Australia* (Braddon: Halstead Press, 2016).

²³ Michael Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia* (Adelaide: Duck Press, 1982).

²⁴ Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*.

²⁵ Eliza Acton includes a "Foreign and Jewish Cookery" chapter which features "Stufato (A Neapolitan Receipt)" and "Risotto al la Milanaise" (it is mistakenly listed in the index as "Risotto a la Mayonnaise") as well as various ways of cooking macaroni and polenta, see Eliza Acton, *Modern Cookery for Private Families*, rev. ed. (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 390–94, 615. A discussion of some of the "Italian" recipes in *The Book of Household Management* can be found in Chapter Four of this thesis.

²⁶ Mrs Fred B. Aronson, *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration* (Sydney: William Brooks, 1900), 92; Lady Victoria Buxton Girls' Club, *The Kookaburra Cookery Book*, 2nd ed. (Melbourne: E. W. Cole, 1912), 166; Lady Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide* (Perth: E. S. Wigg & Son, 1916), 609.

fish.²⁷ The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* (1937), as Chapter Three of this dissertation demonstrates, was actually Australia's first Italian cookbook and features nearly 100 recipes from this tradition.²⁸ Recipes calling for the use of pasta, the ingredient most identified with Italian cooking and available in Australia since at least the early 1800s, can be found in the majority of popular Australian cookbooks, and even in the cookbook regarded as Australia's first, Edward Abbott's *The English and Australian Cookery Book* (1864).²⁹ This trend is documented in Chapter Four which examines the inclusion of pasta recipes in popular cookbooks in Australia from the late 19th century to the 1970s.

In addition to this evidence, historian Michael Symons, in his now classic treatise on food in Australia, *One Continuous Picnic* (1982), has argued convincingly that it was primarily industrialisation, not immigration, that shaped the modern Australian diet.³⁰ Other scholars have included immigration as one among several sources that have contributed to Australia's dietary changes. In her 2005 history PhD, Gwendolyn Stansbury concludes immigration, capital, the media and a number of other factors all had roles to play in the spread of Italian food. She also argues that the characteristics inherent in Italian food itself—versatile, cheap and not too foreign—were important in making it the first ethnic cuisine that was widely adopted by Australians.³¹ Other theories, including Australia's strong economic growth after the Second World War, more leisure time and increased travel by Australians, particularly to European and Asian destinations in the 1960s, have also been posited as reasons for the

²⁷ Anne Dyason, *A Cook's Tour for Cooks* (Melbourne: Ramsay Publishing, 1931), 24; *The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book* (Sydney: The Bulletin, 1937), 112.

²⁸ There are ninety-two recipes in the book which are labelled as Italian, either through the author describing them in this way or through titles which include a national or regional identifier. *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* (Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1937).

²⁹ Santich explains why Abbott's cookbook is considered Australia's first, despite being published in London, in Barbara Santich, "Edward Abbott's Scrapbook," in *The Pursuit of Happiness: From Colony to Republic: Proceedings of the XIth Symposium of Australian Gastronomy* (Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, 1999), 103–10.

³⁰ Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*.

³¹ Gwendolyn Stansbury, "The Making of a Multicultural Palate: The Diffusion of Italian Food in Australia, 1945-1975" (PhD diss., University of New England, 2005).

multi-culturalisation of Australia's palates.³² So why does the myth that post-World War II Italian migrants introduced Italian ingredients and cuisine to Australia and were uniquely responsible for opening the minds and stomachs of Australians to new and different foods continue to persist?

Reflecting on this question provided the broader context for this thesis and prompted the research questions at its heart. Post-World War II Italians are popularly deemed to be the heroes in Australia's dietary revolution, so theorising that there must be something positive about the way in which Italians and Italy were viewed in Australia is logical. However, Italian migrants in Australia for most of their history have been seen in an ambivalent, even negative, light. This thesis explores how it was possible for Italian food to be embraced when Italian migrants were not. By looking beyond the material factors such as immigration, industrialisation and economic prosperity that have dominated discussions of food change in Australia, it is apparent that there has been little to no examination of conceptual factors. In the case of Italian food, these conceptual factors include the ideas, imaginings and meanings which Italy has embodied in Australia and for Australians over the last two hundred years. This thesis provides an examination of the power of the imagined Italy in the minds of Anglo-Australians and how this power influenced both the acceptance and eventual celebration of Italian food, regardless of the status of Italian migrants themselves. Through a series of four interrelated case studies, each examining a different aspect of the history of Italian food in Australia, this thesis also demonstrates how ethnicity has been resisted and harnessed by both Italian migrants and Anglo-Australians in various efforts to sell or promote Italian food. Through these cases, this study explores the relationship between ethnicity and food, and subsequently deepens our understanding of the ways in which food cultures change and how ethnicity can be used to promote such changes.

³² These theories are discussed in the work of both Symons and Stansbury.

To explore the relationship between ethnicity and food, this thesis utilises theories of ethnicity articulated by comparative literature scholar Werner Sollors and anthropologist Sandra Wallman.³³ While their views will be discussed in more detail later, these theories hold that ethnicity is an invented tradition and a resource that can be utilised in diverse ways to suit different purposes. This thesis demonstrates how Italian ethnicity has functioned as a resource which was used by both Anglo-Australians and Italian migrants to successfully spread Italian ingredients and cuisine. Prior to the 1980s, Anglo-Australian food companies and food writers largely relied on the positivity associated with ideas of Italy to sell Italian food to Anglo-Australians. The Italian-ness that they promoted through their advertising and recipes was the Italy of romance, culture and glamour, not the Italian ethnicity that belonged to the migrants who lived amongst them. Italian migrants, on the other hand, had much more ambivalent relationships with their own ethnicity. In some cases, they used it to their advantage, but in others, particularly in the 1930s when anti-Italian sentiment was on the increase, they limited or obscured their migrant roots in order to make their foods or messages more palatable to the Anglo-Australian majority. That ethnicity can work in a variety of ways and can change depending on who the actors are and what they want to achieve is clearly demonstrated in this thesis.

As the historians Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White note in their exploration of cultural history in Australia, "Italian opera was accepted as 'high' white culture long before Italians were acceptable as white ethnic immigrants."³⁴ In the same way, Italian food was acceptable to Anglo-Australian palates long before Italian migrants were celebrated as valuable members of multicultural Australia. However, this thesis does not contend that there is a causal relationship between the two. Eating Italian food did not directly lead to greater acceptance

³³ Werner Sollors, "Introduction: The Invention of Ethnicity," in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, ed. Werner Sollors (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), ix–xx; Sandra Wallman, "Introduction: The Scope for Ethnicity," in *Ethnicity at Work*, ed. Sandra Wallman (London: Macmillan, 1979), 1–14.

³⁴Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White, *Cultural History in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), 151.

of Italian migrants, just as immigration alone did not change the ways that Australians ate. While Italian food was supported by positive imaginings of Italy, Italian migrants did not, for the most part, benefit from these imaginings. To put this claim in the terms utilised by French social scientist Pierre Bourdieu in his theory of cultural capital, we could say that ideas of Italy and therefore Italian material and cultural products including food, had cultural capital from as early as the 1950s, whereas Italian migrants, for the most part, did not.³⁵ As capital is dynamic, Italian migrants eventually were able to gain cultural capital but only once Australia jettisoned its “White Australia policy”³⁶ and embraced both multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism as desirable social qualities. This change enabled Italian ethnicity to function almost exclusively as a positive resource in Australian society.

Literature Review

The literature on the history of Italian food and foodways in Australia has been dominated by journalistic and non-scholarly sources. These texts largely focus on the contribution of Italian migrants in food-related industries or the relationship between Italian migrants and food; cookbooks featuring memoir have been especially popular. These cookbooks generally fall into four main categories. The largest is cookbooks authored by male chefs of Italian lineage, usually in collaboration with a food writer.³⁷ These books provide useful evidence of what has been served in Australia’s elite Italian restaurants, or at least what chefs say they have been

³⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).

³⁶ Though no formal policy had this name, this term is widely used to describe Australia's approach to immigration which favoured applicants from certain countries and was in place in different forms from the time of Federation until the latter part of the 20th century. See “Fact Sheet—Abolition of the ‘White Australia’ Policy,” Department of Home Affairs, accessed September 12, 2016, <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/about/corporate/information/fact-sheets/08abolition>.

³⁷ See, for example, Tiberio Donnini, Gianni Milani, and Peter Pierce, *Donnini's Pasta Book* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1984); Armando Percuoco and David Dale, *The Secrets of Pulcinella: Italian Cooking in Australia* (Surry Hills, NSW: Horan Wall & Walker, 1986); Stefano Manfredi and John Newton, *Fresh from Italy: Italian Cooking for the Australian Kitchen* (Rydalmere, NSW: Hodder Headline Australia, 1993); Bill Marchetti, *Marchetti's Latin Cookbook: Recipes and Reminiscences from the Legendary Latin Restaurant* (Ringwood, Vic.: Viking, 1995); Guy Grossi and Jan McGuinness, *Grossi Florentino: Secrets & Recipes* (Camberwell, Vic.: Viking, 2003).

serving, but they do not give us much sense of what Italian home-cooked food is or means or has been served in more humble eating establishments. As they are primarily concerned with the restaurant realm rather than the domestic one, they tend to be simultaneously focused on high-end food practices and aspirational goals. These collaborations have often led to the production of biographies,³⁸ which are useful in illuminating beliefs and personal experiences, but they are obviously highly subjective and prone to romanticisation. Another popular subgenre of cookbooks, also prone to romanticisation, are those written predominantly by female home cooks whose aim is to preserve personal family recipes and traditions, and, as an extension of this, Italo-Australian cultural identity.³⁹ Although they give insight into the importance that Italian migrants and their descendants have placed on food as a tool for home-building, these books tend to provide a particularly idealised and nostalgic view of food production and consumption in Italy, which is at odds with the reality that most Italians migrated to escape economic hardship. Less common are bilingual collections of recipes and associated memories from groups of Italian migrants,⁴⁰ which tend to focus more on the memory of cooking and eating in Italy, rather than in Australia, as well as cookbooks which focus on restaurant histories.⁴¹ The latter are particularly noteworthy for including much useful detail of early Italian restaurants and cafés in Australia, particularly in Melbourne, although they also largely document more elite Italian foodways in Australia.

³⁸ See, for example, David Dale and Lucio Galletto, *Soffritto: A Delicious Ligurian Memoir* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2007); Beppi Polese and John Newton, *Beppi's: A Life in Three Courses* (Sydney: Murdoch Books, 2007).

³⁹ See, for example, Pietro Demaio, *Preserving the Italian Way*, ed. Arnold Bonnet (Burwood East, Vic.: Memoirs Foundation, 2006); Michele Di'Bartolo, *The Sicilian Kitchen* (Camberwell, Vic.: Lantern, 2008); Rosa Mitchell, *My Cousin Rosa* (Sydney: Murdoch Books, 2009); Angelo Pantalone, *The Philosopher's Kitchen* (South Yarra, Vic.: Lyncon, 2010); Teresa Oates and Angela Villella, *Mangia! Mangia!* (Camberwell, Vic.: Lantern, 2011). Mitchell is a chef, but her book is mostly about personal family recipes, hence her inclusion in this category.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Paola Marmini, Mariella Totaro-Genevois, and Nicoletta Zanardi, eds., *Sapori Della Memoria/Of Food and Memories* (Leichhardt, NSW: Padana Press, 2014).

⁴¹ See, for example, O'Donnell, *Mietta's Italian Family Recipes*; Michael Harden, *Lygon Street: Stories and Recipes from Melbourne's Melting Pot* (Sydney, NSW: Murdoch Books, 2008).

In addition to cookbooks, there is a body of journalistic literature which aims to explain dietary and culinary change over time in Australia.⁴² These articles and books have usually been produced by food writers and typically accord immigration a key role in prompting change in Australian tastes.⁴³ They are often celebratory in tone and emphasise how Australians have evolved from people who would not venture beyond a British-centric diet to cosmopolitans who happily embrace a multiplicity of ethnic food options.⁴⁴

Both of these types of texts have value for the current project in that they document the lived experiences of Italians in Australia, particularly within the hospitality industry, and they provide some historical information about food habits in Australia, though often their sources of evidence are somewhat dubious or undocumented. This issue together with their popularity seems to have contributed to the traditional academic bias against food as an area worthy of scholarly attention.⁴⁵ Historians have noted that food history and food studies more broadly have become areas of serious academic enquiry, especially in the last twenty years, with the high quality of scholarship as well as the universality, broad appeal and anxiety the industrial food supply has provoked helping to fuel this attention.⁴⁶ In the Australian context, however, the equating of food with nostalgia, the difficulty of researching domestic history

⁴² See, for example, Babette Hayes, *Two Hundred Years of Australian Cooking* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1970); Anne Gollan, *The Tradition of Australian Cooking* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978); Richard Beckett, *Convicted Tastes: Food in Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984); Cherry Ripe, *Goodbye Culinary Cringe* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1993).

⁴³ See, for example, John Newton, *Wogfood: An Oral History with Recipes* (Milsons Point, NSW: Random House Australia, 1996); Jill Dupleix, "Notes From an Australian Kitchen," in *Voracious: The Best New Australian Food Writing*, ed. Paul McNally (Prahran, Vic.: Hardie Grant Books, 2011), 33–43; Helen Greenwood, "Migrants and Mavericks: Defining Australian Cuisine," in *Voracious: The Best New Australian Food Writing*, ed. Paul McNally (Prahran, Vic.: Hardie Grant Books, 2011), 60–69.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Stephen Downes, *Advanced Australian Fare: How Australian Cooking Became the World's Best* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2002); Dale, "Ciao to the Italians as Australia Adopts New Cultures."

⁴⁵ For a discussion of some of the reasons why food has not been considered worthy of academic study, see "Chapter 1: Why Study Food?" in Warren Belasco, *Food: The Key Concepts* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008).

⁴⁶ See, for example, Jeffrey M. Pilcher, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. Jeffrey M. Pilcher (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), xvi–xxviii; Peter Scholliers and Kyri W. Clafin, "Introduction: Surveying Global Food Historiography," in *Writing Food History: A Global Perspective*, ed. Kyri W. Clafin and Peter Scholliers (London; New York: Berg, 2012), 1–8.

and the association of food preparation largely with women have, according to historian Michal Bosworth, “left the history of food in Australia remarkably under-examined.”⁴⁷ While Bosworth made this observation in 1991, and there has been an increase in both the seriousness with which food studies is approached as well as the production of much well-documented scholarship⁴⁸ the history of Italian food and foodways still remains largely under explored.

This clear gap in the literature does not mean that the themes which this thesis addresses have been wholly ignored in the work of food scholars, either in Australia or internationally. In an analysis of food historiography, Jeffrey M. Pilcher has identified the five main themes that have preoccupied most food historians: “political history, cultural change over time, food and identity, industrial transformation, and nutritional health.”⁴⁹ This thesis explores several of these themes: culinary change over time, a subset of cultural change, and food and identity. In Australia, historians who have sought to understand the theme of culinary change include Santich, who, amongst other works, has provided a history of dietary advice and its effect on the Australian diet;⁵⁰ Colin Bannerman, who has focused on the history of cookbooks, recipes and the role of the print media in the development of Australian food culture;⁵¹ and Symons, whose 1982 book remains arguably the most influential work in Australian food history, possibly because of the controversial thesis at its heart.⁵² Perhaps reacting to the popular explanation that immigration was the key driver of culinary change, Symons argues that

⁴⁷ Michal Bosworth, “Conversations with Italian Women: Close Encounters of a Culinary Kind,” *Studies in Western Australian History* 12 (1991): 96.

⁴⁸ For example, Masters programs in food studies and related fields have been established at the University of Adelaide, Southern Cross University and William Angliss Institute.

⁴⁹ Pilcher, “Introduction,” xxiii.

⁵⁰ Barbara Santich, *What the Doctors Ordered: 150 Years of Dietary Advice in Australia* (South Melbourne, Vic.: Hyland House, 1995).

⁵¹ Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*; Colin Bannerman, “Print Media and the Development of an Australian Culture of Food and Eating C. 1850 to C. 1920: The Evidence From Newspapers, Periodical Journals and Cookery Literature” (PhD diss., University of Canberra, 2001).

⁵² Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*.

Australia's "total history of industrialisation" and lack of a peasant class meant that ethnic dishes simply provided fodder for the food industry to re-package and sell to a country of people who lacked any real connections to the food which they ate.⁵³ However, Symons pays little attention to the role of Italians in this history of Australian food, using the existence of Italian restaurants and Italians in the food industry prior to mass immigration only to illustrate that they were not responsible for the widespread dietary changes that occurred in the 1950s and beyond. As several of the chapters within this thesis argue, industrialisation has been of critical importance in promoting change in the Australian diet and supporting the spread of Italian food. Nonetheless as critics of Symons' work have pointed out, not everything can be explained by economic drivers; furthermore, Symons appears to ignore evidence that does not support his theory, such as the importance of barbecuing in Australian culinary life and the productivity of backyard vegetable plots. For instance, historian Graham Pont, a vocal critic of Symons' work, notes that these features of Australian foodways prove that Australian cuisine was not purely industrial; Pont also rejects the central thesis of Symons' book, namely that the existence of peasants is what creates great cuisine.⁵⁴

In stark contrast to Symons' view, Vicki Swinbank, in a two-part article published in the *Italian Historical Society Journal*, accords central roles to Italian migrants not just with reference to the existence of Italian food in Australia but for encouraging Australians to eat a more varied and culturally-diverse diet. She argues that "this openness and interest [in ethnic foods and other ways of eating] was paved largely by the new foods and cooking introduced by Italian migrants."⁵⁵ She contends that the influence of Italians on Australia's restaurant and fruit and

⁵³ Symons, 12.

⁵⁴ Graham Pont, "Upstart Cuisine: A Cuisine without Peasants," in *Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy: A Multicultural Society*, ed. Barbara Santich and Michael Symons (Adelaide, 1988), 41–55.

⁵⁵ Swinbank, "Brief History of the Development of Italian Cuisine in Australia—Part 2," 15. The importance of Italian immigration in changing Australian foodways is also described in Zoe Boccabella, "Bridging Two Cultures: Italian Migrant Food in Australia," *Italian Historical Society Journal* 12, no. 1 (2004): 31–34.

vegetable industries was substantial, and cites the large numbers of Italians in Australia, the agrarian roots of many Italian migrants and the centrality of food to Italian migrant culture as reasons for these impacts.⁵⁶ However, she does not explore any other economic, social or cultural explanations for the prominence of Italian food, and she considers the adoption of new foods as the product of a unidirectional flow from originating country to new country, an idea which will be explored and rejected in this thesis.

A more measured approach is taken in the only large-scale scholarly work that discusses culinary change over time and focuses specifically on Italian food in Australia. Stansbury's PhD dissertation is critical of Symons' "industrialisation-is-the-answer-to-everything" approach and shows that a range of factors, including immigration, combined to create change. By using sociologist Everett Rogers' diffusion of innovation theory, Stansbury demonstrates how Italian food meets the criteria for a successful innovation. She concludes that immigration as well as industrialisation, travel, the aspirations of women entertaining in the home and the influence of the media all contributed to the increased consumption and popularity of Italian food. Stansbury is successful in putting forward a strong framework to explain the popularity of Italian food in Australia, and many of the conclusions which she reaches are supported by the research presented in this thesis, but she does not consider the possibility that conceptual factors may also have had critical effects. The history of Italian food in Australia prior to 1945 also is beyond the scope of her thesis, the period in which the current thesis shows that substantial production of typical Italian foods, for example cheese, pasta and smallgoods, was established in Australia.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Swinbank, "Brief History of the Development of Italian Cuisine in Australia—Part 2"; Swinbank, "Brief History of the Development of Italian Cuisine in Australia—Part 1."

⁵⁷ Stansbury, "The Making of a Multicultural Palate: The Diffusion of Italian Food in Australia, 1945-1975."

While Stansbury is concerned with the consumption of Italian food in Australia by the mainstream population, many more works within the field of Italian studies have considered production, and in particular the contribution of Italian migrants to the Australian food industry. While food is not the main focus of these studies, details of Italian contributions can be found in general histories of Italians in Australia⁵⁸ as well as in the histories of regional groups, such as those from the Veneto,⁵⁹ or in the histories of Italians who settled in particular geographic zones of Australia.⁶⁰ More detailed are studies which have explored the phenomenon of migrants who start their own businesses and effectively become ethnic entrepreneurs.⁶¹ In regards to Italians, social economist Jock Collins has called this phenomenon “cappuccino capitalism” and explains why Italian migrants were often drawn to small business enterprises, in particular food-related small businesses.⁶² In defining the ethnic entrepreneur, these studies provide a useful framework for the second chapter of this thesis; however they do not consider questions

⁵⁸ See, for example, Robert Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia: Our Italian Heritage* (Richmond, Vic.: Greenhouse Publications, 1987); Nino Randazzo and Michael Cigler, *The Italians in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1987); Stephen Castles et al., eds., *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society* (North Sydney, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992); Gianfranco Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, rev. ed. (Cambridge; Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁵⁹ See, for example, Loretta Baldassar and Roslyn Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians: Veneto Migrants in Australia* (Crawley, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 2005); Gianfranco Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia* (Lindfield, NSW: Padana Press, 2011); Cristian Talesco, ed., *Gli Emigranti Pugliesi in Australia: Risorsa Storica/Italy's Apulian Migrants in Australia: A Historical Resource* (Lecce, Italy: Associazione Multiculturale Italo-Australiana, 2011).

⁶⁰ See, for example, Desmond O'Connor, *No Need to Be Afraid: Italian Settlers in South Australia Between 1839 and the Second World War* (Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 1996); Roslyn Pesman and Catherine Kevin, “A History of Italian Settlement in New South Wales,” NSW Heritage Office, 1998, <http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/docs/italianhistory.pdf>; Sara King, “Italians on the Land: Fruit and Vine Growers in the Riverland and the Southern Vales,” in *Memories & Identities: Proceedings of the Second Conference on the Impact of Italians in South Australia*, ed. Desmond O'Connor (Adelaide: Australian Humanities Press, 2005), 167–73; Susanna Iuliano, *Vite Italiane: Italian Lives in Western Australia* (Crawley, WA: UWAP, 2010).

⁶¹ See, for example, Jock Collins et al., *A Shop Full of Dreams: Ethnic Small Business in Australia* (Leichhardt, NSW: Pluto Press Australia, 1995); Robert Pascoe, *Open for Business: Immigrant and Aboriginal Entrepreneurs Tell Their Story* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1990); Charles A. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia* (Melbourne; New York: Oxford University Press, 1963).

⁶² Jock Collins, “Cappuccino Capitalism: Italian Immigrants and Australian Business,” in *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, ed. Stephen Castles et al. (North Sydney, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 73–84.

regarding how and why Italian entrepreneurs were able to sell their food products, and Italian food more generally, beyond the boundaries of Italian ethnic communities in any depth.

In contrast, these questions are addressed in the US context by historians Donna Gabaccia and Harvey Levenstein, among others. Gabaccia explains how acceptance of Italian food, and other ethnic cuisines in the US, was a continuation of Americans' open and curious attitudes to food, a trait which she demonstrates has been evident, albeit with some periods of culinary conservatism, since the colonial era. She documents how ethnic entrepreneurs and corporations were able to co-exist in a marketplace in which consumers desire both the familiar and the novel, and argues that this characteristic is a trait of American identity.⁶³

Alternatively, Levenstein argues Americans were much more conservative eaters who consumed a predominantly Anglo-Saxon diet until Italian food attracted mainstream attention around the 1920s. Prior to this period, Italian food was criticised as being unhealthy, unhygienic and unappetising; however, a series of circumstances including Italy becoming a US ally in World War I, the discovery of vitamins (which led to changes in the belief that the diet of the Italian migrants was unhealthy), prohibition (which saw bohemians head to Little Italies in search of alcohol) and the need for frugality in the face of difficult economic times all combined to elevate the standing of Italian food.⁶⁴

Both of these scholars raise useful questions that are important to consider in the Australian context, including what the points of contact were between the mainstream and Italian

⁶³ Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁶⁴ Harvey Levenstein, "The American Response to Italian Food, 1880-1930," in *Food in the USA: A Reader*, ed. Carole Counihan (New York; London: Routledge, 2002), 75–90. See also Harvey A. Levenstein and Joseph R. Conlin, "The Food Habits of Italian Immigrants to America: An Examination of the Persistence of a Food Culture and the Rise of 'Fast Food' in America," in *Dominant Symbols in Popular Culture*, ed. Kevin O. Browne, Ray Broadus Browne, and Marshall William Fishwick (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1990), 231–46.

communities and how did attitudes towards Italian migration affect the popularity, or otherwise, of Italian food.

Still in the US context, and building on the work of Levenstein, historian Zachary Nowak seeks to historicise the current popularity and high status of Italian food in the US. By analysing an aspirational American culinary magazine, he pinpoints the early 1990s as the time when Italian food began to rival and even overtake French cuisine as the food of the upper classes, although he notes that Italian food had been popular with the masses from as early as the post-World War II period.⁶⁵ His work is relevant for this thesis because, as both Chapters One and Four demonstrate, Italian food in Australia was presented as possessing cultural capital as early as the 1950s, although this trend was much more prominent in the 1970s. The reason that Italian food in America was not presented as status-enhancing until such a comparatively late date prompts a number of questions worthy of reflection. Chief amongst them, and most relevant to this thesis, is what is the relationship between ideas of Italy, Italian immigration and Italian food as a carrier of cultural capital? Theorising on the difference in timing between these developments in the US and Australia, it could be argued that because Italian mass immigration to the US occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, by the 1950s Italian food had become known as comfort food and hybridised Italian-American dishes such as spaghetti and meatballs were already American middle-class favourites. In the early 1950s, in Australia, with peak Italian immigration yet to occur, Italian food did not have the same connotations of comfort food for the majority of Australians. In fact, Italian food was still largely the preserve of those who could afford to go to Italian restaurants and therefore maintained a more exclusive status. As this period of time coincided with the beginning of the Italian “economic miracle” which helped to spread the idea that Italy and Italian material goods were glamorous and sophisticated, those

⁶⁵ Zachary Nowak, “Café Au Lait to Latte: Charting the Acquisition of Culinary Capital by Italian Food in the United States,” *Italian American Review* 5, no. 2 (2015): 94–120. Nowak’s work also contains a useful historical review of the development of Italian cuisine in America.

attempting to sell Italian food to Australians were able to use these ideas to present Italian food as both desirable and prestigious, as will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis.

In addition to culinary change over time, this thesis also addresses the theme of food and identity. Again, in the US context, there are numerous studies which focus specifically on Italian migrant foodways, how they were affected by migration processes and the importance of food in creating and re-affirming Italian-American identity and culture.⁶⁶ In the Australian context, while food is not always the main focus, several studies have explored the effect of migration on Italian foodways,⁶⁷ including the dietary changes that it prompted⁶⁸ and how it shaped Italian migrants' attitudes to Australian food and, more broadly, life in Australia.⁶⁹ Other studies have focused on how integral food and cooking are not just to the identity of Italian migrants themselves,⁷⁰ but also how the descendants of these migrants view food, above language and other cultural forms, as the predominant way to express their ethnicity.⁷¹ While this thesis is concerned with questions of identity, instead of focusing on what Italian food means to Italian people in Australia, it attempts to understand what role the acceptance and eventual celebration of Italian food has had in the articulation of an Australian national identity. Is

⁶⁶ See, for example, Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Simone Cinotto, *The Italian American Table: Food, Family, and Community in New York City* (Urbana; Chicago; Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

⁶⁷ See, for example, Charles Gamba, *A Report on the Italian Fishermen of Fremantle* (Perth: University of Western Australia, 1952); Michael Peter Corrieri, *Italians of Port Pirie: A Social History* (Port Pirie, SA: Our Lady of Martyrs, Port Pirie Italian Community, 1992); Clare Gervasoni, *Bullboar, Macaroni & Mineral Water: Spa Country's Swiss/Italian Story*, 2nd ed. (Hepburn Springs, Vic.: Hepburn Springs Swiss Italian Festa, 2007).

⁶⁸ See, for example, Francesca Bouvet, "Continuity and Change: A Study of the Daily and Festive Eating Habits of a Group of Post-Second World War Italian Migrants in Adelaide South Australia" (PhD diss., Flinders University, 2010).

⁶⁹ See, for example, Nadia Postiglione, "'It Was Just Horrible': The Food Experience of Immigrants in 1950s Australia," *History Australia* 7, no. 1 (2010): 9.1-9.16.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Bosworth, "Conversations with Italian Women: Close Encounters of a Culinary Kind"; Emma Ciccotosto and Michal Bosworth, *Emma: A Recipe for Life* (Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1995); Roberta James, "The Reliable Beauty of Aroma: Staples of Food and Cultural Production among Italian-Australians," *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 15, no. 1 (2004): 23-39.

⁷¹ Sandra Pitronaci, "Attitudes of Italo-Australian Youth Towards Italian Language, Culture and Identity," in *Doppia Identità: I Giovani: Conoscerli per Capirli: Stories by Young Italo-Australians* ([Sydney]: Italo-Australian Youth Association, 2002), 35-43.

Australia's openness to Italian food, and subsequently to other ethnic cuisines, emblematic of social change and evidence of the progression from White Australia to multicultural Australia, or have Australians, like Gabaccia's Americans, always been open to foreign food, with acceptance of foreign food not necessarily signalling acceptance of foreign people?⁷² If "we are what we eat," as the common expression (and also the title of Gabaccia's book) suggests, who are we as Australians?

In addressing these themes, a key point of difference between this thesis and other works which seek to understand change and identity as they relate to food is the consideration of conceptual factors over material ones. As detailed in this chapter, many scholars have articulated a range of reasons as to why Italian food became acceptable, both in the US and in Australia, but these reasons have focused on material causes such as industrialisation, immigration, economic prosperity and increased travel. That ideas, imaginings and images could be as influential, or at least have some influence, in determining how a nation chooses its food is largely unexplored territory, although both Gabaccia and Levenstein acknowledge that Italian restaurants became popular in the US not because of the food, but because of the experiences that they offered which traded on ideas of what "Italian" and Italy meant to Americans.⁷³

While ideas about Italy and what effect they may have had on Italian food in Australia have not been explored in any substantial way, some scholars have explored the influence of France on Australian food and wine culture.⁷⁴ The most relevant scholarship to this thesis is

⁷² The question of culinary xenophobia in Australia has been explored in Lara Anderson and Heather Merle Benbow, "Cultural Indigestion in Multicultural Australia: Fear of 'Foreign' Foods in Australian Media," *Gastronomica* 15, no. 1 (2015): 34–43; Rick Flowers and Elaine Swan, "Eating the Asian Other? Pedagogies of Food Multiculturalism in Australia," *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 9, no. 2 (2012): 1–30.

⁷³ Donna R. Gabaccia and Carol Helstosky, "Food, Recipes, Cookbooks, and Italian-American Life—Part One," *Italian Americana* 16, no. 1 (1998): 5–23; Harvey A. Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁷⁴ See, for example, Graham Pont, "The French Influence in Early Australian Gastronomic Literature," in *The French-Australian Cultural Connection: Papers from a Symposium Held at the University of New South Wales, 16-17 September 1983*, ed. Anne-Marie Nisbet and Maurice Blackman (Kensington, NSW: School of French at the University of New South Wales and the CEEFA, 1984), 262–72; Valmai Hankel,

work by Santich who, in a study exploring the possibility of the existence of a “high” and “low” cuisine in Australia, found that Australians of the 19th and early 20th centuries readily associated ideas of French-ness with superior food and drink,⁷⁵ similar to many other nationalities around the world.⁷⁶ In a separate study, Santich examines images of French women in a 19th century Adelaide newspaper, which are largely reprinted articles from the English media. Despite coming from England and noting that the images have been produced in opposition to English ideas of femininity, Santich concludes that French women are presented to colonial Australians as the “ideal model” of womanhood, especially with regards to their elegance and cooking abilities.⁷⁷ While Santich does not explicitly explain how these ideas of French women have influenced Australian ideas about French food and particularly how they contributed to making it desirable, this influence is clearly visible in books such as the aptly-named Australian cookbook *Oh, For a French Wife!* (1952) and, much later, in Mireille Guiliano’s best-selling *French Women Don’t Get Fat* (2005).⁷⁸

These studies demonstrate that how we think about food from a particular country can be influenced by ideas and perceptions we hold about that country. This thesis seeks to explore this idea in depth, in particular by analysing the relationship between attitudes towards a country and attitudes towards the migrants from that country. By using Italian food and Italian migrants as its main focus, this thesis demonstrates that regardless of how Australians felt

“French Authority: The French Influence in Australian Winemaking,” in *Gastronomic Encounters*, ed. A. Lynn Martin and Barbara Santich (Brompton, SA: East Street Publications, 2004), 80–89; Craig Hill, “French Influences in the South Australian Olive Industry,” in *Gastronomic Encounters*, ed. A. Lynn Martin and Barbara Santich (Brompton, SA: East Street Publications, 2004), 90–100.

⁷⁵ Barbara Santich, “The High and the Low: Australian Cuisine in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in *Culinary Distinction*, ed. Emma Costantino and Sian Supski (Perth: API Network, 2006), 37–49.

⁷⁶ Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

⁷⁷ Barbara Santich, “French Food and Fashion at the End of the Nineteenth Century: The View from Colonial Australia,” in *Gastronomic Encounters*, ed. A. Lynn Martin and Barbara Santich (Brompton, SA: East Street Publications, 2004), 69.

⁷⁸ Ted Moloney and Deke Coleman, *Oh, For a French Wife!* (Sydney: Shepherd Press, 1952); Mireille Guiliano, *French Women Don’t Get Fat* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2005).

about Italian migrants, their thoughts and visions about Italy have been usefully employed by Anglo-Australian corporations, cookbook writers and Italian migrants themselves to successfully sell Italian food to Australians regardless of their ethnic backgrounds.

Methodology

This study is situated within the discipline of history and contributes to the broader and interdisciplinary field of food studies, but it utilises and engages with works from the fields of migration studies, anthropology, cultural studies, social economics and sociology, because scholarship from these fields has added substantially to the study of food in its historical contexts.⁷⁹ The methods that are employed and the research questions addressed are primarily the concerns of the historian, and in particular the cultural historian. This thesis aims to understand how and why food from a particular ethnic group has become popular, despite the fact that the ethnic group with which the food is identified has not always been seen positively by mainstream society. It also is concerned with establishing how ethnicity has functioned in this process, and what the relationship is between accepting ethnic food and accepting ethnic people. In this way, this thesis seeks to understand cultural change, and hence examines and analyses the historical evidence gathered through a cultural lens.

This thesis utilises a case study model, as this approach allowed for a number of limitations to be countered, primarily the significant gaps in the existing literature and the need to cover a large time span in order to satisfactorily address the research questions. While using a case study approach does not allow for a continuous narrative of a subject to be developed, it allows exploration of diverse but related stories in the history of Italian food in Australia, as

⁷⁹ See, for example, Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford; New York: B. Blackwell, 1985); Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1985); Collins, "Cappuccino Capitalism: Italian Immigrants and Australian Business"; Pierre Boisard, *Camembert: A National Myth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Cinotto, *The Italian American Table: Food, Family, and Community in New York City*.

the thesis demonstrates. Not only does this approach allow common themes to emerge, but it also shows how rich and nuanced this history is and helps to establish additional areas of research which warrant future consideration, as will be discussed in the conclusion. The case study approach also lent itself to the thesis-by-publication model which has resulted in two of the chapters (Chapter One and Chapter Three) already being published in peer-reviewed edited books.⁸⁰

The challenge of researching food in a historic context is that its daily necessity, and what some view as its resulting banality, mean that it is often not visible in historic public documents. More generally, the experiences of migrants are not always easily found in official documents, a problem which historian Mark Seymour attributes to the fact that “their presence was far from celebrated,” amongst other reasons.⁸¹ Both food and migrants qualify as topics which benefit from using a “history from below” approach, which aims to understand history from the perspective of ordinary people who, in this case, are engaged in the everyday actions of selling, choosing, cooking or eating food.⁸² In order to reconstruct and narrate this history, I have studied a wide variety of primary sources, including business records, cookbooks, advertisements, oral histories, newspapers, magazines and official government documents where they have been available. Textual analysis of this diverse range of sources has been important in allowing for a more complete and corroborated picture of this part of the history of Italian food in Australia to emerge.

⁸⁰ Rachel A. Ankeny and Tania Cammarano, “Leggo’s Not-so-Authentico: Invention and Representation in Twentieth-Century Italo-Australian Foodways,” in *Representing Italy Through Food*, ed. Peter Naccarato, Zachary Nowak, and Elgin K. Eckert (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017); Tania Cammarano, “Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia’s First Italo-Australian Cookbook,” in *Eat History: Food and Drink in Australia and Beyond*, ed. Sofia Eriksson, Madeleine Hastie, and Tom Roberts (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 42–75. The remaining two chapters will also be submitted for publication.

⁸¹ Mark Seymour, “Writing Minority History: Sources for the Italians,” in *Minorities: Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, ed. Shirley Fitzgerald and Garry Wotherspoon (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press in association with the Sydney History Group, 1995), 157.

⁸² Jim Sharpe, “History from Below,” in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991). Sharpe also provides a short history of the term “history from below.”

While each of the chapters relies on detailed analysis of different documents and kinds of source materials, there are some important commonalities. This thesis makes significant use of recipes and cookery writing found primarily in cookbooks, although recipes in advertisements, newspapers and magazines also are included where relevant.⁸³ Recipes are a vital tool in the arsenal of the food historian, not because they necessarily tell us what anyone was actually cooking and eating, but rather because they reveal what an author *wanted* a particular audience, usually in a particular place, at a particular time in history, to cook and eat.⁸⁴ Or perhaps a little more cynically, the author presented recipes they thought an audience would be willing to buy. Often, either implicitly or explicitly, these recipes tell us *why* the author instructed its audience to cook and eat in a certain way, for a gamut of reasons which includes everything from nutrition and social suitability to frugality and sophistication. This information, when placed in its broader historical context, can tell us much about the author of the recipe as well as the society in which these recipes were produced. However, recipes in this thesis have been analysed not just to understand the authors' intentions but also to reveal attitudes towards ethnicity.⁸⁵ The presentation of the recipe, the way it is written, the type of language used, the title given and the images that accompany them, or not as the case may be, can communicate ethnicity either as a positive, negative or neutral quality.

Archival material held at the National Archives of Australia, the Public Record Office Victoria and the University of Melbourne were all important sources for this thesis, but it was the collection at the Co.As.It Italian Historical Society in Melbourne (IHS) that was able to give a

⁸³ "Cookery writing" refers to the text that is found around recipes. For example, a cookbook might include a guide to stocking a kitchen while magazine recipe features would usually include introductory text.

⁸⁴ This view of recipes is explained in more detail by historian Ken Albala in Chapter 5a of Jeff Miller and Jonathan Deutsch, *Food Studies: An Introduction to Research Methods* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2009).

⁸⁵ Ethnicity is just one lens through which recipes can be examined. There are a wide range of others including gender politics, class and race. See Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster, eds., *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions* (Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010).

voice to people who were often not very visible in the public archives.⁸⁶ This was particularly evident in the case of Maria Italiano, who, together with husband Natale Italiano, founded the Perfect Cheese Company, the subject of Chapter Two. From official documents, we know more about Maria's death (she died in 2000 from bronchopneumonia) than her life, even though she was a director in the company.⁸⁷ Newspaper and magazine articles that celebrate her husband's success mention her in passing but do not quote her or focus on her involvement in any significant way, in keeping with the then journalistic norms with regard to women.⁸⁸ It is only an interview that was conducted with Maria in 1988 at the IHS which gives us a sense of her experiences and contributions as a woman who helped build a successful company and raised five children at the same time.⁸⁹ While gathering oral history was not a method employed in this thesis because the protagonists who could have made useful contributions are either of very advanced age or deceased, the oral history collection at the IHS provided useful details about migrant history that, if it were not for organisations such as the IHS, whose aim is to collect and preserve the histories of minorities whose stories are not always present in public archives, they would be either completely lost to us as historians, or extremely difficult to uncover. Of course, oral histories always must be triangulated with other types of sources and interpreted within the context in which they were produced, but nonetheless can provide important insights.

Finally, it is necessary at the outset to explain how the terms "Italy," "Italian" and "Italian food" have been used in this thesis. While this study is, for the most part, concentrated on the period between the 1930s and the early 1980s, there is some discussion of pre-unification

⁸⁶ The Co.As.It Italian Historical Society (IHS) is run by Co.As.It, an Italian migrant welfare, education and cultural institution. See Co.As.It Italian Historical Society (IHS), "The Italian Historical Society (IHS)," 2006, <http://www.coasit.com.au/IHS/index.html>.

⁸⁷ PROV, VPRS 28/P30, Unit 321, 1177966.

⁸⁸ See, for example, Joseph Vondra, "Nat Italiano's World of Cheese," *Australia Now* 2, no. 4 (1973): 10–13.

⁸⁹ *Maria Italiano nee Fasciale, Interview with Laura Mecca, 1988*, Notes, Source: Co.As.It Italian Historical Society (hereafter IHS).

Italy and Italians, for example in explaining how ideas of Italy have manifested themselves in colonial Australia. As the modern nation of Italy was not founded until 1861, it is technically incorrect to speak of Italy and Italians prior to this period, but for ease of reference, I have done so here. As Italy is a relatively young nation, the people described in this thesis as Italian would probably be more likely to have described themselves as coming from a particular town, city or region. However, “Italian” is a useful and arguably the correct term to use in the context of this study, because it captures how they are described and understood in the Australian setting. “Italian food” also is used collectively to describe the traditional food of Italy as it is eaten in Italy, in Australia and elsewhere. Other historians have used the term “Italianate food” to describe Italian food outside of Italy; however this distinction is not necessary in this thesis as it is not concerned with the authenticity or otherwise of Italian food in Australia.⁹⁰ A potential limitation of the term “Italian food” is that it creates artificial homogeneity and does not capture the highly regional nature of Italian cuisine, for instance how the food of Campania in the south of Italy is typically very different from the food of Lombardy in the north. While I clearly recognise this issue, what is critical is that Italian food has not been viewed or discussed in these terms in Australia until relatively recently; even in a contemporary context, where educated consumers know that *Pasta alla Norma* is from Catania in Sicily and *Trenette al Pesto* is from Genoa in Liguria, the common description of these dishes and their associated ingredients is Italian rather than Sicilian or Ligurian.

Imagining Italy in Australia

Before Italy meant pizza and espresso coffee in Australia, there were meanings and ideas associated with Italy that had very little to do with food. These ideas did not remain static but evolved over time. They can be roughly divided into two distinct periods. “Romantic Italy” refers to ideas about Italy which were in circulation in Australia throughout the 19th and early

⁹⁰ See, for example, Nowak, “Café Au Lait to Latte: Charting the Acquisition of Culinary Capital by Italian Food in the United States.”

20th centuries. These ideas were largely the product of “high” Italian culture and were inherited directly from the English. “Glamorous Italy,” on the other hand, built upon associations developed in the Romantic Italy phase, but reflected the popular culture that emerged in that country in the 1950s as Italy began its economic recovery from World War II. A theme shared by the four papers which form this thesis is the positive effects that these Italian imaginings had on the acceptance and popularity of Italian food. Therefore it is useful to understand at the outset the meanings that they generated and how they came to have such influence in Australia.

Romantic Italy

In the words of Australian historian Ros Pesman, “romantic Italy was exported to the colonies as part of the cultural baggage of the educated immigrants and in English books and periodicals.”⁹¹ The Italian ideas in this “cultural baggage” flowered during the Renaissance when, as historian Charles Peter Brand describes, a vibrant exchange between the Italians and English resulted in “a new learning which had repercussions on nearly every aspect of the national [English] life—manners, commerce, scholarship, literature, music, art.”⁹² By 1650, however, interest in Italy declined and the English saw Italians as inferior, even though the Grand Tour was still part of the upper class Englishman’s education, and Italian cultural forms such as opera and Palladian-style architecture remained popular.⁹³ However, a second wave of Italomania gathered force in England during the early decades of Australian colonisation.⁹⁴ Brand acknowledges the reasons for the rise of the second wave are complex and include,

⁹¹ Ros Pesman, “Sir Samuel Griffith, Dante and the Italian Presence in Nineteenth-Century Australian Literary Culture,” in *Italy Under the Southern Cross: An Australasian Celebration of Dino De Poli and the Cassamarca Foundation*, ed. David Moss and Gino Moliterno (Crawley, WA: Australasian Centre for Italian Studies, 2011), 90.

⁹² C. P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1.

⁹³ Brand.

⁹⁴ Ros Pesman, “Australians in Italy: The Long View,” in *Australians in Italy: Contemporary Lives and Impressions*, ed. Bill Kent, Ros Pesman, and Cynthia Troup (Melbourne: Monash University ePress, 2008), 1.1-1.15.

amongst other factors, translations of Italian literature and high-profile English support of Italian art, meaning “by the 1790s the fashion for things Italian was a recognised feature of English social life.”⁹⁵ However, while the first wave was concerned with the knowledge and cultural products that had been contemporaneously produced in Italy during the Renaissance, the second wave was fuelled by the Romantic era which looked to Italy’s rich cultural past as material, settings and inspiration for artistic and literary endeavour.⁹⁶ English writers such as Shelley and Byron, as well as painters such as Turner, “appropriated Italy as the most romantic of countries—her poets, her history, her landscape, her art, all fitted into the Romantic pattern.”⁹⁷ According to cultural historian Maura O’Connor, what Byron, Shelley and Turner as well as other Romantics and travel writers did for the large number of English who could not travel to Italy was to “actively contribute to the creation of an idealized view of Italy by encouraging their audience, as well as fellow travellers and painters, to add a bit of imaginary to the real in their encounters with the place.”⁹⁸

By the time that educated English migrants came to Australia, not only were they familiar with this “idealized view” of a romantic Italy in their own literature and art, but a broader interest in and knowledge of Italian history and cultural forms was an entrenched part of English culture. The second wave of Italomania may have died out by 1850 in England, but its legacy continued to be felt on the other side of the world. Pesman, who has done much work in understanding the influence of Italy on Australian cultural life in the 19th century, thus argues that “the history of Italian/Australian cultural relations is also the story of the transmission to

⁹⁵ Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England*, 2.

⁹⁶ Pesman, “Sir Samuel Griffith, Dante and the Italian Presence in Nineteenth-Century Australian Literary Culture.”

⁹⁷ Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England*, 228.

⁹⁸ Maura O’Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 19.

Australia from Britain of Italian cultural traditions and of British images of Italy.”⁹⁹ Britain’s role as a filter and mediator of Italian culture in Australia is a recurring one that can also be seen in the Glamorous Italy period.

In any case, products of Italian culture were available in the Antipodes in the 19th and early 20th century. While the upper classes travelled to Italy to source antiquities and art, and continued to send their sons to join in the tradition of the Grand Tour, it is clear that the products of Italian culture could be enjoyed and absorbed without leaving Australia. Pesman describes Italian music and art as the most popular forms of Italian culture, but Italian literature was also in circulation. Translations of Dante had been available since at least the 1840s and most private libraries had copies not just of Dante and fellow Italian poet Tasso but books on Italian art, history and grammar. Architecture was influenced by the Italians with the Italianate style popular for both public buildings and private mansions in the 1870s and 1880s, furnished with statues and fountains sourced from Italy.¹⁰⁰ Italy was seen as “the land of art” with Italian paintings and statuary imported into Australia from the 1850s and many works commissioned from Italy for both public and private appreciation.¹⁰¹

A small number of Italian migrants were present in Australia at this time and they were generally perceived as being members of “a cultured and artistic group.”¹⁰² This perception was aided by the belief, at least among the educated classes, that Italians were the carriers of high cultural ideals as well as by the fact that there were many intellectuals, artists, singers, scientists and skilled craftspeople amongst the early Italian arrivals. However, the 1901 Census records that there were only 5,678 Italy-born in Australia, although Italian migration

⁹⁹ Roslyn Pesman, “Italian Culture in C19th Australia,” in *Conference Proceedings: Italians in Australia Conference 1985/Australia’s Italian Heritage Conference 1986* (Brunswick, Vic.: Vaccari Italian Historical Trust, 1987), 145.

¹⁰⁰ Pesman, “Italian Culture in C19th Australia.”

¹⁰¹ Pesman, 148; Francesca A. Musicò, “From Simonetti to Rubbo: Italian Art and Artists in Late 19th Century Sydney,” *Italian Historical Society Journal* 7, no. 1 (1999): 9–16.

¹⁰² James Gobbo, *The Italian Heritage of Victoria: A Short History of the Early Italian Settlement* (Melbourne: Italian Historical Society, 1985), 8.

historian Gianfranco Cresciani believes this number was closer to 8,000.¹⁰³ Either way, the influence of these Italians was nowhere near as powerful as the images that Italy conjured in the Anglo-Australian imagination.

In the 1920s and 1930s, in the aftermath of the Great War and during the Depression, Pesman contends that Australia began to look inwards and there were less obvious cultural links with Italy. As one would expect, Italy's entry into the Second World War, which heightened fear of a fifth column in Australia and led to the internment of Italians, damaged but did not destroy the cultural associations that Italy held for many Australians. It was not till the late 1950s, according to Pesman, that Italy became fashionable again, not because of the mass migration of Italians but rather due to social change in Italy and a resurgence in Italian cultural products in Australia.¹⁰⁴

Glamorous Italy

In 1955 the *Australian Women's Weekly*, which then had a circulation of more than 750,000, announced the staging of a series of Italian fashion parades around the country in cities as large as Sydney and in regional centres as small as Wagga. Four Italian models would fly down to Australia to "introduce Australian women to the elegance and drama for which Italian clothes are famous." In Sydney, the premiere show was to take place at the department store David Jones' Great Restaurant where "guests will step from the lifts to a brilliant Italian scene dominated by a reproduction of the Salle Bianca in the Pitti Palace, Florence," the latter being a Renaissance palace where Italian designers had begun to show their collections in the early 1950s. The restaurant would also be decked out in "brilliant provincial flags" and feature "specially imported Italian music, modern Neapolitan love songs, and the popular music

¹⁰³ Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, 49. He attributes the discrepancy to the many Italy-born who did not bother to register as well as the children born of Italian parents who were not included in the count.

¹⁰⁴ Pesman, "Italian Culture in C19th Australia."

currently featured in exclusive Roman nightclubs." Guests will be served Italian sherry to start, followed by "a four-course Italian dinner and Italian dinner wines." They would be "shown to their tables by usherettes wearing traditional Italian costumes."¹⁰⁵

This description of the inaugural event, as well as the many articles published in the lead up and aftermath of the parades, all emphasise the beauty, excitement, artisanal excellence and style of Italy and Italians.¹⁰⁶ The models themselves are described as "typically Italian," as well as "beautiful, willowy Italian mannequins" with "perfect manners, warm charm and vivacity."¹⁰⁷ The clothes which reflect the "excitement and vitality of life in Italy," and the setting, which also included "murals of Italy's architectural wonders" as well as an Italian menu designed by the wife of the Italian Minister to Australia, all worked together to create a package of Italian glamour, ready for consumption by sophisticated Australian women.¹⁰⁸

Glamour, however, is a notoriously difficult term to define even though it is ubiquitous in modern culture. For cultural historian Stephen Gundle, glamour is linked to dreaming, aspiration and even magic:

The yearning for a better, richer, more exciting, and materially lavish life accompanied the development of modern consumerism and fuelled innumerable fantasies and fictions. Glamour took shape as an enticing image of the fabulous life that was lived before the eyes of everyone. Glamour provided the illusion that individual lives could be enhanced and improved by ostensibly magical means. The image was sustained

¹⁰⁵ "Beautiful Latins in Our Italian Parades," *Australian Women's Weekly*, April 27, 1955, 12–13, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article51596506>.

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, "Italian Glamor Scores," *Argus*, June 13, 1955, 8, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article71887928>; "Mannequin Was 'Char,'" *Argus*, July 12, 1955, 10, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article71667035>; Nan Musgrove, "Our Italian Mannequins Arrive Here," *Australian Women's Weekly*, June 15, 1955, 20–21, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41491510>.

¹⁰⁷ "Beautiful Latins in Our Italian Parades," 12; "Mannequin Was 'Char,'" 10; Musgrove, "Our Italian Mannequins Arrive Here," 20.

¹⁰⁸ "Beautiful Latins in Our Italian Parades," 12; Nan Musgrove, "Italian Premiere: Audience Acclaims Gala Parade," *Australian Women's Weekly*, June 22, 1955, 20–21, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article41448684>.

and perpetuated by cultural products and commercial entertainments. It could also be approached through the practices of consumption, since goods carried ideas and suggestions that were as important as their practical uses. The power of transformation lay with anyone or anything that could persuade an audience that they or it possessed it.¹⁰⁹

In the wake of Italy's "economic miracle," which began in the 1950s and transformed the nation from post-war depression to a modern industrial state, the country became known for creating "enticing image[s] of the fabulous life," all supported by Italian consumer products, commercial entertainment and cultural outputs. Italian designers, in fashion, furniture, automobiles and motor scooters, amongst other products, were able to successfully market the idea that buying "Made in Italy" meant buying a "sense of the beautiful."¹¹⁰ The idea that things of beauty, a "critical feature" of glamour, came from Italy, did not begin with Italy's economic boom of the 1950s but rather had its roots in the Renaissance.¹¹¹ Economic historian Carlo Marco Belfanti describes the Renaissance as "the historical period that, more than any other, was destined to forge, irreversibly, Italian good taste."¹¹² He also explains how fashion was the first sector in the Italian economy to realise that its international success lay in presenting modern Italian fashion not just as a unified entity (which prior to 1950 it in fact was not, as designers showed their clothes individually rather than collectively), but as the direct descendent of the craftsmanship and artistic excellence born in Renaissance Italy. This link allowed Italian fashion to emerge in the 1950s as a product which was desirable particularly to women around the world seeking sophistication and luxury.

¹⁰⁹ Stephen Gundle, *Glamour: A History* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 388.

¹¹⁰ Carlo Marco Belfanti, "Renaissance and 'Made in Italy': Marketing Italian Fashion through History (1949–1952)," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 20, no. 1 (2015): 55.

¹¹¹ Gundle, *Glamour: A History*, 11.

¹¹² Belfanti, "Renaissance and 'Made in Italy': Marketing Italian Fashion through History (1949–1952)," 55.

The concept that Italian material products were beautiful may have come from this link to the Renaissance, but their abilities to project glamour owe much to the phenomenon known as “Hollywood on the Tiber.”¹¹³ In the early 1950s, in a bid for cheaper production costs and to attract European markets, amongst many other factors, Hollywood began producing movies in Rome, where they took advantage of the Mussolini-built Cinecittá studios on the city’s edge.¹¹⁴ This arrangement resulted in Hollywood film stars, whom Gundle calls “the most complete embodiment of glamour that there has ever been,” flocking en masse to Rome.¹¹⁵ Stars of the calibre of Ava Gardner, Audrey Hepburn and Liz Taylor needed to be clothed, both on and off the screen, and thus symbiotic relationships between the Italian fashion houses and Hollywood’s leading ladies were created, with the former benefiting from the glamour which the latter embodied and projected not just in their films but in countless magazine and newspaper articles.¹¹⁶ In addition, the stars made their homes in Rome, and thus via the paparazzi, the rest of the world followed their scandals, marriages, affairs, relationships, parties and various goings on against the backdrop of the Eternal City.¹¹⁷ While Hollywood might have brought glamour to Rome with its film stars and movie productions, Italy responded by producing a bevy of its own glamorous leading ladies. Women such as Gina Lollobrigida, Sophia Loren and Silvana Mangano came to embody Italian glamour and style internationally and, according to some press reports, beat Hollywood stars at their own game.¹¹⁸ Film historian Réka Buckley contends that these women “achieved an interesting

¹¹³ This term was used on the cover of *Time* magazine on 16 August 1954. Pauline Small, “The Maggiorata or Sweater Girl of the 1950s: Mangano, Lollobrigida, Loren,” in *The Italian Cinema Book*, ed. Peter Bondanella (London: BFI; Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 116–22.

¹¹⁴ Small; Réka Buckley, “Material Dreams: Costume and Couture Italian Style: From Hollywood on the Tiber to the Italian Screen,” in *The Italian Cinema Book*, ed. Peter Bondanella (London: BFI; Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 133–41.

¹¹⁵ Gundle, *Glamour: A History*, 172.

¹¹⁶ See Buckley, “Material Dreams: Costume and Couture Italian Style: From Hollywood on the Tiber to the Italian Screen.”

¹¹⁷ Robert S. C. Gordon, “Hollywood and Italy: Industries and Fantasies,” in *The Italian Cinema Book*, ed. Peter Bondanella (London: BFI; Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 123–29.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, Bob MacDonnald, “Italian Stars Rise in the US,” *Sunday Mail*, June 20, 1954, 25, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article101720752>.

combination of Hollywood glamour, aristocratic elegance and earthy naturalness...which combined to form a type of glamour that was associated with Italy and Italian-ness."¹¹⁹

Australians were made aware of "Italy's golden age of glamour" through movies produced at the time, particularly Hollywood films set in Italy such as *Roman Holiday* (1953) and *Three Coins in the Fountain* (1954), as well as more provocative Italian films, especially Federico Fellini's portrayal of the celebrity scene on Rome's Via Veneto in 1960's *La Dolce Vita*.¹²⁰ The Hollywood films of Loren and Lollobrigida, in particular, enabled the glamour attached to these stars to reach large audiences in Australia. Beyond the films themselves, Australian newspapers and magazines were full of gossip, scandal and news from both the celebrities in Italy and the Italian stars in Hollywood. *Life in Plush-lined Playgrounds*, a feature in a 1957 issue of *The Australian Women's Weekly*, was typical as it covered "the international jet set" who live in a "mad whirl of mink-lined luxury," and flit between London, Paris, Monte Carlo and Rome, the latter of which "is the place to be in autumn, and there is always something to talk about there." It went on to speculate about whether Lollobrigida or Loren had the more successful career and whether actress Anna Magnani would find romance with her director Roberto Rossellini.¹²¹ Gossipy articles such as these were interspersed with "news" events such as the 1949 televised "wedding of the century" in Rome of actor Tyrone Power to American starlet Linda Christian, the birth of their first child and their subsequent separation and divorce.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Réka Buckley, "Glamour and the Italian Female Film Stars of the 1950s," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 28, no. 3 (2008): 282.

¹²⁰ "Italy's golden age of glamour" is dated from the late 1940s to the late 1960s in Buckley, "Material Dreams: Costume and Couture Italian Style: From Hollywood on the Tiber to the Italian Screen," 133.

¹²¹ "Life in Plush-Lined Playgrounds," *Australian Women's Weekly*, August 28, 1957, 4–5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48530180>.

¹²² The significance of the Tyrone Power and Linda Christian wedding and its relationship to glamour is discussed in Gundle, *Glamour: A History*, 203–5. Articles tracking the Tyrone/Christian relationship in the Australian press include "Police Clashes, Women Faint When Tyrone Power, Linda Christian Wed," *Evening Advocate*, January 28, 1949, 1, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article212138220>; "Tyrone, Linda Are Parting," *Courier-Mail*, October 20, 1954, 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50622468>; Victor

Australians were able to access these images of Glamorous Italy not just through the media and the movies, but through first-hand experiences. In the example of the “Italian fashion parades,” it is easy to see how Australian women could be seduced into thinking that Italy meant glamour not just by the clothes on parade, but by their links with cultural products including music, food, architecture, art and, less tangibly but most importantly, Italian female beauty. To make explicit the link between Italian food and Italian glamour, *The Argus* even printed a recipe for “Piselli Alla Romana (peas with ham)” from Lully, one of the “glamorous Italian mannequins taking part in [the] Italian fashion parades.”¹²³ That these shows were produced by Australia’s most popular women’s magazine and hosted by the country’s premiere department stores, known at the time for being the purveyors of all that was sophisticated and innovative, gave the experience both authenticity and credibility. These department stores also subsequently hosted a number of Italian festivals where Australians were able to encounter Italian consumer goods in a setting which re-created examples of both high and popular Italian culture.¹²⁴ The best known of these was the David Jones’ Italian Festival of 1966 which featured a 16-foot, 1 tonne plaster replica of Michelangelo’s *David*. The Sydney store had to be partially dismantled to get the statue in place.¹²⁵

Another way for Australians to experience Glamorous Italy was to visit an espresso bar. The espresso bar trend began in Australian cities in the early to mid-1950s and while the coffee that sputtered from the impressive and eye-catching Gaggia machines at the centre of these establishments was important, it was the setting that really made a statement. Purpose-built espresso bars were designed to be as “modern as tomorrow.”¹²⁶ In this period, novelty was

Valentine, “Linda’s In and Out of Love,” *Argus*, May 11, 1955, 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article71881809>.

¹²³ “Foreign Recipe: Piselli,” *Argus*, July 23, 1955, 9, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article71669258>.

¹²⁴ See, for example, “Come, Shop All Italy in One Store...the Italian Festival at Myer’s,” *Argus*, July 18, 1955, 9, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article71668252>.

¹²⁵ “Strewth—No Platypus?,” *Canberra Times*, October 20, 1966, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article106941736>.

¹²⁶ “The Hunter Inn Is Modern as Tomorrow,” *Hotel and Café News*, March 1956, 16.

what mattered and espresso bars made the most of new materials; they could include art galleries and, in one case on Pitt Street in the centre of Sydney, an espresso bar was even designed in the shape of a spaceship.¹²⁷ The marriage between a new way of drinking coffee with modern surrounds created fashionable places to see and be seen, as well as an alternative to socialising in the pub, which prior to 1954, in Sydney at least, shut at 6pm and was functionally designed to be easily cleaned, not to evoke alternative worlds. That the coffee in these bars was recognisably Italian and that the setting provided in which to consume this drink echoed the modern sensibilities of Italian design lent the sheen of Italian glamour to the experience.¹²⁸ The espresso bar in 1950s Australia provides a concrete example of how a food, or in this case a drink, associated with a country can benefit from the associations and imaginings that the country evokes.

The ideas generated about Italy in the Romantic and Glamorous periods are not mutually exclusive; instead the latter built on associations developed during the former. Both periods, as we have seen above, owe a debt to the Italian Renaissance. In the Romantic Italy period, the Renaissance, which contemporaneously resulted in a great exchange of ideas between England and Italy, was used as inspiration by the Romantics for literary and art works, and Italy was presented as a place and producer of things of great beauty. In the Glamorous Italy period, the Renaissance, with its artisanal and artistic excellence, was presented as the birthplace of Italian good taste; all modern Italian products, particularly fashion, were seen as embodying this good taste. While Romantic Italy relied on high cultural products such as art, poetry and literature to spread its ideas of Italy, Glamorous Italy owes a debt to popular culture in the form of mass media, movie making and movies themselves as well as the

¹²⁷ "Novel Coffee Bar," *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 20, 1956, 9; "Coffee Shop Is Also an Art Exhibition," *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 31, 1956, 11; "'Space-Ship' Coffee Lounge," *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 23, 1957, 9.

¹²⁸ For details of the espresso bar trend in Sydney see Tania Cammarano, "Espresso in 1950s Sydney: One Drink, Two Scenes" (Masters diss., University of Adelaide, 2006).

transformation of Italy from an agrarian country to a consumerist one. In both the Romantic and Glamorous periods, many of the ideas about Italy that circulated in Australia came via England, although the influence of England lessened over time. In the Romantic period, as we have seen, Italian cultural products and ideas about Italy came with educated English migrants, whereas the way Australians thought about Italy in the Glamorous period was heavily influenced by America, via Hollywood movie making and celebrity culture. However, as Australians still saw their country as part of the British Empire, what London did and thought still mattered. In the 1950s, London was enamoured with all things Italian as was reflected in the espresso bar trend which, it could be argued, came to Australia via the English capital rather than the streets of Rome or Milan.¹²⁹ What is interesting is that the largely positive ideas that Italy generated for Australians in both the Romantic and the Glamorous periods were largely divorced from what Australians thought of the Italians who were migrating to Australia in ever-increasing numbers.

Attitudes Towards Italian Migrants

In 1954, the *Sun-Herald* published a feature article titled “Italy in Australia,” which reflected on the character of Italian migrants and their suitability for assimilation into Australian society. The author made observations of “our Italian immigrants on their way to Australia” aboard a ship and described them as “presumably...a fair cross-section of our new 80,000 Italians.” The portrayal of the female Italian migrants in particular could not have been further from the press coverage that was enjoyed by the Italian models just one year later. While the models graced the cover of the *Australian Women’s Weekly* looking elegant in full-length coats and gloves, the Italian female migrants were described as hysterical, inappropriately passionate or simply dirty. One woman “provided the highlight of the day” by “screaming and

¹²⁹ Australian espresso pioneer Peter Bancroft, for example, was enamoured with the espresso bar trend he saw in London, not Milan, and this prompted him and his father to secure the Australian license for Gaggia espresso machines which he subsequently imported into Australia. See Andrew Brown-May, *Espresso! Melbourne Coffee Stories* (Melbourne: Arcadia, 2001).

weeping” and running back to her family until “she finally came aboard—kicking, weeping and crying out, but carried by two perspiring policemen.” An Italian mother was observed beating her child, “slapping him about the face and bottom—and kissing him wetly in between slaps...she was, I discovered, a southerner. Passions run hot in the South of Italy.” There were “other instances too, on the debit side for the migrants. Such things as those that used the deck as a convenience...or the women who had to be ordered to wash at nights.”¹³⁰ If Australians saw the Italian models as the personification of Italy, its glamour and style, in contrast this account suggests that these Italian female migrants were representative of the Italians already in Australia, or those who were on their way.

This article seems to suggest that Italian women are an inferior type of migrant for Australia, but focusing solely on the way that these women are described would give an unbalanced view of the entire article, and suggest that opinions of Italians in Australia were universally unfavourable. The author does note other negatives, for instance that the Italian migrants are quick to fight with knives, behaved in a childish manner “sometimes, by our standards” and were fearful of getting seasick, which was presented as some kind of moral failing. On the positive side, however, “their love of music was deep and strong”; they could “take a joke against themselves”; they were hardworking, law-abiding and, in Queensland, where they had worked the sugarcane fields, they had been a success. It was noted that once one actually spoke to an Italian immigrant, “one finds a warm, friendly, impulsive and often highly intelligent people.” It is only when one actually interacts with these Italians, rather than just judging from appearances that:

¹³⁰ “Italy in Australia,” *Sun-Herald*, April 18, 1954, 16, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28661209>.

it is easier, then, to remember that Italy once bestrode the known world; that she has produced many of the finest thinkers, writers, sculptors, and painters of all time; that for more than 2,000 years her engineers and artisans have been second to none.¹³¹

That the author had to “remember” all these things about Italy suggests a strong disconnect between the achievements of Italy and the Italians arriving or already in Australia. Although it is true that speaking to an immigrant made it “easier...to remember,” the migrant with whom the author chooses to speak “does not conform to the conventional Australian idea of an Italian.” He is dark haired but he is tall, well-proportioned, and “a friendly, smiling young man, easy in speech and movement.”¹³² He is also, notably, from northern Italy, rather than the south, from where the majority of Italians in Australia in the 1950s emigrated from.¹³³

This article illustrates the deep ambiguity that Australians have historically felt towards both Italian migrants and Italian migration. Although the Italians who arrived in Australia after World War II have attracted the most attention from scholars, Italian migration to Australia has a long history.¹³⁴ However, between 1876 and 1915, so few of the 14 million Italians who emigrated went to Australia that the Antipodes registered attracting zero per cent of this number.¹³⁵ While unquestionably a small minority, there were some prominent Italians in Australia in the 19th century including chronicler of the Eureka Stockade Raffaello Carboni, pioneer of the wine industry and surgeon Thomas Henry Fiaschi and designer of Melbourne’s botanic gardens Carlo Catani.¹³⁶ In the field of arts and music, opera producer, dancer and tenor Count Carandini, the man who went on to become Dame Nellie Melba’s opera teacher

¹³¹ “Italy in Australia,” 16.

¹³² “Italy in Australia,” 16.

¹³³ It is estimated that 80 per cent of the Italians who migrated to Australia in the post-World War II period were from southern Italian regions. Co.As.It.SA, “Pattern of Migration from Italy,” accessed December 7, 2017, <http://www.coasitsa.org.au/index.php/resources>.

¹³⁴ Susanna Iuliano and Loretta Baldassar, “Deprovincialising Italian Migration Studies: An Overview of Australian and Canadian Research,” *FULGOR: Flinders University Languages Group Online Review* 3, no. 3 (2008): 1–16.

¹³⁵ Donna R. Gabaccia, *Italy’s Many Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

¹³⁶ Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*.

Pietro Cecchi and sculptor Achille Simonetti, as well as others, all made their marks.¹³⁷ In contrast to these distinguished individuals, less feted groups of Italian migrants who arrived before the 20th century included those attracted by the 1850s gold rush in Victoria, such as the Ticinesi from Italian-speaking Switzerland, who some historians do not even regard as Italians; the survivors of a doomed plan to create an Italian colony in New Guinea who instead founded the New Italy settlement in northern New South Wales; and those that arrived as part of the “Fraire Plan” which sent them to north Queensland to begin what was to be a long-running association between Italian migrants and sugarcane cutting.¹³⁸ Before 1914, however, while there were populations of Italians in Sydney and Melbourne, most of them were young men working in the gold-mining, timber-cutting, fishing and sugarcane industries, most likely in either Queensland or Western Australia.¹³⁹

Attitudes towards these Italian migrants were mixed. On the one hand, professionals such as Catani and artists such as Carandini attracted accolades which helped form the perception voiced by Sir James Gobbo that the Italians in Australia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were artistic and cultured, a perception he believed disappeared after the mass migration of Italians in the 1950s.¹⁴⁰ Historian Robert Pascoe contends Australians in the period before the First World War saw Garibaldi, Puccini and Marconi as the embodiment of the democratic, cultural and scientific achievements of Italians and claims that “this set of expectations not only put certain occupations of professional Italians at a great advantage in colonial Australia

¹³⁷ Gobbo, *The Italian Heritage of Victoria: A Short History of the Early Italian Settlement*.

¹³⁸ For a history of early Italian settlers in Australia, see Robert Pascoe, “Italian Settlement until 1914,” in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, ed. James Jupp, 2nd ed. (Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 486–89; Ilma O’Brien, “Italian Pioneers,” in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, ed. James Jupp, 2nd ed. (Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 489–90.

¹³⁹ Pascoe, “Italian Settlement until 1914.”

¹⁴⁰ See articles such as “Mr. Carlo Catani. Engineer and Artist. An Appreciation,” *Prahran Telegraph*, August 19, 1916, 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article74835180>; “Signor Carandini,” *Austral-Asiatic Review, Tasmanian and Australian Advertiser*, October 14, 1842, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article232480740>. Gobbo, *The Italian Heritage of Victoria: A Short History of the Early Italian Settlement*.

but also shaped how Australians viewed Italy itself.”¹⁴¹ These Italian immigrants were lauded as the carriers of high Italian culture in Australia and aligned with the Italy imagined in the Romantic Italy period.

On the other hand, the majority of Italian migrants, who worked in manual labour jobs, were often viewed with suspicion. There were beliefs amongst many Australians, particularly those active in the Australian labour movement, that these Italians, especially those concentrated in particular industries, posed threats to Australian workers’ rights. Unlike other ethnic groups at this time such as the Greeks, the Italians entered into areas of work where they competed directly for jobs with Anglo-Australians.¹⁴² Italians were accused of being strike breakers, offering bribes for work, accepting poor conditions and working for less than the award rate, even though various enquiries in Western Australia and Queensland found no evidence of these claims.¹⁴³ There were isolated episodes of ethnic violence against Italians, most notably 1934’s Kalgoorlie riots on the Western Australian goldfields.¹⁴⁴

As the number of Italians increased, anti-Italian sentiment appeared to harden and become more widespread. Social anthropologist William A. Douglass charted the changing attitudes towards Italians migrants working in Queensland’s sugarcane fields by analysing newspaper articles in the first two decades of the 20th century. He found that in 1907, the Italians “[we]re the men that are wanted here” but by 1914, there were concerns that the Italians were taking over from the British as they “owned many of the farms and did 90% of the harvesting. Such a

¹⁴¹ Pascoe, “Italian Settlement until 1914,” 488.

¹⁴² Laksiri Jayasuriya, *Immigration Policies and Ethnic Relations in Australia and Australian Multicultural Education in Comparative Perspective* (Perth: Department of Social Work and Social Administration, University of Western Australia, 1987).

¹⁴³ Karen Agutter, “‘Italians Deported—Australians Next’: Italians, World War I and the Labour Movement,” in *Fighting Against War: Peace Activism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Phillip Deery and Julie Kimber (Melbourne: Leftbank Press, 2015), 157–76.

¹⁴⁴ For details of the Kalgoorlie riots, see “Ethnic Riots,” Western Australian Museum, 2017, <http://museum.wa.gov.au/explore/wa-goldfields/getting-gold/ethnic-riots>; Jayasuriya, *Immigration Policies and Ethnic Relations in Australia and Australian Multicultural Education in Comparative Perspective*.

pity!" By 1919, the typical Anglo-Australian returning from war was described as having a right to be a "very angry individual indeed when he comes back only to find the job he left behind filled by a strange, dark gentleman from the Mediterranean shores."¹⁴⁵

By the 1920s, with the US restricting immigration from Italy, many more Italians migrated to Australia. Between 1921 and 1933, the number of Italy-born in Australia increased by 18,621 and the voices that believed Italians were dirty, unassimilable and would take the jobs of hardworking Australians became even louder, though there were always more moderate and welcoming voices.¹⁴⁶ In a study of Australian attitudes towards Italians in the inter-war years, historian Margaret Pagone notes that some newspaper articles praised and supported the efforts of Italian migrants, but that the majority of articles portrayed Italians and, more widely Southern Europeans, as "undesirable members of society and usurpers of much needed employment."¹⁴⁷ She points out that some newspapers, such as Sydney's *Smith's Weekly*, Brisbane's *Truth* and the Melbourne *Age*, were more vocal in their condemnations of Italians than others.

While economic interests appeared to be behind much of the vitriol against Italians, it is a mistake to think that race was not an issue. Australia prided itself on being an outpost of the British Empire, and its desire to remain British in character had motivated the *Immigration Act* (1901), part of what is colloquially known as the White Australia policy. Aside from keeping Asians out, the policy aimed to attract more British migrants and, failing that, Northern Europeans. These migrants were the most desirable as it was thought that they would most

¹⁴⁵ William A. Douglass, "Images and Adages: Anglo-Australian Perceptions of Italians in Queensland," in *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940-1990*, ed. Richard Bosworth and Romano Ugolini (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1992), 49.

¹⁴⁶ The figure of 18,621 was calculated by subtracting the Italy-born population as recorded in the 1921 Census from the number of Italy-born recorded in the 1933 Census. Census figures were taken from W. D. Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1954), 51.

¹⁴⁷ Margaret Pagone, "Attitudes to Italians Between the Wars," in *Conference Proceedings: Italians in Australia Conference 1985/Australia's Italian Heritage Conference 1986* (Brunswick, Vic.: Vaccari Italian Historical Trust, 1987), 60.

easily assimilate into the Anglo-Australian “way of life.” Southern Europeans, including Italians, occupied a strange position in that they were not completely unacceptable, nor could they be wholly embraced. Historians Janis Wilton and Richard Bosworth describe Italian migration as “scarcely approved” under the White Australia policy because Italians were “the aliens that Australian public and political opinion deemed to be the chief infringers of British Australia.”¹⁴⁸ Gabaccia provides a possible explanation for this by explaining how largely protestant countries such as the US, Canada and Australia saw the Catholic Italians as racially ambiguous: “Neither white nor black, Italians were the ‘Chinese of Europe’ in all three countries.”¹⁴⁹ This position as “in-between people” meant that they could come to Australia in restricted numbers, but often found themselves the subject of racist beliefs and press reports.¹⁵⁰

The ambiguous status of Italian migrants in Australia is reflected in *Non-Britishers in Australia* (1927), written by Jens Lyng who produced the text when he was the Harbison-Higinbotham scholar at the University of Melbourne. Lyng was not completely negative in his assessment of Italians. Similar to the author of the 1954 article quoted previously, he notes the glorious past of Italy, the enormous and valuable contributions that Italians have made to music in Australia and their hardworking, thrifty nature. He believes that they are assimilating into Australian society, the ultimate goal of immigration legislation at the time, “at quite a satisfactory rate.”¹⁵¹ However in his assessment of the “racial composition” of Italians, he concludes that the Northern Italian is of a much better quality than his southern counterpart. The former were likely to have been of Nordic stock whereas the latter may initially have had “pure

¹⁴⁸ Janis Wilton and Richard Bosworth, *Old Worlds and New Australia: The Post-War Migrant Experience* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1984), 2.

¹⁴⁹ Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, 181.

¹⁵⁰ Gabaccia uses the term “in-between people” to describe the status of Italian migrants and credits it to James R. Barrett and David Roediger, “In-between Peoples: Race, Nationality and the ‘New Immigrant’ Working Class,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16 (1997): 3–44 in Gabaccia, 181.

¹⁵¹ Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress* (Melbourne: Macmillan in association with Melbourne University Press, 1927), 108.

Mediterranean blood” but it had been “impoverished by an infusion of African and Asiatic blood.” This difference explains why “the northern districts [of Italy] are well cultivated and that generally economic progress in northern Italy compares favourably with the most advanced countries, whereas the southern districts are backward and the living standard of the people low.”¹⁵²

That the Northern Italian was racially superior to the Southern Italian was a common belief in Australia and had its roots in Italy itself where the “Southern Question” had long been debated.¹⁵³ Immigration authorities knew the difference between the two and gave preference to Northerners.¹⁵⁴ The main reason for this, as the 1925 Ferry enquiry into foreign workers in Queensland reported, was that “the Southern Italian is more inclined to form groups and [thus is] less likely to be assimilated into the population of the State.”¹⁵⁵ However, the issue in the broader community, according to Lyng, was that the average Australian could not tell them apart: “To them an Italian is an Italian—difficult to absorb, and more likely than not to lower the social standard.”¹⁵⁶ This sentence sums up the concerns that Anglo-Australians had about Italian migrants at the time. They thought they were too culturally different and would generate too much economic competition.

With Italy joining the Second World War on the side of Germany in 1940, attitudes towards Italian migrants in Australia predictably worsened. There was fear that Italians would form a Fifth Column in Australia which led to the internment of 4,727 Italians during this period.¹⁵⁷ Many accusations of sabotage and espionage were levelled against Italians, although Cresciani

¹⁵² Lyng, 93.

¹⁵³ See Jane Schneider, “Introduction: The Dynamics of Neo-Orientalism in Italy (1848-1995),” in *Italy’s Southern Question*, ed. Jane Schneider (Oxford; New York: Berg, 1998), 1–23.

¹⁵⁴ Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*.

¹⁵⁵ As quoted in Wilton and Bosworth, *Old Worlds and New Australia: The Post-War Migrant Experience*, 3.

¹⁵⁶ Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*, 94.

¹⁵⁷ Cate Elkner, “The Internment of Italian-Australians: A Perspective from Melbourne, Victoria,” in *Enemy Aliens: The Internment of Italian Migrants in Australia during the Second World War* (Bacchus Marsh, Vic.: Connor Court Publishing, 2005), 1–13.

strongly believes that the motivation for these charges was economic rivalry as well as fear of an enemy within.¹⁵⁸ The new status of Italians as “enemy aliens” led to experiences of discrimination and prejudice, including being refused jobs and having shop windows broken.¹⁵⁹ That the Greek Consulate General in Melbourne distributed identifying cards to Greek shop owners so that they would not be confused with Italian businesses speaks volumes.¹⁶⁰ In any case, despite these accusations against Italians, no evidence was ever found to suggest that Italian migrants had committed acts of sabotage or espionage against Australia during the Second World War.¹⁶¹

The fact that no Fifth Column materialised and that the internees, along with 12,000 Italian prisoners of war, often worked unsupervised without incident was thought to have been crucial in paving the way for the post-World War II mass migration program. Philosopher James Franklin argues that the “perception that Italians had been harmless and ‘no trouble’” during the war helped sway public opinion to allow acceptance of first the migration of displaced persons in the late 1940s and then the larger wave of Italian (and Greek) migrants in the 1950s. He contends that “[m]ulticultural Australia owes a great debt to those, on both the Italian and Australian sides, who negotiated the minefields of wartime xenophobia with restraint.”¹⁶²

However, the fog of xenophobia that shrouded Italian migrants did not suddenly lift once the mass migration of Italians began. War had shown Australia that they were vulnerable to foreign invasion and needed to, in the words of NSW Senator Donald McLennan Grant,

¹⁵⁸ Gianfranco Cresciani, “The Bogey of the Italian Fifth Column: Internment and the Making of Italo-Australia,” in *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940-1990*, ed. Richard Bosworth and Romano Ugolini (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1992), 11–32.

¹⁵⁹ Elkner, “The Internment of Italian-Australians: A Perspective from Melbourne, Victoria”; “Italian Shops Attacked: Windows Are Broken in Six,” *Goulburn Evening Post*, June 12, 1940, 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article103802033>.

¹⁶⁰ “Greek Shops,” *Northern Miner*, June 19, 1940, 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article81502314>.

¹⁶¹ Cresciani, “The Bogey of the Italian Fifth Column: Internment and the Making of Italo-Australia.”

¹⁶² James Franklin, “Foreword,” in *Enemy Aliens: The Internment of Italian Migrants in Australia during the Second World War* (Bacchus Marsh, Vic.: Connor Court Publishing, 2005), v.

“populate the country, or sooner or later be overrun by Asiatic peoples.”¹⁶³ When the preferred British and Northern European migrants did not provide the numbers required, Australia began to look to other sources of European migration including Italians. Between 1947 and 1950, 33,280 Italians entered Australia, largely through “chain” migration, with Italians already in Australia sponsoring family and friends who were then able to join them.¹⁶⁴ In 1951 a bilateral agreement was signed between the two countries; even though it was suspended for a time because of the 1952 recession, it meant that by 1961, there were 228,296 Italy-born in Australia.¹⁶⁵ While the majority of Anglo-Australians had been convinced that mass migration was necessary, they believed that foreigners needed to become just like them, upstanding members of a British-Australian society. This attitude was well-expressed in the 1957 best seller *They’re a Weird Mob*. Written by John O’Grady, under the pseudonym of Nino Culotta, the book tells the story of educated Northern Italian journalist Nino who comes to Australia and decides it is so good that God must be an Australian. His message to fellow Italian migrants is clear: if you want to live the best life possible, you can do this in Australia, but you have to mimic the Anglo-Australian (man):

Learn his way. Learn his language. Get yourself accepted as one of him; and you will enter a world that you never dreamed existed. And once you have entered it, you will never leave it.¹⁶⁶

The book was a phenomenon, selling almost a million copies, and the film version, released in 1966, broke box office records for a local production.¹⁶⁷ It showed that even nine years after

¹⁶³ “Senate, 3 October 1945, 17th Parliament, 3rd Session,” Historic Hansard, 1945, http://historichansard.net/senate/1945/19451003_senate_17_185/.

¹⁶⁴ Richard Bosworth, “Post-War Italian Immigration,” in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, ed. James Jupp, 2nd ed. (Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 505–9.

¹⁶⁵ Bosworth; Co.As.It.SA, “Pattern of Migration from Italy.”

¹⁶⁶ Nino Culotta, *They’re a Weird Mob* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2012), 252.

¹⁶⁷ Jacinta Tynan, “Introduction: The £10 Bet,” in *They’re a Weird Mob* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2012), vii–xv.

its original publication, the story of Nino and his assimilatory advice to New Australians still resonated.

Eventually, however, mainstream attitudes towards Italians in Australia changed. Their journey from a largely marginalised people to celebrated minority community was assisted by the progressive dismantling of the White Australia and assimilation policies. While assimilation was not replaced with multiculturalism until the complete demise of the White Australia policy in 1972, political scientist Jatinder Mann contends in the decade before this change, the Government adopted a policy of integration which encouraged migrants to become part of the dominant Anglo-Australian culture, but also to maintain what made them culturally distinct at the same time. This policy was adopted because the idea that the country should remain British in character and firmly wedded to their British colonial roots began to lose power as more and more non-British migrants came to Australia. As Britain attempted to enter the European Economic Community (EEC), and appeared to be prioritising the EEC over the Commonwealth, Australian politicians felt the need to establish a new identity that acknowledged the kind of people that lived in Australia, and its geographic position, as well as reflecting modern ways of thinking. This changed image meant jettisoning the White Australia policy, which was increasingly criticised as racist and immoral by the international community, and embracing a national identity which valued independence and increasing diversity over Britishness and whiteness.¹⁶⁸

The Italian community in Australia also was able to improve its status because the new migrants allowed into Australia post-1972 were even more culturally distant and therefore more difficult for some Australians to accept than Italians had been. While the Italians might have been described as the “Chinese of Europe,” they were still “of Europe” and shared a

¹⁶⁸ Jatinder Mann, “‘Leavening British Traditions’: Integration Policy in Australia, 1962-1972,” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 59, no. 1 (2013): 47–62.

cultural heritage with the British, even if that cultural heritage had sometimes been obscured or forgotten in the bid to keep Australia British. The new migrants, first from Asia, then the Middle East and Africa, had much less in common culturally with the average Anglo-Australian and appeared to replace Italians as the targets of racism.¹⁶⁹ Historian Susanna Iuliano and social scientist Loretta Baldassar also believe that the substantial economic achievements of the first generation as well as the upward mobility of second and third generation Italians “contributed to the ‘whitening’ and broader ‘acceptability’ of Italians in Anglo-societies.”¹⁷⁰

In the 1970s and beyond, as what Italian-Australian journalist Pino Bosi called the “ethnic era” dawned, Italian immigrants became the “exemplar minority community.”¹⁷¹ As Australians embraced the policy of multiculturalism at least institutionally if not always personally, there was a re-valuing of ethnicity.¹⁷² Cultural difference, once a problem to be erased, was now a feature to be celebrated. Italians became arguably the most lauded group in the new multicultural Australia, their culture the most feted. Italian food, which had already benefited from the romantic and glamorous associations that the idea of Italy held in Australia, further increased in status. It came to signify not only glorious and glamorous Italy, but the sustenance of a people who had, for want of a better word, become fashionable in Australia for the first time. Italian ethnicity was no longer a liability for Italian migrants: it could now be used to their advantage.

¹⁶⁹ See, for example, Pamela Bone, “Ghetto-Blasting: Largely a Matter of Time and Familiarity,” *Age*, September 9, 1988, 14.

¹⁷⁰ Iuliano and Baldassar, “Deprovincialising Italian Migration Studies: An Overview of Australian and Canadian Research,” 4.

¹⁷¹ Pino Bosi, *Who Is Afraid of the Ethnic Wolf?* (Sydney: Kurunda Films and Publications, 1986), 29; Joseph Lo Bianco, “Italian Culture and Language,” in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, ed. James Jupp, 2nd ed. (Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 509.

¹⁷² In 1982 Australia “[n]on-Anglo-Saxon migrants are to be appreciated, celebrated, cosseted and even admired” according to Richard Bosworth, “Cop What Lot? A Study of Australian Attitudes Towards Italian Mass Migration in the 1950s,” in *Espresso, Corretto or White? Some Aspects of the Italian Presence in Australia*. (Melbourne: Catholic Intercultural Resource Centre, 1986), 1.

Italian Ethnicity as a Resource

Ethnicity is a contested concept, one that has been defined in various ways. According to historian John Davidson:

the key common elements [of these definitions] are that the ‘sense of people-hood’ that is at the core of ethnicity constitutes a self-aware iteration of identity on the part of the ‘people’ involved, that it is so recognised by their neighbours, and that the core defining criteria are linguistic and cultural.¹⁷³

What is not emphasised in this summary of the meaning of ethnicity is its dynamic nature and the fact that it can be constructed in order to meet different social, economic and cultural needs. In *The Invention of Ethnicity*, Sollors uses the concept of “invention,” as explained by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in their now classic work *The Invention of Tradition*, and argues that ethnic groups are “imagined as if they were natural, real, eternal, stable, and static units” but this is not the case.¹⁷⁴ Ethnicity is not an inevitable “thing” but rather a “process” and a process that is constantly in flux, responding to different social, economic and cultural factors.¹⁷⁵

Wallman agrees that ethnicity is not fixed either in its difference or its significance. This changeability can be seen in the way that Italians have progressively become “less different” in Australian society and progressed, as a group, from feared minority to celebrated community. Wallman defines ethnicity as referring “generally to the perception of group difference and so to social boundaries between sections of a population.” The “social boundary” and the contrast that this creates between “us” and “them” is what interests Wallman. While she acknowledges that some work has been done to understand the contrast,

¹⁷³ John Davidson, “History, Identity and Ethnicity,” in *Making History: An Introduction to the History and Practices of a Discipline*, ed. Peter Lambert and Phillipp Schofield (London ; New York: Routledge, 2004), 205.

¹⁷⁴ Sollors, “Introduction: The Invention of Ethnicity,” xiv.

¹⁷⁵ Sollors, xv.

the flexibility of that boundary and why that boundary continues to exist has been little explored. Wallman and her colleagues

...are proposing, therefore, that the value of ethnicity varies. It can be regarded as a resource which will, for some purposes and in some situations, be mobilised to the advantage of a social, cultural or racial category of people; will have no meaning or value at all in other situations; and will, in still others, in which other needs and objectives are paramount, be construed as a liability to be escaped or denied as far as possible.¹⁷⁶

This thesis explores the concept of Italian ethnicity as a resource as it relates to the promotion of Italian food in Australia. It analyses the use of ethnicity in the three ways that Wallman et al. have described: as an advantage, as a neutral quality or as a liability. The way that ethnicity functions in the four case studies presented in this thesis also illustrates how it can be used to meet different goals, whether they are economic, social, cultural or a combination of these.

While ethnicity is commonly used to describe a group of people, this thesis also uses the term “ethnic” in relation to food. Ethnic food is not an easy term to define, as it is typically employed to describe food that is considered foreign to a culture, but what is foreign can and does change, hence what constitutes ethnic food also changes.¹⁷⁷ According to folklorist Lucy M. Long “[e]thnic food is food belonging to ‘groupings that were culturally distinguishable from a larger social system of which they formed some part.’”¹⁷⁸ However, as this thesis demonstrates, ethnic food can be appropriated by people outside of these groups. It can be

¹⁷⁶ Sandra Wallman, “Foreword,” in *Ethnicity at Work*, ed. Sandra Wallman (London: Macmillan, 1979), ix.

¹⁷⁷ Sherrie A. Inness, “Eating Ethnic,” in *Pilaf, Pozole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 1–13.

¹⁷⁸ As defined by the Oxford Dictionary, quoted by Elliott Oring, “Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Folklore,” in *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres: An Introduction* (Logan: University of Utah Press, 1986), 24 in Lucy M. Long, “Introduction To Ethnic American Food Today,” in *Ethnic American Food Today: A Cultural Encyclopedia*, ed. Lucy M. Long (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 1.

produced, cooked, marketed and sold by both the ethnic people specifically linked to the food and those with no historical connection to it, and it can be aimed at both consumers inside and outside of the ethnic group. While the dynamic nature of ethnic food makes it difficult to precisely define, it is a useful term for the purposes of this thesis which seeks to understand how the food that traditionally belonged to a minority ethnic group became not just acceptable but desirable to the majority group, even when those within the ethnic group were not always welcomed as ideal migrants to Australia.

Overview of Thesis Structure

The subjects of the four case studies in this thesis are linked not only in that they use Italian ethnicity as a resource for promoting food in various ways, but also in the way that they exploit the meanings and connotations related to ideas of Italy in the Australian imagination. Chapter One, “Leggo’s not-so-Authentico: Invention and Representation in 20th Century Italo-Australian Foodways,” charts the evolution of Anglo-Australian food preserving company Leggo’s. In its early history, the company marketed its products as locally-grown and health-giving, but from the 1950s onwards it progressively presented its products as “authentically” Italian. Why Leggo’s decided to “turn” Italian and how they achieved this feat are the questions at the heart of this chapter. In answering these questions, this chapter demonstrates how those outside the ethnic group can exploit and even invent ethnicity for commercial gain. However, the Italian ethnicity invented by Leggo’s, at least until the 1990s, had very little to do with the culture and traditions of the Italian migrants who had already formed a significant community in Australia. Instead Leggo’s relied on the ideas and images of Glamorous Italy and what they signified to average Anglo-Australian housewives in order to sell them Italian food. Thus, this chapter clearly demonstrates how Italian food could be distanced from any negative connotations which Italian migrants may have held for Anglo-Australian consumers. When Italian migrants gained in status to the point that they were not

just acceptable but even celebrated members of multicultural Australia, we see a shift in the way that the company marketed itself as they drew these now desirable migrants into the construction of their Italian ethnicity.

Chapter Two, on the other hand, tells the history of a company which did have genuine Italian roots. “The Perfect Cheese Company: Ethnic Entrepreneurs and the Business of Relationships” explores how Calabrian immigrant Natale Italiano and his family established and ran a business making and selling ethnic cheese, first to a small Italian community in the 1930s, then to customers of other ethnicities and, finally, to mainstream Anglo-Australians from the middle of the 1950s onwards. In the story of the Perfect Cheese Company, we discover how Italian food produced by Italian people was able to break out of the Italian ethnic community into the mainstream. It was not, as the popular myth suggests, by Anglo-Australians simply discovering, liking and then buying the food, but rather owes a large debt to the agency of innovative Italian migrants such as Italiano who demonstrated that he was able to establish and build successful relationships not just with migrant consumers and Anglo-Australian retailers and consumers, but, crucially, with Australian government officials in the dairy industry and beyond it. This chapter also explores the relationship between Italian ethnicity and Italian food, and shows that Italian ethnicity functioned in all three ways described by Wallman et al. There were points in the Perfect Cheese Company’s history when it was deemed economically advantageous to emphasise its Italian heritage and ethnicity, and the company did utilise connotations of Glamorous Italy in their advertising and marketing, although not to the same extent as Leggo’s did. At other times, however, Italian ethnicity functioned in a neutral way and, in the 1930s in particular, as a negative resource, which the company obscured. This chapter underscores the malleable nature of ethnicity and how it can be manipulated in order to meet the desired goals of the actors involved.

Obscuring ethnicity in a bid to promote Italian culture is the paradox explored in Chapter Three. “Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia’s First Italo-Australian Cookbook” analyses the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* (1937) and documents that a small group of educated Italian migrants who were aligned with fascism produced the anonymously authored book. This chapter explores the reasons why these politically-active Italians would publish such a book, and argues that the men wanted Australians to understand that Italians were the carriers of a high and superior culture, of which food was a critical part, and that Australians could and should learn from them. As the book was published in the mid-1930s, a time when anti-Italian sentiment was on the rise, the men obscured their own Italian ethnicity, as well as the Italian origins of the cookbook, in order to make their message as palatable as possible to mainstream Anglo-Australians. While the Leggo’s and Perfect Cheese chapters provide evidence of how ethnicity can be manipulated to meet economic goals, this study of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* demonstrates how ethnicity can be deployed to meet cultural goals. In attempting to persuade Anglo-Australians that Italians were an asset and not a threat to their society, the book draws on the ideas and connotations of Romantic Italy. However, in 1930s Australia these ideas about Italy had lost much of their potency and there is little evidence to suggest that Anglo-Australians were receptive to the book; but in hindsight it is prophetic of the attitudes that Australians would eventually adopt with regards to both Italian food and Italians themselves.

In contrast to the micro-history approach of Chapter Three, Chapter Four is a large-scale study of 1,263 pasta recipes as they appear in ninety cookbooks which were popular in Australia. “Sweet and Savoury: Pasta in Popular Australian Cookbooks, 1860-1975” examines the diverse uses for which pasta was recommended over a 115-year period, with a particular view to understanding how ethnicity, as it is ascribed to food but not people, functions in these recommendations. This chapter documents that ethnicity is treated neutrally for most of the study period, with cookbook writers not emphasising that pasta is an Italian ingredient or

linked with Italy in any significant way. However, there is a marked increase in the period between 1950 and 1975 in the number of recipes which promote themselves as being Italian, from Italy or inspired by Italy. Part of this change can be attributed to the fact that the cookbook market began to segment during this period, and there are more and more books focusing specifically on foreign and Italian foods. However, there also are more of these recipes in general cookbooks. As was the case with *Leggo's*, the Italian ethnicity associated with these recipes is related not to Australia's Italian migrants, or Italian migrants more widely, but with ideas related to Glamorous Italy. From the 1950s in Australia, cookbook writers began to understand that Italy had cultural capital which they could exploit in order to make their cookbooks more desirable, even if Italian migrants still did not have this status.

Overall, this thesis demonstrates that Italian food, similar to other Italian cultural products in Australia, benefited from positive ideas of Italy which had been in circulation since colonisation. These ideas can be categorised under the umbrellas of Romantic Italy which evoked the high cultural products of Italy, and, from the 1950s onwards, Glamorous Italy, which was born from the aesthetic beauty associated with popular Italian culture and material products. In Australia, food manufacturers and food writers were able to sell Italian food to Anglo-Australians by associating their products and recipes with the Italian-ness of *Lollobrigida* and *La Dolce Vita*, and not with the Italian ethnicity of the migrants who were barely accepted as members of what largely remained a White Australia. Ideas of Italy had cultural capital even though Italian migrants, for the most part, did not: those attempting to sell Italian food, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, knew this.

This thesis also shows how ethnicity can be invented and used as a resource to meet the needs of individuals and groups both inside and outside of the ethnic group in question. The four case studies illustrate, to different degrees, the use of ethnicity as an advantage, as a neutral quality or as a liability. The thesis thus demonstrates the flexible nature of ethnicity

and how its use is dictated by the economic, cultural or social goals that the “inventor” of the ethnicity is attempting to achieve. The four case studies also document how the value of Italian ethnicity has changed. In the 1930s, there are examples of obscuring Italian ethnicity when anti-Italian sentiment is at its highest. In the 1970s and beyond, as Australia re-positions itself as a multicultural and cosmopolitan society, the Italian migrant becomes not just an acceptable migrant, but an exemplary one. It is at this point that food manufacturers and the food media begin to use Italian migrants in their advertising, marketing and copy. Italian migrants have finally gained the cultural capital which ideas of Italy have almost always had in Australia.

It is not the intention of this thesis to downplay the contributions of Italian migrants in the story of Italian food in Australia, nor to discount the impact of material factors such as immigration, economic prosperity or industrialisation. However, it is the aim of this thesis to show that in transcultural spaces, such as Australia, where cultural influences cross and hybridise, conceptual ideas can have as much power as material factors. It also argues that the adoption of foreign food and drink is not a simple, linear narrative, where foreign people bring foreign food and local people adopt them, but rather a nuanced and complicated set of processes which involve both the real and the imagined, the minority culture and the majority, and the constant invention and re-valuing of ethnicity.

Statement of Authorship for Chapter One

Title of Paper	Leggo's Not-so-Authentico: Invention and Representation in 20 th Century Italo-Australian Foodways
Publication Status	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Published <input type="checkbox"/> Accepted for Publication <input type="checkbox"/> Submitted for Publication <input type="checkbox"/> Unpublished and Unsubmitted work written in manuscript style
Publication Details	Ankeny, Rachel A., and Tania Cammarano. "Leggo's Not-so-Authentico: Invention and Representation in Twentieth-Century Italo-Australian Foodways." In <i>Representing Italy Through Food</i> , edited by Peter Naccarato, Zachary Nowak, and Elgin K. Eckert. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.

Principal Author

Name of Principal Author (Candidate)	Tania Cammarano			
Contribution to the Paper	Developed idea and structure, gathered and analysed all primary and secondary sources, rewrote and finalised manuscript.			
Overall percentage (%)	60			
Certification:	This paper reports on original research I conducted during the period of my Higher Degree by Research candidature and is not subject to any obligations or contractual agreements with a third party that would constrain its inclusion in this thesis. I am the primary author of this paper.			
Signature	<table border="1" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;"></td> <td style="width: 20%;">Date</td> <td>15 January 2018</td> </tr> </table>		Date	15 January 2018
	Date	15 January 2018		

Co-Author Contributions

By signing the Statement of Authorship, each author certifies that:

- i. the candidate's stated contribution to the publication is accurate (as detailed above);
- ii. permission is granted for the candidate to include the publication in the thesis; and
- iii. the sum of all co-author contributions is equal to 100% less the candidate's stated contribution.

Name of Co-Author	Rachel A. Ankeny			
Contribution to the Paper	Supervised development and refinement of work, wrote initial draft of manuscript, edited and refined manuscript.			
Signature	<table border="1" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;"></td> <td style="width: 20%;">Date</td> <td>15 January 2018</td> </tr> </table>		Date	15 January 2018
	Date	15 January 2018		

Chapter One: Leggo's not-so-Authentico: Invention and Representation in 20th Century Italo-Australian Foodways

Introduction: Leggo's is Italian...Isn't It?

Leggo's is a popular Australian range of foodstuffs. The brand's flagship product is tomato paste but it is also used to sell pasta sauces, tomato passata and a variety of fresh and frozen pasta-related items.¹⁷⁹ The distinctive deep red, white and gold packaging and the use of slogans such as "the authentic Italian touch," "for authentic Italian flavour" and "Leggo's authentico! [sic]," leads casual observers to conclude that Leggo's is an Italian brand, or at the very least, one that has Italian origins, when in fact, it does not. The story of Leggo's, and how it "turned" Italian, is a fascinating tale of a company recognising that changes in Australian society and attitudes toward Italian food and migrants as the country became increasingly multicultural meant that developing an "authentic" Italian identity made good business sense. Evidence of this is the brand's success: in the tomato paste category, Leggo's holds a 73.2 per cent share of the Australian market, which has an overall value of AU\$58.5 million per year. In the shelf-stable pasta sauce category as a whole, which includes tomato paste, Leggo's leads with 36.4 per cent of a market estimated to be worth \$281 million annually.¹⁸⁰ In a list of Australia's best-loved brands, "Leggo's tomato products" are ranked at number 31 and Leggo's is an integral part of the "national dinner": "[a]s we noted, it's spagbol [spaghetti bolognese], usually made with San Remo pasta and Leggo [sic] tomato paste."¹⁸¹

The history of Leggo's gives a case of how Italian food came to be represented and supported by an invented sense of "authenticity" in order to create a distinct Italo-Australian product. In this chapter, we trace the evolution of this brand of products, and demonstrate how Leggo's

¹⁷⁹ See <http://leggos.com.au/our-range> for the full range of Leggo's products.

¹⁸⁰ "Market Sizes and Shares," *Retail World* 68, no. 13 (December 2015): 44–91.

¹⁸¹ AC Nielsen data quoted in David Dale, *The Little Book of Australia* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2010), 166; David Dale, "Who We Are: From Impulse to Mouth," *Sun-Herald*, 2009, http://blogs.sunherald.com.au/whoweare/archives/2009/06/who_we_are_eati.html (site discontinued). Notably San Remo is another Australian-based company producing Italo-Australian foods.

became a truly hybridised and quintessentially Italo-Australian product, despite its Anglo origins, through a series of marketing and advertising campaigns. This change was evolutionary rather than revolutionary, as we show through a detailed examination of advertising, branded cookbooks, company records and newspaper reports. We argue that Leggo's transformed itself through four distinct phases of marketing, using the brand to promote the goodness of Bendigo tomatoes in the early half of the 20th century, developing an Italian accent in the 1950s, aligning itself with the glamour of Italian icon Gina Lollobrigida in the 1970s, and becoming a fully-fledged Italo-Australian product by the end of the century with the help of cooking doyenne Margaret Fulton, ex-Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and Italo-Australians themselves. Over time, the company recognised the importance of harnessing various changing meanings associated with Italian food in Australia, ranging from sophistication and glamour through to innovation and the association of Italian food with conviviality, thus allowing the product to remain popular despite major sociocultural changes.

The voluminous literature on authenticity of food products and traditions has clearly established that many representations of authenticity are ill-founded, if the term is taken to imply that the "same" ingredients and processes as found in the context of origin are in use within the new locale.¹⁸² So perhaps more precisely, authenticity is that which is believed or accepted to be genuine, real or true to itself.¹⁸³ Against the backdrop of ever evolving and increasingly globalised foodways, it is clear that representations of authenticity often are

¹⁸² See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Linda Keller Brown, *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*, ed. Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984); Regina Bendix, "Diverging Paths in the Scientific Search for Authenticity," *Journal of Folklore Research* 29, no. 2 (1992): 103–32; Ben Highmore, "The Taj Mahal in the High Street: The Indian Restaurant as Diasporic Popular Culture in Britain," *Food, Culture & Society* 12, no. 2 (2009): 173–90.

¹⁸³ Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).

contrived to suit various purposes, such as to market a product or tourist locale,¹⁸⁴ or to inspire a sense of nationalistic pride. Assertions about authenticity typically are accompanied by complex narratives which position the product or foodway, and implicitly make relational claims: something is authentic as compared to something else, which may be real or imagined. Hence “[a]uthenticity is not an objective criterion but is socially constructed and linked to expectations.”¹⁸⁵ It is precisely these processes of expectations and social construction and their representation which are critical to explore in the context of 20th century foodways, particularly in multicultural societies such as Australia, and which are illustrative of wider cultural trends which have important implications beyond the history of food.

Background

H. M. Leggo & Co. was founded by Henry Madren Leggo, who was born in 1869 to Cornish migrants in Eaglehawk, a district of Bendigo, about 150 kilometres from Melbourne. While company literature often gives the company’s foundation year as 1881 or 1882, the *Bendigo Advertiser* reported that Leggo started working for merchant Frederick Rickards in 1882, became a partner in 1891 and started trading as H. M. Leggo and Co. after buying out Rickards in 1894.¹⁸⁶ Legend has it that Leggo sold his mother’s tomato relish to the gold miners in Bendigo when he was just 13.¹⁸⁷ Another story claims that a Spaniard gave Leggo the recipe for tomato sauce,¹⁸⁸ and in fact Spanish migrants to Bendigo were pioneers of the area’s tomato industry.¹⁸⁹ By 1918, when the company went public, in addition to tomato products,

¹⁸⁴ Dean MacCannell, “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings,” *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589–603.

¹⁸⁵ Shun Lu and Gary Alan Fine, “The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment,” *Sociological Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (1995): 535.

¹⁸⁶ Douglas Lockwood, ed., *Annals of Bendigo. The Sixth Section. Years 1936 to 1950* (Bendigo, Vic.: Sandhurst Building Society, 1981).

¹⁸⁷ Sandra Bruce, *Beginning in Bendigo: From Humble Origins to a Captured Market* (Bendigo, Vic.: Bendigo Art Gallery, 2011).

¹⁸⁸ Ann Wright quoted in Al Grassby, *The Spanish in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1983).

¹⁸⁹ Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*.

Leggo's produced, manufactured and packaged a wide range including jams, bacon, canned fruit, coffee, flour and biscuits.¹⁹⁰ Despite its status as a public company, Leggo's remained a family-run business until 1955 when John Foster bought a controlling interest.¹⁹¹ Company records from 1924 to 1957 show that none of the original or subsequent directors have names with identifiably Italian origins.¹⁹² In 1958, Leggo's was bought by Associated Canneries, which in the following year was renamed Harvest Foods, and its products were produced along with others in the Harvest Foods portfolio. In 1966, the Australian division of Dutch multinational East Asiatic Company bought a large percentage of shares and installed Dutch directors; it changed the name to EAC Plumrose in 1972, and in turn was acquired in 1993 by Pacific Dunlop.¹⁹³ In 1995, Simplot Australia, a wholly-owned subsidiary of its US parent company, took over the company and remains the present-day owner of the Leggo's brand.¹⁹⁴

All five owners of the Leggo's brand during the 20th century to varying degrees promoted Leggo's as an "Italian" product, as will be shown. We outline four distinct phases of marketing, concentrating on Leggo's canned tomato products, for several reasons: canned tomato products were produced by the company for its entire history and have been most widely marketed and represented as in some sense "Italian," following their adoption as a focal point for the company's Italian "shift."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ University of Melbourne Archives (hereafter UMA), J. B. Were and Son Collection, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co Ltd, Prospectus of H. M. Leggo and Company Limited, 1918.

¹⁹¹ "H. M. Leggo Sells to John Foster: Expansion Plans," *Sun*, July 1, 1955, 20.

¹⁹² UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co Ltd, Directors' Reports and Balance Sheets, 1924–1957.

¹⁹³ Australian Stock Exchange, *The 1998 ASX Delisted Companies Book 1929 to 1998* (Brisbane: Australian Stock Exchange Limited, 1998); Neil Shoebridge, "How PacDun Bit Off More Than It Can Chew," *BRW*, April 3, 1995, 44.

¹⁹⁴ Ian Jarrett, "Rejuvenating the Humble Pie," *Asian Business* 32, no. 6 (1996): 23.

¹⁹⁵ The time periods provided for the four stages are slightly fluid due to limits in the source materials available for some of the period in question, for instance the lack of display advertising from 1925–57; we have utilised other types of evidence, such as annual reports, classified advertising, and so on, to attempt to reconstruct the relevant marketing campaigns to support our arguments.

Bendigo Roots, 1910s to 1925

Three main themes can be detected in Leggo's advertising of this early period: an emphasis on the provenance of Bendigo; claims about use of the "Progress Red" tomato; and a focus on the health-giving properties of the products and the Leggo's process for making them. A 1913 advertisement for Leggo's Tomato Sauce highlighting the centrality of the Victorian gold mining town is typical: "'Leggo's' claims to be the Original Genuine 'Bendigo' Tomato Sauce—EVERY bottle of which is made in Bendigo, the Home of good tomatoes and the HOME of LEGGO'S SAUCE TOMATOES, grown in their own plantations under expert supervision."¹⁹⁶ The insistence on "Bendigo" prompts us to ask what was so special about tomatoes from this region? While the town was best known for the gold rush that occurred there in the 1850s, once gold began to dwindle, tomato growing began: a 1919 account of the industry states that while many believed the soil of Bendigo was good only for gold, Spaniards met with success: "Now the reputation of Bendigo tomatoes is such that the street barrow-ers of Melbourne invariably label their wares 'Ripe Bendigo tomatoes,' no matter in what district they were grown."¹⁹⁷ By 1939, with many large sauce making companies now operating tomato pulping plants in Bendigo, it was claimed that "[t]he Bendigo tomato is unexcelled for sauce making, and the table variety is known throughout Australia."¹⁹⁸

In addition to highlighting the provenance of its tomatoes, Leggo's stressed the type of tomato they used—the "Progress Red." A 1914 advertisement for soup emphasises the use of "'Progress Reds' Picked at Early Morn! and picked *especially* for 'Leggo's' ...with a flavor only possible in specially cultured Tomatoes such as grown by Leggo's in their own plantations in

¹⁹⁶ "Leggo's Tomato Sauce," *Argus*, October 15, 1913, 13, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7244694>.

¹⁹⁷ "Bendigo Industries. No.2. Rural Production. Tomatoes and Fruit," *Argus*, August 7, 1919, 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4707908>.

¹⁹⁸ "Gateway to North. Bendigo on Wave of Prosperity," *Age*, July 22, 1939, 30, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article204932309>.

there [sic] Famous Bendigo Valley, under expert supervision... 'Progress Reds' are the the [sic] ONLY tomatoes used..."¹⁹⁹

However, both the stress on Bendigo and Progress Reds begins to dwindle as the 1920s continue. A 1925 recipe booklet produced by the company has only one mention of Bendigo origins and none of "Progress Reds." Instead it concentrates on the health-giving properties of Leggo's products, and the special "process" that makes them so healthy. This theme was not new: in 1913, the consumer is urged to remember "IT'S THE PROCESS" that makes "Leggo's Sauce the best," while another advertisement in the same year mentions the "wholesome [and] nutritious" nature of Leggo's soup.²⁰⁰ But the 1925 booklet is dominated by the message that Leggo's products are good for you: "The reason is to be found in Leggo's method of processing...[t]his is the reason that makes Leggo's Tomtato [sic] Soup higher in its percentage of Protein, Fat, Carbohydrates and Ash..."²⁰¹

Why did Leggo's de-emphasise both Bendigo and Progress Reds, in favour of health claims?

First, shortages of Bendigo tomatoes in this period meant that Leggo's probably sourced tomatoes from elsewhere: a 1929 article notes that a letter was received by various firms in Far North Queensland from H. M. Leggo noting the shortages of tomatoes in Victoria, asking for "co-operation locally" and providing a variety of seeds for tomatoes, including but not limited to Progress Reds.²⁰² Thus it is probable that the tomatoes being used were no longer coming from Bendigo, nor were they exclusively Progress Reds. Also by 1926, Leggo's was sending its tomato pulp from Bendigo to Melbourne to be manufactured.²⁰³ This move meant

¹⁹⁹ "'Progress Reds' Picked at Early Morn!," *Argus*, February 4, 1914, 13, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7289114>.

²⁰⁰ "Leggo's Tomato Sauce," *Argus*, March 5, 1913, 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article10769914>; "The True Flavor of Vine-Ripened Tomatoes," *Argus*, December 31, 1913, 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article7274274>.

²⁰¹ H. M. Leggo & Co. Ltd., *Flavory Fruits and Savory Soups and Their Recipes: Containing Also Valuable Hints and Information on Food Value of Fruits and Vegetables*, 6th ed. (Melbourne: H. M. Leggo, 1925), 11.

²⁰² "Bowen Notes," *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, July 4, 1929, 11, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60245425>.

²⁰³ "H. M. Leggo Pty. Ltd. Removal From Bendigo 'Unjust Railway Freights,'" *Argus*, January 26, 1926, 12, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3731099>.

that the company could no longer claim, as they had in 1913, that “EVERY bottle...is made in Bendigo.”²⁰⁴ Further, many other sauce making factories were processing tomatoes in Bendigo by the late 1930s, so Bendigo and its special tomatoes were no longer a unique selling point.²⁰⁵ The distinctive Leggo’s “process” would continue to be used as a marketing device into the future, in a variety of ways. But what is clear from this early history is that the abandonment of initial marketing campaigns was not related to a turn toward representing the product in terms of its Italian “roots.”

An Italian Accent, 1950s to 1975

What we have termed the “Italian Accent” period dates from the early 1950s to the mid-1970s.²⁰⁶ During this phase, the recipes, styling and labelling on the cans suggest connections to Italy, but there are no explicit claims that Leggo’s *is* in any sense Italian. Tomato paste was the most prominent product to be rebranded with Italian connotations, as is clear from illustrations of the can which includes the use of the Italian language that date to 1957.²⁰⁷ There is evidence to suggest that Leggo’s was making tomato paste as early as 1930, but the company was manufacturing a tomato paste-like product much earlier under the name of “Tomatis.”²⁰⁸ Classified advertisements between 1926 and 1935 suggest that “Tomatis” was a concentrated tomato product, easily eaten on bread or with meats, and portable enough to take on picnics, but not directly connected in any way to Italian foodways.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ “Leggo’s Tomato Sauce,” October 15, 1913, 13.

²⁰⁵ “Gateway to North. Bendigo on Wave of Prosperity.”

²⁰⁶ Although there is a lack of materials available in the 1960s, there are strong continuities between the documentation of marketing campaigns in the 1950s and the cookbook produced in 1970.

²⁰⁷ See “Just Five Simple Ingredients and Leggo’s Tomato Paste,” *Australian Women’s Weekly*, October 23, 1957, 14, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48207245>.

²⁰⁸ “Leggo Concentrated Tomato Paste” was advertised in the classified advertisement: “Savings for Cash at Foreman’s,” *Morning Bulletin*, March 26, 1930, 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article55358409>. UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co Ltd, Prospectus of H. M. Leggo and Company Limited, 1918.

²⁰⁹ Classified advertisements featuring Tomatis include “R. Davis & Sons,” *Morning Bulletin*, January 11, 1926, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article55252152>; “Johnstone & Wilmot Pty. Ltd.,” *Examiner*, August 25, 1926, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article51359415>; “Thos. Kelly & Sons Ltd.,” *Morning Bulletin*, April 22, 1927, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article54345084>; “Boans,” *Sunday Times*, March 31, 1935, 12, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/58755028>. It roughly corresponds with a product

Leggo's had clear competitors in the tomato paste market. According to a 1935 Italian-language newspaper report on the tomato-preserving industry in Australia, factories producing preserved tomato products similar to those found in Italy had only been operating in Australia for a "very few years."²¹⁰ For instance, Rosella manufactured tomato paste and regularly advertised their tomato products in *Il Giornale Italiano* from 1932 onwards as "the perfect substitute for original Italian sauces, extracts and concentrates."²¹¹ In addition to Leggo's and Rosella, tomato paste was produced in the 1950s and 1960s by Brookes, Kia Ora, Tom Piper, Alfa, La Tosca and La Gina; the latter two companies were Italian migrant-owned, and imported products also were available in major Australian cities. In an indication of the target audience for tomato paste products, a 1956 *Australasian Grocer* article states that Tom Piper Tomato Paste was "primarily introduced to meet the demands of New Australian housewives," meaning recent migrants during the major waves of Italian immigration that occurred in the 1950 and 1960s, though it also notes it is "becoming increasingly popular with Australian women as a means of bringing the goodness of tomatoes into a greater number of dishes."²¹²

Use of Italian language on can labelling, as we have already noted, dates back to at least 1957, but there is circumstantial evidence that Leggo's had already started using Italian on their cans in 1953 or 1954, for instance in the subtitle of the *Leggo's Golden Anniversary Cookbook*

traditionally made in southern Italian households by pureeing then sun-drying tomatoes until they form a thick peel-like substance which can be more easily stored for use in seasons when fresh tomatoes are not available but there is no evidence of any connection to this foodway.

²¹⁰ Authors' translation of "da pochissimi anni" in "Industria Delle Conserve Di Pomodoro," *Il Giornale Italiano*, April 24, 1935, 6, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83039927>. *Il Giornale Italiano* was primarily an Italian-language newspaper published in Australia from 1932 to 1940.

²¹¹ Rosella advertised in *Il Globo* in 1962, noting that it had produced "La migliore [c]onserva da oltre 60 anni" ("the best tomato paste for over sixty years") which would imply it was producing these tomato products as early as 1902 in "Rosella Tomato Paste," *Il Globo*, January 2, 1962, 6.; Authors' translation of "i piu perfetti sostituti delle salse estratti e concentrati di pomodori originali Italiani" in "Rosella," *Il Giornale Italiano*, March 26, 1932, 5, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/83027751>.

²¹² "Tom Piper Tomato Paste Has Many Uses," *Australasian Grocer*, December 1956, 35.

(2003)—“50 years of teaching Italian”—implies that 1953 was the year Leggo’s began promoting “Italian” cooking through their products.²¹³

More generally, the 1950s were a time of great change at Leggo’s, including a major restructuring in 1952 which left no one with a Leggo surname on the board.²¹⁴ In an interesting link with Rosella, who as noted had been advertising in Italian-language newspapers since the 1930s, a Mr J. Chippindalle, previously of Rosella and H.J. Heinz, was appointed works manager.²¹⁵ In 1953, the company suffered a massive loss of £40,565 and shareholders at the general meeting suggested Leggo’s be wound up, but the move was rejected.²¹⁶ In 1954–5, John Foster Investments Pty. Ltd. bought the majority of the shares in the company and a 1955 article announcing the buyout, detailed the company’s new strategy: “[It] would expand the present products of H. M. Leggo and a move would be made to develop extensively concentrated food products from vegetables and fruits. Tomato concentrate would be given special attention...”²¹⁷ By 1957, the Chairman could tell shareholders that “[y]our company has embarked on a completely new marketing programme designed to penetrate the national market on a much wider scale.”²¹⁸

The outcomes of the new marketing plan can be seen in advertisements which appeared in *The Australian Women’s Weekly* and major metropolitan newspapers: the new focus was

²¹³ Whereas 1954 is implied as the date of a can change in an analysis of *The Australasian Grocer*, the official magazine of the Grocers’ Association of Victoria, which carried a list of recommended retail prices for a wide range of grocery products. In June 1954, Leggo’s has four can sizes of tomato paste listed, but in July, there is no longer a listing for Leggo’s tomato paste. In September 1954, a Leggo’s product reappears in the listing and is now described as “Leggo’s Triplo Concentrate” which hints at a change of packaging in this period. A can dating to 1959 clearly reads “Triplo Concentrato di Pomodoro” [triple concentrate of tomato] and “vero frutto di Pomodoro” [the true fruit of the tomato] amongst other Italian phrases, although none of this is highlighted in the advertising associated with this can labelling.

²¹⁴ UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co Ltd, Chairman’s Address, 9 October 1952.

²¹⁵ UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co Ltd, Chairman’s Address, 9 October 1952.

²¹⁶ “Winding-up Move Defeated,” *Examiner*, October 30, 1953, 14, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/61107915>.

²¹⁷ “H. M. Leggo Sells to John Foster: Expansion Plans,” 20.

²¹⁸ UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co Ltd, The Stock Exchange Official Record—H. M. Leggo & Co. Ltd., December 1957.

clearly on Leggo's tomato paste (as well as pickles). For instance, a 1957 advertisement features a recipe and image for "Spaghetti Marinara," describing it as "the tastiest Spaghetti this side of Napoli." Although there are many "Italian" signifiers represented in this advertisement (for example, pasta is pictured accompanied by glasses of red wine and a bottle of Chianti and the Italian-language can is visible), there is no claim that Leggo's product is Italian, which is a key difference between this period and the next, as will be shown. Instead the advertisement tells the reader that "whenever a recipe says 'tomatoes' then you need Leggo's Tomato Paste—a five times concentrate of the pick of glowing, sun ripe tomatoes." The advertisement suggests that Leggo's tomato paste be used "to add richer, fuller flavour to soups, sauces, casseroles; and for some real cooking fun, try continental dishes using Leggo's Tomato Paste, like the easy to prepare, easy-on-the-pocket Spaghetti Marinara here..."²¹⁹ The tagline which became popular in this period—"Leggo's makes meals magic!"—does not communicate Italian-ness or Italian roots in any specific way.²²⁰

In 1959, the same Italian-language labelling is featured on a can pictured in the Annual Report, with the only change being the deletion of the name of the company because it is now a fully-owned subsidiary of Associated Canneries (soon to be Harvest Foods). "Tipo Italiano" replaces "Melbourne, Victoria, Australia" at least on the front of the can, further obscuring the origins of the product.²²¹ The new owners believed Leggo's had a bright future, despite already having its own range of canned vegetables and meats; the 1959 Chairman's Address notes

²¹⁹ Note this advertisement makes reference to "continental," rather than Italian, cooking, and introduces the idea that continental cooking is "fun," a theme exploited in later Leggo's cookbooks. It may well be that continental is a euphemism for Italian in a period when there was considerable tensions among the Anglo majority regarding the increasing number of Italian migrants. The term was used in this period to describe cooking from non-British European countries and, sometimes, all foreign food. In the 1950s, continental cooking was the activity of fashionable Australian housewives, and was seen as glamorous; it was closely related to the popular representations of 1950s European and especially Italian culture presented by the large city department stores, rather than having any real connections to the culture of the increasing numbers of Italian migrants arriving in Australia at this time.

²²⁰ "Just Five Simple Ingredients and Leggo's Tomato Paste," 14.

²²¹ UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 283, Harvest Foods Ltd, Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Annual Report 1959.

that “[i]t is not the Board’s intention to lose the well-known and respected brand name of Leggo’s in favour of Harvest, but gradually to blend the two names so that they will, in time, become synonymous.”²²² The 1959 Annual Report lists tomato paste and pickles amongst the leaders in the company’s product range: these products “have established a wide consumer demand, and show most economic returns.”²²³

The 1960s was a quiet period for Leggo’s in terms of advertising, but products being produced according to a list in the 1963 Annual Report under the Leggo’s brand include a range of pickles and condiments as well as tomato paste, tomato puree and tomato sauce; in 1966, peeled tomatoes are added to the product range.²²⁴

By 1969, now under the direction of EAC Plumrose, the Annual Report states, “The advertising campaign conducted during the year for LEGGO tomato paste contributed towards lifting the sales of this product substantially and consolidating the LEGGO brand as the market leader in the tomato paste field.”²²⁵ Although material evidence of this advertising campaign is lacking, there are other indicators that Leggo’s had begun to promote its products specifically to an “ethnic” market. For example, “Continental Foodstore” Robilotta’s features Leggo’s *Triplo Concentrato di Pomodoro* in a 1967 advertisement in *La Fiamma*, and Leggo’s Tomato Paste is the focus of a 1969 advertisement spot on an Italian-language radio show in Sydney.²²⁶

However, the *Leggo’s Tomato Paste Good Cooks’ Book*, published in 1970, is aimed at a mainstream consumer audience. In this period, “the goodness of tomatoes” still trumped the presentation of products as “authentically Italian.” Nevertheless, the book is dominated by Italian-inspired recipes and contains an entire section titled “Tomato Paste and Pasta...Italian

²²² UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 283, Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Chairman’s Address to Annual General Meeting, 30 October 1959.

²²³ UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 283, Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Annual Report 1959.

²²⁴ UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 283, Harvest Foods Limited Annual Report 1963 and 1966.

²²⁵ UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 283, Harvest Foods Limited Annual Report 1969.

²²⁶ “Robilotta’s Continental Foodstore,” *La Fiamma*, July 29, 1967, 30; “Radio 2CH Advertising 1969 To 1970,” The Legacy of Mamma Lena and Dino Gustin, accessed September 26, 2016, <http://www.mammalena.info/2CH/radio2ch.htm>.

Style.” It notes that “[n]othing suits the flavour of pasta and pizza as well as tomato paste. Which really isn’t so surprising because Italy’s the place where tomato paste originated. So for a really authentic Italian dish always put Leggo’s Tomato Paste alongside the pasta.”²²⁷ The book also contains a “quick ideas” section with tips for using tomato paste in non-Italian dishes such as sausage rolls and recipes in the casseroles section includes Tropical Curry and Chilli Con Carne (“to capture the flavour of Mexico”). Overall, the emphasis in this cookbook is on using Leggo’s tomato paste to add interest and versatility to cooking, to save time, and most importantly, to add concentrated tomato flavor.²²⁸ By the end of this period, the company and its products have an increasingly stronger Italian accent, but claims about Italian origins remain limited.

Italian Glamour, 1975 to 1978

The use of iconic Italian star Gina Lollobrigida to promote a company-authored cookbook changed Leggo’s from a brand that made products that could be used in Italian cooking (among other uses) to one which represented and even embodied, in their words, the “vera cucina Italiana’—the true cooking of Italy.”²²⁹ *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook* of 1975 was one of the first exclusively “Italian” recipe books published in Australia and was extremely well-received.²³⁰ The book introduces new products in the Leggo’s range—all with explicitly

²²⁷ *Leggo’s Tomato Paste Good Cooks’ Book* (Sydney: Woman’s Day, 1970), 11.

²²⁸ *Leggo’s Tomato Paste Good Cooks’ Book*, 11.

²²⁹ *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook* (Moorabbin, Vic.; Dee Why West, NSW: Lansdowne Press for Plumrose Australia, 1975), 3. Note this sort of use of Italian culinary capital long preceded its use in the United States and potentially elsewhere: see Nowak, “Café Au Lait to Latte: Charting the Acquisition of Culinary Capital by Italian Food in the United States.”

²³⁰ A 1975 Leggo’s advertisement states the first print run sold out within months, prompting a reprint in its first year as well as in 1977, 1979, and 1980 in “Give Someone a Touch of Italy This Christmas. The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook,” *Australian Women’s Weekly*, November 26, 1975, 167, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article57635933>. A 1981 article by Leggo’s marketing director Maurie Ryding noted that sales of the book had exceeded 100,000, tying the book specifically to Leggo’s new “marketing concept”: Maurie Ryding, “Marketing Concept Is Paying Off for Leggo’s,” *Retail World* 34, no. 8 (April 1981): 16.

“Italian” marketing, such as Leggo’s Chunky Tomato Italienne and Leggo’s Spaghetti Sauce with Beef.

In fact, the 1975 recipe book does not contain many original recipes but borrows heavily from the 1970 book. A comparison between the recipes as printed in 1970 and 1975 shows how Leggo’s attempted to enhance the “Italian-ness” of the recipes and hence the associated products (see Figure 12.2 in Appendix A).

The Gina Lollobrigida campaign which ran from 1975 to 1977 lent a certain Italian sophistication to Leggo’s products, and put the glamour in this phase. It featured the famous Italian actress in a sparkling gold gown holding a glass of champagne. In the flagship ad, which was a double-page spread, we see Gina on one side and opposite the range of Leggo’s tomato products. The headline “Gina, Leggo’s and You—A beautiful connection that promises to give your cooking that authentic Italian touch” aims to convince the Australian housewife that she too can access the glamour of Italy through Leggo’s products. Gina, however, looks like she has never cooked, let alone cooked in Australia. The copy begs to differ: “Beautiful Gina Lollobrigida. No matter where she is, she always likes to give her cooking that magic touch of Italy. So when in Australia, Gina uses Leggo’s Tomato Products.” Hence there is a clear shift in this phase to representing these products as high class and desirable, rather than merely useful and (in some sense) authentic. This advertisement also is clearly linked to promotion of the cookbook, with a voucher for the cookbook included.²³¹

In the series of ads, Gina’s clothes and pose do not change, and her connection to Leggo’s remains rather unbelievable, despite one providing a recipe that is “Gina’s Favourite” and a second where “Gina presents two new sauces from Leggo’s.”²³² In another, it is claimed that despite being in Australia, Gina can do what Italians do because she has “discovered the true

²³¹ “Gina, Leggo’s and You,” *Australian Women’s Weekly*, July 30, 1975, 24–25, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article47122104>.

²³² “Gina’s Favourite Recipe—No. 1,” *Australian Women’s Weekly*, July 16, 1975, 32, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article43459006>; “Gina Presents Two New Sauces From Leggo’s,” *Australian Women’s Weekly*, October 1, 1975, 60, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article55186231>.

taste of home, in Leggo's Italian Tomato Paste...the one made to an authentic Italian recipe"— and the implication is so can the reader.²³³

Despite the added Italian glamour, many of the messages represented in this campaign are the same as those in the 1975 cookbook: the tomato paste is “made to an authentic Italian recipe”; Chunky Tomato ‘Italienne’ Sauce “gives you an authentic Italian sauce for meats”; Spaghetti sauce with Beef is “[a]nother ‘Instant Italian’ masterpiece”; and Leggo's Peeled Roma Tomatoes are made with “whole juicy Roma tomatoes (Italy's own tomato).”²³⁴ An indication that Leggo's has seriously embraced its “Italian” identity is that it stops promoting products which do not fit this picture: for instance, the last advertisement for Leggo's pickles in *The Australian Women's Weekly* is in 1973.²³⁵ After this time, Leggo's appears to have concentrated almost exclusively on Italian-related products, at least in its advertising.²³⁶ Hence the emphasis is very much on the most common tagline utilised in these ads: “The Authentic Italian Touch.” Through these efforts to represent its products, the company is able to re-brand itself as “Italian” (or at least Italo-Australian) and simultaneously to cash in on and help to shape the culinary prestige that Italy came to have in Australia in this period.

Authentically Italo-Australian, 1978 to the present day

In 1978, Leggo's enters its fourth and final phase: it becomes “authentically” Italo-Australian, meaning it represents itself as a hybrid of the two cultures. It achieves this identity by first changing the packaging of its products, then hiring a series of high-profile, non-Italian Australians to promote its products in some cases in (bastardised) Italian with subtitles, and

²³³ “When in Australia, Gina Still Does as the Italians Do...,” *Australian Women's Weekly*, May 11, 1977, 163, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article44560369>.

²³⁴ “Gina, Leggo's and You,” 24–25.

²³⁵ “New Spreadable Sandwich Pickles from Leggo's,” *Australian Women's Weekly*, February 14, 1973, 79, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article46458139>.

²³⁶ The company did advertise Leggo's Manwich in “New Leggo's Manwich,” *Australian Women's Weekly*, November 5, 1975, 64, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article55186655>, which appears to have been a short-lived product likely picked up from its parent company. According to their website, Leggo's still currently produces two pickle products, but these are not mass marketed in the way their Italian products are.

finally by associating its products for the first time with the cooking of Italo-Australian migrants themselves.

The 1959 and 1975 cans, aside from font changes, contain largely the same text. The change in packaging in 1978 reduces the amount of Italian language on the can, eliminating phrases such as “Vero Frutto di Pomodoro”; the terms “Tipo Italiano” and “Triplo Concentrato di Pomodoro” remain but they are made less obvious by rendering them in a cursive font. The phrase “made to an authentic Italian recipe” is added.²³⁷ The reduction in Italian language labelling and the inclusion of more English indicates that the company is attempting to reposition itself and its brand. This is a clear move away from the Italian-ness personified by Lollobrigida to a more accessible product for the average Australian. The labelling and marketing appear to indicate that the product is still an authentic Italian one, but also a product of the country that created it, Australia.

Enter Margaret Fulton, one of the most widely recognised authorities on Australian cooking, as the new spokesperson for Leggo’s.²³⁸ Together with the increase in English language descriptions on Leggo’s labels, Fulton gives the brand a much more domestic, down-to-earth and, ultimately, Australian identity. The imagery used in advertising with Fulton reinforces this impression. There is much more physical connection between Fulton and Leggo’s products: for instance she actually holds a can of Leggo’s tomato paste, something “La Gina” never did.²³⁹

A 1978 series of advertisements features different recipes—some from the 1975 cookbook, others new—and accompanying them is Fulton sharing her “hints” and “secrets.” Unlike the

²³⁷ Interestingly, this 1978 advertisement claims the new label celebrates Leggo’s tomato paste’s 30th anniversary as the leading tomato paste, which dates the product to 1948, but we have found no other evidence to support this claim. See Leggo’s Tomato Paste, “*Australian Women’s Weekly*, May 24, 1978, 139, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article51594445>.

²³⁸ For the importance of Margaret Fulton’s role in Australian cooking, see Colin Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary History* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1998).

²³⁹ For a photo of Fulton holding a Leggo’s can, see Marcus Tarrant, *Leggo’s Libro Di Cucina per L’Anniversario D’Oro/Leggo’s Golden Anniversary Cookbook* (Cheltenham, Vic.: Simplot Australia, 2003), 3.

advertisements in the previous era, the recipes are not exclusively Italian. One for “Steak Dianne [sic]” (a dish commonly thought to have American-French origins) involves the addition of tomato paste which is atypical for the dish.²⁴⁰ Use of a recipe like Steak Diane, a classic of Australian 1970s cooking, together with Fulton herself, indicates a clear desire to popularise the Leggo’s brand among average Australian housewives.²⁴¹

In 1980, Leggo’s introduces a range of dried pasta products, described by their marketing director Maurie Ryding as a “natural” extension to what, by 1981, are “four product groups...integrated under the banner of ‘Italian style’ food”: tomato products, tomato paste, instant sauces and pasta.²⁴² The above is advertised by Fulton in thirty-second television spots as well as display ads notably in *The Australian Women’s Weekly*.²⁴³ Other campaigns in the early 1980s still communicated a certain level of “Italian-ness,” including one that focused on Leggo’s pasta featuring actor Bob Ruggiero.²⁴⁴

Leggo’s cookbook in this period (published in 1982) is much more sophisticated than the 1975 version, using images relating to “high” Italian culture such as a violin and an Italian-language newspaper, and in its wording which drops much of the whimsy of the earlier volume, even if, by and large, the recipes are basically the same. However, there is an increased emphasis on Italian regions in this book: in the 1975 cookbook, regions were acknowledged only in passing, while in 1982, a whole section is devoted to the regionality of Italian cooking: “Italy has one of the most wonderfully varied cuisines in the world. This is because, at heart, it’s intensely regional.”²⁴⁵ This new emphasis could imply those marketing Leggo’s products understand that its market is developing more sophisticated Italian tastes, or it could be a way to

²⁴⁰ “Leggo’s Steak Dianne,” *Australian Women’s Weekly*, August 2, 1978, 131, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article58568102>.

²⁴¹ A recipe for Steak Diane is included in Pamela Clark, *Classics: The Australian Women’s Weekly* (Sydney: ACP Books, 2009).

²⁴² Ryding, “Marketing Concept Is Paying Off for Leggo’s,” 16.

²⁴³ “Only Leggo’s,” *Retail World* 34, no. 8 (April 1981): 14–15.

²⁴⁴ “Leggo’s ‘Al Dente’ Pasta” (Australia: Pacific Dunlop, 1984).

²⁴⁵ *Leggo’s Italian Cookbook* (Moorabbin, Vic.; Dee Why West, NSW: Plumrose (Australia) distributed by Lansdowne Press, 1982), 9.

introduce new products into the market, for instance Leggo's Spaghetti Sauce Napolitana is a new product featured in 1982 and not present in the 1975 book.²⁴⁶

Nevertheless, the chapters on the tomato and pasta acknowledge that these two products are Italian because, in the case of tomatoes: "...there's one ingredient no Italian cook worth his 'sal' would ever be without. And that's the tomato...[It] lends its special zest to every part of the Italian cuisine...A plate of juicy sliced tomatoes, their rich redness contrasting vividly with the bright green of spicy fresh basil leaves is a treat for the sight and senses that's truly Italian."²⁴⁷ Hence despite increasing awareness of regionality, Leggo's continues to use familiar imagery to sell "Italian" food as a relatively homogenous entity.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Leggo's began to use "Leggo's Autentico! [sic]" as the brand slogan.²⁴⁸ Whether they have misspelt "autentico" on purpose is a key (but unanswerable) question. Was the misspelling an "Italo-Australianism" designed to show that the company was embodying two different cultures that were increasingly hybridised, or was it just a mistake made by a non-Italian speaking marketing team? Regardless of intent, the outcome has been that the catchphrase still in use today communicates the Australian-ness of what is perceived to be an "Italian" brand.

Leggo's "Talking Italian" campaign launched in 1999 featuring a series of well-known Australians took this sort of hybridisation one step further. Ads featured celebrities poking fun at themselves, with perhaps the most memorable of these being the ad starring former Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, who promoted Leggo's products in Italian with English subtitles. The Whitlam advertisement capitalised on two key well-known facts: his "It's Time" 1972 campaign slogan, and his push for Australia to become a republic. When Whitlam says (in his poor-quality Italian, over the strains of *Il Canto degli Italiani*) that a dish prepared

²⁴⁶ Using "ethnicity" to sell a product is consistent with Australian food industry practises as described in Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*.

²⁴⁷ *Leggo's Italian Cookbook*, 17.

²⁴⁸ *Leggo's Autentico! Italian Cookbook* (Melbourne: Leggo's, 1992).

with Leggo's is "fit for a queen, or a president," and points to himself, the advertisement touches on a hot topic of the day—the failure of the 1999 Australian republic referendum to pass.²⁴⁹ According to the Simplot Australia senior brand manager at the time, Gemma Trivisonno, the advertisement was trying to "celebrate two cultures." It was highly successful because it was founded on what the advertising agency behind the ads calls a brand truth: "Leggo's teaches Australians about Italian Food."²⁵⁰ In so doing, it also "teaches" Australia about a particular vision of Italy through its representations of its food products, as well as representing an emerging hybrid identity present across the Italian diaspora.

Leggo's hybridised Italo-Australian identity was further affirmed in its 2003 *Golden Anniversary Cookbook/Libro di Cucina per L'Anniversario D'Oro*. The book is bilingual, and acknowledges the company's Bendigo beginnings and its founder Henry Madren Leggo. In an introduction by Margaret Fulton, the reader is told that "[o]ur early forays into Italian cooking were often helped by Leggo's Tomato Paste," clearly indicating that this remains a product aimed at Australians, and not Italo-Australians.²⁵¹ But for the first time in a Leggo's cookbook, recipes from Italo-Australians are included. By this time, Italo-Australians had become a well-respected group in Australian society, and hence Leggo's attempts to co-opt them into their brand identity. Leggo's has become simultaneously Australian and Italian, and in a sense authentically Italo-Australian, as are the Italo-Australians who present their recipes and their stories in this section of the book. The naming of these recipes as "Secret Family Recipes" ("*Ricette segrete di famiglia*") also reinforces Leggo's self-described role as the "teacher" of Italian food and perhaps even of Italy to Australians for over fifty years: without Leggo's, these secret recipes would remain hidden from the average Australian.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ "Gough Whitlam Talks Leggo's" (Australia: Simplot Australia, 2000).

²⁵⁰ Kate Cincotta, "The Benefits of Talking Italian," *B&T Weekly*, April 30, 2004, 17.

²⁵¹ Tarrant, *Leggo's Libro Di Cucina per L'Anniversario D'Oro/Leggo's Golden Anniversary Cookbook*, 2.

²⁵² Tarrant, 99.

How Did Leggo's Become "Authentically" Italo-Australian?

What factors were in place that allowed Leggo's to transform its identity in the manner described in the four stages above? Obviously, tomatoes were part of its core business from its very beginnings, which lay a clear foundation for making connections between its tomato-based products and the type of Italian cooking (red sauce-based cuisine common in the southern provinces) that has become most commonly associated with Italian food outside of Italy. The company also capitalised on the growing popularity of "continental" cookery, and later Italian food, in Australia from the 1950s onwards. The influx of Italian migrants to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s was critical to the growth in popularity in Italian cuisine, which Leggo's also utilised to fuel its efforts to sell its products. They also recognised the importance of harnessing various meanings associated with Italian food and Italy itself in Australia at various points in the history recounted above, ranging from sophistication and glamour through to innovation and the association of Italian culture with conviviality and more enjoyable ways of eating and dining.²⁵³

But what, precisely, does it mean to be "authentically" Italo-Australian? As we have documented in this chapter, Leggo's tomato products are genuine products of Australia in multiple senses. They fulfill Australian expectations of what "Italian" products should be, and have been carefully constructed and represented in order to convey particular meanings ranging from high Italian culture to convivial family meals. As is Australia itself, they are products of the hybridisation of multiple cultures with diverse histories: the Cornish origins of H. M. Leggo himself and his tomato products combined with a series of Italian foodways and signifiers to create a novel entity which fits well within contemporary Australian food culture which has been heavily shaped by Italian cuisine. In its hybridity, Leggo's could be viewed as a

²⁵³ In addition to the "Talking Italian" TV advertisements described, this connection is present in the cartoons contained in various Leggo's cookbooks.

quintessential Italo-Australian product (though ironically probably one that few Italo-Australians themselves would use!).

Statement of Authorship for Chapter Two

Title of Paper	The Perfect Cheese Company: Ethnic Entrepreneurs and the Business of Relationships
Publication Status	<input type="checkbox"/> Published <input type="checkbox"/> Accepted for Publication <input type="checkbox"/> Submitted for Publication <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Unpublished and Unsubmitted work written in manuscript style
Publication Details	N/A

Principal Author

Name of Principal Author (Candidate)	Tania Cammarano	
Contribution to the Paper	Developed idea and structure, gathered and analysed all primary and secondary sources, wrote and edited manuscript.	
Overall percentage (%)	100	
Certification:	This paper reports on original research I conducted during the period of my Higher Degree by Research candidature and is not subject to any obligations or contractual agreements with a third party that would constrain its inclusion in this thesis. I am the primary author of this paper.	
Signature	Date	15 January 2018

Chapter Two: The Perfect Cheese Company: Ethnic Entrepreneurs and the Business of Relationships

Introduction

In 1922, Natale Pasquale Italiano migrated to Australia from Italy with only £2.10 in his pocket and a desire to continue in his vocation as a cheesemaker.²⁵⁴ His journey from practically penniless migrant to business owner is such a familiar story for many ethnic entrepreneurs in Australia that it has become something of a stereotype.²⁵⁵ However, Italiano's journey diverges from the stereotype in one key way. He may have started by producing hand-made Italian-style cheeses in a backyard copper for the Italian community that existed in 1930s Melbourne, but his business did not stay small and artisanal. He quickly outgrew his backyard operation, purchased new factories, listed his company publicly on the stock exchange, established a milk depot, opened Australia's first sheep's milk dairy and exported cheese to at least seven countries. As a result, in 1973, the Australian Government used him as a poster boy for migrant success to market their sometimes-controversial immigration policy.²⁵⁶ By the time he sold to the multinational corporation Unigate in 1981,²⁵⁷ the business founded in

²⁵⁴ J. Darbyshire, "Roadmaker to Cheesemaker," *Port of Melbourne Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1971): 32–36.

²⁵⁵ The documented stories of ethnic entrepreneurs in Australia often begin with a description of how they came with very little money. See, for example, Pascoe, *Open for Business: Immigrant and Aboriginal Entrepreneurs Tell Their Story*.

²⁵⁶ A. J. Grassby, "Australia's Immigration Policy," *Australian Foreign Affairs Record* 44, no. 10 (1973): 710–22.

²⁵⁷ "Italiano Delisted," *Canberra Times*, March 20, 1981, 12, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article126828639>.

1930²⁵⁸—the Perfect Cheese Company²⁵⁹—was amongst the top six cheese manufacturers in Australia.²⁶⁰

How did a company which began its life catering to what was then a small ethnic minority expand beyond this community to achieve what can only be termed as major mainstream success? In examining the history of the Perfect Cheese Company, this case study will explore how Italiano embodied the qualities of an early ethnic entrepreneur in Australia. However, the scale of his business success meant he moved beyond what the typical ethnic entrepreneur usually achieved. I argue that it was Italiano's ability to initiate, develop and maintain relationships with different sectors of society that allowed his company to achieve this level of success, and transform from a small ethnic business to a large, publicly listed company. This chapter focuses specifically on the way that the company cultivated relationships with migrant consumers, Anglo-Australian retailers and consumers, and, crucially, Australian government officials in order to bring about this transformation. It will also explore how Italiano was a cultural entrepreneur who used his ethnicity, both consciously and not, to successfully market his products.

In placing the story of the Perfect Cheese Company in the context of the history of Italian food in Australia, this chapter also disproves a popular theory propagated by Australia's popular media, namely that the successful diffusion of Italian food was primarily the result of mass

²⁵⁸ Various other dates have been given as the year the business was founded including 1935 and 1927. See *Maria Italiano nee Fasciale, Interview with Laura Mecca, 1988*, Notes, Source: IHS; Ling Hui Sui, *Queen Victoria Market: History, Recipes, Stories* (Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 2003).

²⁵⁹ In the 1959 prospectus, the business was described as the "Perfect Cheese Co." and the "Perfect Cheese Company." In 1949, "N. P. Italiano Ltd." was registered as the company name, but the brand names remained the same. When the company floated, this changed to "Italiano Cheese Industries Limited." Later "Perfect Brand Cheese" and "Perfect Cheese" also were used as brand names. See UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Prospectus, 1959; "New Company," *Age*, March 9, 1949, 6; UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1990.0080, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited, 1975-1981, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Directors' Report and Accounts, 30th June, 1980.

²⁶⁰ Darbyshire, "Roadmaker to Cheesemaker."

Italian migration after World War II.²⁶¹ In contrast, Italiano began his business in 1930; by 1939, some 40 years before peak Italian migration, it was already producing over 12,000 pounds of cheese, most of it Italian varieties.²⁶² In 1954, the company's production surpassed 900,000 pounds, meaning it was extremely well positioned for the new wave of Italian migration which came after World War II.²⁶³ While Italiano could have maintained a reasonably successful business just by catering to these new arrivals, he did not. He showed great ingenuity in courting both ethnic and non-ethnic customers, and his efforts to appeal to the latter, as well as his ability to successfully negotiate relationships with government authorities, resulted in a business which, when he sold it, made him a millionaire. Both the ethnic composition of Australia's population and the eating habits of Australians changed during this period, no doubt positively impacting upon the Perfect Cheese Company's bottom line, but to solely attribute Italiano's success to mass Italian migration is to ignore his abilities as an entrepreneur.

To tell the story of Italiano and the Perfect Cheese Company, this chapter makes use of a wide variety of primary and secondary sources. These include advertisements in newspapers and magazines, and in ethnic, trade and mainstream publications; marketing materials such as the 1955 Perfect Cheese souvenir brochure and the 1978 cookbook; and company records such as annual reports, chairman's addresses and, importantly, the company's 1959 prospectus. For family history and background, documents held at the Co.As.It Italian Historical Society (IHS) in Melbourne were useful as well as relevant files from the National Archives of Australia. To discern official attitudes to both the types of cheese the company made and the company

²⁶¹ For examples of this narrative, see Barbara Hutton, "Our Ethnic Founding Fathers," *Age*, December 27, 1988, 15; David Dale, "Who We Are: How Italy Liberated Us," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2007, http://blogs.smh.com.au/sit/archives/2007/04/who_we_are_a_column_about_aust_6.html.

²⁶² Australia's Italian population peaked in 1971 with 289,476 Italy-born recorded in that year's Census. Co.As.It.SA, "Pattern of Migration from Italy"; Perfect Cheese Co., *Perfect Cheese Co., N. P. Italiano, Pty. Ltd.* (Fitzroy, Vic.: Perfect Cheese, 1955).

²⁶³ Perfect Cheese Co., n.p.

itself, and how these attitudes changed, this chapter draws upon letters, dairy licence hearings and other material produced by the Dairying Division, a department of the Victorian Department of Agriculture, held at the Public Record Office Victoria.

Background of Natale Italiano, an Ethnic Entrepreneur

In *Southern Europeans in Australia* (1963), demographer Charles A. Price explores the background, occupations and settlement patterns of migrants who arrived in Australia from this region between 1890 and World War II. He found that more than 75 per cent of Australia's Southern European migrants "came from small coastal or inland towns and villages inhabited by peasant families whose main activity lay in cultivating land over the generations." These people "normally strove for family self-sufficiency and for an independent estate that could be handed down through the family from generation to generation." Price notes that "this traditional desire for peasant independence" was expressed, as a Dalmatian migrant to New South Wales told him, as "a craving for an independent successful business."²⁶⁴

Price could have been describing the background of Italiano. He was born in 1899 on Christmas Day in Scido, a small inland town in Calabria, about 30 kilometres from the coast.²⁶⁵ He learnt cheesemaking from his father and grandfather, who operated a small business, and decided to migrate to Australia after World War I left the business in ruins.²⁶⁶ In 1922, aged 23, he boarded the *Omar* and made the journey to Australia.²⁶⁷

Price also points out that even though many of these migrants wanted their own small businesses, when they first arrived in Australia, they needed "a nodding acquaintance with Australian economic conditions and customs." They were used to manual labour and hard

²⁶⁴ Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 141-42

²⁶⁵ Vondra, "Nat Italiano's World of Cheese."

²⁶⁶ Darbyshire, "Roadmaker to Cheesemaker."

²⁶⁷ NAA: A12217, L4255.

work, so many of them took on jobs as unskilled labourers and agricultural workers, amongst other occupations, in order to save money to put towards their entrepreneurial aspirations.²⁶⁸

Between 1922 and 1927, similar to the processes that Price described, Italiano worked in a variety of manual labourer jobs. In South Australia, he did a 22-month stint breaking ore in Whyalla as well as working on the smelters at BHP in Port Pirie making steel. In Victoria, he worked as a road-maker on such major arterials as Geelong Road and Victoria Dock Road.²⁶⁹

While in Victoria, however, road-making was not the only thing on Italiano's mind. A photo of the woman who was to become his wife, Maria Assunta Fasciale, was shown to him by her brothers with whom he boarded. After some negotiations between the families, Italiano was allowed to correspond with Maria who was in Delianuova, a town near Scido, and in 1927 Italiano went back to Italy and married her. Five months later, he returned to Melbourne with his new wife, and they settled into a North Melbourne house living with Maria's younger brother. Italiano again returned to manual work, this time as a cabinet maker for a Sunshine-based business, but the Depression began to take effect and his hours were cut to part-time. This change of circumstances spurred him to finally return to his original occupation as cheesemaker and set up his own business.²⁷⁰

Now that Italiano had a wife, he could also have a family. Price comments on the important role family played in establishing a small migrant business, especially a catering business toward which many Italian migrants gravitated. While cheesemaking is not, strictly speaking, a catering business, it still "fitted in well with the peasant tradition of family labour."²⁷¹ The wife and children could help in substantial ways; they did not need to know much English and they also did not need to be paid.

²⁶⁸ Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 143.

²⁶⁹ Darbyshire, "Roadmaker to Cheesemaker."

²⁷⁰ *Maria Italiano nee Fasciale, Interview with Laura Mecca, 1988*, Notes, Source: IHS.

²⁷¹ Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 156.

Maria, who did not even like cheese, seems to have been a driving force in the business.²⁷² In the year that it was established, she had already given birth to a baby boy; in the ten years that followed she would give birth to another two boys and two girls.²⁷³ Despite these caring responsibilities, she was described as Italiano's faithful assistant in these early years.²⁷⁴ However, even when the company expanded, she kept an official position, which is perhaps not typical given her gender and ethnicity. She was listed as a director in the silver anniversary brochure that the company released in 1955 and maintained this position till she resigned from the board in 1981, when the company was officially taken over by Unigate.²⁷⁵ The children, Francesco born in 1928, Antonietta Annunziata in 1933, Rosa Maria in 1935, Alfredo Giuseppe in 1937 and Natale Pasquale in 1940, would all work in the family business.²⁷⁶ While all of the children had shares in the company, the two eldest boys would join their mother as directors in the company while Natale Junior would become the research and technical manager.²⁷⁷

In trying to understand why early ethnic entrepreneurs such as Italiano were attracted to small business in Australia, social economist Jock Collins, in collaboration with an interdisciplinary team, draws strongly on the work of Price as well as historian Robert Pascoe. He concludes that while Price and Pascoe stress "cultural continuity" as the primary reason for migrants' decisions to establish their own businesses in Australia, which can certainly be seen

²⁷² *Maria Italiano nee Fasciale, Interview with Laura Mecca, 1988, Notes, Source: IHS.*

²⁷³ PROV, VPRS 28/P30, Unit 321, 1177966.

²⁷⁴ "Nuova Industria Il Successo Arride Agli Intraprendenti," *Il Giornale Italiano*, November 6, 1935, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83026987>.

²⁷⁵ Perfect Cheese Co., *Perfect Cheese Co., N. P. Italiano, Pty. Ltd.*; UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1990.0080, Box 209, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited 1975-1981, Letter from H. W. Marsh to the Secretary, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited, 28 January 1981.

²⁷⁶ PROV, VPRS 28/P30, Unit 321, 1177966.

²⁷⁷ UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Prospectus, 1959. In the prospectus, only Natale Junior, who would have been 19 at the time, was not listed as a shareholder but by 1973 he did own shares. UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1987.0138 Box 118, Italiano Cheese Industries Ltd. 1965-1972, Letter from N. P. Italiano Jr. to the Secretary, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited, 15 October 1973; Vondra, "Nat Italiano's World of Cheese."

in Italiano's case, "they underplay the role of social relations between the new migrants and Australian workers and employers."²⁷⁸ Collins notes this neglect is particularly evident in the history of Italian migrants in Australia. It can be seen in the strained relations of Italian sugarcane cutters in Queensland and Italian miners in Western Australia, where there was fear that these hardworking migrant workers would take the jobs of Anglo-Australians. He concludes that "independent small business allowed migrants to escape this indifference or hostility, or at least confront it on their own terms."²⁷⁹

Operating outside the economic mainstream by servicing the needs of what was, in the 1930s, an insignificant minority may have allowed Italiano to avoid instances of hostility or racism, although there is little in the story of Perfect Cheese to suggest that this was a major motivation. While Italiano acknowledged "no one rolled out the red carpet" when he arrived in Australia,²⁸⁰ in the many interviews he gave with the media, he did not communicate that he had experienced any kind of prejudice or racism.²⁸¹ Given Italy's status in the Second World War, it seems unlikely that he encountered a complete absence of racial discrimination. Perhaps Italiano's decision not to discuss any hostilities that he may have experienced on account of his ethnicity was due to his canny business sense. In the 1950s, he began trying to sell his products to the Anglo-Australian majority and he probably did not want to risk alienating them.

It is possible that Italiano simply saw a gap in the market and filled it with the skills that he already had. This reasoning is supported by historian Donna R. Gabaccia. While her work

²⁷⁸ Collins et al., *A Shop Full of Dreams: Ethnic Small Business in Australia*, 47.

²⁷⁹ Collins et al.

²⁸⁰ Grassby, "Australia's Immigration Policy," 720.

²⁸¹ Maria said Italiano "did not suffer any racial discrimination" during World War II in *Maria Italiano nee Fasciale, Interview with Laura Mecca, 1988*, Notes, Source: IHS. A number of articles featuring interviews with Italiano were published in the 1970s including Darbyshire, "Roadmaker to Cheesemaker"; Vondra, "Nat Italiano's World of Cheese."

centres on ethnic entrepreneurs in the US context, it is also relevant to the Australian experience. She contends that “enclave businessmen” were:

ahead of their time: they sought to make profits by effectively serving relatively small market niches, long before this became a popular corporate strategy after World War II. Enclave businessmen serviced market segments that were as yet unrecognized, and untapped, by bigger businesses...[i]n enclave business, it was not money but cultural capital that underwrote profits, as small, family-based enterprises offered their friends and neighbours what large corporations could not.”²⁸²

Making cheese that was otherwise impossible or difficult to obtain and selling it to the small Italian community of Melbourne is how the Perfect Cheese Company began. Once Italiano and his family had established a strong relationship with their fellow Italian migrants, they were able to set their sights on other migrant groups and Anglo-Australian consumers. That they managed to do this means that while Italiano began his commercial life in Australia as a typical ethnic entrepreneur, the success he eventually achieved was anything but typical.

Relationship with Migrant Consumers

When Italiano began making cheese in the backyard of his rented Peel Street, North Melbourne home, his first customers were his Italian neighbours. In her biography, Carmela Barbaro, who migrated to Melbourne from Italy in 1927, describes what it was like to buy cheese from the Perfect Cheese Co. in those early days:

As a young girl I used to go to the Italiano’s house in the next street to buy fresh ricotta. It was really beautiful. They used to boil the milk in a large copper, separate the ricotta, then give us also a large billy can of “sero,” the liquid left over from

²⁸² Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*, 91. Note that “enclave” has a technical meaning, and it is not altogether clear that most minorities actually lived in enclaves in the Australian setting; however, Gabaccia’s points here still apply.

making the cheese...[w]e also bought our cheese there...[j]ust primitive tools, very small containers and tiny premises. The cheese was patted with wooden paddles and put on home-made wooden shelves to dry out, in a room out the back—a shed really. I used to buy ricotta every Sunday. I really looked forward to going to see the Italianos, just to buy the ricotta and look at all the cheeses there laid out on the shelves. They were really very beautiful. They were happy days but very poor days.²⁸³

While these recollections are clearly imbued with nostalgia, the closeness between the Italianos and the Italian migrant community that they served is evident, both with regards to physical proximity and familiarity. The terminology of the “next street” reveals geographical nearness to where many Italian migrants lived. In the 1930s, even though there were relatively few Italian migrants living in Melbourne’s metropolitan area, 58 per cent of them were concentrated in the inner city, primarily in the City of Melbourne, which included North Melbourne, Carlton and North Carlton, and the municipalities of Fitzroy, Brunswick, Northcote, Collingwood and Richmond.²⁸⁴ Crucially, the Peel Street premises, and the factories that followed in 1935 in nearby Queensberry Street, were also in the same suburb as the Queen Victoria Market, where many Italian migrants shopped and traded. By 1953, the Perfect Cheese Co. had moved its factory to St David Street in Fitzroy where it would continue to exist, albeit with significant expansions and renovations, until 1985.²⁸⁵ Fitzroy turned out to be both a clever and fortuitous choice. As Italian migration boomed after World War II, taking the Italy-born population in the inner suburbs of Melbourne from 1,410 in 1933 to 17,945 in 1954, Fitzroy was an ideal strategic location as it was easier to access the more northern and

²⁸³ Marie Alafaci, *Savage Cows and Cabbage Leaves: An Italian Life* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1999), 141.

²⁸⁴ F. Lancaster Jones, “Italians in the Carlton Area: The Growth of an Ethnic Concentration,” *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* 10, no. 1 (1964): 87.

²⁸⁵ UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Prospectus, 1959; “Inner City Industrial Opportunity,” *Age*, October 9, 1985, 32.

eastern of the inner suburbs than the previous location of North Melbourne.²⁸⁶ By 1961, with one in seven Italy-born people in Australia living in one of these inner suburbs, the company was not just close to a rapidly rising number of Italian migrant customers, it was also proximate to a migrant workforce that it would increasingly employ in the coming years.²⁸⁷

The way that Carmela talks about going to the “Italiano’s house” and looking “forward to seeing the Italianos” also suggests a certain amount of emotional intimacy, as does the fact that she never refers to the business by its official name. Carmela also appears to have had complete access to where the cheese was both made and stored. This familiarity implies a closeness which could be viewed as being more aligned with a friendship rather than a transactional relationship. However, in the 1930s, with just 2,434 Italy-born living in all of metropolitan Melbourne, perhaps all transactions between the small community’s members felt somewhat friendly.²⁸⁸

None of this, however, takes away from the fact that the Italianos made a conscious effort to cultivate strong relationships with both Italian and other migrant communities in order to further their business. Their efforts to build and maintain these relationships can primarily be seen in the way the Perfect Cheese Company sold and advertised its cheese.

Selling Cheese to Migrants

All accounts of the early days of the Perfect Cheese Company stress the importance of door-to-door sales. In their social history of Melbourne’s Queen Victoria Market, Ellen McCaughey and Mary Hoban describe how Italiano would wake at 2am to make fresh ricotta, finish by 8am and then head to the market, with both ricotta and pecorino cheese ready to sell in

²⁸⁶ Jones, “Italians in the Carlton Area: The Growth of an Ethnic Concentration,” 87.

²⁸⁷ Jones, 83.

²⁸⁸ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1933*. Part X.—Birthplace, 740.

wicker baskets.²⁸⁹ His market visit was just the first stop on his journey hawking cheese as he would then venture to the inner suburbs of Fitzroy and Richmond, selling at the doors of migrants as he went. As this journey would result in a roundtrip of approximately 12 kilometres, it is little wonder that Italiano says he “was compelled to cut car tyres for the soles of my shoes.”²⁹⁰ Maria Italiano remembers that in order to make the door-to-door deliveries more attractive to Italian customers, they would combine the cheese deliveries with other groceries including pasta, olive oil and milk.²⁹¹ With Italiano literally appearing on the doorstep of his fellow Italian migrants, with not just familiar cheese, but other ingredients that they needed every day, it is not surprising that he was able to develop personal relationships with his customers.

There is also evidence that Italiano sold his cheese to some of the Italian restaurateurs in and around Bourke Street in Melbourne’s CBD. Rino Codognotto, son of Giuseppe Codognotto who established the Italian Society restaurant in the 1920s, recalls Italiano and Tibaldi, who sold smallgoods, as pioneers in the establishment of a local Italian food industry.²⁹²

The Perfect Cheese Company did not just serve the Italian community. McCaughey and Hoban point out that Italiano sold to Greek as well as Italian migrants. It may have been ricotta, which is similar to Greek whey cheeses such as mizithra and anthotyro, that initially attracted them.²⁹³ In any case, by 1937, Italiano was making cheeses that he almost certainly would not

²⁸⁹ Ellen McCaughey and Mary Hoban, *The Victoria Market* (Fitzroy, Vic.: Time & Place Publications, 1984). Ricotta is not technically a cheese as it is made from the whey leftover from the cheesemaking process. Pecorino, which the Italian name implies is made from sheep’s milk, was made from cow’s milk as sheep’s milk was not produced for cheesemaking purposes in Australia until at least the late 1960s. See the Innovators section of this chapter.

²⁹⁰ McCaughey and Hoban, 55. That he sold cheese door-to-door in inner Melbourne is also reported in Darbyshire, “Roadmaker to Cheesemaker”; Vondra, “Nat Italiano’s World of Cheese.”

²⁹¹ *Maria Italiano nee Fasciale, Interview with Laura Mecca, 1988*, Notes, Source: IHS.

²⁹² *Rino Codognotto, Interview with Maria Tence, 9th February 1984*, OH20, Source: IHS. In the taped interview, Codognotto mistakenly refers to Italiano’s surname as Italian.

²⁹³ Diane Kochilas, “From Villages and Caves, the Glorious Cheeses That Are Greek,” *New York Times*, October 2, 1991, <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/10/02/garden/from-villages-and-caves-the-glorious-cheeses-that-are-greek.html>.

have made with his father and grandfather back in Calabria. An advertisement in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* included the information that the company sold “white feta” and “kassery [sic],” both cheeses associated with Greeks and Greek cuisine.²⁹⁴ In the company’s silver anniversary booklet of 1955, both descriptions of “Fetta” and “Kasseri,” now spelt differently, are included which highlight the Greek origins of the cheeses.²⁹⁵ Further evidence that the company was actively targeting Greek migrants comes in the form of a series of advertisements in Melbourne-based Greek language newspaper *Neos Kosmos* in 1958 and 1959.²⁹⁶ In the 1970s, the Greek cheese range had expanded with a 1970 company receipt, obtained when a health inspector was procuring fetta in order to test it for pathogens, revealing that the company was producing two kinds of fetta, “Mature” and “Mild,” and by 1972 haloumi was added to the repertoire.²⁹⁷ Around the same time, the Perfect Cheese Co. began to produce gbejna, a traditional cheese of Malta, which it marketed not just to increasingly sophisticated Anglo-Australian consumers and the expanding local Maltese community, but for export back to Malta itself.²⁹⁸ That the advertisements in the Greek paper, which will be discussed in more detail below, were produced in the year that the company was preparing itself to be publicly listed could also be seen as a strategic decision to increase its customer base as well as its attractiveness to investors.

Advertising

Evidence suggests that the Perfect Cheese Company first advertised to Italian migrants in newspapers in 1933. If company lore is historically accurate, it was this first advertisement that saved the business from ruin. The early 1930s saw the Depression deepen and, according

²⁹⁴ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, n.p.

²⁹⁵ Perfect Cheese Co., *Perfect Cheese Co., N. P. Italiano, Pty. Ltd.*, n.p.

²⁹⁶ See, for example, “Royal Melbourne Show 1958—Perfect Cheese Co. Parmigiano & Mozzarella,” *Neos Kosmos*, December 17, 1958, 7.

²⁹⁷ PROV, VPRS 14836/ P2, Unit 172, H. F & D. 4039/1; James Mayhew, “Ready for the Star Billing,” *Bulletin*, August 1972, 56.

²⁹⁸ Mayhew, “Ready for the Star Billing.”

to Italiano, “instead of eating bread and cheese, people ate just the bread.”²⁹⁹ With stores of pecorino cheese building up and not enough money to buy milk, the company was in trouble.³⁰⁰ The Italian diaspora reportedly came to the rescue via an advertisement. In a story told by numerous sources including Darbyshire, McCaughey and Hoban, Mayhew, and Pascoe, as well as recounted in the company’s 1980 annual report, Italiano placed an advertisement in an Italian-language newspaper. The ad was seen by either a Queensland company which employed Italian sugarcane cutters, or the Italian cane cutters themselves, depending on the account, who bought all of the stocks of cheese, which were subsequently sent to them in the far north.³⁰¹ The cane-cutters were said to be “grateful” and “clamouring for more!”³⁰²

While none of the accounts name the newspaper, there is what appears to be an advertorial which appeared on the 30th of August 1933 in *Il Giornale Italiano*, a pro-fascist newspaper which did try to serve the entire Italian population in Australia. Titled “Tipica Industria Italiana” (“Typical Italian Industry”) it explains how “Sig. N. P. Italiano di Melbourne,” “after three years of constant research, testing and assiduous and expensive experiments” has founded the Perfect Cheese Co. and filled the gap in the market for Italian cheese.³⁰³ The text reveals that Italiano is already making much more than just pecorino and ricotta, informing the reader that they can finish their meals with “excellent” provolone, “authentic” Piacenza cacciocavallo studded with peppercorns or “very delicate” bel paese.³⁰⁴ While there is no

²⁹⁹ McCaughey and Hoban, *The Victoria Market*, 55.

³⁰⁰ Darbyshire, “Roadmaker to Cheesemaker.”

³⁰¹ Darbyshire; McCaughey and Hoban, *The Victoria Market*; Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia: Our Italian Heritage*; Mayhew, “Ready for the Star Billing”; UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1990.0080, Box 209, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited 1975-1981, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Directors’ Report and Accounts, 30th June, 1980.

³⁰² UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1990.0080, Box 209, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited 1975-1981, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Directors’ Report and Accounts, 30th June, 1980.

³⁰³ Author’s translation of “Dopo tre anni di lavoro costante di ricerche, prove ed esperimenti assidue e costosi” in “Tipica Industria Italiana,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, August 30, 1933, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83032372>.

³⁰⁴ Author’s translation of “dell'eccellente formaggio provolone, dell'autentico caccio cavallo del piacentino con il pepe oppure con del delicatissimo bel paese” in “Tipica Industria Italiana,” 3.

address or phone number given, the author does reveal that the Perfect Cheese Co. “will send their delicious products all over Australia.”³⁰⁵

Further evidence that this was the ad that saved the business in the early years comes in the form of subsequent advertisements placed in the same newspaper. If the first advertisement worked, it makes sense that Italiano would place more in the same paper. From March to August 1934, there are eight advertisements, titled “Formaggi Perfetti” (“Perfect Cheeses”), which tell us what other cheeses were being produced in the company’s early history:

“Romano, Piacentino, Pepato, Provolone, Cacciocavallo, Mozzarella e Ricotta [sic]” accompanied by an image of some of the cheeses. The ads also point out that to obtain the cheeses you can “write – go – ring” the Perfect Cheese Co. which is now at 37 Queensbury Street, North Melbourne. Strangely, the telephone number is repeated twice, perhaps in an effort not to repeat the mistake of the 1933 advertisement which had no contact details at all.³⁰⁶

The advertisements all make a feature of Italiano’s name. It is included in bold type, the same weight as the “Perfect Cheese Co.,” and prefaced by the words “made by expert manufacturer.”³⁰⁷ A 1935 advertorial or editorial heralds the “will and industriousness” of “Sig. Natale Italiano” who “ably assisted by his wife” has been able to open a new factory which is “equipped technically and hygienically” to make “typical Italian cheese in ideal conditions.”³⁰⁸ The advertorial repeats Italiano’s name three times, which if the point is to emphasise his Italian origins, succeeds. Stressing Italiano’s heritage to an Italian migrant audience could be an attempt on Italiano’s part to differentiate himself and his product from

³⁰⁵ Author’s translation of “manda i suoi prodotti prelibati per tutta l’Australia in “Tipica Industria Italiana,” 3.

³⁰⁶ Author’s translation of “scrivette – andate – telefonate” in “Formaggi Perfetti,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, March 14, 1934, 1, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83034546>.

³⁰⁷ Author’s translation of “fabbricato dall’esperto manifatturiera.” “Formaggi Perfetti,” 1.

³⁰⁸ Author’s translation of “volontà e laboriosità,” “validamente coadiuvato dalla sua Signora,” “attrezzata tecnicamente ed igienicamente” and “a produrre i tipici formaggi italiani, prodotti nelle condizioni ideali” in “Nuova Industria Il Successo Arride Agli Intraprendenti,” 3.

that of other cheesemakers who were also advertising Italian-style cheese in *Il Giornale Italiano*. These advertisers include the Standard Dairy Company of Brisbane and J.C. Hutton Pty. Ltd., who were better known as ham and bacon curers. Both advertised Queensland-made “Formaggio Romano” or “Roman Cheese,” the former as early as 1933, almost four months before the Perfect Cheese Company’s first ad appeared, and the latter in 1936 and 1937.³⁰⁹ The presence of these mainstream cheesemakers in *Il Giornale Italiano*, aside from providing Italiano with some competition, highlight that some Anglo-Australian companies did see the economic value of the Italian dollar as early as the 1930s, and subsequently actively pursued it. It is not surprising that both of these companies were Queensland-based—in 1933, 8,355 Italy-born, nearly a third of all Italians in Australia, lived in the northern state, most of them employed in the cane fields.³¹⁰

In any case, the prominent use of Italiano’s name in the advertisements ensures the Italian migrant audience knows that Perfect Cheese is made by Italians for Italians, and therefore is guaranteed to be a quality product that can be trusted. This theme is especially visible in a particularly wordy 1940 *Il Giornale Italiano* advertisement. Along with providing a list of cheeses that the ten-year-old company now makes, the advertisement stresses that these cheeses can all be used to “exquisitely season spaghetti, give special flavour to soup and meatballs and is even essential for the stuffing of eggplants, peppers and chicken.”³¹¹

Describing dishes with which Italians would be familiar again underscores the company’s heritage, as does the statement that they are “manufactured by expert Italian craftsmen

³⁰⁹ J.C. Hutton’s 1936 advertisement was for “Cacio Italo” or “Italian cheese” and featured a Melbourne address, but the 1937 ad spruiked “Romaggio Roman Cheese” made in Queensland. “Formaggio Romano,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, August 30, 1933, 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83032395>; “Cacio Italo,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, June 17, 1936, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83793996>; “Romaggio Roman Cheese,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, August 18, 1937, 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83802124>.

³¹⁰ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1933. Part X.—Birthplace.*, 732.

³¹¹ Author’s translation of “condiscono squisitamente gli spaghetti, danno speciale sapore alla minestra e alle polpette e sono addirittura essenziali per il ripieno delle melanzane, peperoni e dei polli” in “The Perfect Cheese Co.,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, April 10, 1940, 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83874595>.

under the direction of Sig. Natale P. Italiano.”³¹² That the company can be trusted is highlighted by describing the cheese as coming from the “renowned firm Perfect Cheese Coy,” whose products have been “favourably established for years in the Australian market.”³¹³

Ominously, the advertisement ends with a warning:

Do not be fooled by imitations: if you do not find the registered brand N.P.I. on the cheese it means that it is not a continental type. For your satisfaction request and insist your grocer provide the brand Perfect Cheese Coy...³¹⁴

Whether this plea was a response to imitations of Perfect Cheese on the market or whether the company was just communicating that cheese made by others in Australia is not truly European (which is somewhat ironic, given that their cheese was made in Melbourne), it is not clear. What we do know is that the company is using the ethnicity of its owners to sell its cheese. The overall impression that the ad creates is that fellow Italians can rely on the Perfect Cheese Co. to produce cheese that they know and trust because it is created by Italians. That Italiano learnt his craft in a dynastic cheesemaking family suggests that he really was knowledgeable about the production of southern Italian cheese and was presumably able to produce them as accurately as Australian conditions would allow.

Further strengthening this argument are a series of Perfect Cheese advertisements that ran in 1953 and 1954 in *L'Angelo della Famiglia*, a monthly religious magazine published by the Capuchin order in Melbourne. Particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, many in the Italian-speaking Church were focused on tending to the spiritual and practical needs of new Italian migrants. By choosing to advertise in this publication, the Perfect Cheese Company could

³¹² Author's translation of “sono fabbricati da esperte maestranze Italiane sotto le direzione del Sig. Natale P. Italiano” in “The Perfect Cheese Co.,” 4.

³¹³ Author's translation of “rinomata ditta Perfect Cheese Coy” and “si sono da anni favorevolmente affermati sul mercato Australiano” in “The Perfect Cheese Co.,” 4.

³¹⁴ Author's translation of “Non lasciatevi ingannare dalle imitazioni: se non trovate la marca registrata N.P.I. sul formaggio vuol dire che esso non è tipo del Continente. Per vostra soddisfazione richiedete ed insistete col vostra droghiere di fornirvi la marca Perfect Cheese Coy” in “The Perfect Cheese Co.,” 4.

leverage off the trust and faith that these migrants were likely to have placed in the Church, as well as reach new Italian migrant customers. The advertisements themselves are noteworthy in that all but two of them feature the words “Formaggio ‘Italiano’” or “Sempre Formaggio ‘Italiano’” prominently.³¹⁵ The play on Italiano’s surname means that this could be translated as “Italian Cheese” or “Cheese made by Italiano,” with the “Sempre” meaning always. Either way, the emphasis is on the fact that this cheese is Italian and advertising in a medium produced by an institution that most Italians would highly value would certainly have helped the company. It was not the only time the Italianos would leverage their relationship with the Church to help their business, as will be discussed in more detail below.

In contrast, the advertisements targeted at Greek migrants are, as one might expect, completely different in content and tone. As the company cannot rely on its ethnicity to signify confidence and value to a Greek audience, it must find another way to communicate its quality. It conveys the excellence of its cheese through the endorsement of a third party—the Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria. Many of the ads that ran in *Neos Kosmos* in the late 1950s do not just mention that the company’s parmigiano and mozzarella won first and second prize respectively at 1958’s Royal Melbourne Show in the “Fancy Cheese (1 Cheese) any variety other than cheddar” category; they actually include copies of the winning certificates.³¹⁶ The company must have thought that the Royal Agricultural Society’s stamp of approval was even more important than highlighting the fact that it produces Greek cheeses. While fetta and kasseri are mentioned in all of the ads, often with accompanying images, they take a backseat to the news that the other cheeses are prize-winning. That the company thinks its potential Greek customers need this third-party assurance, but its Italian customers

³¹⁵ “Formaggio ‘Italiano,’” *L’Angelo della Famiglia*, June 1953, n.p.; “Sempre Formaggio ‘Italiano,’” *L’Angelo della Famiglia*, October 1953, 15; “Perfect Cheese Co.,” *L’Angelo della Famiglia*, September 1953, 15. In the ads that appeared in the September 1953 and July/August 1953 editions, the “Formaggio Italiano” was replaced by a picture of some of the cheeses.

³¹⁶ “Royal Melbourne Show 1958—Perfect Cheese Co. Parmigiano,” *Neos Kosmos*, February 18, 1959, 7; “Royal Melbourne Show 1958—Perfect Cheese Co. Mozzarella,” *Neos Kosmos*, January 14, 1959, 7.

do not, is further illustrated by a Perfect Cheese advertisement in Italian-language newspaper *Il Globo*, which ran in the same year as the Greek ads, which does not reference the prize-winning cheeses or the Royal Melbourne Show in any way.³¹⁷

The way that Perfect Cheese was sold, marketed and advertised to its migrant audience is in contrast to how the company would present itself and its products to a mainstream Anglo-Australian audience. While the 1937 advertisement in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is an exception, there is little evidence that the company tried to seriously market itself to this mainstream audience before the 1950s. However, the publication of a souvenir brochure was something of a turning point that marked the beginning of a period when the company began to look beyond a migrant audience.

Pushing into the Mainstream

Published in 1955, the souvenir brochure was produced to celebrate the silver anniversary of the Perfect Cheese Co. It was created "as a tribute to its loyal customers in all of Australia and in every part of the world where its products are shipped."³¹⁸ It is an important document not just for the insight that it provides into the company's first twenty-five years of existence, but also because the images in the book were shot by Helmut Newton, who went on to become an internationally-renowned fashion photographer. In an article focused on Newton's years in Australia, Guy Featherstone notes that the photos Newton took in 1950s Melbourne are, with a few exceptions, either unknown or forgotten.³¹⁹ The images for the Perfect Cheese Company, including portraits of the Italiano family and individual photos of the cheese in the

³¹⁷ "Perfect Cheese Co.," *Il Globo*, November 4, 1959, 8.

³¹⁸ Translation of "...Omaggio ai suoi affezionati Clienti di tutta l'Australia e di ogni parte del Mondo ove i suoi prodotti vengono spediti..." in Perfect Cheese Co., *Perfect Cheese Co., N. P. Italiano, Pty. Ltd.*, n.p.

³¹⁹ Guy Featherstone, "Helmut Newton's Australian Years," *La Trobe Journal* Spring, no. 76 (2005): 105–23.

company's range, were probably the result of a routine commission that Newton took while trying to break into fashion photography.

In any case, the brochure is also of interest because it appears to be an attempt on the part of the company to market itself to Italian migrant customers and mainstream Australian society simultaneously. The chief way that it does this is by publishing the copy in both English and Italian. The first two pages, however, are an exception. It opens in English, with the Superintendent of Dairying T. M. Jensen, from the Department of Agriculture, praising the business instincts and cheesemaking acumen of Italiano. He writes that opportunities for continental cheesemaking clearly exist in Australia, but "courage and initiative are...required," while others have failed it "speaks volumes for the skill and ability of the founder and manager" that he has built such a "thriving business." He concludes by noting that the Perfect Cheese Company "now holds an enviable reputation in Melbourne for the quality and the variety of its products, and our best wishes go to Mr Italiano for the continued success of his fine enterprise."³²⁰

On the next page, beneath a portrait of a smiling "Mr and Mrs Natale P. Italiano," is a dedication, this time only in Italian, from Padre Nazario Mammi, a Capuchin priest who headed up the Catholic Action office in Fitzroy, the same suburb as the Perfect Cheese factory.³²¹ Padre Mammi came from the same order that published *L'Angelo della Famiglia*, which, as discussed above, carried many Perfect Cheese Company advertisements. Mammi's praise for Italiano is effusive, to say the least. He says that Italiano's name "is among those of Italians in Australia [which] deserves to be counted among one of those who most honoured his homeland."³²² He notes Italiano has an "indomitable spirit of enterprise and determination

³²⁰ Perfect Cheese Co., *Perfect Cheese Co., N. P. Italiano, Pty. Ltd.*, n.p.

³²¹ Pino Bosi, *On God's Command: Italian Missionaries in Australia = Missionari Italiani in Australia: Mandati Da Dio* (North Fitzroy, Vic.: CIRC, 1989).

³²² Author's translation of "il suo nome tra quello degli Italiani in Australia, va annoverato tra quello di coloro che maggiormente hanno onorato la Patria di origine" in Perfect Cheese Co., *Perfect Cheese Co., N. P. Italiano, Pty. Ltd.*, n.p.

to fight against all difficulties" in an effort to make his company one that can be "admired by all."³²³ He concludes with: "Scido, a town in Calabria, can boast of this son."³²⁴

That the Italianos chose to open their brochure with praise in English from a government official and even more praise in Italian from a Capuchin priest might seem self-indulgent. However, if we consider the dual audience that the company is seemingly trying to target, we can see these choices as strategic. For the Anglo-Australians, Italiano is an excellent businessman who has successfully taken advantage of the opportunities offered by Australia. For the Italians, Italiano is, like them, a son of Italy, who by being industrious, resourceful and, above all things, Italian, has found success. In 1955, with the Italian migrant population of metropolitan Melbourne a staggering twelve times larger than it was when the company began, stressing Italiano's ethnicity and achievement might also be suggesting to many of these newly arrived migrants that they too can find economic success in Australia.³²⁵ That the two individuals who made these observations—a government official and an Italian priest—could be described as authorities to Anglo-Australians and Italian migrants respectively, gives their words significant weight. It also demonstrates that Italiano was so successful at forging meaningful relationships with Jensen and Mammi that they were willing to provide these ringing endorsements.

It is also worth noting that at the time the souvenir booklet was published, the Italianos could conceivably have grown their business just by continuing to appeal to their existing migrant base, both those already established in Australia, as well as those arriving in ever increasing numbers. In 1954, the national population of Italians in Australia had swelled to over 119,897;

³²³ Author's translation of "Animato da indomito spirito di intraprendenza e determinato a lottare contro ogni difficolta'" and "all'ammirazione di tutti" in Perfect Cheese Co., n.p.

³²⁴ Author's translation of "Scido, paese della Calabria, puo' vantarsi di questo suo figlio" in Perfect Cheese Co., n.p.

³²⁵ According to figures quoted in Jones, in 1933 there were 2,434 Italians in metropolitan Melbourne, in 1954 there were 29,890. Jones, "Italians in the Carlton Area: The Growth of an Ethnic Concentration," 87.

by 1961, this population would almost double.³²⁶ However, that the Italianos chose to start actively marketing to the mainstream could have been the result of a number of factors. They may have been encouraged by the coverage that Italian food was just beginning to have in mainstream Australian media. In 1952, the highly influential *Australian Women's Weekly* published its first recipe for "Spaghetti Bolognese," Elizabeth David's *Italian Food* had been made available in Australia in 1954 and in 1955 a number of continental cookery books featuring Italian recipes aimed at Australian housewives were published.³²⁷ It also seems clear that the next generation was beginning to have an influence on the business. The souvenir booklet lists son "Francesco (Frank) Italiano" as the "Factory Manager and Cheesemaker," and daughter Rosa Italiano as the "office supervisor." These children were both born and educated in Australia, spending their primary school years at St Mary's in West Melbourne.³²⁸ By 1959, when the company is floated, Francesco is now a director of the company along with his younger brother Alfredo, while both of his sisters Rosa and Antonietta are listed as shareholders.³²⁹ Natale Junior, the youngest, joined the company at some point in the 1960s.³³⁰ In 1971, all of the sons are described as being executives in the company. Vondra explains the division of labour between the family as follows: Patriarch Natale is still the managing director, but Francesco is in charge of production, Alfredo heads up administration and Natale Junior, who is a microbiologist, is the research and technical manager.³³¹

While the Italiano children may have had some effect on deciding the direction of the company, the evidence suggests that Italiano was always interested in appealing to a

³²⁶ Co.As.It.SA, "Pattern of Migration from Italy."

³²⁷ "Supper's Served," *Australian Women's Weekly*, July 9, 1952, 32, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article46465023>; Elizabeth David, *Italian Food* (London: Macdonald, 1954); Maria Kozslik Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia* (London: Heinemann, 1955); Zelmear Mary Deutsch, *Selected Continental Recipes for the Australian Home* (Sydney: Greendale Publishing, 1955).

³²⁸ *Maria Italiano nee Fasciale, Interview with Laura Mecca, 1988*, Notes, Source: IHS.

³²⁹ UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Prospectus, 1959.

³³⁰ "Bad Weather Cut Short Their Holiday and Brought Death to His Family," *Age*, December 17, 1975, 1.

³³¹ Vondra, "Nat Italiano's World of Cheese."

mainstream consumer market. Most strikingly, Italiano chose not to give his brand an Italian name. This decision was not in keeping with other major Italian food producers of his day, such as smallgoods producer Tibaldi or Italian grocers B. Callose and Sons. Nor was it common for Italian cheesemakers which followed the Perfect Cheese Company, albeit much later, such as Pantalica, Florida, Alba and Paesanella, whose names either reference an Italian place of origin or use Italian language.³³²

The way that the company initially advertised itself to an Anglo-Australian audience also obscured its Italian origins. As discussed, Italiano's name was always prominently displayed in the Italian press but in the 1937 advertisement published in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, which is written in English and intended for a mainstream audience, there is no mention of Italiano at all, just that "Perfect Cheese" is "manufactured in the most hygienic factory by Continental experts," not even describing them as "Italian experts" as was customary in the *Il Giornale Italiano* ads.³³³ Later, in the 1950s, Italiano's name does feature in mainstream advertisements but still not with the same prominence as it does in the ethnic press. A 1955 advertisement in *The Argus* celebrating the company's twenty-fifth anniversary includes "N. P. Italiano Pty. Ltd.," beneath "Perfect Cheese Co.," both at the bottom of the ad, but in much smaller type than the brand name and in brackets.³³⁴ Whereas in 1959, in the first edition of what was to become the pre-eminent Italian-language newspaper in Melbourne *Il Globo*, the "N. P. Italiano" is similarly small, but it is part of the company's name, as it says "Perfect Cheese Co. di (of) N. P. Italiano."³³⁵ It is also possible that highlighting Italiano's name in the Italian press was because many of his customers might personally know him. As in

³³² Melbourne-based cheesemakers Pantalica and Florida both reference places in Sicily, while Alba means "sunrise" and Sydney cheese brand Paesanella translates as "peasant girl."

³³³ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, n.p.

³³⁴ "For 25 Years..." *Argus*, September 15, 1955, 27, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article71695390>.

³³⁵ "Perfect Cheese Co.," 8.

Carmela Barbaro's account, it is possible that some in the Italian community would know that Italiano made cheese, but not necessarily recognise the brand name of his business.

Alternatively, it could also be argued that obscuring Italiano's origins by either not using or downplaying the importance of his name in early advertisements intended for a mainstream Anglo-Australian audience was a deliberate ploy. Similar to the author behind the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, perhaps Italiano wished to remain somewhat anonymous so as to appeal to as wide an audience as possible and to avoid any prejudices that Anglo-Australians might have against Italians.³³⁶ There are many examples, particularly after Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, of Italians who experienced discrimination and racism in the lead up to World War II and beyond. According to historian Cate Elkner, when Italy entered the war in June 1940, "all Italians in Australia suffered under the new status imposed on them by the Australian state as 'enemy aliens'."³³⁷ For Maria and Natale, both naturalised in 1935, the most obvious result of this new status meant missing out on buying a house in North Balwyn in 1941 because the permission they needed under the National Security (Land Transfer) Regulations as "naturalised persons of enemy origin" took too long to be granted.³³⁸ There are no other obvious examples of discrimination levelled against Italiano and, in fact, Maria Italiano recalls that her husband "did not suffer any racial discrimination" during the Second World War.³³⁹ Nor was he amongst the 4,727 individuals of Italian ethnicity in Australia, many of whom had been naturalised, who were interned during the War, although only 170 of these individuals lived in Victoria.³⁴⁰ In fact, when the Italianos did successfully purchase a property in Middle Park in 1942, the paperwork showed that the War had been

³³⁶ For theories of why the author of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* concealed his identity see Chapter Three of this thesis or Appendix B: Cammarano, "Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia's First Italo-Australian Cookbook."

³³⁷ Elkner, "The Internment of Italian-Australians: A Perspective from Melbourne, Victoria," 2.

³³⁸ NAA: A12217, L5283; NAA: A12217, L4255.

³³⁹ *Maria Italiano nee Fasciale, Interview with Laura Mecca, 1988*, Notes, Source: IHS.

³⁴⁰ Elkner, "The Internment of Italian-Australians: A Perspective from Melbourne, Victoria," 1–4.

very good for business. In reply to a question regarding whether Italiano had contributed to war loans or purchased war certificates, he explained that he had not because "...business has expanded very rapidly owing to a ban being placed on importation of cheese and my factory has had to be extended. All surplus monies have had to be returned to my business for the purchase of raw materials."³⁴¹ The Italianos had previously lived in the factory at 85-87 Queensberry Street, but the result of wartime importation restrictions meant that their living quarters had to make way for an expanded factory, hence the need for a new family home. Ten years later, the Perfect Cheese Company moved to the much larger premises in Fitzroy and their attention turned to changing the cheese-buying habits of the average Anglo-Australian housewife. While they never ignored their original migrant customers, the company put considerable efforts into establishing and building a strong relationship with Anglo-Australian consumers. They used advertising and marketing in similar ways to how they had used them with their original Italian migrant customers, but in selling cheese to an audience that was mostly unfamiliar with at least these forms of it, they also had to become educators. Their ethnicity, which had been used to signify trustworthiness and quality to its original market, was still important to this new market, but in a very different way.

Relationship with Anglo-Australian Retailers and Consumers

In 1959, Italiano wrote in the company's prospectus:

For many years, the business expanded slowly. However, since World War II, with increased migration from the Continent and increasing appreciation of fine quality continental type cheese by the Australian public, demand for the company's products has expanded rapidly. Due to the long curing process required to bring the cheese to its correct state of maturity, we have never been able to satisfy the public demand for

³⁴¹ NAA: A12217, L5283.

our products. The additional finance provided by this public issue will permit the Company to carry adequate stocks to supply its present customers and with a more aggressive sales policy than has been possible in the past to steadily widen its circle of customers both in Australia and overseas.

After selling 300,000 shares to the general public, and keeping 399,995 shares and therefore control of the company in the hands of the family, Italiano finally had the money he needed to access a larger market. How the company was going to do this, except for reference to a “more aggressive sales policy,” is not explained in the prospectus, but an analysis of the advertising and marketing that the company pursued primarily in the 1960s and 1970s reveals that it involved a radically different strategy than that which was employed in its early years.³⁴²

Educating the Audience: Sellers

In order to sell his products to Anglo-Australian customers, Italiano first needed to convince the grocers and supermarkets where these customers shopped to stock his cheese. This task was a challenge. Not only were continental cheeses, also known as “fancy,” “gourmet” or “speciality” cheeses, little known, but Australian-made cheese in these categories had the added barrier of having to compete with imported products. In 1963, the Australian Dairy Board summed up the problems facing the local industry, particularly for manufacturers of continental cheese. Improved manufacturing techniques had meant that the local industry had produced what threatened to become an “acute surplus problem.” While Australian per capita cheese consumption had increased slightly in the five years prior to 1963, this increase was not enough to offset the surplus. At the same time, imports of fancy cheese were on the rise. According to the Dairy Board, “retailers must still be ‘sold’ on stocking Australian fancy

³⁴² UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Prospectus, 1959.

cheese as against imported fancy cheeses.” The same article also points out the obvious differences with regards to quality: “Australian manufacturers are expected to compete with their overseas counterparts many of whom have had virtually centuries of experience in producing specific types of fancy cheese.”³⁴³ While the Perfect Cheese Company still posted healthy profits during the early 1960s, recording a £60,504 net profit for 1963, they began to make a conscious effort to convince more mainstream retailers to stock their cheeses.³⁴⁴

This effort can be seen in the pages of the official trade magazine of the Master Grocers’ Association of Victoria, *The Australasian Grocer*. The magazine had begun to understand the importance of “New Australians” and their buying power some years before, although it was not always convinced that the industry was doing enough to cater to this new market. For example, despite publishing a “Translated List of Groceries” in 1954, by 1956 the magazine was still questioning “what attempt, if any, is made by industry and merchandisers to ‘slant’ their business towards the substantial market provided by the half a million of foreign migrants who have come to Australia since the war?”³⁴⁵ More articles aimed at helping grocers sell to “New Australians” appeared in the late 1950s and early 1960s, culminating in the debut of a special section in April 1961, the “Continental Corner.”³⁴⁶ It was in this “Corner,” which was designed to deal “with Continental news, product information, and helpful hints for this form of selling,” that the Perfect Cheese Company first advertised.³⁴⁷ Its May 1961 ad addressed the grocer directly, saying the company “offers you a wide range of Italian and Continental Cheese to satisfy the selective tastes of your clientele.”³⁴⁸

³⁴³ “Australian Dairy Board Tells of Influence of Fancy Cheeses,” *Australasian Grocer*, June 1963, 92–94.

³⁴⁴ UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Directors’ Report and Accounts, 30th June, 1963.

³⁴⁵ “Translated List of Groceries,” *Australasian Grocer*, December 1954, 841; “Our Foreign Population,” *Australasian Grocer*, March 1956, 1349.

³⁴⁶ These articles include Roy Thomas, “Vice-President Roy Thomas Gives Some Hints on Selling to New Australians,” *Australasian Grocer*, March 1961, 25; “Here’s a Real Help, Cater for Your New Australian Friends,” *Australasian Grocer*, March 1959, 82–89.

³⁴⁷ “Continental Corner,” *Australasian Grocer*, April 1961, 118.

³⁴⁸ “Perfect Cheese Co.,” *Australasian Grocer*, May 1961, 121.

The “Continental Corner” appeared to have a dual purpose: to inform grocers of the products which would be of interest to “New Australians” and also to sell grocers on the idea that these same products could be sold, more profitably than “standard” groceries, to their average (presumably Anglo-Australian) customers.³⁴⁹ By advertising in this section of the magazine, and even exhibiting his wares at the “Continental Corner” of the 1961 Convention and Trade Fair run by the association behind the magazine, Italiano must have been hoping to reach customers that could not be reached by the traditional migrant stockists of his cheese.³⁵⁰

The company found success with this strategy, as even though the “Continental Corner” was short-lived, the Perfect Cheese Company continued to advertise in nearly every edition of *The Australasian Grocer* throughout the 1960s.³⁵¹ However, while the majority of these simple advertisements informed retailers of the company’s most popular cheeses, they did not offer much beyond the information about their contact details and the fact that they were “prize-winning,” which will be discussed in greater detail below.³⁵² Educating grocers about different kinds of cheese fell to the Australian Dairy Produce Board. Between 1966 and 1968, nearly every issue of *The Australasian Grocer* carried a feature article on cheese sub-titled “Know Your Cheese” or “Know Your Product.” The first of these articles, “Australian Cheese Varieties,” was attributed to the Australian Dairy Board and was published “in response to our readers’ requests.”³⁵³ Subsequent articles did not carry the same attribution, but they often included an image of the featured cheese, and beneath it a card with the cheese’s chief characteristics, a cartoon of a small woman, who was the symbol for an Australian Dairy Board

³⁴⁹ See, for example, G. Weinberg, “The One in Ten Story,” *Australasian Grocer*, May 1961, 117; “Continental Foods Feature of Sydney Trade Fair,” *Australasian Grocer*, September 1961, 114–17.

³⁵⁰ “Convention and Trade Fair,” *Australasian Grocer*, October 1961, 120. The Perfect Cheese Co. also exhibited at the 1963 Convention. See “Manufacturers Receive Congratulations on Quality of Convention Displays,” *Australasian Grocer*, October 1963, 17.

³⁵¹ The “Continental Corner” no longer appeared in *The Australasian Grocer* after the November 1961 issue. Advertisements for the Perfect Cheese Co. can be found in issues from May 1961 to at least July 1968.

³⁵² The first of these advertisements is “Mmmmm...Perfect Brand Cheese,” *Australasian Grocer*, October 1962, 113.

³⁵³ Australian Dairy Produce Board, “Australian Cheese Varieties,” *Australasian Grocer*, June 1966, 45.

promotion known as the “Australian Cheese Carnival” as well as the Board’s name printed on them.³⁵⁴ These points, plus the regularity of the feature and the fact that they only described Australian-made cheeses, make it logical to assume that the Board produced all of the articles. In any case, features which explained the attributes and history of “Australian Romano Cheese,” “Australian Parmesan Cheese,” “Australian Pecorino Cheeses,” “Australian Mozzarella Cheese” and “Australian Provolone,” never directly mention the Perfect Cheese Company, although the latter article’s image of provolone features an obscured Perfect Cheese Company wrapper and points out that the cheese has only one Victorian manufacturer.³⁵⁵ These likely advertorials obviously were likely to have assisted the company in helping grocers to understand, and perhaps subsequently stock, its cheeses. They show that while the company itself did make efforts to educate its audience, via its own advertisements, the support provided by a national government-run marketing body was perhaps even more valuable in informing retailers about the qualities and uses of the cheeses it produced. That it frequently ran its advertisements either on or near these articles was also advantageous to the company.

It is also worth noting that in the August 1965 edition of *The Australasian Grocer*, the Perfect Cheese Company moved in the index page of advertisers from the “Continental Foods” section to the “Foods” section.³⁵⁶ A special “Gourmet Section” in the May 1967 edition points to a theory as to why this shift may have occurred. The theme underlying most of the articles in this section is that Australian tastes have rapidly changed, and what were “Speciality–Gourmet–Continental foods in the not-so-distant past” are now presented by nearly all stores

³⁵⁴ This card can be seen in “Australian Edam Cheese,” *Australasian Grocer*, July 1966, 17. The “Carnival of Cheese” logo can be seen in “Australian Cheese Carnival Plans,” *Australasian Grocer*, July 1968, 53.

³⁵⁵ “Australian Romano Cheese,” *Australasian Grocer*, January 1967, 52; “Australian Parmesan Cheese,” *Australasian Grocer*, March 1967, 31; “Australian Pecorino Cheeses,” *Australasian Grocer*, April 1967, 19; “Australian Mozzarella Cheese,” *Australasian Grocer*, May 1967, 31; “Australian Provolone,” *Australasian Grocer*, November 1966, 52–53.

³⁵⁶ “Index to Advertisers’ and Buyers’ Guide,” *Australasian Grocer*, August 1965, 6.

in most cities of Australia in “an almost matter of fact way.”³⁵⁷ Of course, if that was truly the case, there would be no need for a “Gourmet Section.” However, the aim of the “Continental Corner” back in 1961, to convince grocers to sell these “fancy” products, appears to have been achieved, and the magazine notes, multiple times, that it was not just because of the new migrants:

This new development from the Steak and Eggs and Meat Pie era, is due to the presence of our New Australians and the Australian economy of full employment, allowing for better education and more scope for overseas travel. The result has been an intense curiosity to learn more about food generally. Mrs. Housewife is now interested in Eastern and European food specialties, and the retailer now realises he has to cater for these changes.³⁵⁸

By maintaining a presence in *The Australasian Grocer* in the crucial years during which the magazine itself noted a major change in Australian grocery-buying habits, the Perfect Cheese Company was able to reach “Mrs Housewife” via the grocers and supermarkets where they shopped.³⁵⁹ While the company’s balance sheet cannot tell us what percentages of which types of Australians were buying its products, it does show that the mid-1960s were the most profitable in the company’s public history, at least under Italiano’s ownership, with domestic sales up approximately 20 per cent in the 1965/1966 financial year and 13 per cent in the 1967/1968 financial year.³⁶⁰ These figures suggest the Perfect Cheese Company’s decision to attract and create a relationship with mainstream Anglo-Australian retailers was working.

³⁵⁷ “What Are We Talking About?,” *Australasian Grocer*, May 1967, 21.

³⁵⁸ “Master Foods—Gourmet Specialists,” *Australasian Grocer*, May 1967, 19.

³⁵⁹ “Master Foods—Gourmet Specialists,” 19.

³⁶⁰ Italiano Cheese Industries Limited, *Directors’ Report and Accounts 30th June 1966* (Fitzroy, Vic.: Italiano Cheese Industries, 1966); Italiano Cheese Industries Limited, *Directors’ Report and Accounts 30th June 1968* (Fitzroy, Vic.: Italiano Cheese Industries, 1968).

Educating the Audience: Consumers

Royal Melbourne Show

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Perfect Cheese Company began to more widely advertise, and winning prizes at the Royal Melbourne Show, as we saw in the *Neos Kosmos* advertisements, became integral to its marketing strategy. While the company's cheese was exhibited by the Victorian Department of Agriculture at the Royal Show in 1954, the first year that it competed in the "Fancy Cheese (1 cheese), any variety other than cheddar" category was 1958.³⁶¹ That this was the first year the company decided to enter is significant because it coincided with an initiative by the Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria to attract more new migrants to the Show's competitions. While this manifested itself in a number of categories in the "Home Crafts" division, open "To New Australians Only," perhaps the more inclusive spirit that these new classes at least tried to engender was encouraging to the Perfect Cheese Co.³⁶² Or, more likely, the company was increasingly focused on gaining the attention of the Anglo-Australian mainstream and, with public listing just months away, the 1958 Royal Melbourne Show provided the perfect forum for these efforts.

After success in 1958, the company went on to compete every year while the business was majority owned by the Italiano family, and they did extremely well. Between 1958 and 1980, the Perfect Cheese Company won 25 first prizes, 21 second prizes and 15 third prizes.³⁶³

Typically they entered parmigiano, pecorino, pecorino romano and pepato in the "Fancy Cheese...One Cheese, Hard, Bacteria ripened with a maximum moisture content of 35 per

³⁶¹ Images of the 1954 display can be seen in Perfect Cheese Co., *Perfect Cheese Co., N. P. Italiano, Pty. Ltd.*, n.p.; The Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, *Annual Exhibition: Catalogue of Exhibits* (Ascot Vale, Vic.: Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, 1958), 402.

³⁶² The Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, 428, 447, 460; "Crafts in Five Languages," *Age*, June 13, 1958, 8.

³⁶³ All of the information in this paragraph is based on a study of the "marked" editions, which is where the winners have been manually entered, of the *Annual Exhibition: Catalogue of Exhibits* published by the Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria (RAS) in the years 1958 to 1980 and held at the RAS Archives in Ascot Vale, Vic. A "marked" copy of 1970's catalogue was not available, so the results from this year have not been included in any of the results collated here.

cent..." class, and provolone and mozzarella in the "Fancy Cheese...One Cheese, Semi-hard, Bacteria ripened with a moisture content between 35% and 45%..." class.³⁶⁴ The Perfect Cheese Company won all three ribbons in the former category five times, and took home, on average, at least one ribbon in the latter category every year.³⁶⁵ Only in 1961 did the company fail to win any prizes at all.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the company used its victories to communicate the quality of its cheese, and therefore its desirability, to a mainstream audience. In addition to the advertisements placed in the Greek newspaper, the company heralded its 1958 wins on a sign placed on top of at least one of its milk vans.³⁶⁶ Throughout the 1960s, with the cheese also commonly referred to as Perfect Brand Cheese, the advertisements in *The Australasian Grocer* included the face of a satisfied man saying "Mmmmm" and a large winning ribbon placed prominently near him with the words "THE PRIZE WINNING CHEESE" stamped inside.³⁶⁷

Advertorials

In the 1960s, while still achieving excellent results at the Show, the company began to experiment with different approaches to advertising which did not promote its Show victories. Between 1961 and 1965, the company placed short blurbs in an advertorial column titled "Take My Word" by Mary Lane which typically ran on the pages featuring women's content of *The Age*. These spots suggested that while Show ribbons may have communicated quality, the company believed the average Australian housewife needed more information on how to use what were likely to be unfamiliar cheeses. Written in a friendly, conversational tone, Lane

³⁶⁴ The names of the winning cheeses were not included in the catalogues prior to 1961. Prior to 1963, the Perfect Cheese Co. could only compete in the "Fancy Cheese (1 cheese), any variety other than cheddar" category, whereas in 1963 the Fancy Cheese "Hard" and "Semi-hard" categories were introduced as well as a "Cottage or Creamed" class. Perfect Cheese only entered a "cream" or "creamed" cheese in this latter category between 1966 and 1968.

³⁶⁵ The company won all three prizes in the "Hard" category in the years 1966, 1967, 1972, 1979 and 1980.

³⁶⁶ P-01673, *A Milk Van Belonging to the Perfect Cheese Co.*, Image, Source: IHS.

³⁶⁷ "Mmmmm...Perfect Brand Cheese," 113. Identical advertisements can also be found in the May 1963 and June 1966 editions.

gave women general advice in the first 1961 spot, including that pecorino romano is “ideal for table use with its sharper tang” and “Mozzarella [sic], eaten rather fresh is one that ‘strings’—perfect for pizza.”³⁶⁸ In 1962, the advertorials become increasingly specific with their helpful suggestions and recipe ideas. The January 31 column targets mothers who needed new ideas for school lunches. Lane advised that “[r]icotta cream cheese makes a delicious spread, mixed with jam or honey” and “[c]hildren love it.”³⁶⁹ On the first day of Lent in 1965, Lane reminded her readers of this fact and wrote: “[c]heese is the favourite with spaghetti, salads and all Lenten dishes. Every kind, for serving straight or cooking is made here by ITALIANO (Perfect Cheese Co.).”³⁷⁰

Noticeably in all of these advertorials, a shortened form of the company name is used as the brand name and the brand name is in brackets as if it were the company name, as the above quote demonstrates. If this only occurred once, perhaps it could be considered a mistake, but all the spots by Lane refer to cheese made by “ITALIANO (Perfect Cheese Co.),” sometimes more than once within the same copy. While no other advertising or marketing materials refer to the cheese in this way, the effect is to highlight the ethnicity of the cheese, in much the same way as the early advertisements placed in the Italian press did. It implies that the company believes the general public was both ready to buy and interested in Italian cheese, not just continental or fancy cheese.

Recipes in Advertisements

By the late 1960s, the company seemed to be looking for a new direction and abandoned both the Mary Lane advertorials and the Show results as effective forms of marketing. The decision to try something new may have been influenced by a shock profit announcement. After steady growth, in March 1969, the company announced that profits in the last six

³⁶⁸ Mary Lane, “Take My Word,” *Age*, September 6, 1961, 12.

³⁶⁹ Mary Lane, “Take My Word,” *Age*, January 31, 1962, 10.

³⁷⁰ Mary Lane, “Take My Word,” *Age*, March 3, 1965, 22.

months of December 1968 were 33 per cent lower than that earned in the same six months of 1967. The company attributed this dramatic downturn to a reduction in exports, an oversupply of dairy products worldwide and increased competition from imports at home.³⁷¹ However, shortly after this announcement, it advertised for a new marketing manager. The 1969 classified ad explains the company was “examining its organisational structure with a view to giving greater emphasis to marketing” and that the position of marketing manager was “a key position and should eventually lead to Board appointment.”³⁷² With a renewed emphasis on marketing came new advertising in the late 1960s and 1970s which included recipes featuring Perfect Cheese products for the first time.

Using recipes to sell products has a long history in Australia, as single recipes in newspaper or magazine advertisements, in pamphlets or booklets of various sizes, or collated into promotional cookbooks.³⁷³ The Perfect Cheese Company produced recipes in all three of these ways, but it was not one of the first “Italian” food manufacturers to do so. Pasta makers Rinoldi, for example, included a recipe for “Macaroni and Tomatoes” in a 1926 advertisement in *The Argus*, and went on to produce a number of recipe booklets in the 1930s and 1940s.³⁷⁴ Tomato paste manufacturer Leggo’s placed a recipe for “Spaghetti Marinara” in a 1957 *Australian Women’s Weekly* advertisement and, in the 1970s, began to produce cookbooks featuring their products almost exclusively in “Italian” recipes.³⁷⁵ The Perfect Cheese Company also employed this strategy, but not until 1969 did it begin to use recipes to teach Australians

³⁷¹ UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1987.0138 Box 118, Italiano Cheese Industries Ltd. 1965-1972, Letter from P. D. George to the Secretary, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited, 17 March 1969.

³⁷² “Marketing Manager—Italiano Cheese Industries Ltd.,” *Age*, February 22, 1969, 81.

³⁷³ Cookbook collector John Hoyle describes 46 per cent of the books in his Australian cookbook bibliography, which covers the 1860s to 1950, as designed “to promote a product or service.” See John Hoyle, *An Annotated Bibliography of Australian Domestic Cookery Books, 1860s to 1950* (Willoughby, NSW: Billycan Cook, 2010), 10.

³⁷⁴ “Solving the Breakfast Problem—During Lent Especially,” *Argus*, March 17, 1926, 10, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3740260>. Examples of Rinoldi’s recipe books include Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book* (Prahran, Vic.: Thos. Reynolds, [194-?]); Rinoldi, *The New Art of Preparing & Serving Macaroni Dishes* (Prahran, Vic.: Thos. Reynolds, n.d.).

³⁷⁵ “Just Five Simple Ingredients and Leggo’s Tomato Paste,” 14; Leggo’s first “Italian” cookbook was *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook*.

how to cook with and consume its cheese. What can be seen in an analysis of advertisements that ran in either Melbourne or Sydney's principal broadsheet newspaper between 1969 and 1972 is how increasingly "Italian" the recipes became both in the way they were presented and in their actual content.

The company's first newspaper advertisement with a recipe is arguably not a recipe at all. Featuring the title "A Platter of Perfect Brand Cheese" and accompanied by an image of said platter, the recipe does not feature the usual list of ingredients and method, but simply advice on how to construct a cheese platter which will "delight your friends." The copy urges the reader: "Instead of dessert, or after dessert, serve a selection of Perfect Brand Cheese!" It goes on to advise on the number of cheeses required and includes brief tasting notes for each variety. Except for the information that the cheeses are made in Australia "in the traditional Italian manner" and that Perfect Brand Cheese is the "finest Italian and continental Cheese," the "Italian-ness" of the products is not overly emphasised.³⁷⁶

In another advertisement from the same year, this time titled "Another Delicious Perfect Brand Cheese Recipe," the recipe for "Chicken Bolognese" appears on first sight to have a more Italian flavour. However, "Bolognese" is spelt in the French fashion, and there is nothing particularly "Bolognese" about the recipe, in the way that Australians of that time understood the term, that is as a minced meat and tomato sauce. Instead it would be more recognisable to Australians today as a chicken parmigiana with a wine-enriched tomato sauce poured over it. In any case, the advertisement, which ran in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, is useful in that it tells us that Perfect Brand Cheese in 1969 was available "at Woolworths & Flemings Food Stores," both major supermarkets of their day in NSW, as well as at "good delicatessens everywhere."³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ "A Platter of Perfect Brand Cheese," *Age*, May 23, 1969, 17.

³⁷⁷ "Another Delicious Perfect Brand Cheese Recipe—Chicken Bolognese," *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 20, 1969, 146; Woolworths is one of Australia's two major supermarket chains and it bought

The final advertisement for 1969 features a recipe for “Pizza with Short Crust.”³⁷⁸ While it is always problematic to label any recipe as “authentic,” traditional pizza recipes in the Neapolitan style use yeast-leavened dough, not shortcrust pastry made by rubbing butter into flour, salt and baking powder, as this one does. Australian cooking doyenne Margaret Fulton acknowledges this distinction in her 1968 best-selling cookbook by including two recipes for pizza—one with yeast, which she describes as “traditional” and one she calls “Pastry Pizza Crust” which is made in much the same way as the advertisement describes.³⁷⁹ It is curious that a company run by Italian migrants and their descendants, albeit from Calabria not Naples, should decide to use a non-traditional recipe for pizza. Perhaps they believed that Australians wanted fast and easy recipes, and, as Fulton describes her similar pastry recipe as “quickly and simply made” but still producing “an excellent crust,” the shortcrust version was more suitable for its target audience.³⁸⁰ There is a further link between the pizza recipes in Fulton’s 1968 book and the Perfect Cheese Company. On page 229, hanging behind a cheese-and-tomato covered pizza studded with olives and decorated with artfully placed anchovies and capsicum strips, are two balls of Perfect Cheese Company mozzarella.³⁸¹ Considering many Australians accord Fulton a central role in teaching them how to cook foods from other cultures, inclusion in her first major cookbook, whether by chance or design, can be considered as a sign of mainstream success for the company.³⁸²

In the 1970s advertisements, the recipes suddenly became more recognisably “Italian.” The first recipe advertisement of that year is again for “Pizza,” but this time the shortcrust pastry

out Flemings Food Stores in 1960. See “Woolworths’ £40m. Appetite,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 10, 1960, 109.

³⁷⁸ “Another Delicious Perfect Brand Cheese Recipe—Pizza with Short Crust,” *Age*, December 19, 1969, 13.

³⁷⁹ Margaret Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook* (London; Sydney: Hamlyn, 1968), 228.

³⁸⁰ Fulton, 228.

³⁸¹ Fulton, 229. *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook* has been in print constantly since it was published and has achieved lifetime sales of over 1.5 million copies according to Donna Lee Brien, “Margaret Fulton: A Study of a 1960s Food Writer as an Activist,” *Coolabah* 5 (2011): 78.

³⁸² Margaret Fulton’s influence is described in Suzanne Gibbs et al., *Margaret Fulton A Celebration* (Canberra: National Library of Australia for the Friends of the National Library of Australia, 2007).

has been banished in favour of a more traditional dough made with yeast, albeit with the addition of an egg yolk. This advertisement is different from those that preceded it, in that it features a cartoon chef, with a thick curled moustache, holding a packet of Perfect Mozzarella Cheese and the words “Bella! Bella! A New Perfect Cheese Recipe.”³⁸³ This playful, stereotypical image of Italian food is similar to those used by Leggo’s to promote its “Italian” recipes around the same time.³⁸⁴ However, the Perfect Cheese Company did not use this type of light-hearted take on Italian food again. Subsequent advertisements between 1970 and 1972 were much more serious. They all feature “Italian” recipes, such as “Polpette,” “Gnocchi di Ricotta” and “Torta di Mele,” accompanied by an image of the finished recipe, sometimes with an image of the relevant cheese. The most playful thing about these ads is that the recipe titles are followed by an exclamation point. They also feature a translated title, in brackets beside a smaller version of the Italian title, so the above recipes are translated, often descriptively and not directly, as “Italian Meat Loaves,” “Spinach Dumplings” and “Italian Apple Pie.” The company must have believed its audience did not have sufficient knowledge of Italian language or Italian food and required the translations. These 1970s advertisements also feature a different logo to those which ran in 1969. “Perfect Cheese Co.” has been placed inside an Italian flag at the bottom of the ad, further strengthening the association between the brand and its ethnicity.³⁸⁵

All of these advertisements also included the instruction that readers could “Write for [a] free recipe brochure.” What was in this brochure is not described, but in 1972, the company published an advertisement for a “FREE full-colour Perfect Brand Cheese Recipe Book” which featured “delicious Italian-style recipes...all flavoured with superb Perfect Brand Cheese.” All

³⁸³ “Bella! Bella! A New Perfect Cheese Recipe,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 19, 1970, 105.

³⁸⁴ See, for example, *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook*.

³⁸⁵ “Polpette!,” *Age*, September 21, 1970, 15; “Gnocchi Di Ricotta!,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 20, 1971, 147; “Torta Di Mele!,” *Age*, June 21, 1971, 14.

the reader had to do was send in the attached coupon.³⁸⁶ While the actual publication is more accurately described as a booklet rather than a book, it is still an early example of an Australian publication dedicated solely to Italian food, as it comes before *Margaret Fulton's Italian Cookbook* (1973), *The Leggo's Italian Cookbook* (1975) and *The Sanremo Recipe Book of Pasta* (1978).³⁸⁷ With the exception of Fulton, these examples also highlight how influential promotional cookbooks have been in spreading ideas about Italian food in Australia.³⁸⁸

The Feminine Touch Wine and Food (1978)

In 1978, the Perfect Cheese Company took a different approach to its advertorial recipes. The company had a key role, along with Barossa winemakers Kaiser Stuhl, in the publication of the intriguingly named *The Feminine Touch Wine and Food*. Written by journalist and wine enthusiast Robin Northover and home economist Norma Van Eck, the authors acknowledge that the book has been produced “with product assistance from two major business houses involved in home entertaining.”³⁸⁹ While Kaiser Stuhl is thanked for providing “the inspiration,” gratitude also is extended to the Perfect Cheese Company for supplying “the food and recipe material for this book.”³⁹⁰ This apparent commercial agreement explains why 70 per cent of all the food-related recipes feature a Perfect Cheese Company product.³⁹¹ Surprisingly, these recipes are not exclusively or even in the majority Italian recipes. Readers are just as likely to come across a recipe for “Orange and Chicken Soup” or “Lychee Nut

³⁸⁶ “Free Full-Colour Perfect Brand Cheese Recipe Book,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 23, 1972, 119.

³⁸⁷ *Perfect Brand Cheese Recipes* (Fitzroy, Vic.: Perfect Cheese (N. P. Italiano), n.d.); Margaret Fulton, *Margaret Fulton's Italian Cookbook* (Dee Why West, NSW; London; New York: Paul Hamlyn, 1973); *The Leggo's Italian Cookbook*; Anna Martini, ed., *The Sanremo Recipe Book of Pasta* (London: Angus & Robertson, 1978).

³⁸⁸ Note that even Fulton's book appeared to have a commercial agreement with Italian airline Alitalia.

³⁸⁹ Robin Northover and Norma Van Eck, *The Feminine Touch Wine and Food* (Melbourne: Decalon, 1978), book jacket. Norma Van Eck was also credited for “Food Preparation” in *The Leggo's Italian Cookbook*, 92.

³⁹⁰ Northover and Van Eck, *The Feminine Touch Wine and Food*, 2.

³⁹¹ There are many other recipes which are not food-related including cocktails and non-alcoholic drinks.

Appetizers” as they are a recipe for “Tagliatelle Italia” or “Cassata.”³⁹² The emphasis is not on ethnicity, but rather novelty and difference. In relation to the Perfect Cheese Company, the authors repeatedly underscore how its cheeses can offer these desirable qualities. In the “Cocktails and Canapes” chapter the recipes are described as “[d]elightfully different too, because we’ve used some really special Australian made Continental type cheeses to introduce a new look to those cunning little canapes”; in “Luncheon Line-Up” the recipes are “tantalizing...with a strong Continental flavour” because “[t]he ‘Perfect’ cheeses we’ve used so extensively make them just different enough to make your guests wonder how you did it”; and in “Come to Dinner,” “you’ll find the recipes have just that little difference about them to make them rather intriguing. That’s because we’ve introduced some Continental ideas to add to your own Australian cuisine, and I’m sure you’ll find them deeeelicious [sic]!”³⁹³

This movement away from presenting exclusively “Italian” recipes to featuring a myriad of ethnic and non-ethnic recipes for the purposes of entertaining suggests the company was trying to appeal to a larger market by emphasising the variety and multiple uses of its cheese. Educating the hostess, the “feminine” target of the book, about the versatility of Perfect Cheese is the main aim. This education is not limited to recipes, as the chapter “The Wines and the Cheese” illustrates. Despite the title, wine is only mentioned in passing, as the double-page spread primarily provides details and tasting notes on all of the cheeses in the Perfect Cheese range, from “Mozzarella” and “Strachino [sic]” to “Kasseri” and “Pepato,” along with tips on storing, serving, in the form of a cheese platter, and catering with cheese. While the cheeses are described as “Italian,” where relevant, again it is the novelty that these cheeses provide, that they are “not the familiar Edams, Cheddars and Goudas but something different,” that is claimed to make them of value to the reader.³⁹⁴

³⁹² Northover and Van Eck, 41, 39, 69, 59.

³⁹³ Northover and Van Eck, 37, 41, 46.

³⁹⁴ Northover and Van Eck, 80–81.

The cookbook, along with all of the other advertising and marketing material produced between the mid-1950s and 1981, helped Italiano and his family effectively target and appeal to Anglo-Australian retailers and customers. However, Italiano could not have successfully transitioned his business into the mainstream economy without learning to navigate government legislation and bureaucracy.

Relationship with Anglo-Australian Authorities

When Italiano started cheesemaking in Victoria, it is likely in the early years at least, he was operating outside of the law. From 1933, making cheese from milk which was not produced on your own farm in Victoria required a dairy factory licence and, in 1934, Italiano did not have a dairy farm or a licence.³⁹⁵ Exactly when he was granted his initial dairy factory licence, also known as a cheese factory licence, is not known, but what is clear is that somewhere between 1930 and 1955 Italiano and his company went from a small, largely unknown, even illegal, business, hawking foreign, unknown cheese to foreign, marginalised people to a thriving company selling increasingly more desirable cheese to people who valued not just the taste of these novel cheeses but the cultural capital that came with them.

What happened to bring about this change? Italiano himself acknowledges that the post-World War II migration boom was good for business: clearly the large influx of Italian migrants was a factor in the company's success. To attribute all of his success to immigration is, however, to ignore the hard work of his family and his talent as a cheesemaker and, more importantly, a businessman. Instead, it will be argued that the innovatory nature of the company assisted Italiano to increase the profile of his business which also helped him to establish strong relationships with government authorities, particularly within the Department of Agriculture. In addition, the changing status of the cheese produced by the company,

³⁹⁵ A list of all butter and cheese factories registered under State legislation in Victoria, and dated the 11th of July 1934, does not include the Perfect Cheese Company. PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 99, Dairy Products Butter & Cheese Factories Part 1.

shown by the change in the attitudes of dairy officials, cannot be ignored. In fact, the journey of Italiano and his company, from unknown to feted, is mirrored by the status of the cheese he was producing and selling.

This journey can clearly be seen in the papers of the Dairying Division, which was the body within the Victorian Department of Agriculture responsible for advising the Minister of Agriculture on who should be granted a dairy factory licence. By analysing the archives held by the Public Record Office Victoria over the life of the company, not only can changing official attitudes to fancy cheese be discerned, but the high regard with which the Perfect Cheese Company was held, and the influence it had, becomes increasingly obvious.

Innovators

Sheep are now being milked commercially for the first time in Australia in the country's first sheep cheese producing venture...[t]he venture has been launched by the Perfect Cheese Co. Ltd., headed by Mr. Natale Italiano, who imigrated [sic] to Australia about 45 years ago.³⁹⁶

The *British Food Journal* reported this news in 1968, and while being the first to commercially produce sheep's milk cheese especially in a country said to have ridden to prosperity on that animal's back is impressive, it was not the company's first attempt at innovation.³⁹⁷ In the course of the company's history, Italiano and his family showed that they were not afraid to modernise, invent, take risks and try new approaches. These actions enabled them not just to build a successful business, but to come to the attention of those in positions of power in the dominant culture.

³⁹⁶ "News and Notes," *British Food Journal* 70, no. 1 (1968): 27.

³⁹⁷ However "traditionally and geographically dairying and sheep grazing in Australia are generally incompatible." "News and Notes," 27.

This innovative approach does not mean that the risks that the Italianos took in their business always paid off.³⁹⁸ It suggests that the pioneering spirit which saw them start a business in the middle of the Depression was always part of what, in contemporary business parlance, would be called the company's DNA. Along with the sheep dairy, they also considered goat's milk production, opened a piggery and adapted their cheese range to meet changing consumer demands.

An early example of the company's desire to do things differently and tap into new markets can be seen in their procurement of goat's milk, presumably to make goat's milk cheese. As early as 1958, the company advertised in *The Age* classifieds in the hope of making "arrangements with interested producers to purchase any reasonable quantity of Goat's Milk."³⁹⁹ At this stage, it was unlikely that there was any commercial production of goat's milk cheese in Australia, although in 1959 a goat breeder in rural NSW had begun to experiment with goat's milk cheese with the goal of manufacturing it.⁴⁰⁰ While it is unclear whether the company commercially marketed a goat's milk cheese, they did eventually have a goat's milk products division, and their goats were exhibited at the Royal Melbourne Show, although the division was closed in 1980 because of losses at the farm.⁴⁰¹

The ambitious sheep's milk dairy was opened in late 1967. At the opening, Italiano declared "[i]t's been my life-time dream...ever since I've been in Australia I've wanted to make Pecorina [sic]."⁴⁰² As a descendant of a Calabrese cheesemaking family, it is likely that Italiano made pecorino in Italy and these comments suggest his desire to do so in Australia was motivated at

³⁹⁸ For example, as is discussed below, they developed a new cheese type but it did not appear to gain market traction and was dumped from the product range.

³⁹⁹ "We Wish to Make Arrangements...", *Age*, July 9, 1958, 36.

⁴⁰⁰ "Stud Saanen Breeder Makes Goat's Cheese," *Western Herald*, March 6, 1959, 8, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article103994168>.

⁴⁰¹ The Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, *Annual Exhibition: Catalogue of Exhibits* (Ascot Vale, Vic.: Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, 1978). UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1990.0080, Box 209, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited 1975-1981, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Directors' Report and Accounts, 30th June, 1980.

⁴⁰² "First Sheep Dairy Opens," *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 8, 1967, 41.

least partly by nostalgia.⁴⁰³ However, any nostalgia was tempered by good business sense, because he foresaw consumer demand for his sheep's milk cheese in the US. By the time that the company opened the sheep dairy, it already had a long history of exporting. By 1959 the company had "developed a useful trade with New Zealand and the United Kingdom" and, after the sheep's milk dairy was well established, it was reportedly shipping "a substantial proportion" of the more than 3,000 tons of cheese made annually to the US, Canada, Africa, Malta and Japan as well as to their original export partners.⁴⁰⁴ The company's own reports and various newspaper articles stressed that the sheep's milk cheese was always intended for the export market, particularly the US, and a report in 1971 confirmed that was where most of it went, noting that the original flock of 350 had been increased to 2,000 and that more expansion was planned.⁴⁰⁵

While a newspaper article suggests the company had intended for its sheep's milk cheese to be available on the domestic market, it is not clear that it ever sold either a 100 per cent sheep's milk cheese or, for that matter, a cheese with any sheep's milk in it at all, in Australia.⁴⁰⁶ While Perfect Cheese had an image of a sheep stamped onto their pecorino romano cheeses, with the words "Marca Pecora" ("Sheep brand"), this branding can be seen as early as 1959, pre-dating the existence of the sheep dairy by at least eight years.⁴⁰⁷ Also, according to the account in the *British Food Journal*, the company prior to the opening of the sheep dairy made all of its pecorino from cow's milk.⁴⁰⁸ In addition to this, all descriptions of pecorino cheese in Australia, including those from the Australian Dairy Corporation and

⁴⁰³ "Pecora" is Italian for sheep and, traditionally, pecorino was the principal table and hard grating cheese of southern Italy.

⁴⁰⁴ UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Prospectus, 1959; Darbyshire, "Roadmaker to Cheesemaker," 35.

⁴⁰⁵ Italiano Cheese Industries Limited, *Directors' Report and Accounts 30th June 1967* (Fitzroy, Vic.: Italiano Cheese Industries, 1967); "News and Notes," 27; Darbyshire, "Roadmaker to Cheesemaker," 34.

⁴⁰⁶ For example, "Australian gourmets soon will be able to buy a new locally produced cheese—made from sheep's milk." "First Sheep Dairy Opens," 41.

⁴⁰⁷ Cheese with the "Marca Pecora" can be seen in "Perfect Cheese Co.," *Neos Kosmos*, March 6, 1959, 7.

⁴⁰⁸ "News and Notes."

prominent cheese writers at the time, state that Australian pecorino, including pecorino romano, was made either entirely from cow's milk or with a small amount of sheep's milk mixed in.⁴⁰⁹

In any case, the company did not limit its expansion or its innovation to cheesemaking. In the 1969/1970 financial year, the Italianos ventured into pig farming. While this seems of limited relevance to cheese manufacturing, it was in fact directly related. Italiano reportedly told company shareholders that the "piggery was started as a way of efficiently using the waste products from the Fitzroy factory. The pigs were now eating all of the factory waste."⁴¹⁰ There is evidence too that Italiano was concerned with the health and wellbeing of his animals. In 1972, an article described Italiano's plans for a new piggery as "[a] \$250,000 pig-sty... designed to ensure that piglets will not catch the common cold." The animals will be fed "top quality Continental cheese," read waste from the cheese factory, and will include "a maternity wing for sows" and "a play pen for piglets."⁴¹¹ We cannot know whether Italiano believed in animal rights and environmentalism, or whether he just understood that well-housed pigs were less likely to get sick and using factory waste to make pig feed was a profitable use of waste, but his approach to pig farming showed ingenuity and resourcefulness.

Italiano also embraced the use of new technology in cheesemaking. Over the course of its history, promotional and company materials constantly stressed that Perfect Cheese factories always used "modern" technology. This emphasis can be seen in descriptions as early as 1935, when the then new premises at 85-87 Queensberry Street were described as "new and very modern...equipped technically and hygienically with machinery to produce typical Italian

⁴⁰⁹ Cheese writer Richard Widcombe notes that all pecorino cheeses in Australia are made from cow's milk, with the addition occasionally of some sheep's milk, while fellow cheese writer Josef Vondra, who also worked for the Australian Dairy Corporation, states that only export pecorino has some sheep's milk added. Richard Widcombe, *Widcombe's Cheese Board: The Richard Widcombe Cheese Articles from the Pages of the Sydney Morning Herald* (Camberay, NSW: Horwitz Grahame, 1980); Josef Vondra, "Time for Imaginative Names," *Age*, November 7, 1978, 22.

⁴¹⁰ "World-Wide Shortage of Cheese," *Age*, November 18, 1970, 20.

⁴¹¹ Bob Cameron, "\$250,000 Sty for Pampered Pigs," *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 11, 1972, 17.

cheeses in ideal conditions.”⁴¹² Modernity is again stressed after the move to the Fitzroy factory, as shown in 1955’s souvenir booklet which features an illustration of “the present modern premises at 32-38 St. David Street Fitzroy” surrounded by six photos of shiny stainless steel machines in pristine condition.⁴¹³ New innovations were also employed in building both the “luxe” pig sty and the sheep’s milk dairy, which could milk forty-eight sheep at a time “under the most hygienic conditions” and included “special foot baths for the sheep before they enter and leave the building to avoid footrot.”⁴¹⁴ Also at the sheep’s milk dairy, the *Journal of Agriculture* reported that Italiano conducted experiments to rear lambs artificially, based on research from the University of Melbourne, so as to increase milk yield.⁴¹⁵ Taking advantage of technological advancement allowed for the company to package its cheeses in ways to make them more convenient, and therefore, more appealing to its consumers. In a 1959 *Il Globo* ad, for example, pecorino romano is advertised on the basis that it can be bought pre-cut into wedges and “packaged using the American system CRYOVAC” which “in addition to being hygienic saves both time and work.”⁴¹⁶

Packaging was not the only way the company innovated to improve the convenience of its products. Comparing the cheese range offered by the company in 1955’s souvenir booklet to the range presented in 1978’s *The Feminine Touch Wine and Food* is instructive because it shows not only new cheeses added to the range, such as “Pecorino da Tavola,” but also adjustments which have been made to their “traditional” cheeses in order to meet the demands of the 1970s consumer. The most obvious examples are the addition of “Sandwich

⁴¹² Author’s translation of “nuova e modernissima...attrezzata tecnicamente ed igienicamente con macchinariatti a produrre i tipici formaggi italiani, prodotti nelle condizioni ideali” in “Nuova Industria Il Successo Arride Agli Intraprendenti,” 3.

⁴¹³ Perfect Cheese Co., *Perfect Cheese Co., N. P. Italiano, Pty. Ltd.*, n.p.

⁴¹⁴ Cameron, “\$250,000 Sty for Pampered Pigs,” 17; Darbyshire, “Roadmaker to Cheesemaker,” 34.

⁴¹⁵ “Commercial Attempt to Rear Lambs Artificially,” *Journal of Agriculture* 66, no. 10 (1968): 370.

⁴¹⁶ Author’s translation of “confezionato col sistema Americano CRYOVAC” and “...che oltre ad essere igienico fa risparmiare tempo e lavoro.” in “Perfect Cheese Co.,” November 4, 1959, 8.

Parmesan” and “Sandwich Provolone,” presumably shaping these cheeses as loaves so as to make them easier to slice.⁴¹⁷

In addition to the non-Italian cheeses that the company added to its range over the years which have already been discussed, Perfect Cheese also developed their own cheese.

“Romilano” is described in the 1965 annual report as:

a cheese unique in the world, being the creation of the Perfect Cheese Company.

Very tasty at the table, it grills nicely for a superb Welsh Rarebit, and finds its way into excellent cooking recipes.⁴¹⁸

While no other information can be found about the taste or texture of romilano, the image suggests that it is a semi-hard cheese; the comment that it “grills nicely” for a Welsh rarebit implies that it is similar to the cheddars commonly used in Welsh rarebit recipes. As cheddar was the dominant cheese in Australia at the time, perhaps this innovation was intended to compete in that highly-contested market. While a bold move, there is no evidence to suggest that romilano ever gained market traction as it is not present in any other description of the company’s cheese range, suggesting that while it may have been an innovation, it was not a successful one.

In 1978, Anthony Clarke writing in the *Epicure* section of *The Age* criticised the Australian dairy industry for dragging its feet with regards to specialty cheese production. After Australian butter exports to Britain dropped in the mid-1970s by more than 90 per cent, because of Britain’s entry into the European Economic Community, Australian dairy producers had to make use of the increased amount of milk on hand, or face milk production cuts.⁴¹⁹ The logical

⁴¹⁷ Northover and Van Eck, *The Feminine Touch Wine and Food*, 80–81.

⁴¹⁸ UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Directors’ Report and Accounts, 30th June, 1965.

⁴¹⁹ Oliver Marc Hartwich, “A Necessary Shock,” *Australian*, February 2, 2011, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/arts/books/a-necessary-shock/news-story/3d2549d950c986e1703f6c62be520055>.

way to do this was to make and sell more cheese on the domestic market. In order to achieve this, the industry requested, amongst other things, that tariffs be added to imported speciality cheese, even when those speciality cheeses were not produced in Australia at all. Clarke points out that a tariff on specialty cheese was not in consumers' best interest, and that the industry had failed up until this point to think beyond the mass production of "cheddar cheese, some edam and gouda, and not much else."⁴²⁰ However, Clarke notes the exceptions:

There are some genuinely innovatory companies producing cheese in Australia in competition with the imported fancy cheeses. These are notably Lactos in Tasmania, Riviana, Perfect Cheese, Interlandi and Unity in Queensland.⁴²¹

Even though Clarke describes Lactos as "perhaps Australia's most advanced and innovatory cheese maker," this Tasmanian-based business founded by a Czech refugee did not begin until 1955.⁴²² Of the others, Interlandi came to prominence in the 1970s, and both Unity and Riviana did not produce the specialty cheeses for which their reputation as innovators was based until 1960 and 1974 respectively.⁴²³ When Perfect Cheese was recognised in 1978 as being "innovatory" in the Australian dairy industry, it had been adapting its business to market conditions in resourceful and sometimes unique ways at least a quarter of a century before the others on the list. It was this innovative and progressive nature which allowed the business to overcome not just the barriers that any ethnic business might face but a dairy industry which, in the early years at least, was largely indifferent to the production of fancy cheese.

⁴²⁰ Anthony Clarke, "Cheese Men Change Course," *Age—Epicure*, August 22, 1978, 16.

⁴²¹ Clarke, 16.

⁴²² Clarke, 16; Jill Cassidy, "Lactos Cheese Factory," *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, 2006, [http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/L/Lactos Cheese factory.htm](http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/L/Lactos%20Cheese%20factory.htm).

⁴²³ Josef Vondra, *A Guide to Cheese in Australia* (Richmond, Vic.: Cavalier Press, 1985); Unity Blue was made by the Downs Co-operative Dairy Association in Toowoomba and Riviana Camembert was produced by Melbourne group Neil Fuller and Sons. "Blue Vein—Tasty and Versatile," *Canberra Times*, November 5, 1978, 15, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page12384164>; "Made in Australia' Camembert Cheaper," *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 26, 1974, 3.

From Ethnic Outsider to Mainstream Insider

In the 1930s, cheddar was synonymous with cheese in Australia, an attitude that was to persist for decades; fancy cheeses, also simply described as varieties other than cheddar, were not worth considering. The categories at the Royal Melbourne Show tell the story: prior to 1952 a cheesemaker only had the option of entering their cheese into four different classes, all of them for cheddar.⁴²⁴ The unimportance of fancy cheese, apparent in the moniker itself, was reflected in the attitude of the Department of Agriculture in Victoria. It is best illustrated by a handwritten note on a letter dated August 20, 1936 from the Federal Department of Commerce to the Director at the Department of Agriculture. It concerned a request from the Schratte Corporation of New York who were looking for an Australian dairy factory interested in producing Roquefort, a renowned French blue cheese made from sheep's milk, on their behalf. Underneath the letter, presumably written by the Director, is scrawled:

I am of the opinion that the matter is not worth pursuing further. Fancy cheese, even made from cow's milk, command no attention in Victoria. It is quite improbable that Roquefort would be considered at all.⁴²⁵

Therefore, some six years after Italiano began producing fancy cheese, the opinion of the body overseeing the dairy industry in Victoria was entirely dismissive of such cheeses. This attitude to fancy cheese might explain why it is difficult to find any mention of the Perfect Cheese Company outside of the ethnic press prior to the 1950s, with the exception of a short note recording that "N. P. Italiano Ltd." had become a registered company in 1949.⁴²⁶ There are no mentions of the company in the records of the Dairying Division in the 1930s or 1940s

⁴²⁴ The "Fancy Cheese (other than cheddar)" category was introduced in 1952. See The Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, *Annual Exhibition: Catalogue of Exhibits* (Ascot Vale, Vic.: Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, 1952).

⁴²⁵ PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheesemaking.

⁴²⁶ "New Company," 6.

either, although it should also be noted that the archives are not complete.⁴²⁷ The invisibility of the company prior to the Second World War confirms historian Mark Seymour's observation that the "distinct experience and history [of minority groups] in Australia seldom stands out in official records."⁴²⁸

In the 1950s, however, there is a dramatic change in both the status of fancy cheese and the regard with which the Perfect Cheese Company is held. As has already been discussed, in 1955's souvenir booklet, Jensen gave a glowing endorsement of Italiano and his company. In 1957, Jensen's endorsement of Perfect Cheese goes one step further, when he seems to have actively stopped a potential Perfect Cheese competitor from entering the Australian market.

In July of that year, Pietro Fanticini & Figli, an Italian cheesemaking firm based in the Parmigiano-Reggiano-producing region of Emilia-Romagna, wrote to the Victorian Premier's Department explaining that it would like to build a plant in Victoria to produce Italian cheeses including parmesan, provolone and pecorino. Before replying, A. G. Coulthard, of the Premier's Department, discussed it with Jensen. They both decided it was best for the Director of Agriculture to reply to the Italians, so as to "avoid unwarranted encouragement" but still provide a helpful response. The draft reply noted the dairy licence requirements for Victorian cheese factories and pointed out that there are few areas where a cheese factory is required.⁴²⁹

The actual letter which was sent to the Italian firm is not in the archives but a reply from Pietro Fanticini & Figli does exist. The company does not seem to have understood the tone of the letter. It accepts that there are "difficulties to overcome but we trust that thanks to you [the Victorian Government] we shall easily overcome them." The letter notes that "Italian

⁴²⁷ Evidence that the archives are not complete is the fact that many letters refer to other documents which are said to be attached, but often these other documents are not attached or in the file.

⁴²⁸ Seymour, "Writing Minority History: Sources for the Italians," 157.

⁴²⁹ PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence Perfect Cheese Co.

migrants in Australia are a large quantity” and then asks: “what contribution you could grant us for the establishment of a dairy plant in your district?”⁴³⁰

This time, before the Director of Agriculture drafted a reply, Jensen provided his thoughts to the Director about exactly why the Italian cheesemaker is not needed in Victoria: “I wish to advise that the Perfect Cheese Co., Melbourne, is already manufacturing a wide variety of Italian cheeses including Parmesan and Provoloni [sic] and, with extensions now being made to the factory, will soon be in a position to handle 30,000 gallons of milk.” Jensen goes on to point out that the company is able to “meet the entire Australian demand and leave a balance for export.” The company, he continues, has established markets for its cheese in every state of the Commonwealth, and is exploring export options in the UK and America. “I therefore feel that it is incumbent upon me to refrain from any step that would jeopardize the business of Australian factories in favour of a foreign firm,” he writes. Jensen attached to the memo a copy of the Perfect Cheese Company’s silver anniversary brochure. To the Director, seemingly ignoring the fact that the Italian firm wants to produce cheese in Victoria, not import it, he writes that the brochure “explains why it is not necessary to import cheeses from Italy.”⁴³¹

There is no further correspondence on the matter in the files and there is no evidence external to the archives to suggest that Pietro Fanticini & Figli ever established a cheese factory in Victoria. Jensen appears to have successfully thwarted the Italians. Whatever the motivations for this act, whether purely within his professional capacity or coloured by his relationship with Italiano, it certainly confirms that the Perfect Cheese Company was held in high esteem by the head of the Dairying Division. This state of affairs is further confirmed by the record of a dairy factory licence hearing in the archives. It was standard practice for

⁴³⁰ PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence Perfect Cheese Co.

⁴³¹ PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence Perfect Cheese Co.

existing cheese companies to lodge objections to applications for new cheese factory licenses. These objections were usually based on the grounds that the milk supply in the area was not sufficient to support a new factory or that the granting of a new licence would damage markets for existing cheeses. In hindsight, these objections seem anti-competitive, but they were legitimate protests to make, given the remit of the Dairy Board. The Perfect Cheese Company made frequent appearances at dairy licence hearings and objected to any cheese factory that it thought posed a threat to its business. These objections were often successful, which can be seen in the cases of the Lentini Brothers in 1957, Morabito in 1959, and Varrasso and Marcello in 1961.⁴³² The application which illustrates the sway the company held, however, is one to which it did not object. In 1958 Simon and Eva Goldman applied for a cheese licence to make soft cheeses from skim milk in an East Preston factory. Mr Park, the Senior Milk Products Officer as well as a member of the board, “added that N. P. Italiano Pty. Ltd...had offered no objection to the application.” The application was subsequently approved.⁴³³ Italiano most likely did not object because he did not see the Goldmans’ enterprise as posing any competition to his business. However, his lack of objection clearly carried a significant amount of weight with the Dairy Licence Board.

At the same time as Italiano’s reputation was on the rise, the Dairying Division began to more actively encourage the production of fancy cheese. This encouragement is revealed in an exchange between cheese manufacturing giant Kraft and the Department of Agriculture in 1956 and 1957. In an application for a licence to produce cheeses other than cheddar in the Western Victorian district of Coragulac, Kraft notes that various authorities connected to the dairying industry and the State Government all understood the need to promote the

⁴³² PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence G. & T. Lentini; PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence Morabito; PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence Varrasso & Marcello.

⁴³³ PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence S. E. Goldman.

production of fancy cheese in order to boost local consumption and reduce imports. The application quotes a resolution passed by the Victorian Cheese Manufacturers' Association in 1956:

That it be a recommendation to cheese manufacturers that greater efforts be made to cater to New Australians by making European type cheeses.⁴³⁴

When the application was rejected, Kraft appealed and pointed out that:

The Board has done everything to encourage the production of "fancy" or "continental" types of cheese and has up till now granted licences to everyone who has requested one. This, of course, has been in line with the policy of your Government which amended its Regulations in order to facilitate the manufacture of "fancy" cheese and also with the policies of all responsible organisations within the Dairying Industry.⁴³⁵

In a draft response addressing Kraft's objection to the Director, the Dairying Division agreed that this point was, in fact, "substantially correct."⁴³⁶

By the 1960s, the Perfect Cheese Company was both well established and well respected. Italiano's decision to list publicly in 1959 no doubt increased the company's profile as it was now subject to regular reports in the finance pages of major newspapers.⁴³⁷ As of July 1961, a document shows "N. P. Italiano Pty Ltd (Perfect Cheese Company)" as one of the twenty-four members of the Victorian Cheese Manufacturers' Association.⁴³⁸ In 1967, Italiano's sheep's

⁴³⁴ PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence Kraft Foods & Coragulac.

⁴³⁵ PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence Kraft Foods & Coragulac.

⁴³⁶ PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence Kraft Foods & Coragulac.

⁴³⁷ See, for example, "Italiano Sales," *Age*, August 20, 1962, 15; "Italiano Cheese Sales up 14%," *Canberra Times*, March 7, 1967, 13, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article107030509>.

⁴³⁸ PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Manufacturers Federation.

milk dairy was officially opened by Sir Gilbert Chandler, the Victorian Minister for Agriculture and the man for whom Victoria's principal dairy technology educational facility is named.⁴³⁹

The ethnic businessman was now firmly part of the mainstream dairy establishment.

He may have been a respected mainstream cheesemaker, but Italiano still had difficulties with government officials who did not completely comprehend the nature of his business. Evidence that fancy cheeses were still not sufficiently understood came in the late 1960s in the form of new legislation. The Food and Drug Standards Regulations of 1966, which came into effect on 1 March 1967, included Regulation 41 that stated milk for all cheese production now needed to be pasteurised, and "cheese sold under a descriptive name shall correspond thereto in respect of composition and character."⁴⁴⁰ This latter clause caused a major problem for the Perfect Cheese Company, as one of its cheeses was mozzarella, which the accompanying "Schedule of Named Cheese" stated must have a maximum moisture content of 45 per cent and a minimum fat dry weight of 45 per cent.⁴⁴¹ A letter to the Commonwealth Food Standards Committee from Alfredo Italiano pointed out that these numbers were not workable:

This Company is the leading manufacturer of Mozzarella Cheese in Australia, and we have found that it is almost impossible to produce a Mozzarella cheese which is acceptable to consumers of the product and which complies with the requirements of the Schedule.

The company provided independent evidence that these amounts were not correct and asked for the regulations to be amended, with the moisture content fixed at 58 per cent and the fat dry weight minimum at 32 per cent.⁴⁴² There is no direct response to the Perfect Cheese

⁴³⁹ "First Sheep Dairy Opens," 41.

⁴⁴⁰ PROV, VPRS 14836/ P2, Unit 172, H. F. & D. 4039/1.

⁴⁴¹ PROV, VPRS 14836/ P2, Unit 172, H. F. & D. 4039/1.

⁴⁴² PROV, VPRS 14836/ P2, Unit 172, H. F. & D. 4039/1.

Company nor is there any evidence in the file that the company was prosecuted for their inability to meet these new standards; however Sir James Gobbo, the former governor of Victoria, describes acting on behalf of the Perfect Cheese Company who he says “was relentlessly prosecuted by the authorities for selling mozzarella cheese which, they argued, did not contain sufficient milk.”⁴⁴³ It should be noted that it was the Department of Health, through local councils, not the Department of Agriculture who would have been responsible for prosecutions under this Act. In any case, Gobbo believes that Italiano won the case.⁴⁴⁴ While the numbers proposed by the Perfect Cheese Company were never adopted, letters in the archives show that there was a consensus amongst various dairy officials that the limits set for mozzarella were incorrect and did not comply with those set by the International Dairy Federation. In fact, the 1970 “Schedule of Named Cheese” shows that the limits for “Mazzarella [sic]” had been amended to 50 per cent maximum moisture and 40 per cent for the fat dry weight minimum.⁴⁴⁵

In 1973, a statement issued by the Federal Minister for Immigration Al Grassby on Australia’s Immigration Policy is accompanied by images of migrants with short captions explaining their arrival and current situation in Australia. Italiano is one of these migrants and he is shown in a suit and tie inspecting the cheese of one of his workers. The caption reads that Italiano recalls “there were no red carpets waiting for me” in Australia but today he “owns his own cheese company in Melbourne.”⁴⁴⁶ The subtext is that these are the kind of excellent quality migrants that Australia has already attracted, ones that work hard and whose success contributes to the national good, and will continue to attract under the government’s immigration policy. Italiano’s journey from outsider to insider is complete, and the cheese that he made had followed suit. In 1977, the Gilbert Chandler Institute of Dairy Technology held a workshop on

⁴⁴³ Sir James Gobbo, *Something to Declare: A Memoir* (Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, 2010), 95.

⁴⁴⁴ Paolo Baracchi, *Email correspondence* (October 19, 2016).

⁴⁴⁵ PROV, VPRS 14836/ P2, Unit 172, H. F. & D. 4039/1.

⁴⁴⁶ Grassby, “Australia’s Immigration Policy,” 720.

Italian cheese varieties and published the proceedings.⁴⁴⁷ That the workshop concentrated only on Italian cheese varieties highlighted their increasing importance and relevance to the industry.

It was in June of 1979, however, that a short memo from the Victorian Minister for Agriculture to his Department showed how far attitudes towards fancy cheeses, and, crucially, the kind of people who were most likely to be able to make them, had progressed. Titled “‘Ethnic’ Cheese Makers,” the Minister asked:

I would like to encourage people to manufacture traditional European cheeses in, if necessary, a small way. Would you please advise me how we can facilitate this?⁴⁴⁸

What followed were letters, minutes of meetings and opinions of experts on what the barriers were for ethnic cheesemakers and how to overcome them. The issues included the difficulty of procuring a milk supply, the need to reveal business plans to a Dairy Board which included members who were themselves cheese manufacturers and the many government departments with which an ethnic cheesemaker would have to deal, made especially difficult given their likely limitations in English language skills.⁴⁴⁹ What would Italiano have made of this? That the government now wanted to actively encourage small-scale ethnic cheesemakers, just like he had been, to produce ethnic cheeses, just like he had, must have felt like a validation of his life’s work and testament to his ability to have done this without the support, at least initially, of government authorities.

Conclusion

⁴⁴⁷ Mike Ratcliff, ed., *Proceedings of Workshop on Italian Cheese Varieties, January 1977* (Werribee, Vic.: Gilbert Chandler Institute of Dairy Technology, 1977).

⁴⁴⁸ PROV, VPRS 9603/P5, Unit 7, 7837B-01 80/2495.

⁴⁴⁹ PROV, VPRS 9603/P5, Unit 7, 7837B-01 80/2495.

In the fifty-one years that the Perfect Cheese Company was majority owned by the Italiano family, the complexion of Australian society changed. In the 1930s a primarily British-Australian population valued “plain,” hearty food made in the English tradition. Foreign food did exist, but, like foreign cheese, it was regarded as “fancy” and a novelty. Beyond spaghetti, Italian food was not well-known. By 1981, Australia was officially a multicultural country and foods from ethnic backgrounds were consumed as everyday fare. Many Australians were familiar with Italian food, eating dishes like pizza and pasta carbonara in restaurants as well as cooking them at home. Italian cheeses required for these dishes, such as mozzarella and pecorino, were no longer foreign or “fancy” to average Australian cooks.

There is no doubt that this change benefited the Perfect Cheese Company, with Italiano himself acknowledging immigration and changing Australian tastes as crucial in expanding his business.⁴⁵⁰ However, on this latter point, these changes did not occur simply because adventurous Anglo-Australians discovered the food of Italian migrants. This discourse does a disservice to ethnic entrepreneurs like Italiano, as it casts them in the role of the powerless minority, waiting for the powerful majority to acknowledge and elevate them. They are only successful because mainstream society has made them so. In analysing the story of the Perfect Cheese Company, it is clear that this is not the case. Italiano had agency. He did not passively wait to be discovered by anyone, but actively sought out new ways of expanding his products and his markets.

That Italiano built his Australian cheese empire by using the skills that he had developed in his family’s business in Calabria and transferring them to an Australian environment is typical of ethnic entrepreneurs. Initially, he made familiar cheeses and sold them to his fellow countrymen. However, he knew that he could not just do what he had done at home and thus

⁴⁵⁰ UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Prospectus, 1959.

he needed to innovate in order to expand. He saw that he could also produce and sell cheeses which would appeal to the Greek community, so he ventured into that market. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the business, he had already achieved a respectable amount of success but he was not content to operate solely within the migrant economy. In the 1950s, he began to actively target and market to Anglo-Australians. He did this by educating both the people who could sell his cheese and the people who could buy it. Throughout the life of the business, he built strong relationships with authority figures in both the Italian migrant world, chiefly the Catholic Church, and in Anglo-Australian society, especially within the ranks of the Dairying Division. The innovative nature of the company helped him to form these relationships with government officials which would stand him in good stead especially when it came to protecting his business from local and foreign competition.

Italiano's ethnicity, communicated by default in his name as well as in the majority of cheeses that he produced, always had a role to play. For the Italian migrant community, it was a mark of expertise and quality. You can trust only an Italian to know how to make Italian cheeses was the subtext of early Italian advertisements. For the Anglo-Australians, initial advertisements seemed to obscure, or at least not make a strong feature of, the Italian origins of the family behind the cheese, which was perhaps to be expected given Italy's role in World War II. This approach did not last and in the 1960s and 1970s, as "Italian-ness" became firmly linked with glamour and sophistication, the company began to more strongly link its products with Italy and Italian food. If there was some ambivalence about this, as seen in *The Feminine Touch Wine and Food* (1978) which stressed novelty over ethnicity, perhaps it came from the knowledge that the aim of the company was to sell Anglo-Australians as much cheese as possible, not to sell them on Italian food, although the two ideas were obviously linked.

In 1980, however, the final full year that Italiano was at the helm of the business, the company realised how beneficial its ethnic identity could be in marketing cheese. While some

advertisements in the late 1960s and 1970s had incorporated an Italian flag into the Perfect Cheese branding, the official logo did not include an Italian flag until new packaging was introduced to coincide with the company's fiftieth anniversary. The annual report in 1980 also includes an account of the company's beginnings complete with old photos of the Italiano family, emphasising their Italian heritage.⁴⁵¹ In 1998, some 18 years later, Bonlac, now owners of the brand, rebranded the cheese "Perfect Italiano," in order to "reinforce the range's heritage." To support this, the new owners ran a series of national television ads which emphasised the Italiano family's connection to the cheese and "highlight[ed] the importance of authentic Italian cheese styles for authentic Mediterranean dishes."⁴⁵² So while Italiano did not give his products an Italian name, perhaps seeing "Italian-ness" as a barrier to mainstream success in the 1930s, by the 1990s the company's new owners chose to highlight the "authenticity" of the cheese by making its "Italian-ness" explicit. The irony, of course, is that Perfect Italiano, unlike the Perfect Cheese Company, is not owned by Italian migrants.

⁴⁵¹ UMA, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1990.0080, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited, 1975-1981, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Directors' Report and Accounts, 30th June, 1980.

⁴⁵² Ian Huntley, "Marketing—Saluting Heritage," *Foodweek*, November 17, 1998, 2.

Statement of Authorship for Chapter Three

Title of Paper	Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia's First Italo-Australian Cookbook
Publication Status	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Published <input type="checkbox"/> Accepted for Publication <input type="checkbox"/> Submitted for Publication <input type="checkbox"/> Unpublished and Unsubmitted work written in manuscript style
Publication Details	Cammarano, Tania. "Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia's First Italo-Australian Cookbook." In <i>Eat History: Food and Drink in Australia and Beyond</i> , edited by Sofia Eriksson, Madeleine Hastie, and Tom Roberts, 42–75. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.

Principal Author

Name of Principal Author (Candidate)	Tania Cammarano	
Contribution to the Paper	Developed idea and structure, gathered and analysed all primary and secondary sources, wrote and edited manuscript.	
Overall percentage (%)	100	
Certification:	This paper reports on original research I conducted during the period of my Higher Degree by Research candidature and is not subject to any obligations or contractual agreements with a third party that would constrain its inclusion in this thesis. I am the primary author of this paper.	
Signature		Date 15 January 2018

Chapter Three: Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia's First Italo-Australian Cookbook

Introduction

The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, printed in 1937, could be described as the first major Italian cookbook published in Australia.⁴⁵³ Despite the lack of "Italian" in its title and no certainty about the identity of its anonymous author, this chapter will show that the book was published by a group of Italian migrants, and while it includes recipes from many other cuisines, the authorial intent was primarily to promote the Italian culinary tradition as the most desirable and suitable model for Australians to follow. On the other hand, with its calls for local ingredients and expressions of enthusiasm for Australia's culinary possibilities, the book is also very much a product of the country in which it was published. In this way, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* can be said to be both Italian and Australian, or Italo-Australian, and therefore an example of a hybridised cultural product.

In addition to examining how the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* communicates its hybrid identity, this chapter will explore possible reasons for the book's publication. The publisher, the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company, was run by Italian migrants who were branded fascists by the Australian Government and considered so dangerous that, as soon as Italy entered World War II, some of them were interned and their company was forced into liquidation.⁴⁵⁴ Why a group of Italians linked with fascism, who were also responsible for the principal fascist Italian-language newspaper in Australia, would publish a cookbook is a chief concern of this chapter. Clues to understanding their motives can be found in the book itself, and this chapter will argue that the tone and style of the cookbook, as well as the way it was

⁴⁵³ There are six known copies of the book in Australian libraries. See <http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/22081629>.

⁴⁵⁴ Of the eleven men listed as directors, founders or involved in the setting up of the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company in the 1937 *Vade Mecum*, four of them were interned, including the company's founder. See NAA: MP1103/2, PWV11011; PWQ7283; Q7369; PWN9001; "Paper Merchants, Printers and Others," *Argus*, July 10, 1940, 10, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article11306921>.

marketed and advertised, were an attempt by the author and publishers to make a connection with mainstream Australians, in a bid to show them that there was a different and, in their opinion, better way to cook and eat. In a time when there was considerable discrimination against Italians, the book aims to show that Italian food, and as an extension Italians themselves, had much to offer Australian society.⁴⁵⁵

It is difficult to ascertain the popularity of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*.

Evidence suggests it was for sale in prominent bookshops in Sydney and Brisbane, and from the publisher's CBD offices in Melbourne.⁴⁵⁶ The book featured advertisements from firms based in these three cities, as well as for grocery products which were available across Australia. The nature of these advertisements supports the theory that the book was intended for large-scale distribution.⁴⁵⁷ Despite its availability, there is no evidence that further editions were published or that the book was a best-seller.⁴⁵⁸ However, we cannot discount that the reason for an absence of further editions was not the book's lack of popularity but rather the beginning of World War II and the subsequent liquidation of the publishing company.

Despite uncertainty about the book's popularity, there are many reasons why the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, which is made up of 321 pages and contains no illustrations, is worthy of study. With its small size, simple dark green hard-cover binding and embossed gold letters declaring "Continental Cookery Book" on its cover, it might look like

⁴⁵⁵ See "Racism and Italians" in Randazzo and Cigler, *The Italians in Australia*, 122–26.

⁴⁵⁶ Classified advertisements in a Sydney newspaper state that the book is available from Angus and Robertson and Dymock's Book Arcade, see "For the Housewife," *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 15, 1937, 2–5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article17418982>; A classified advertisement in a Brisbane newspaper states it is available "at all leading book shops...[in] Brisbane," see "A Boon to the Housewife," *Courier-Mail*, October 14, 1937, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37896122>; The above mentioned advertisements, as well as those in *Il Giornale Italiano*, say that the book can be purchased from the publishing company's Melbourne offices, see "It's Smart to Entertain Continentally," *Il Giornale Italiano*, September 28, 1938, 1, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83864404>.

⁴⁵⁷ There are twenty-seven advertisements in the book. The majority fit into one of the following categories: Cooking appliances (in particular cooking ranges), continental foods (for example Tibaldi Smallgoods), convenience foods (for example Kraft Grated Cheese) and wine (for example Thomas Fiaschi Wines).

⁴⁵⁸ Only one edition of the book is noted in the National Library of Australia, *Australian National Bibliography, 1901-1950, Volume 1* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1988); Hoyle, *An Annotated Bibliography of Australian Domestic Cookery Books, 1860s to 1950*.

many other cookbooks published in Australia during the inter-war years, but it had a distinctive tone, style and purpose.⁴⁵⁹ According to historian Michael Symons popular cookbooks from this period tended to come primarily from “the CWA [Country Women’s Association], the fund-raising committees of private schools, domestic science teachers, home economists with gas companies and newspapers.”⁴⁶⁰ Culinary historian Colin Bannerman largely agrees, pointing out that most books could be categorised in four broad classes: textbooks, books from newspapers, magazines and journals, product promotion books, and fundraising and charity books.⁴⁶¹ In addition to these, there were many cookbooks from overseas available in Australia, particularly from Britain, such as *The Book of Household Management* as well as collections of recipes from “celebrities,” such as *Mrs. Maclurcan’s Cookery Book* by hotelier Hannah Maclurcan.⁴⁶² The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* does not easily fit within any of these categories. Secondly, the book has not been studied in the context of its Italian migrant heritage, though Symons mentions it in his now classic history of food in Australia as proof of “foreign” food prior to post-World War II mass migration and Bannerman describes it as demonstrative of the renewed interest in non-British food that re-emerged as “Continental cookery” in the 1930s.⁴⁶³ Bannerman also notes the “fascinating mixture” of recipes in the book and the “many Italian specialties,” including “a no-frills approach to pizza,” but neither he nor Symons call it an Italian cookbook.⁴⁶⁴

Perhaps the most intriguing reason to study the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is because it challenges a number of stereotypes and myths about migrant food culture that we

⁴⁵⁹ There are some inconsistencies in the dimensions of the book listed in the bibliographies in footnote 458 and my own measurements, however as the differences are small it is probably due to the quality of the binding rather than different bindings.

⁴⁶⁰ Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*, 140.

⁴⁶¹ Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary History*.

⁴⁶² Bannerman cites Hannah Maclurcan’s work as an example of a cookbook by what today would be considered a “celebrity” in Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*.

⁴⁶³ Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*; Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary History*.

⁴⁶⁴ Bannerman, 56–57.

often see portrayed in both contemporary Italo-Australian cookbooks and in other narratives about Italian food in Australia. These stereotypes include the maintenance of traditional foodways by Italian migrants and their descendants in an attempt to feel connected to their family, their heritage and, ultimately, their past. This can be seen in the best-selling 2011 cookbook *Mangia! Mangia!*, written by the children of Italian migrants: “As well as saving our families’ signature recipes, *Mangia! Mangia!* is about preserving a way of life, a philosophy, that is under threat. This way of life stems from our families’ respectful relationship with the land...[t]here was pride in cooking and pleasure in eating. It was about family and community; about love. Such is the spirit of this book.”⁴⁶⁵ These accounts often present a romanticised and idealised past, heavy with nostalgia, and tend to suggest that Italian migrants were happiest and most comfortable cooking and eating familiar foods in a bid to create a taste of home in a foreign environment.⁴⁶⁶ That the Anglo-Celtic majority would eventually see, taste, tentatively adopt, subsequently embrace and feel enriched by some of these migrant foodways, is a popular narrative of Italian food in Australia, especially in the period after World War II which saw large-scale migration from Italy.⁴⁶⁷ This linear model is obviously overly simplistic, ignoring the complex interplay that occurs when foods come into contact with new cultures. It could also cast Italian migrants in a passive role—cooking their traditional foods, albeit with the modifications that occur when migrant food cultures are transported, perhaps in a ghettoised environment, till they are “discovered” by the dominant host society and the changing diet is popularised and validated by cultural interpreters and intermediaries such as food writers and

⁴⁶⁵ Oates and Villella, *Mangia! Mangia!*, ix. For more examples of this narrative, see Di’Bartolo, *The Sicilian Kitchen*; Riccardo Momesso and Michael Harden, *Antonio & Lucia: Recipes and Stories from My Australian-Calabrian Kitchen* (Sydney: Plum, 2012).

⁴⁶⁶ The tendency of migrants to maintain their food culture in new countries is not exclusive to Italians as can be seen in the way Australians were historically guided by English food traditions. See Santich, *What the Doctors Ordered: 150 Years of Dietary Advice in Australia*.

⁴⁶⁷ This narrative applies to other migrants as well and can be seen in Newton, *Wogfood: An Oral History with Recipes*; Greenwood, “Migrants and Mavericks: Defining Australian Cuisine.” For a discussion of the theme of “cultural enrichment” see Ghassan Hage, “At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-Building,” in *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney’s West*, ed. Helen Grace et al. (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 1997), 99–154.

restaurant critics. This would be in stark contrast to the migrants behind the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*. Far from being insular and ghettoised, the author and publishers sought to change Australia's diet not by waiting to be "discovered" but by publishing a cookbook which pro-actively engages in the discourse of the dominant culture. They were their own interpreters and intermediaries. Their cookbook does not present a nostalgic view of their past as a means of fortifying an ethnic identity but boldly, confidently and authoritatively lays out an alternative vision for Australia's dietary and culinary future. These forward-thinking Italian migrants were interested in proselytising the creation and promotion of a new and better food culture suitable for their adopted country. In publishing the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, these individuals demonstrated that they fit the Italian fascist ideal of the "new man" who did not cling to the stereotype of Italians as happy with the status quo, but rather were mobilised for the good of the nation, or, in this case, the good of their new nation's stomachs.⁴⁶⁸ In this way, there is a firm link between the publishers and Italian fascist ideology.

The importance of cookbooks in codifying cuisine and, more broadly, ethnic food cannot be underestimated.⁴⁶⁹ In the context of ethnic food in Singapore, Huat and Rajah have explained this codification as a two-step process. The first step is the presentation of "ethnic" food by "ethnic" people, usually by way of a menu, where the ethnicity of the food is an extension of the ethnicity of the person cooking or producing it. The second step is the production of a cookbook, where these "ethnic" recipes are (re)presented: "Once so codified, anyone can prepare an 'ethnic' dish by following the recipe; the food is detached from the ethnicity of the producer." According to Huat and Rajah, "[a]t this point, a particular style of cooking and its

⁴⁶⁸ The importance of the "new man" in Italian fascism is discussed in Philip V. Cannistraro, "Mussolini's Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?," *Journal of Contemporary History* 7, no. 3/4 (1972): 115–39. For a definition of fascism which explains the pre-eminence of the nation and the importance of a "mobilized national community" to the ideology, see Kevin Passmore, *Fascism: A Very Short Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁴⁶⁹ See Arjun Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (1988): 3–24.

results may be said to be fully inscribed with ‘ethnicity’.⁴⁷⁰ The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is an early attempt at codifying ethnic food in Australia, as many, but not all, of the recipes are assigned nationalities. As well as this, the author goes a step further by suggesting that these ethnic recipes should be cooked by all Australians, hence recommending foreign dishes become fully integrated and part of the Australian national diet. At the same time, it should be remembered that ascribing a nationality or ethnicity to food is a construct: Cultural historian Panikos Panayi gives the example of curry, commonly thought of as Indian, when “[i]t is both English and Indian, the marriage of two civilizations, perfectly symbolizing the artificiality of giving food a nationality.”⁴⁷¹ Even describing the union of curry as a marriage between two cuisines, however, implies English and Indian were “pure” to begin with, which is not the case.⁴⁷² For cuisines do not remain static, they are transformed in response to technological, social, economic, political and cultural factors, both within the confines of the society that spawned them, and when they are transported elsewhere.⁴⁷³ In fact, as cuisine is an area where “cross-fertilization, appropriation, re-appropriation, infusion, diffusion, absorption, invention [and] bricolage” all occur with “hybrid vigour,” it is inevitable that hybridisation should take place.⁴⁷⁴ This “hybrid vigour” is evident in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, as will be argued, and was actively fostered by the author who made a conscious effort to promote change in the national food culture by broadening the culinary influences to which Australians were exposed.

⁴⁷⁰ Chua Beng Huat and Ananda Rajah, “Hybridity, Ethnicity and Food in Singapore,” in *Changing Chinese Foodways in Asia*, ed. David Y. H. Wu and Tan Chee-beng (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2001), 162–63.

⁴⁷¹ Panikos Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food* (London: Reaktion, 2008), 28.

⁴⁷² Huat and Rajah, “Hybridity, Ethnicity and Food in Singapore,” 165–66.

⁴⁷³ Pierre L. van den Berghe, “Ethnic Cuisine: Culture in Nature,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 7, no. 3 (1984): 387–97.

⁴⁷⁴ Huat and Rajah, “Hybridity, Ethnicity and Food in Singapore,” 164.

Is it an “Italian” Cookbook?

If we consider the key attributes of an “Italian” cookbook to be the inclusion of recipes which belong to the Italian culinary tradition and Italian authorship, there is abundant evidence both within and external to the text that demonstrate this. More recipes are explicitly identified as being part of Italian cuisine in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* than any other national food culture.⁴⁷⁵ Overall they represent 13 per cent of the 703 recipes, which is not a large percentage; however, if we consider that the next best represented cuisine is French, which encompasses only 5 per cent of recipes, then the percentage of Italian recipes appears to be more significant. Given the high status of French cooking in Australia during this period, where it was the most prestigious foreign cuisine, it would not be unreasonable to expect there to be more French than Italian recipes in a continental cookery book.⁴⁷⁶ The author explicitly acknowledges the Italian influence in the introduction to the “Soups” chapter: “Our recipes are not confined to Italy, though largely indebted to her,” but he or she could have been referring to the entire book.⁴⁷⁷

In addition, the Italian recipes contain greater historical detail than other recipes, and, more often than not, are identified by their city or region of origin. Of the ninety-two Italian recipes in the book, sixty-four are said to belong to a particular place. For example, to sample “Artichokes in the Jewish Style...cooked in the genuine Jewish way” it is necessary to go not just to Rome, but “one should...enter one of the inns of Trastevere”; and “Siennese ‘Little Horses’,” a recipe for biscuits, “come from Sienna, the old Italian city, not far south of Florence. One still goes there each year to witness the famous Race for the prize Banner

⁴⁷⁵ This count includes only recipes that have been labelled by the author as belonging to these cuisines, or the recipe title contains a national or regional identifier. Recipes which have been described as belonging to general regions (for example, “Mediterranean”) or more than one country have not been included in the count.

⁴⁷⁶ For a discussion of the role of French food in Australia, see Santich, “The High and the Low: Australian Cuisine in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.”

⁴⁷⁷ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 4.

(‘Palio’).⁴⁷⁸ It is worth noting that the majority of Italian recipes ascribed regional origins come from Tuscany, with Sicilian recipes a distant second.⁴⁷⁹ Only eleven of the thirty-seven French recipes are given a city or region of origin and, the next best represented cuisine, German, of which there are eighteen recipes, has just two exact locales provided; one of these, “Berlin ‘Panettone’,” is described in decidedly Italian terms: “Really the name ‘panettone’ (little rolls) belongs to a well-known Italian sweet. It is a Milanese specialty and we describe it further on. The German sweet we are discussing is different from the genuine ‘panettone,’ but they claim it, so what’s to be done?”⁴⁸⁰

All of this suggests a great deal of knowledge about Italian food on the part of the unnamed author, which supports the theory that he or she was of Italian origin. Other evidence is the advice given in regards to pronunciation, which is more often given for words of Italian origin than others: “Chianti,” the author advises the reader to “sound the ‘ch’ like ‘k’” and of “Panettone,” “[i]f you are Italian it is unnecessary to remind you that the final ‘e’ is sounded like the ‘a’ in day.”⁴⁸¹ In addition to this, recipe names in other languages are often not given because the author says they are unpronounceable: “Dried Ling in the Spanish Way”; “In Spain they call it by a name that it takes a Spaniard to pronounce” and of “Potatoes in the Russian Way”; “This dish is not so difficult to make as its Russian name is to pronounce.”⁴⁸²

The author’s declaration in the “Foreword” that Italian cooking is well suited to Australia’s climate is one of many pro-Italian statements, and reveals that even though the book includes recipes from a variety of cuisines, it is primarily concerned with promoting Italian food:

⁴⁷⁸ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 169, 229.

⁴⁷⁹ Twenty-one recipes are given Tuscan origins (nine from Florence, two from Livorno, one from Siena and nine are attributed to the region of Tuscany) whereas there are nine recipes listed as being Sicilian (one from Palermo and eight from the region of Sicily). Grouping the remaining recipes into their region of origin, the count is: Veneto (six), Emilia-Romagna (six), Lombardy (five), Campania (five), Lazio (five), Liguria (four), Sardinia (one), Marche (one) and Piedmont (one).

⁴⁸⁰ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 236.

⁴⁸¹ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 243, 294.

⁴⁸² *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 38, 186.

It is time for Australians to realise, in fact, that what one may call Mediterranean cookery has much to offer them. Italian cookery, for instance, embodies ideas, aims and methods that have not only been ripening for literally thousands of years, but have been doing so under climatic conditions far more closely resembling those of Australia than do the British. Many of the Italian recipes that figure in our pages may have been already hoary antiques when Lucullus, that famous Roman epicure, was the great gastronomic dictator of the world half a century B.C.⁴⁸³

French cookery is practically an offshoot of the Italian. British cookery, with all its merits, can boast no such illustrious pedigree. It is only common sense, then, for Australians to avail themselves of what, in the very nature of things, must offer them most valuable and interesting examples of food preparation. To ignore such a mine of information is not merely to confess, but to cherish, one's own ignorance.⁴⁸⁴

Along with climatic similarities, what is apparent from this quotation is that the author believes it is the long pedigree of Italian food, that Italians and their ancestors have been thinking about and experimenting with how food should be cooked and eaten “for literally thousands of years,” which should be of value to Australians. In addition to this, the reference to Lucullus, “that famous Roman epicure,” invokes the glory of the Roman Empire, a much perpetuated myth in fascist Italy, and provides another link between the author and fascist ideology.⁴⁸⁵ The concept of historical pedigree being important in developing strong food traditions pervades the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*: “Excellent dishes” are made with onions because they have “been in constant use from the earliest ages”; Southern

⁴⁸³ The dietary advice that Australians should eat more like those in the Mediterranean rather than the British because of climatic similarities dates to the mid-19th century and is discussed in Santich, *What the Doctors Ordered: 150 Years of Dietary Advice in Australia*.

⁴⁸⁴ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 2.

⁴⁸⁵ Italian fascists glorified Imperial Rome, with Caesar and Mussolini “presented as heroes of the same great national tradition, with Caesar as predecessor of fascism,” see Cannistraro, “Mussolini’s Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?,” 126.

Europeans know that endives are “a first-rate stomachic” because they have been administered “from time immemorial”; and salad which “constitute[s] an almost complete form of nourishment” “takes a very prominent place in the dietary of the Mediterranean peoples, and the custom of eating raw vegetables goes back to the very earliest times.”⁴⁸⁶ The author states that Italians have had the advantage of time to develop a culture around food, whereas Australians clearly have not, and it is the benefits of this venerable culture which he or she wants to share with the Australian audience.

There is ample evidence that the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is Italian in origin within the book itself. However while “cookbooks are important primary sources for food historians,” it is necessary, in the opinion of culinary historian Elizabeth Driver, to gather evidence beyond the book, including bibliographic information, publishing history and social context, in order to interpret the meaning on the page in a useful way.⁴⁸⁷ In looking outside the primary source, we also find plenty of evidence of the book’s “Italian-ness,” not least of which is the history of the publishing company which is behind the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*.

The Cosmopolitan Publishing Company was comprised primarily of politically-minded Italian migrants and described itself as “ITALIANA AL CENTO PER CENTO” (“One hundred per cent Italian”).⁴⁸⁸ It was the brainchild of Filippo Maria Bianchi, who came to Australia in 1928, and who, together with journalist Franco Battistessa, founded *Il Giornale Italiano*, a pro-fascist Italian language newspaper published from 1932 until 1940.⁴⁸⁹ The newspaper pre-dated the

⁴⁸⁶ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 176, 177, 205.

⁴⁸⁷ Elizabeth Driver, “Cookbooks as Primary Sources for Writing History: A Bibliographer’s View,” *Food, Culture & Society* 12, no. 3 (2009): 258.

⁴⁸⁸ “Avviso Importante,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, July 7, 1937, 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83801321>. On the transcription of article names and quotes in Italian, the author has transcribed them as they appear in the original source which means that errors, in particular the lack of capitalisation and the incorrect placing or omission of accents, are reproduced here. The author has not included sic after every error as this would make the quotes more difficult to read.

⁴⁸⁹ “I Dirigenti Del ‘Giornale Italiano,’” *Vade Mecum*, June 30, 1936, 101. Gaetano Rando, “Aspects of the History of the Italian Language Press in Australia 1885-1985,” in *Italians in Australia: Historical and Social Perspectives: Proceedings of the Conference on the Italians in Australia, the First 200 Years, Held at the University of Wollongong and Macquarie University, 27-29 August 1988*, ed. Michael Arrighi and

founding of the publishing company, and it was to ensure continued publication of *Il Giornale Italiano*, which had been disrupted by Australian reaction to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in late 1935, but also to meet the commercial needs of Italians in Australia that the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company was said to have been formed.⁴⁹⁰

Based in Melbourne, the publishing company attracted shareholders from across the Italian diaspora in Australia, notably from as far away as North Queensland and Western Australia, many of whom were listed with short biographies in the *Vade Mecum*, an annual magazine described as the "Trade and Social Guide for Italians in Australia" published by *Il Giornale Italiano* and printed by the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company.⁴⁹¹ While Bianchi was noted as the founder of the company, other prominent directors listed in the 1936 *Vade Mecum* included president of the publishing syndicate Severino De Marco, of the well-known De Marco Brothers' terrazzo firm; his brother Annibale and lawyer Valentino Adami. Of interest is also the number of directors in the company with direct links to the food and wine business, particularly in Melbourne, including wine merchant Frank Lanteri, Italian food importer Azzo Ongarello and, perhaps most pertinently, restaurateur Rinaldo Massoni.⁴⁹² Massoni, a surgical instrument maker by trade, was proprietor of Melbourne's Florentino restaurant, and his family was later included as part of the "Spaghetti Mafia," a moniker given by the food media in the late 1970s and early 1980s to the handful of Italian restaurants established in the 1920s, often credited with introducing Melbourne to Italian food.⁴⁹³ What makes Massoni's inclusion

Gaetano Rando (Wollongong, NSW: Department of Modern Languages, University of Wollongong, Dante Alighieri Society, Wollongong Chapter, 1993), 197–214.

⁴⁹⁰ "Nel Gennaio 1935...", *Vade Mecum*, October 28, 1937, 3; "Rapporto dell'Amministratore Delegato Rag. F. M. Bianchi," *Il Giornale Italiano*, February 3, 1937, 21, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83798349>.

⁴⁹¹ The *Vade Mecum* was printed from 1934 to 1939, with the exception of 1935, which could be attributed to printing difficulties during the Italo-Abyssinian War. The 1934 issue was the only one not printed by the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company; "Special Anniversary Number 'Il Giornale Italiano,'" *Vade Mecum*, July 1934, 1; "I Fondatori e Dirigenti Della 'Cosmopolitan,'" *Vade Mecum*, October 28, 1937, 31–49.

⁴⁹² "I Dirigenti Del 'Giornale Italiano,'" 101; "I Direttori Della 'Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Ltd.,'" *Vade Mecum*, June 30, 1936, 103–5.

⁴⁹³ The Florentino was an Italian and continental restaurant which attracted a sophisticated clientele. For details of the Massoni family's restaurant history, see Anne Latreille, "French Food From An Italian

particularly tantalising is his Tuscan origins, given that so many of the recipes in the book are identified as being from Florence or Tuscany; however no evidence could be found linking Massoni to the authorship of the book.⁴⁹⁴ The much-expanded list of shareholders in the 1937 *Vade Mecum* included another prominent “Spaghetti Mafia” representative, Giuseppe Codognotto, of Melbourne’s Italian Society restaurant, and Niccolò Mirabella, who the magazine credits with opening Victoria’s only Italian patisserie in 1925.⁴⁹⁵ Franco Battistessa, labelled as a director and executive of *Il Giornale Italiano*, is not listed as being involved with the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company.⁴⁹⁶ The lack of evidence to suggest a link between Battistessa and the book is vexing because Battistessa, who was educated in England, was a staunch defender of Italian food, and his writing style and wit is not dissimilar to that displayed in the cookbook.⁴⁹⁷

The exact politics of those behind the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company is difficult to establish. For example, Bianchi has been described as being more interested in business than fascism, though he had “outbursts of patriotism that identified him as a fascist.”⁴⁹⁸ At the same time, government records indicated that when Bianchi was taken to the Tatura

Tradition,” *The Age*, August 28, 1979, 15; For details of the “Spaghetti Mafia,” see Eric Page, “The Spaghetti Mafia,” *The Herald*, September 8, 1980, 7; Massoni’s trade was noted in his naturalisation record, see NAA: A659, 1939/1/11297.

⁴⁹⁴ No documents were found among Massoni’s personal papers about the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company or the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* according to Massoni’s granddaughter Michele Massoni-Dubuc, *Email correspondence*, (August 15 & 17, 2012).

⁴⁹⁵ The Italian Society changed its name to the Society Restaurant when World War II began, according to Anne Latreille, “The ‘Club’ Top O’ Bourke,” *The Age*, August 14, 1979, 15; “I Fondatori e Dirigenti Della ‘Cosmopolitan,’” 35, 43.

⁴⁹⁶ “I Fondatori e Dirigenti de ‘Il Giornale Italiano,’” *Vade Mecum*, October 28, 1937, 29.

⁴⁹⁷ There was no evidence in Battistessa’s private papers to connect him to the book. However, he wrote many letters to newspapers defending Italian food and wine. An example is a letter he wrote in response to Dame Zara Holt’s comment published on the 28th October 1968 in *The Australian* about the poor quality of continental wines: “Such incredible, unjustifiable, slashing, slur against the superior, fine wines of Italy, France, Portugal, Spain and Germany, to name the foremost, famous wine-growing, Continental countries, will make the bones of such expert connoisseurs [sic], and discriminating gourmets: Cato, Horace, Cicero, Virgil, Pliny, Lucullus, Omar Khayam, to mention only a few portentous wine-lovers, rattle with anger in their grave.” See Franco Battistessa Correspondence, 1916-1977 (being mainly letters received), Franco Battistessa — Papers, 1912-1982, MLMSS 5288 Add-on 1917, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

⁴⁹⁸ Anthony Cappello, “Italian Australians, the Church, War and Fascism in Melbourne 1919-1945” (Masters’ diss., Victoria University of Technology, 1999), 24.

Internment Camp in 1940 he demonstrated “pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi sympathies.”⁴⁹⁹ Three years later, now an inmate at South Australia’s Loveday Internment Camp, a report on his character and “political outlook” noted that “Bianchi, although having a Fascist history and even now being a firm believer in the Fascist ideals, is undoubtedly anti-Mussolini.”⁵⁰⁰ Similarly Battistessa, who established the first *Fascio* in India and politically “belonged to the fascists of the ‘first hour’,”⁵⁰¹ is described by historian Gianfranco Cresciani as a dissident fascist, not happy with the Italian state’s control over the *Fasci*.⁵⁰² Some of the men listed in the *Vade Mecum* as founders, directors or shareholders of the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company are described as exemplary fascists and/or patriots, and many of them belong to fascist-leaning clubs and organisations. However this is not helpful in attempting to understand their political beliefs when you consider what Battistessa himself told the Commonwealth Investigation Branch in 1939: “Only 6% of the Italians in Australia are registered Fascists...of these merely 10% are genuine Fascists by conviction and ex militants from Italy, 15% are merely opportunists who joined up for fear or in the hope of material advantages, while the remaining 75% have linked up with Fascism for sentimental reasons and in sympathy with the movement which they sincerely believe has regenerated Italy.”⁵⁰³ While Battistessa’s comments may have been politically motivated, they are supported by Italian journalist Pino Bosi who believes “most Italians attended its [the Fascist Party’s] functions [in Australia], making little distinction between patriotism, nationalism and Fascism.”⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁹ NAA, series 1233/1, item N25326, Italian Enemy Aliens and Naturalised British Subjects of Italian Origin suitable for review in relation to release and employment under supervision of national work quoted in Gianfranco Cresciani, “A Not So Brutal Friendship. Italian Responses to National Socialism in Australia,” *Altreitalie* 34 (2007): 20.

⁵⁰⁰ NAA: B741, V/16878S.

⁵⁰¹ Author’s translation of “appartiene ai fascisti della ‘prima ora’” in “I Fondatori e Dirigenti De ‘Il Giornale Italiano’,” 29.

⁵⁰² Gianfranco Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, 1922-1945* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980).

⁵⁰³ NAA, series A6126, item 57, Battistessa to CIB Inspector Ronald Browne, 14 August 1939 quoted in Cresciani, “A Not So Brutal Friendship. Italian Responses to National Socialism in Australia,” 7.

⁵⁰⁴ Bosi, “The Fatal Years of Irrevocable Destinies (Part 2)—Italian Politics and Italian-Australians Between Two Wars,” *Italy Down Under* 13, (Winter 2004): 55.

Untangling the exact political beliefs of these men is beyond the scope of this chapter, but what is clear from the newspaper, the publishing company and the *Vade Mecum*, is that these migrants were proud of their Italian heritage and largely concerned with furthering the interests of Italians in Australia, while building a bridge between themselves and their new country. Under the title “Viva L’Australia! Viva L’Italia! Our Appeal to the Australian Press For a Better Understanding and the Promotion of the Italo-Australian Friendship,” Battistessa writes *Il Giornale Italiano* “has clearly defined its aim by the following, unmistakable caption, spread across its heading ‘In forefront of our policy: the promotion and maintenance of friendly relations between the Italian and Australian peoples’.”⁵⁰⁵ In support of this, the paper also published a section in English, a move which was praised by various politicians including NSW Premier Sir Bertram Stevens,⁵⁰⁶ and encouraged both Italians to learn English and “British-Australian readers” to learn Italian in the belief that “the good work of assimilation would be immensely expedited” if they did so.⁵⁰⁷

While the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company printed everything from baptism announcements to *Fascio* newsletters for the Italian community, many of their publications were focused on helping Australians understand Italians and the works discuss different facets of Italian culture seemingly for those less familiar with it. These works, more often than not, were published in English or in both Italian and English. Publications included the *Newest Italian-English Reader/Nuovissimo Libro di Lettura Italiano-Inglese* (1936) by Gino Nibbi, intended to help those learning Italian; *What for? Abyssinia, the League: The point of View of a Naturalized Australian on the Italo-Abyssinian Dispute* (1936) by A. Baccarini, an explanation

⁵⁰⁵ Franco Battistessa, “Viva L’Australia! Viva L’Italia! Our Appeal to the Australian Press For a Better Understanding and the Promotion of the Italo-Australian Friendship,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, August 27, 1932, 1, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83028997>.

⁵⁰⁶ “N.S.W. Premier’s Message to Our Journal,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, June 22, 1938, 1, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83862968>.

⁵⁰⁷ “Still Forward,” *Vade Mecum*, September 28, 1938, 34.

of Italy's decision to go to war in Ethiopia;⁵⁰⁸ and *Il Canzoniere Italiano in Australia* (1937), a collection of "48 of the most popular patriotic and Neapolitan songs."⁵⁰⁹ A cookbook on Italian food written in English fits very much within this mould—it was another aspect of Italian culture that the publishers wanted to communicate to an Australian audience. It also fits with the character of the company's founder, according to Bosi, who knew Bianchi in a professional capacity. Bosi maintains that Bianchi was "highly intelligent and a smooth business operator" as well as a master of public relations.⁵¹⁰ According to Bosi, Bianchi understood that the way to make people sympathetic to your cause, which in this case, was Italians and Italian culture, was to "seduce rather than frontally attack." He believes Bianchi could very well have been the brains behind the cookbook because he knew that the way to show Italians' worth, in the face of an often ambivalent Anglo-Australian attitude, was by "seduction." As Bosi tells it, Bianchi understood that if you cannot win a duel, you invite them to lunch, and the cookbook, as we shall see, can be regarded as an invitation to dine.⁵¹¹

The most definitive evidence of the "Italian" genesis of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* comes in the form of an Italian language version.⁵¹² Titled "*La Cucina Continentale*" ("Continental Cuisine") and published about four months after the English edition, the book is an almost identical translation from the original with a few notable differences.⁵¹³ Some of the advertisements for *La Cucina Continentale* call it the "Libro di

⁵⁰⁸ Gino Nibbi's book was published in partnership with his well-known art shop. Gino Nibbi, *Newest Italian-English Reader/Nuovissimo Libro di Lettura Italiano-Inglese* (Melbourne: Leonardo Art Shop: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1936); A. Baccharini, *What for? Abyssinia, The League: The Point of View of a Naturalized Australian on the Italo-Abyssinian Dispute* (Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1936).

⁵⁰⁹ Author's translation of "48 Canzonette Patriottiche e Napoletane piu' Popolari" in *Il Canzoniere Italiano in Australia* (Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1937). This was not published in English, as it contains song lyrics which are in either Neapolitan dialect or Italian.

⁵¹⁰ Bosi, "The Fatal Years of Irrevocable Destinies (Part 2)—Italian Politics and Italian-Australians Between Two Wars," 57–58.

⁵¹¹ Pino Bosi, *Phone conversation*, (August 27, 2012).

⁵¹² There is one known copy in Australian libraries of the Italian edition. It is at the National Library of Australia and is bound together with the English version. There is no evidence to suggest the book was ever sold this way, and therefore it is logical to assume that this binding was done independently of the publishing company.

⁵¹³ These differences include dropping any reference to Australia in the title, the use of the metric system, often with the imperial system given in brackets, and the addition of ten recipes, primarily in

Cucina Italiana e Continentale” (“Book of Italian and Continental Cuisine”) and refer to the English version in Italian as “the first Italian cookbook printed in Australia.”⁵¹⁴ Interestingly the explicit labelling of the book as “Italian” does not occur in any of the English-language advertising for the English edition. Also, while the English version is concerned with explaining the geographic origins of many of the Italian dishes, much of this content has been removed, as have most introductory sections, many literary references and pronunciation instructions. In the Italian version there also appears to be an assumption that the intended (Italian) audience can cope with the full titles of some of the dishes, which the author had apparently deemed too difficult to pronounce in the English version.⁵¹⁵ What is left is a stripped back book of recipes, where educating the reader on various facets of Italian and continental food is not the priority that it was in the English version, perhaps because: “The Italian housewife is already instinctively a good cook and this book more than having the pretence of teaching her, rather is intended to make complete her knowledge of the art of cooking.”⁵¹⁶ Less care appears to have been taken with the Italian version. For example the order of recipes has been changed with the result that methods are sometimes referred to as if they have appeared in a previous recipe when in fact they are only included later on in the text.⁵¹⁷

the “Game” section. Also, the Italian version does not have four recipes which are in the English edition, including “Curried Spaghetti,” which perhaps was thought to be inappropriate for Italian palates. It also is notable that the “About Wines” chapter is excluded from the Italian version.

⁵¹⁴ “Sfogliando...,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, June 15, 1938, 6, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83862905>. Author’s translation of “...il primo libro di cucina italiana stampato in Australia...” from “Un Regalo Natalizio Di Grande Utilita’,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, November 24, 1937, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83803772>.

⁵¹⁵ For example, “Potatoes in the Russian Way,” which was described as easier to make than pronounce in the English version is given the same title in the Italian, “Patate alla Russa,” but the introduction includes the actual name of the dish: “Volete sapere come si chiama questo piatto in Russia? Eccovi accontentati: Pekenaiο Kartoffeliv Smetane.” (Author’s translation: “Do you want to know what this dish is called in Russia? Here you are: Pekenaiο Kartoffeliv Smetane.”) *La Cucina Continentale* (Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1937), 201.

⁵¹⁶ Author’s translation of “La massaia italiana e’ gia’ istintivamente una buona cuoca e questo libro piu’ che avere la pretesa d’insegnarle, ha lo scopo invece d’integrare la sua conoscenza in fatto di arte culinaria.” *La Cucina Continentale*, A.

⁵¹⁷ For example, “Cozze alla Marinara” (the corresponding recipe in the English edition is titled “Marinated Mussels”) states “Fate cuocere cinque o sei dozzine di cozze in acqua come e’ detto sopra.” (Author’s translation: “Cook five or six dozen mussels in water as described above.”) The recipe it refers to, unlike the English edition, is not above, it is three recipes after it. *La Cucina Continentale*, 78.

There also are a number of inconsistencies with the translation: for example the “ham” from “Whiting in the German Way” in the English edition is translated as “prosciutto (‘bacon’),” even though bacon is also translated as “carne secca (‘bacon’),” “carnesecca (‘bacon’),” “lardo” and sometimes just “bacon” and ham is usually translated as simply “prosciutto.”⁵¹⁸ This could suggest that more than one person translated it, or it was simply not proofread, which the proliferation of several errors also supports.⁵¹⁹ All of this implies that the priority of the company was publishing the English version—the Italian edition appears to have been an afterthought or the move of a smart businessman, which Bianchi reportedly was, capitalising on work that had already been done. The other major difference is the preface: while the English “Foreword” is a call for Australians to consider continental, and more specifically Italian and Mediterranean recipes, as worthy because they have stood the test of time and are consistent with nutritional advice of the day, the Italian “Prefazione” more directly targets Italian housewives and their egos. As noted, the author already believes they know how to cook but they have “[i]ncluded many tips and suggestions on the preparation and preservation of various foods, much more useful if we consider that as a result of climate, water and raw materials available in Australia, even the most expert Italian cook might be faced with difficulties compromising the success of her delicacies.”⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁸ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 52; *La Cucina Continentale*, 54, 58, 105, 106, 124, 147.

⁵¹⁹ Errors include “covolfiore” instead of “cavolfiore” (“cauliflower”) and “Sherry” written as “Cherry” throughout, *La Cucina Continentale*, 191, 219; This is not to say there are not errors in the English version, and sometimes these errors are corrected, or an attempt is made at correction, in the Italian version. For example “Eel soup in the Polish Style” in the English edition is described as a Polish national soup, however the method corresponds to the Dutch soup Aalsoep. In the Italian, the recipe is titled “Zuppa di Anguilla alla Polacca (Aalsoep)” (“Eel soup in the Polish Style (Aalsoep)”) and is described as a national dish of Holland. *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 61; *La Cucina Continentale*, 95.

⁵²⁰ Author’s translation of “Vi sono inclusi numerosi consigli e suggerimenti sulla preparazione e conservazione delle varie vivande, tanto piu’ utili se si considera, come a causa del clima, dell’acqua e delle materie prime disponibili in Australia, anche la cuoca italiana piu’ esperta potrebbe trovarsi di fronte a difficolta’ compromettenti la buona riuscita dei suoi manicaretti.” *La Cucina Continentale*, A.

A Cultural Product of Australia

While the pro-Italian sentiment expressed in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is probably what one would expect from a group of Italians linked with fascism, perhaps more surprising is the author's enthusiasm for Australia and in particular Australian produce. The country is, according to the author, blessed with an abundance from nature: "No country in the world is better qualified than Australia to win lucrative and healthful results from fish" and "[i]n Australian waters there are many and good varieties of rays with delicate and tasty flesh"; its climate is also enviable: "[T]he materials for salad-making are so abundant, especially in sunny Australia" and "[n]o climate in the world is better suited for poultry-raising."⁵²¹ The book also includes recipes of no discernible ethnicity that we could call Australian because they make a feature of Australian produce, like "Schnapper a' la Sydney" which is a variation on "Sole a' la Francaise" but requires the addition of a dozen oysters, which are described as being more common in Australia than they are in France or Italy.⁵²² Perhaps the author's greatest enthusiasm is reserved for the wine industry: "In Australia, if it [the wine industry] did not start so soon, it will certainly live as long. We claim this, in fact, for one of the chief merits of our book, that it should bring into something like its right perspective a healthful, remunerative, open-air industry destined to grow so vigorously during the coming years."⁵²³ The author was, of course, correct and very far-sighted.

To further dilute any sense of Italian parochialism, the multi-ethnic nature of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* can be argued to be reflective of a "new" country's mindset free of the "oppression" of culinary tradition.⁵²⁴ In addition to the cuisines already mentioned as being represented in the book, there are recipes from America, Austria, Portugal, Poland, Holland, Denmark, England, Wales, Scotland, Belgium, India, Greece, Tunisia

⁵²¹ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 31, 69, 142, 204.

⁵²² *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 63, 82.

⁵²³ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 293.

⁵²⁴ For a discussion of the inventiveness of Australian cooks, see Santich, *Bold Palates*.

and Hungary. The list may appear to stretch the definition of “continental” but it was not uncommon in this period for “continental food” to be used as a synonym of “foreign food.”⁵²⁵ It is hard to imagine a similarly broadminded book of foreign recipes being published in Italy under Mussolini’s fascist regime in the 1930s.⁵²⁶

Accessibility

That the book includes recipes from Britain and Scotland, both with and without a continental twist,⁵²⁷ does seem strange, unless we consider their use as part of an overall strategy on the part of the author to make the book acceptable and accessible to a mainstream Australian audience. In the recipe for “Scotch Shortbread,” the author even admits “[s]trictly speaking, we are deserting the Continental kitchen for the moment to enter the sacred precincts of the Scottish kitchen, but it has struck us that even a Continental cooking-book cannot do less than include this sweet with its wide Christmas popularity.”⁵²⁸ Perhaps the author felt to include popular and familiar recipes such as shortbread, amongst others, would make readers feel comfortable and more likely to try some of the less familiar and more exotic recipes. Evidence of this desire not to alienate can also be found in the way the author is careful not to dismiss British food outright, the culinary tradition at the heart of the Australian diet: “Not, for a moment, that the latter [British cookery] has no merits, but that so many of its good points

⁵²⁵ For example, a feature on “Continental Cookery” in a 1934 issue of a woman’s magazine includes recipes labelled as South African and Chinese amongst the more expected ones from Europe. See “Continental Cookery. Unusual Recipes Gathered from Many Countries,” *Everylady’s Journal*, January 1, 1934, 32.

⁵²⁶ Italian cookbooks in the fascist era borrowed from “regional specialities adapted for national use” but were mostly about teaching housewives how to get by “under the increasing restrictions caused by Mussolini’s drive for self-sufficiency.” The exception was F.T. Marinetti’s *The Futurist Cookbook* (1932), which communicated the ideals of futurism, a movement which, at least initially, was strongly linked to Italian fascism. Both fascists and futurists were against the use of foreign language and what they saw as foreign culture in Italy, so it is unlikely that they would accept a cookbook made up of foreign and Italian recipes. Carol Helstosky, “Recipe for the Nation: Reading Italian History Through La Scienza in Cucina and La Cucina Futurista,” *Food & Foodways* 11, no. 2–3 (2003): 126–7; For more on the fascist attitude to foreign culture in Italy, see Cannistraro, “Mussolini’s Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?”

⁵²⁷ This observation was made by Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary History*.

⁵²⁸ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 264.

are unsuitable, or only half-suited, to Australian conditions.” Two paragraphs later, the author underlines that British cookery is not without worth, however “with all its merits,” it just does not have the same “illustrious pedigree [as French cookery which is derived from Italian cookery].”⁵²⁹

Calling the English version of the book a “Continental” cookery book rather than an “Italian and Continental cookery book,” and not crediting an author who likely had an Italian name could also have been an attempt to make it less threatening. The concept of “continental cookery” would have been familiar to a middle-class Australian housewife in the 1930s, whereas “Italian cookery” was much less well-known.⁵³⁰ Also, it could be argued that the term “Italian” was likely to have had some negative connotations in this period. While the Italian migrant community in Australia was relatively small, especially considering the size it would swell to after the Second World War, there was fear especially in the sugarcane plantations of Queensland that Italian labour would take Australian jobs, and many examples of racism against Italians were evident.⁵³¹

In keeping with the general accessibility of the book, the author makes allowances for culturally-conditioned tastes and this can be seen in regards to garlic, an item to which Australians have traditionally been averse. The author is aware of this and allows for it: in the recipe for “Chine of Pork,” for example, the advice is to “[a]dd a dash of garlic if you like.”⁵³² In the case of olive oil, however, the author is less permissive: “As regards the oil, the advice is not only pithy, but healthful. If you are, or think you are, deficient in a taste for good olive oil, correct your error as fast as you can.”⁵³³ However, this edict on olive oil is something of an

⁵²⁹ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 2.

⁵³⁰ A 1935 article by Enid Lyons, wife of Australian PM Joseph Lyons, about her impressions of Italy records that she was completely unfamiliar with Italian food. Enid Lyons, “Mrs. Lyons’s Impressions of Italy,” *Courier-Mail*, April 22, 1935, 14, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article35885813>.

⁵³¹ See, as an example of racism against Italians, Brisbane’s Truth Cartoon Against Italians in Gianfranco Cresciani, *Migrants or Mates: Italian Life in Australia* (Sydney: Knockmore Enterprises, 1988).

⁵³² *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 138.

⁵³³ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 204.

exception, with the author generally allowing for substitutions where necessary: in “Schnapper with Cheese,” for example, the author says use “Kraft cheese, for instance, if you have not got any Gruyere.”⁵³⁴ Although it should also be noted that Kraft is an advertiser in the book, which could have influenced its inclusion here, there is a general tone of not being too prescriptive, especially with things that may be unfamiliar.

The decision of the author to use English when giving the titles of foreign recipes also adds to the book’s approachability. While there is some use of Italian and other foreign words, these are usually provided in brackets or inverted commas, or, more commonly, not given at all. For example, a recipe describing a disc of dough topped with cheese and tomato is not called pizza, but is simply “A Neapolitan Recipe.”⁵³⁵ Comparing the titles of the same recipes in the English edition to the Italian version reveals words which the author must have thought were just too foreign. The “Genoese Ribbon-Macaroni” in the English edition, for example, becomes “Lasagne col Pesto alla Genovese” in the Italian version.⁵³⁶ Using the term “ribbon-macaroni” instead of lasagne is an example of the author speaking to the audience in terms they might better understand—macaroni was a generic term to describe all kinds of pasta in Australia in the early half of the previous century, whereas few people would have understood what was meant by lasagne. The same could be said of pizza and pesto. Of course, all of these words have since entered everyday food language in Australia.

The use of English in recipe titles seems to have been a conscious decision especially when we consider the way recipes were named in a book which served as source material for the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book: Countess Morphy’s Recipes of All Nations*.⁵³⁷ This book, published in 1935 in London and New York, and also available in Australia, contains so many

⁵³⁴ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 64.

⁵³⁵ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 269.

⁵³⁶ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 96; *La Cucina Continentale*, 101.

⁵³⁷ Countess Morphy was the pseudonym of Marcelle Azra Forbes née Hincks, a New Orleans native who found success as a cookbook writer in London in the 1930s and 1940s. Fred Kelso, *For the Love of Fungus: A One Hundred Year Bibliography of Mushroom Cookery, 1899-1999* (Oxford, Pa.: Hengwrt Publishing, 2009).

similar recipes that it is highly likely that the author, in some places, copied from it though quantities and ingredients were frequently altered.⁵³⁸ One major difference, however, is the approach to naming recipes: Morphy generally uses the native language followed by an English translation in brackets, for example, “Streichkäse mit Käseresten (A cheese savory)” whereas a very similar recipe in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is simply “German Cheese Savouries.”⁵³⁹ Other differences between the two books highlight some of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* author’s intentions. Unlike *Recipes of All Nations*, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is not divided into chapters according to nationality; instead “Meat Soup in Barcelona Style” is followed by “Romagna Christmas Soup” in the “Soups” chapter, and as a result, the book, like the publisher’s name, does have a cosmopolitan air.⁵⁴⁰ Also, while *Recipes of All Nations* contains recipes from countries like Japan, China and the continent of South America, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* completely ignores these. The author’s decision not to include Asian or South American recipes suggests that he or she believes Australia’s food culture should be primarily European, perhaps because it is the food culture that the author most understood.⁵⁴¹ That *Recipes of All Nations* provides source material for the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* proves that

⁵³⁸ The altering of times, ingredients and methods make it difficult to prove plagiarism. However, by concentrating on errors, there is strong evidence. For example, the recipe for “French Vegetable Soup” in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* (titled “Zuppa di Legumi alla Francese (Brunoise)” in the Italian version) has the same introductory sentence, though paraphrased, as *Recipes of All Nations*’ “Brunoise (Vegetable Soup),” however the ingredients and method are nothing alike. Instead the ingredients and method, again paraphrased and with some minor timing alterations, match the recipe listed below in *Recipes of All Nations*—“Potage aux Herbes (Sorrel, Lettuce, and Chervil Soup).” *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 26; *La Cucina Continentale*, 24; Countess Marcelle Morphy, *Recipes of All Nations* (New York: WM. H. Wise & Company, 1935), 29.

⁵³⁹ Morphy, 401; *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 275.

⁵⁴⁰ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 16.

⁵⁴¹ India is the only Asian cuisine represented in the book. It could be argued that this is because Indian food, or perhaps more correctly Anglo-Indian food, was already part of the English culinary tradition by the 19th century, as described by April Bullock, “The Cosmopolitan Cookbook: Class, Taste, and Foreign Foods in Victorian Cookery Books,” *Food, Culture & Society* 15, no. 3 (2012): 437–54. Also, notably, Battistessa and Bianchi both lived in India before migrating to Australia, and there is a curious addition to the recipe “Sformato di Bracioline e Verdure” in *La Cucina Continentale*, 106, which is not present in the corresponding recipe “Cutlets and Vegetables” in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 102: “Gl’Indiani sono molto golosi di questa pietanza.” (“The Indians just love this dish.”) Perhaps this line was added by Bianchi or Battistessa, writing from personal experience?

it is indeed alive with “hybrid vigour.” In fact we see globalisation at work: recipes by an American-born woman who lived in England and wrote for both English and American housewives, with help from a variety of French, Italian and German chefs working in London and New York, amongst others, are used as either inspiration or more directly copied by what was almost certainly an Italian migrant writing for an Australian audience.

Using some familiar recipes, allowing for personal taste and substitutions, explaining recipes in terms which the audience would understand and minimising the use of foreign language appear to have indeed made the book accessible to an Australian mainstream audience, at least according to an *Argus* book reviewer who, in August 1937, stated that most of the dishes from the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* “seem to be appetising enough to tempt even conservative cooks to experiment.”⁵⁴²

Fidelity to Origins

Making recipes accessible did not necessarily mean that the author was compromising or dumbing them down. Throughout the book there is a tension between the author’s desire to be correct and true to the origins of particular dishes, especially Italian ones, and the need to publish a book which an Australian audience would accept and use. While it has been noted that Italian and foreign words are generally avoided, in some cases they are used, perhaps because the author believes no acceptable English equivalent exists. Where these words are used, they are generally followed by an explanation: “Risotto” is “(a mixture of rice, butter, and grated cheese)”; “Focaccia” is followed by “(a kind of cake or bun)”; and after the method explaining “Artichokes in Pinzimonio” the author adds “[p]inzimonio’ is the Italian name of the sauce. Into it they dip, too, the raw celery, etc.”⁵⁴³

⁵⁴² “Two Cookery Books,” *Argus*, August 18, 1937, 18, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article11116905>.

⁵⁴³ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 130, 172, 227. Regarding focaccia, while Australians have come to know it as a flat bread with garlic and herbs, filled like a sandwich, the author is also correct as there are sweet as well as savoury versions according to John Irving and Paola Gho, eds., *The Slow Food Dictionary to Italian Regional Cooking* (Bra, Italy: Slow Food Editore, 2010), 232–33.

The author was also clearly interested in challenging what his or her audience might believe they knew about Italian food. Nowhere is this more evident than in the entry for “Broth”:

Spaghetti, by its shape, its colour, its knack of giving relish to other food, the way of eating it, its own taste, and the dash of local colour traditionally associated with it, assumes in the mind and imagination of the tourist in Italy such an importance that for him Italian cookery and spaghetti have become almost synonymous...Any candid examination, in fact, would show that the one of all Italian national dishes most widely and persistently [sic] consumed is the well known thick soup (minestra) of which a fundamental ingredient is broth (brodo).⁵⁴⁴

Intelligent and Witty

The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is written with intelligence and wit which is not always evident in other Australian cookbooks of the 1930s.⁵⁴⁵ There are many literary references, and these are not restricted to Italian authors, for example, of the belief that spaghetti is Italy’s national dish: “This impression, like the report of Mark Twain’s death, is slightly exaggerated”; of a sweet biscuit called “Cenci ... [t]his name has nothing to do with Shelley’s tragedy”; and of “Trout in the Moorish Way... Othello himself may have enjoyed it, who knows?”⁵⁴⁶ Expert opinion is cited on diet and nutrition, including Sir Robert McCarrison, a Northern Irish expert on nutrition, and, significantly, Australian doctor Philip E. Muskett, who is referenced in relation to Australians’ inability to cook vegetables:

⁵⁴⁴ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 12.

⁵⁴⁵ Some examples of 1930s cookbooks, which do not, by and large, share the wit evident in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* include: A. A. Drummond, *The Blossoms Cookery Book* (Adelaide: Hunkin, Ellis & King, 1931); A. M. Campbell, *The New P.W.M.U. Cookery Book / Arranged by Miss A. M. Campbell, M.A.; Issued by the Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union of Victoria*, 3rd ed. (Melbourne: Brown, Prior, Anderson, 1936); *The Leader Spare Corner Book: A Unique Collection of Home and Household Hints and Kitchen Recipes—Part X* (Melbourne: The Age, 1938).

⁵⁴⁶ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 12, 47, 267.

...a state of things all the less excusable seeing that it is now many years since the late Dr. Muskett not only urged their use, but in his "Australian Book of Diet" described how it should be done.⁵⁴⁷

Muskett believed that Australians ate too much meat, not enough vegetables and fish, and would benefit from eating more like those in Mediterranean countries.⁵⁴⁸ His thoughts are echoed throughout the book and are clearly shared by the author with recipes for fish and vegetables numbering in the hundreds, while there are only twenty-one recipes in the "Meat" chapter.

The wit of the author is on display in recipes like "Lamb in a Hurry": "To start with, it must be real lamb, not mutton rejuvenated like ambitious ladies on the wrong side of forty"; in the recipe for "Hare Loaf," which references the famous alleged quote of 18th century English cookery book writer Hannah Glasse, "First, catch your hare": "We assume, in fact, that the hare has been caught by someone else, and merely request our readers, in the traditional language of the kitchen oracles, to 'take' it"; and in the recipe for "Baba," a pastry with a hole in the middle, which means woman in Polish: "'Baba' is a Polish word of which a definition may be constructed from this recipe."⁵⁴⁹

This demonstrates that our author was not only highly educated and somewhat playful but regarded food as a subject of cultural significance without a hint of being patronising. The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is not simply a book of recipes, it is also a celebration of the civilisational importance of cooking, which the author says "can proudly claim to be at once the oldest of arts and the youngest of sciences," "[t]he oldest of arts, because one cannot picture a humanity in possession of any art at all, and yet so undeveloped as not to have already rebelled against the repulsiveness of raw meat, and invented Cookery as the

⁵⁴⁷ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 164.

⁵⁴⁸ Philip E. Muskett, *The Art of Living in Australia*, eBooks@Adelaide (Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Library, 2004), <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/muskett/philip/art/>.

⁵⁴⁹ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 113, 221, 305.

corrective” and “[t]he youngest of sciences, inasmuch as it is only of recent years that the Dietist has been taken seriously enough to impart weight to his learned confirmation of what mere ordinary Cooks had discovered themselves thousands of years ago...that some foods are of much greater value than some others...”⁵⁵⁰

Audience

Another key difference between this book and others typical of this time is that the author does not appear to be speaking primarily or solely to women: “Nothing is too fantastic, nothing too ambitious, for *his* [author’s emphasis] genial imagination to suggest as a means of tickling the diner’s palate.”⁵⁵¹ While at other times the author addresses both sexes: “By his or her meat, you’ll know your cook.”⁵⁵² This is not to say that women are never directly addressed; they are, especially in regards to domestic economy: “A good cook will save her household a vast amount of expense by making an attractive and nutritious dish out of cuts that will cost, with luck, not more than a half, or even a quarter, of what must be paid for their expensive rivals”⁵⁵³ and the “housewife” is frequently invoked, often in a way that expresses a sexism characteristic of its time: “The following recipes [from famous continental chefs]... state the methods so plainly that the average housewife will find no difficulty in following such illustrious examples... [a]nyhow, we have done our best.”⁵⁵⁴ Overall, however, the book is not explicitly aimed at women—being a good wife or mother or even hostess are never mentioned—and this supports the idea that the book is written for all Australians.⁵⁵⁵ The title

⁵⁵⁰ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 1.

⁵⁵¹ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 93.

⁵⁵² *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 134.

⁵⁵³ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 134.

⁵⁵⁴ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 93.

⁵⁵⁵ As opposed to the Italian version which says it is actually for Italian housewives. There is one exception, the “Sweets” chapter in the English edition: “Here is, sure enough, if anywhere, the peculiarly and appropriately feminine department of the noble art of Cookery. Not that the she-cook fails to shine in all branches...but that here the eternal feminine is wont to revel in results that mere man, unless a culinary genius, can only contemplate and enjoy with respectful admiration.” *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 214.

reinforces this, as does the first sentence of the book: “This volume is the First Continental Cookery Book printed in Australia for Australians.”⁵⁵⁶

However, the book was advertised in distinctly different ways, which were not always reflective of the actual contents. Classified advertisements in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Courier-Mail* addressed the housewife, saying the book is “a boon to the housewife” and “teaches you to cook well and eat better.”⁵⁵⁷ In *Il Giornale Italiano*, however, display advertisements market the book as the perfect gift to buy your Australian friends for Christmas, yet more evidence of the publishing company wanting their migrant readers to reach out and connect with mainstream Australians.⁵⁵⁸ It also is advertised on the English pages of *Il Giornale Italiano*, and these are the only ads that market the book as ideal for entertaining and dinner parties, something to which the book does not make reference.⁵⁵⁹ Possibly, the publisher believes Australians regard continental cookery as food for entertaining, and will market it as such, even if that was not the main stated intention of the author. Once the Italian version was published, *Il Giornale Italiano* ads continue to suggest Italians buy the English version for Australian friends and the Italian version for themselves. It addresses its ads “to gourmet friends” and to connoisseurs, not to housewives or dinner party hostesses, perhaps revealing what it saw as the key difference between the two food

⁵⁵⁶ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 1. Despite this claim, evidence suggests it was not the first continental cookery book published in Australia: gas companies published booklets of continental recipes by Madame Leo Cherniavsky as early as the late 1920s, Anne Dyason’s *A Cook’s Tour for Cooks*, published in 1931, featured dishes from around the world, and *Nu-Kooka*, which contained Jewish and continental dishes appeared in the 1930s. Madame Leo Cherniavsky, *Continental Recipes* (Sydney: Australian Gas Light Company, n.d.); Madame Leo Cherniavsky, *Continental Recipes* (Adelaide: The South Australian Gas Company, n.d.); Dyason, *A Cook’s Tour for Cooks; Nu-Kooka* (Sydney: Waite & Bull, 1935?).

⁵⁵⁷ “For the Housewife,” 2–5; “A Boon to the Housewife,” 3.

⁵⁵⁸ “Ecco un’ottima occasione per offrire ai vostri amici Australiani un qualcosa di totalmente diverso che non potranno non apprezzare appieno” (Author’s translation: “This [Christmas] is an excellent opportunity to offer your Australian friends something totally different that they can’t fail to fully appreciate”). “Attenzione!,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, December 1, 1937, 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83803843>.

⁵⁵⁹ “It’s Smart to Entertain Continentally,” 1.

cultures.⁵⁶⁰ The multitude of marketing messages showed a level of sophistication in differentiating according to the likely medium's audience while trying to appeal to as wide a readership as possible.

Why was it Written?

As we have seen, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* was written in an accessible but intelligent way, aimed at attracting a large mainstream Australian audience. Why it was written is difficult to answer, especially when the author remains unknown. However, if we consider the evidence provided in the book itself and the publishing company behind the book, we can conclude that it was written to persuade Australians that there is a better, more suitable way for them to cook and eat, and that way is based largely upon the history and experience of Italians. This is illustrated in the following quote, which is ostensibly about the inability of Australians to cook vegetables:

One opposing factor still at work is the prejudice against everything “foreign,” and one forgets or overlooks that the use of certain vegetables in certain “foreign” countries has been the result of centuries and centuries of experience and civilisation.⁵⁶¹

If we substitute the word “Italian” for foreign and think beyond vegetable cooking advice, the author appears to be urging the audience to embrace Italians because they come from a civilisation that Australians can learn from. This is not to say that the author believes Australia has nothing to offer. As we have seen, he or she readily and enthusiastically acknowledges that Australia has an abundance of natural bounty and is a land of great opportunity—its waters are teeming with fish, its climate is perfect for poultry rearing and “no other country in the world offers better opportunities for vegetable-production and appreciation, whether as

⁵⁶⁰ “Agli Amici Buongustai,” *Il Giornale Italiano*, February 16, 1938, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article83860862>.

⁵⁶¹ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 164.

regards quality, quantity, or variety, than does this Commonwealth”—but Australians don’t always know how to take advantage of this nature because they lack a sophisticated food culture, either because there has not been time to develop one or because “[t]oo many Australians of British stock” have been “over-faithful to the footsteps of their fathers” in following a food tradition that does not suit their climate.⁵⁶² That is where the author believes Italy and Italians can help, for they have had centuries to develop a food culture that is not just excellent in its own right, but is suitable for Australia because of the similarity to the Mediterranean climate, something Muskett pointed out in the late 19th century.⁵⁶³ In order for Australians to access this culture, they need education, hence the mission of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*.

The author of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* may have been taking the advice given to Italian migrants by the Archbishop of Brisbane James Duhig in the 1934 *Vade Mecum*: “Be proud of your ancestry: never forget ‘Our Italy’ and by your exemplary lives and industrious habits maintain the traditions of your nation and promote the welfare of Australia, your adopted country.”⁵⁶⁴ The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* author believes his or her heritage can help usher in, if not a culinary revolution than at least a rapid-fire evolution:

Let us try, here, to do our modest best towards encouraging the opening of a new and better chapter in the history of Australian cookery. Surely the time is ripe for such a move!⁵⁶⁵

This injunction reads like a political manifesto, which, given the fascist heritage of the book, is not incongruous. While the book does not seemingly push a fascist agenda, it does express nationalistic sentiments about both Italy and Australia.

⁵⁶² *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 163.

⁵⁶³ Muskett, *The Art of Living in Australia*.

⁵⁶⁴ James Duhig, “Message To the Sons and Daughters of Italy and Their Children in Australia,” *Vade Mecum*, July 25, 1934, 5.

⁵⁶⁵ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 165.

The migrants behind the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* wanted, in the words of Battistessa, to forge a strong relationship between “ancient, noble Italy that gave us birth and the new great Australia that is to-day our adopted country and will to-morrow be the fatherland of our children’s children.”⁵⁶⁶ This desire to create a relationship between Italy and Australia is evident in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* and has resulted in the creation of Australia’s first Italo-Australian cookbook. At the same time, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is not *just* a marriage of Italian culture and Australian nature; the inclusion of recipes from other cuisines and the use of Countess Morphy’s *Recipes of All Nations* as source material means the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* has been influenced by a wide variety of cultures and, as such, is a truly hybridised product. Ultimately, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* challenges the ideas that all Italian migrants were uneducated, had a ghetto mentality and maintained their food traditions as a way to connect with their past. For here were a group of educated Italian migrants who not only wanted to participate and engage with mainstream Australian society, they wanted to actively change it. The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is unusual as a migrant-produced cookbook in that it does not sentimentally reference nostalgia and romanticism, instead it appeals to logic and reason—Australians should change the way they eat because it does not suit their climate and it does not make the most of what they naturally have available to them. It is an enterprising and assured work, and in the way it manages to deliver its revolutionary message while attempting not to alienate its audience, it is clever and somewhat subversive. However, clever as it might have been, it did not work. Australians were not ready to heed the message of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* in the 1930s and the onset of World War II would not have encouraged the adoption of foreign food traditions. However, it could be argued, that the future the book envisaged for Australian

⁵⁶⁶ Battistessa, “Viva L’Australia! Viva L’Italia! Our Appeal to the Australian Press For a Better Understanding and the Promotion of the Italo-Australian Friendship,” 1.

cooks and eaters, one where Australians embraced foods from many cultures and looked beyond Britain as the main source of their culinary and dietary habits, has in many respects, come true.

Statement of Authorship for Chapter Four

Title of Paper	Sweet and Savoury: Pasta in Popular Australian Cookbooks, 1860-1975
Publication Status	<input type="checkbox"/> Published <input type="checkbox"/> Accepted for Publication <input type="checkbox"/> Submitted for Publication <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Unpublished and Unsubmitted work written in manuscript style
Publication Details	N/A

Principal Author

Name of Principal Author (Candidate)	Tania Cammarano	
Contribution to the Paper	Developed idea and structure, gathered and analysed all primary and secondary sources, wrote and edited manuscript.	
Overall percentage (%)	100	
Certification:	This paper reports on original research I conducted during the period of my Higher Degree by Research candidature and is not subject to any obligations or contractual agreements with a third party that would constrain its inclusion in this thesis. I am the primary author of this paper.	
Signature	Date	15 January 2018

Chapter Four: Sweet and Savoury: Pasta in Popular Australian Cookbooks, 1860-1975

Introduction

Italian migrants changed Australian eating habits. They introduced cooking with garlic and olive oil, and foods such as pizza and pasta, to the Australian dinner table.⁵⁶⁷

The Australian love affair with Italian food might have started with pasta and pizza introduced by European migration in the 1950s, but it has become a passion for cuisine that keeps evolving.⁵⁶⁸

The idea that Italian migrants brought pasta to the attention of Australian diners is part of a wider popular narrative that attempts to explain the radical shift in Australian culinary tastes since the 1950s. This narrative is straightforward: before the Italians and other non-British migrants arrived in significant numbers after World War II, Australians ate a monotonous diet based on the English meat-and-three-veg model. The effect of post-World War II migration changed not only the ethnic make-up of the nation, but also the diet. Anglo-Celtic Australians were exposed to the exciting and colourful new foods that these migrants cooked and consumed. In the 1970s, with official government policy moving from assimilation to multiculturalism, they embraced the foods, and, ultimately, the migrants themselves. Immigration together with multiculturalism explains why pasta is one of the most popular ingredients on Australian dinner tables, with spaghetti bolognese, a dish composed of spaghetti with a minced meat and tomato sauce, in particular regularly featuring in polls as one of the country's favourite dishes.⁵⁶⁹ For the acceptance of pasta, the media likes to tell us, we should be grateful to the Italians.

⁵⁶⁷ Garry Chapman, *The Italians in Australia* (South Yarra, Vic.: Macmillan Education Australia, 2007), 28.

⁵⁶⁸ Hannaford, "From Bolognese Sauce to Black Squid Ink: The Evolution of Italian Food in Australia."

⁵⁶⁹ See, for example, Catherine Lambert, "Ready for Spaghetti," *Sunday Herald Sun*, September 6, 2009, <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/ready-for-spaghetti/story-e6frf7kx-1225769877667>. Also, spaghetti bolognese is frequently described as not being of Italian origin, although there has been

However, unsurprisingly, such a narrative is overly simplistic. Many academics have challenged the myths of an unvaried and poor-quality Anglo diet and the effects that migration has had on Australian food culture. Most notably, food historian Barbara Santich has shown there was a lot more creativity in Australian cooking than most modern accounts would lead us to believe.⁵⁷⁰ Michael Symons largely rejected migration as a reason for the “ethnicisation” of the Australian palate in his seminal work *One Continuous Picnic*, believing industrialisation had a much larger part to play.⁵⁷¹

In looking specifically at the case of pasta, there are a number of assumptions underpinning the post-war popularisation narrative which are false. Firstly, consider the claim that pasta as an ingredient was largely unknown to Australians prior to World War II. Pasta, in fact, has been available in Australia since colonial times. An 1823 classified advertisement notes “vermacelli [sic] and macaroni” for sale at 18 Pitt Street Sydney;⁵⁷² there are five recipes featuring dried pasta in Edward Abbott’s *The English and Australian Cookery Book* (1864), the first cookbook published by an Australian;⁵⁷³ and there is even a recipe for fresh pasta, “Home-made Vermicelli,” in Mrs Lance Rawson’s *The Antipodean Cookery Book and Kitchen Companion* of 1895.⁵⁷⁴ Secondly, the narrative takes for granted that the English cuisine that the migrants brought with them was somehow free of foreign influences.⁵⁷⁵ Clearly this was not the case, with recipes for pasta visible in English cookery manuscripts in the 14th

debate about this in recent years, see Stephanie Kirchgaessner, “Italian or British? Writer Solves Riddle of Spaghetti Bolognese,” *Guardian*, November 25, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/24/italian-or-british-writer-solves-riddle-of-spaghetti-bolognese>; Gillian Riley, *The Oxford Companion to Italian Food* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁵⁷⁰ Santich, *Bold Palates*.

⁵⁷¹ Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*.

⁵⁷² “Advertisements,” *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, August 14, 1823, 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2182097>.

⁵⁷³ These are “Gravy Soup,” “Simple Dish of Mutton,” “Vermicelli or Macaroni Pudding,” “To Dress Macaroni” and “Fish Soup (Another Recipe).” Edward Abbott, *The English and Australian Cookery Book*, 4, 27, 56, 63, 99.

⁵⁷⁴ Mrs Lance Rawson, *The Antipodean Cookery Book and Kitchen Companion*, 75.

⁵⁷⁵ Foreign trade, travel and technology have historically influenced cuisine according to Allison James, “How British Is British Food?,” in *Food, Health, and Identity*, ed. Patricia Caplan (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 71–86.

century.⁵⁷⁶ By the 18th century, macaroni was widely eaten and considered fashionable in Great Britain⁵⁷⁷ and by the 19th century recipes for dishes featuring macaroni and vermicelli can be found in popular English cookbooks, such as those by Eliza Acton and Isabella Beeton.⁵⁷⁸ In short, pasta was well-established as an ingredient in the repertoire of the English cook before the white settlement of Australia occurred, and continued to be a popular ingredient up to and beyond the point when Australia became a federation in 1901.

Then what *does* explain the consistent and considerable popularity of pasta in contemporary Australia? By analysing the occurrences and uses of pasta in recipes in ninety cookbooks available in Australia over a 115-year period,⁵⁷⁹ this analysis shows both that a large number of authors and organisations suggested pasta as a necessary addition to the pantries of Australian cooks prior to the presence of any significant Italian population, and also that the reasons for its continued popularity have little to do with Italians and Italian migration to Australia, and much more to do with the properties inherent in pasta itself.

Methodology

Recipes and other information about pasta from popular cookbooks in Australia form the primary sources for this study.⁵⁸⁰ While cookbooks “are not simply clear windows into the kitchens of the past” in that they do not tell us what people were actually cooking and eating, they are still a valuable source for historians because they reveal attitudes, beliefs and ideas

⁵⁷⁶ The *Forme of Cury* contains a recipe for “Makerouns” which are described as “macaroni but note that it was made in flat noodles, not tubular forms” and “Losyns” described as “noodles in broth with cheese.” Constance B. Hieatt and Sharon Butler, eds., *Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (Including the Forme of Cury)* (London; New York: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1985), 108, 119, 198, 200.

⁵⁷⁷ Laura Mason, *Food Culture in Great Britain* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004).

⁵⁷⁸ Acton, *Modern Cookery for Private Families*; Isabella Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*.

⁵⁷⁹ In order to keep the footnotes manageable, the cookbooks which form the primary source for this study will be written as author (shortened, if necessary) and title (shortened). Year will be included if required for clarity. A complete bibliography as well as a chronological list of the books in this study can be found in Appendix C.

⁵⁸⁰ “Other information” in this study includes details about pasta that were communicated in non-recipe form, for example a chart featuring cooking times. “Recipe” will be used to include this “other information.”

about how ingredients should be prepared and, in many cases, consumed.⁵⁸¹ Individually they reveal the approach to cooking and attitudes towards food of one particular author or group, but collectively they can illuminate larger food fashions and reflect wider cultural changes.

The methodological decision to focus on cookbooks rather than other sources of recipes, such as the women's pages of newspapers and/or female-focused magazines, was based on two considerations. Firstly, as cookbooks are produced for various purposes by people and organisations with different perspectives, a wide variety of opinions can be canvassed. As the aim of this study was to gather as many ideas about the use of pasta as possible, this heterogeneity was in fact helpful.⁵⁸² For example, cooking school teacher Margaret J. Pearson's 1888 book (which is one of the cookbooks analysed) aims to provide "a guide to my pupils and a general handbook on plain wholesome Cookery for the People" as well as to help "many young wives," while John D. Porter, in *The Chef Suggests* (ca. 1949), says that "my first object in publishing this book has been to afford you gastronomic pleasure, but I hope, to stimulate an interest in good food and wine."⁵⁸³ Both books recommend the use of pasta but in markedly different ways. Pearson features pasta as part of a repertoire of good "plain" dishes for the average housewife while Porter includes pasta in a number of recipes which aim to appeal to the gourmand.

Secondly, as cookbooks are frequently re-published, doing an analysis based on this type of publication allows for tracking of how the attitudes and beliefs of an author or particular group have changed or remained the same. For example, analysing the recipes for soups featuring pasta in six editions of the cookbooks produced by the Presbyterian Women's

⁵⁸¹ Nicola Humble, *Culinary Pleasures: Cookbooks and the Transformation of British Food* (London: Faber & Faber, 2005), 4. For more on cookbooks as a historical source see Ken Albala, "Cookbooks as Historical Documents," in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. Jeffrey M. Pilcher (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁵⁸² Historian Colin Bannerman categorises the different types of cookbooks with examples of different perspectives from the Federation period in Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*.

⁵⁸³ Margaret J. Pearson, *Cookery Recipes for the People*, v, vi; John D. Porter, *The Chef Suggests*, n.p.

Missionary Union of Victoria (P.W.M.U.), Australia's oldest continuously published cookbook,⁵⁸⁴ reveals developments in kitchen technology, perceived shifts in readers' interests and changes in wider society.⁵⁸⁵ "Vermicelli Soup" was a popular pasta soup of the late 19th and early 20th century,⁵⁸⁶ and there are recipes for it in the 1904, 1941 and 1950 editions of the P.W.M.U. book.⁵⁸⁷ In the 1950 edition, along with "Vermicelli Soup," another soup featuring pasta is introduced—"Minestrone."⁵⁸⁸ This inclusion is significant for two reasons: it illustrates increased interest in recipes of foreign origins, or at least that the authors believed this to be the case, as discussed in more detail later; in addition as the minestrone is to be cooked in a pressure cooker, it reflects advancements in kitchen technology. "Vermicelli Soup" is not present in either the 1961 or 1973 editions, which could mean that the authors believe it is no longer of interest to their readership or, perhaps, that it is such a simple and common dish that they already know how to make it.⁵⁸⁹ Over time, minestrone becomes the only soup featuring pasta in the P.W.M.U. books: an identical recipe appears in the 1961 and 1973 editions, although the latter edition is given in metric measurements, reflecting the metric changeover that occurred in Australia in 1966.⁵⁹⁰ In any case, recipes from newspapers and magazines, which some academics believe are more accurate reflections of actual cooking practices, have not been ignored.⁵⁹¹ Where they have

⁵⁸⁴ Fiona Bligh, *From Suet to Saffron: The History of the PWMU Cookbook in Victoria 1904-2012* (Preston, Vic.: Fairfield Press, 2013).

⁵⁸⁵ The six editions of the P.W.M.U. book in the study are from 1904, 1921, 1941, 1950, 1961 and 1973.

⁵⁸⁶ In the study there are recipes for "Vermicelli Soup" in twenty-seven out of ninety cookbooks. After 1943, this recipe is only found in new editions of existing cookbooks.

⁵⁸⁷ In 1904 this recipe is called "Clear Soup" and in 1950 it is called "Vermicelli." P.W.M.U. of Victoria, *Home Cookery for Australia*, 23; A. M. Campbell, *The New P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1941, 24; A. M. Campbell, *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1950, 24.

⁵⁸⁸ Campbell, 181.

⁵⁸⁹ In the case of the *Barossa Cookery Book*, Angela Heuzenroeder speculates one popular recipe was omitted because of its simplicity. See Angela Heuzenroeder, "A Region, Its Recipes and Their Meaning: The Birth of the Barossa Cookery Book," *History Australia* 3, no. 2 (2006): 46.1-46.13.

⁵⁹⁰ P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Gwen Jenkins, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1961, 6-7; P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Ann Gemmell, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1973, 31.

⁵⁹¹ Sociologist Stephen Mennell outlined his support of magazine recipes as more reflective of actual culinary practice in Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford; New York: B. Blackwell, 1985). Symons showed community cookbooks and magazine/newspaper reader compiled cookbooks more closely mirrored actual cooking

been compiled in cookbooks and meet the criteria of sample selection, they have been included.⁵⁹²

The study does not focus on any one particular type of cookbook: textbooks; books with recipes compiled from newspapers, magazines and journals; product promotion books; and fundraising and charity books, also known as community cookbooks, are all included. The overriding criterion used to select the cookbooks for the study sample was not the *type* of book, but rather how widely circulated the book appeared to be, or its “popularity.”

Determining which cookbooks were “popular,” however, is not a straightforward matter. For the majority of the study period, reliable and objective sales figures are simply unavailable. Therefore I have utilised the basic methodology employed by sociologist Liora Gvion in her 2009 study of ethnicity in American cookbooks. Gvion classified a cookbook as “popular” if more than one edition was published or if an author had written more than one cookbook. She studied all books which met these criteria and were published in America between 1850 and 1990, and thus her sample numbered 1,309 cookbooks.⁵⁹³ As following these guidelines would result in a sample size estimated at 800 books, which would be unmanageable given the scope of this chapter, I employed a further criterion: books have been included for this study only if they were nominated as “important” by leading Australian food historians Santich, Symons and/or Colin Bannerman.⁵⁹⁴ While Bannerman has pointed out that a book

practices in a study of New Zealand cookbooks in Michael Symons, “Authentic Kitchen Voices: Internal Clues and Measures of the Historical Value of Community Cookery Books,” in *Eating In, Dining Out: Proceedings of the New Zealand Culinary History Conference, 14 & 15 November 2005*, ed. Kate Hunter and Michael Symons (Wellington, New Zealand, 2006), 117–35; Bannerman, however, believes newspapers and magazines are more interested in “novelty, curiosity or fashion” in *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*, 19.

⁵⁹² Examples of these books in the study sample include *Cottage Cookery* (ca. 1898), *The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book* (1937) and the *Australian Women's Weekly Cookbook* (1970).

⁵⁹³ See Liora Gvion, “What’s Cooking in America? Cookbooks Narrate Ethnicity: 1850-1990,” *Food, Culture & Society* 12, no. 1 (2009): 53–76.

⁵⁹⁴ “Importance” is denoted by one of these historians discussing the book as significant in Australia’s culinary past. The main sources used to gather this information were Graham Pont, Barbara Santich, and Paul Wilkins, *Landmarks of Australian Gastronomy: Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Senior Common Room Club, the University of New South Wales, October 14-November 9, 1988* (Sydney:

can be “important” without being “popular,”⁵⁹⁵ and cites as an example Edward Abbott’s *The English and Australian Cookery Book* (1864), only five cookbooks in the sample fall into this category of non-popular but recognised as important by scholars.⁵⁹⁶ Books that were “popular,” but not “important,” have been excluded, primarily to generate a manageable sample size. However books solely focused on Italian food that are “popular” but have not been deemed “important” have been included because there has been a lack of scholarly attention paid to these books and they are obviously important to study in the context of this exploration of the dissemination of information about pasta in Australia.⁵⁹⁷ Books that were published overseas but otherwise meet the requirements of the sample also have been included, as it is likely they were accessible to many Australian readers.

The study period covers cookbooks published between 1860 and 1975. The decision to begin in 1860 allows for the inclusion of *The Book of Household Management* (1861), which Bannerman notes “can fairly be taken as a model of the approved way of doing things in

University of New South Wales, 1988); Michael Symons, “Cooking Library Books,” *Research Centre for the History of Food and Drink Newsletter*, no. 37 (2005): 8–11; Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*; Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary History*; Colin Bannerman, “The Cookery Shelf,” *National Library of Australia News*, November 1998, 14–17. Also, personal communication with the following: Barbara Santich, *Email correspondence* (November 12, 2012); Michael Symons, *Email correspondence* (October 30, 2012); Colin Bannerman, *Email correspondence* (November 24, 2012).

⁵⁹⁵ Bannerman, *Email correspondence*.

⁵⁹⁶ The other books with only one edition include *The Adelaide Cookery Note Book* (1902), *A Cook’s Tour for Cooks* (1931), *Something Different for Dinner* (1936) and *The Chef Suggests* (ca. 1949). The existence of other cookbooks or other editions has been gathered primarily by using the physical evidence provided by the books themselves, Australian cookbook bibliographies by Bette R. Austin and John Hoyle, and the Trove catalogue (<http://trove.nla.gov.au>). While no second edition of Abbott’s book was published, Santich notes in Santich, “Edward Abbott’s Scrapbook” he had been collecting material for a second edition which was advertised a month before his death and Hoyle details how a section of it was published separately as *Hebrew Cookery* (1867). The difficulty of saying with certainty whether other editions exist is shown by examples such as Fanny Fawcett Story’s *Australian Economic Cookery Book and Housewife’s Companion*. While only one edition (1900) is acknowledged in the bibliographies and Trove’s catalogue, a newspaper article mentions receiving “the third edition (15th thousandth) of ‘Story’s Australian Economic Cookery Book and Housewife’s Companion’ ...issued by F. Fawcett Story.” See “Editor’s Table,” *Mildura Cultivator*, April 27, 1901, 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article75758897>.

⁵⁹⁷ Other books excluded from the study which met the criteria stipulated are *Cooking the Chinese Way* (1948) and *Chinese Recipes for Home Cooking* (1951). These books were excluded to keep the focus on “Italian” pasta.

Australia” albeit with some modifications.⁵⁹⁸ This date also permits the inclusion of the first cookbook regarded as Australian.⁵⁹⁹ As the popularity of pasta has been linked to the migration of Italians, beginning in the 1860s allows for the analysis of pasta recipes before there was any significant Italian population in Australia.⁶⁰⁰ By the date elected as the end of the study period (1975), Italians had claimed the position of largest non-English speaking minority in Australia and their status had been recognised by a federal government that had shifted its policy on immigration from assimilation to multiculturalism.⁶⁰¹ It was at this time that we see the emergence of popular Australian-published cookbooks solely focused on “Italian” cooking, and I contend that these books cemented the bond between pasta and Italians that dominates contemporary ideas about the ingredient in Australia.⁶⁰² With these ideas established, extending the study period beyond 1975 would likely have shown more recipes linking Italian ethnicity and pasta in different ways, for example an increase in recipes described as belonging to particular Italian regions, but sampling in this time period raises different research questions and hence has been left aside as a topic for further study.

Defining “Pasta”

In order to generate the sample of recipes from the cookbooks selected for this study, it was first necessary to define what is meant by “pasta.” This issue is a challenging one for at least two reasons. First, the word “pasta” does not actually appear in popular cookbooks in Australia until the 1950s; thus for the majority of the study period, the term “macaroni” is

⁵⁹⁸ Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*, 185.

⁵⁹⁹ Abbott, *The English and Australian Cookery Book*.

⁶⁰⁰ While a small number of Italians did migrate to Australia during the 19th century, the two significant waves of migration occurred in the 1920s and after World War II. The latter wave dwarfed the previous wave, with the Italy-born population moving from 8,135 in 1921 to 289,476 in 1971. Co.As.It.SA, “Pattern of Migration from Italy.”

⁶⁰¹ For an explanation of this policy shift, see Stephen Castles and Ellie Vasta, “Australia: New Conflicts around Old Dilemmas,” in *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, ed. Wayne A. Cornelius et al., 2nd ed. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004), 141–73.

⁶⁰² See, for example, Fulton, *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook; The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook*.

used generically to indicate all forms of pasta.⁶⁰³ “Spaghetti” and “vermicelli” are also commonly used terms.⁶⁰⁴ As well as being the generic term for all types of pasta, “macaroni” also refers to a specific shape. As an illustration from Beeton’s book suggests, this shape is long, tubular and hollow.⁶⁰⁵ This description is supported by many recipes that call for macaroni to be either cut or broken into smaller pieces or else boiled “long.”⁶⁰⁶ However, an advertisement for Melbourne macaroni brand Rinoldi in 1924 states “Rinoldi macaroni, Pipe or Cut” are available for purchase, the latter implying the shape can now be bought pre-cut into smaller pieces.⁶⁰⁷ An illustrated guide to pasta in 1970’s *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook* shows a short, tubular, hollow shape labelled as “macaroni,” suggesting that by this point in time, the shape had now become the norm, but variations still existed; for example, the macaroni pictured in *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook* (1975) appear to be much shorter than those in the *Weekly’s* book.⁶⁰⁸

Secondly, cuisines from many other countries boast dishes that could be described as using or being a type of pasta. For the purposes of the study, however, all recipes from the cookbook sample which list fresh, dried or tinned pasta have been included. “Fresh pasta” is defined as a preparation that involves dough made with wheat flour and/or water and/or egg, very occasionally milk, and usually salt, rolled out and cut into sheets or shapes and then cooked. It

⁶⁰³ Davidson explains that the term macaroni excluded “only sheet pasta such as lasagne and filled pasta such as ravioli” in Alan Davidson, *The Oxford Companion to Food*, ed. Tom Jaine, 2nd ed. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 469.

⁶⁰⁴ However, macaroni was also occasionally used to mean spaghetti or vermicelli. For example, macaroni is listed in the ingredients of the recipe for “Spaghetti” in all editions of the *Green and Gold Cookery Book* (ca. 1932, 1944, 1963 and ca. 1960s).

⁶⁰⁵ Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 72.

⁶⁰⁶ For example, it is recommended that the macaroni in “Macaroni and Kidney” be “broken into pieces” before cooking in Mrs Lance Rawson, *Australian Enquiry Book of Household and General Information*, 26; cooked macaroni in “Macaroni Soup” should be “cut...into pieces 1 inch long” in H. F. Wicken, *The Kingswood Cookery Book*, 47; while “pipe macaroni” are specified for the “Chicken, Ham and Macaroni Pudding” and they should be boiled “in long pieces” in Women’s Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of NSW, *Cookery Book of Good and Tried Receipts*, 36.

⁶⁰⁷ “The All-Purpose All Australian Cereal Food,” *Argus*, June 4, 1924, 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4336575>.

⁶⁰⁸ Ellen Sinclair, *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook*, 95; *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook*, 7.

also can include dishes that involve dough stuffed with a filling. Common types of fresh pasta contained in the recipe sample include noodles, ravioli and gnocchi.⁶⁰⁹ Some recipes in the sample call for fresh pasta to be made from scratch, while others suggest that it be purchased ready-made. Despite meeting the definition of fresh pasta, recipes for pasta-like dishes that are strongly linked to other ethnicities such as spätzle, kreplach and wontons have been excluded from this analysis, in a bid to keep the sample size manageable and maintain the focus on “Italian” pasta in order to answer the research questions posed.⁶¹⁰ In defining the next category, “dried pasta” is taken to mean a factory-made preparation of wheat flour, water and salt resulting in a product that then is dried before commercial sale. Occasionally dried pasta can include eggs or milk. Terms commonly used to denote dried pasta in the sample include “macaroni,” “vermicelli,” “spaghetti,” “tagliatelle” and “noodles.” “Tinned pasta” is defined as pasta, usually spaghetti, enclosed in a can with a sauce. The centrality or proportion of pasta to the dish, for example whether it is the main ingredient or an accompaniment, is not considered in any detail here, as the point of this study was not to measure the popularity of pasta dishes, but rather the various uses of pasta that were promoted through recipes.

By employing this methodology, the sample has resulted in the inclusion of ninety cookbooks together containing a total of 1,263 pasta recipes. Analysis of these recipes reveals that pasta has had a continuous presence from the beginning to the end of the sample period, and this presence has not always been explicitly linked to Italian ethnicity. Instead, four key themes emerge via this analysis which relate to the way that pasta is recommended for use in popular Australian cookbooks, namely versatility, economy or frugality, convenience and fluidity of

⁶⁰⁹ While gnocchi is often made from potatoes or ricotta rather than wheat, I have included it in the study because it meets the other requirements of “fresh pasta.”

⁶¹⁰ Spätzle can be found in the cuisines of southern Germany, Switzerland and parts of the former Austro-Hungarian empire; kreplach is Jewish; and wontons are associated with China.

Italian ethnicity. Each of these themes is discussed below, with exemplars provided from the sample to substantiate and illustrate each in some detail.

Versatility

Drain [macaroni] well and use with jam, stewed fruit, or meat.⁶¹¹

From the pasta recipes in the first cookbook of the sample, *The Book of Household Management* (1861) to those in the last, *The Leggo's Italian Cookbook* (1975), one of the dominant themes is pasta's flexibility and adaptability as an ingredient. The variety of roles that pasta can fulfil in a dish or meal in the cookbook sample is lengthy and includes its use in different courses; as a substitute for meat or as suitable for vegetarians; as an alternative to other carbohydrates; as both the main part of a dish and as an accompaniment; as a hot dish or a cold one; and in a variety of different forms from boiled and baked to crushed and diced.⁶¹² On occasion, recipes even call for pasta to be dyed red or pink, perhaps to add novelty to familiar dishes.⁶¹³ Pasta is served for special occasions as well as everyday family meals, used as a centrepiece in a dish aimed to impress or as the main ingredient of a humble repast.⁶¹⁴ This versatility could explain why pasta is present in some form or other in nearly

⁶¹¹ Amy Schauer and Minnie Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 363.

⁶¹² For examples of pasta used in the ways mentioned here, see various subsections of this chapter including Pasta in Different Courses, and Pasta as a Substitute for Meat and Suitable for Vegetarians; an example of pasta used as a substitute for other carbs is "White Stock" from P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 2; an example of pasta as the main ingredient is "Macaroni au Gratin" from Isabel Ross, *Cookery Class Recipes*, 191; an example of pasta as an accompaniment is "Braised Breast of Lamb" from Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide*, 507; an example of a hot pasta dish is "Spaghetti" from Henrietta C. McGowan, *The Keeyuga Cookery Book*, 11; an example of a cold pasta dish is "Beetroot and Macaroni Salad" from Muskett, *The Art of Living in Australia*, n.p.; an example of a boiled pasta dish is "Spaghetti Marinara" from Sinclair, *Australian Women's Weekly Cookbook*, 98; an example of a baked pasta dish is "Lasagne Casserole" from Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, 126; an example of crushed pasta in a dish is "Chicken Croquettes" from Schauer and Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 296; and an example of minced pasta can be seen in "Neapolitan Croquettes" from Lady Victoria Buxton Girls' Club, *The Kookaburra Cookery Book*, 38.

⁶¹³ See, for example, "Veal Entrees" in Emily Futter, *Australian Home Cookery*, 73-74.

⁶¹⁴ Macaroni "generally accompanies Parmesan cheese to the tables of the rich, but is also used for thickening soups and making puddings" in Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 72. Macaroni served "in a high silver dish" features in a menu from the "Dinner according to Count D'Orsay" in Abbott, *The English and Australian Cookery Book*, 112. For examples of pasta used in humbler fare, see the subsection Economy and Frugality in the Kitchen.

every cookbook studied, except for four.⁶¹⁵ That the ingredient is used in so many diverse ways is reflective of one of the chief characteristics that Santich has noted about Australian cooks, that they were (and are) “ingenious, innovative, and adept at making do.”⁶¹⁶ Two subthemes which are of particular interest and worth exploring in more detail because they occur frequently are the use of pasta as a substitute for meat and hence its suitability for vegetarians and the presence of pasta in different courses. Analysis of the ways in which pasta is used in these roles shows how needs in society and beliefs about food are reflected in cookbooks (in the case of the former subtheme), and how recommendations in the use of ingredients can change over time (in the case of the latter).

Pasta as a Substitute for Meat and Suitable for Vegetarians

The combination of meat and pasta in the cookbook sample occurs frequently and is present throughout the entire study period, with recipes ranging from the simple “Macaroni with Steak” in Rawson’s *Australian Enquiry Book of Household and General Information* (1894) to the decidedly non-Italian use of pasta in “Beef Stroganoff” from *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook* (1968).⁶¹⁷ The ubiquitousness of meat is not surprising as Australia’s historic appetite for it has been well-documented.⁶¹⁸ Cheap and plentiful supplies have been a characteristic feature of Australian life since the colony survived the “Hungry Years” of earliest settlement; the country was even famously promoted to potential English immigrants as a place where you could have “Meat Three Times a Day!!”⁶¹⁹ However, despite the common

⁶¹⁵ These four books are Philip E. Muskett, *The Book of Diet*; Alice Hills, *The Adelaide Cookery Note Book*; Queensland Department of Public Instruction, *Simple Cookery*; William Edward Harney and Patricia Thompson, *Bill Harney’s Cook Book*.

⁶¹⁶ Santich, *Bold Palates*, 4.

⁶¹⁷ Rawson, *Australian Enquiry Book of Household and General Information*, 17–18; Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, 74, 76.

⁶¹⁸ See Santich, *What the Doctors Ordered: 150 Years of Dietary Advice in Australia*.

⁶¹⁹ The “Hungry Years” was coined by Lois Davey, Margaret MacPherson, and F. W. Clements, “The Hungry Years: 1788-1792,” in *Tucker in Australia*, ed. Beverley Wood (Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1977), 24–46; philanthropist Caroline Chisholm wrote *Comfort for the Poor! Meat Three Times a Day!! Voluntary Information From the People of New South Wales* (1847) to encourage migration to Australia by England’s poor. See Judith Iltis, “Chisholm, Caroline (1808–1877),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 1, 1966, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/chisholm-caroline-1894>.

pairing of pasta and meat, there are a notable number of pasta recipes which do not contain meat. While in the minority, some of these recipes have been labelled either as substitutes for meat and/or categorised as vegetarian. These recipes show the versatility of pasta as well as how the dietary requirements of certain religions, and beliefs about what constitutes a healthy diet, are visible in the pages of cookbooks.

The Influence of Religion

In his history of vegetarianism, Edgar Crook points out that in Australia “abstaining from meat was an accepted part of Christian practice.”⁶²⁰ The Lenten period required, encouraged or suggested differing degrees of abstinence by Catholics, non-conformists, Methodists, Anglicans and Quakers.⁶²¹ In newspaper recipe columns, articles titled “Lenten Dishes” or “Lenten Fare” often included dishes featuring macaroni.⁶²² In the cookbook sample, recipes with pasta and without meat are not explicitly labelled as suitable for Lent, but Queensland domestic cookery instructor Amy Schauer, whose religious influence was reportedly Congregational, appears to have catered to this need.⁶²³ Later editions of *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book* (1952 and 1962) include a chapter titled “Vegetarian Dishes for Meatless Days” which feature two pasta recipes: “Spaghetti Sausage,” cut up boiled spaghetti mixed with cheese, juice from grated onion, breadcrumbs and parsley, bound with an egg,

⁶²⁰ Edgar Crook, “Vegetarianism in Australia: A History,” 2008, n.p., [http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/129994/20111026-1207/www.ivu.org/history/australia/Vegetarianism in Australia a history.pdf](http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/129994/20111026-1207/www.ivu.org/history/australia/Vegetarianism%20in%20Australia%20a%20history.pdf).

⁶²¹ Crook, n.p.

⁶²² As expected, these articles are common in papers such as *The Catholic Press*, but there are plenty of mainstream newspapers that also provide pasta recipes for Lent. See “Lenten Fare,” *Catholic Press*, March 16, 1933, 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article106375414>; “For Women. Household Notes. Lenten Dishes,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 13, 1928, 5, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article16448706>.

⁶²³ Donna Phillips Ryan, “Schauer, Amy (1871–1956),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 11, 1988, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/schauer-amy-8353>.

formed into a sausage shape, and then crumbed and fried, and “Italian Spaghetti or Macaroni, and Cheese.”⁶²⁴

While abstaining from red meat was required or suggested by some religions, other religious groups believed in total vegetarianism. The most notable of these groups were the Seventh Day Adventists. Crook notes that there were vegetarians prior to the Adventists’ arrival in 1891, but they were the “first single organised religious group of vegetarians in Australia.”⁶²⁵

An early Adventist missionary to Australia author Ellen G. White expressed the group’s vegetarianism as a way to curb “animal passion,” strengthen “moral perceptions” and instil “love of spiritual things.”⁶²⁶ Following a vegetarian diet in Australia, however, proved difficult, with White exclaiming:

I am suffering more now for want of some one who is experienced in the cooking lines, to prepare things I can eat. The cooking here in this country is in every way deficient...Were I to act over the preparation in coming to this place, I would say, give me an experienced cook, who has some inventive powers, to prepare simple dishes healthfully, and that will not disgust the appetite. I am in earnest in this matter.⁶²⁷

White was not the only one to express a need for vegetarian dishes and ingredients in Australia. The growing Adventist Church was looking for “good vegetarian food” which eventually resulted in their founding of The Sanitarium Food Company in 1898. Information on how to use the “health foods” manufactured by this company led the Adventists to set up their own publishing company—Echo Publishing which later became Signs Publishing—where

⁶²⁴ The chapter title in the table of contents is “Vegetarian Dishes” but in the chapter itself it is titled “Vegetarian Dishes for Meatless Days.” Amy Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 1952, 691–93; Amy Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 2002, 723–25. The recipe for “Spaghetti Sausage” also appears in the 1939 edition but under the “Vegetables” chapter. Amy Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 681.

⁶²⁵ Crook, “Vegetarianism in Australia: A History,” n.p.

⁶²⁶ Crook, n.p.

⁶²⁷ Ellen White quoted in Crook, n.p.

they published Australian versions of American cookbooks.⁶²⁸ Two of the recipe books produced by these companies—Anna L. Colcord’s *A Friend in the Kitchen* (1898) and Jenny Bartlett’s *Healthful Cookery* (ca. 1934)—have been included in this study.⁶²⁹ Pasta was obviously seen by these authors as a suitable ingredient for their fellow Church members. Bartlett, in particular, was very inventive. She included relatively straightforward pasta recipes, such as one for “Italian Salad,” a cold pasta salad made from macaroni, various vegetables and a mayonnaise or boiled salad dressing, but she also showcased the versatility inherent in pasta with dishes such as “Macaroni and Nut Cutlets,” which called for the macaroni to be boiled in salted water, drained and finely chopped, then mixed into a roux containing eggs along with breadcrumbs and “Nut Meat.”⁶³⁰ The mixture was then shaped into cutlets, brushed “with melted vegetable fat” and baked “till nicely browned.”⁶³¹ Mincing, mashing or chopping pasta finely, and mixing it with other ingredients to make a solid form out of which shapes could be formed, and then either baked or fried was not a method of using pasta that was exclusive to Bartlett or to vegetarians, with many other recipes both with and without meat treating pasta in this way. Croquettes made primarily with minced macaroni or spaghetti, for example, can be found in *Cookery Class Recipes* (1900), *The Goulburn Cookery Book* (1905), *The Keeyuga Cookery Book* (1911), *The Kookaburra Cookery Book* (1912), the *Cookery Book of Good and Tried Receipts* (1920), the *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*

⁶²⁸ Crook, n.p.

⁶²⁹ A third book, Isabel Ross’ *Cookery Class Recipes* (1900), was also published by Echo Publishing and is in the study, but it documents the recipes Ross cooked at gas company demonstrations and does not publicise vegetarianism. While Colcord was an American, Crook notes that she lived in Australia between 1893 and 1902 in Crook, n.p.; Anna L. Colcord, *A Friend in the Kitchen*; Jenny Bartlett, *Healthful Cookery*. Also worth noting is that Colcord’s first edition included a chapter on meat but, according to Hoyle, all subsequent editions did not. See Hoyle, *An Annotated Bibliography of Australian Domestic Cookery Books, 1860s to 1950*.

⁶³⁰ Bartlett, *Healthful Cookery*, 79, 29. “Nut Meat” was a product sold by The Sanitarium Food Company and was described as “an appetising vegetable meat made from nuts and cereals” in Bartlett, *Healthful Cookery*, 6.

⁶³¹ Bartlett, 29.

of Victoria (1921), the *Green and Gold Cookery Book* (ca. 1932, 1944, 1963 and ca. 1964), *Recipes Old and New* (ca. 1934) and *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book* (1952 and 1962).⁶³²

Health and Dietary Beliefs

The number of people who adhered to strict vegetarian diets in Australia in these periods was relatively small and while it might explain why books such as *A Friend in the Kitchen* and *Healthful Cookery* were initially published, it does not explain their considerable popularity: there were twenty editions of the former and the latter was re-published at least five times.⁶³³ The explanation for their popularity could be that there were many who did not necessarily believe in total abstinence from animal flesh, but who did think that Australians would be better served by eating far less meat. The best known of the health crusaders who promoted these types of beliefs was physician Philip E. Muskett whose 1894 book *The Art of Living in Australia* contains the advice that Australians should eat in a style that was better suited to their climate: less meat, and more fruit, vegetables and fish. His plea for a diet with less meat and more vegetables was accompanied by “three hundred Australian cookery recipes and accessory kitchen information by Mrs. H. Wicken,” a domestic cooking school teacher from Sydney. To this end, there are recipes for both pasta with meat, such as “Steak and Macaroni,” and pasta in combination with vegetables, fish or cheese, for example “Macaroni and Cheese Salad.”⁶³⁴ Muskett was not alone in advocating for the eating of less meat and more vegetables and grains. Melbourne cooking school teacher Flora Pell in *Our Cookery Book*

⁶³² Ross, *Cookery Class Recipes*, 188–89; Jean Rutledge, *The Goulburn Cookery Book*, 61; McGowan, *The Keeyuga Cookery Book*, 73–74; Lady Victoria Buxton Girls’ Club, *The Kookaburra Cookery Book*, 38; Women’s Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of NSW, *Cookery Book of Good and Tried Receipts*, 67–68; P.W.M.U. of Victoria, *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book of Victoria*, 1921, 66–67; Women’s Auxiliary of the Congregational Union of NSW, *Green and Gold Cookery Book*, ca. 1932, 159; Combined Congregational and Baptist Churches of SA, *Green and Gold Cookery Book*, 1944, 163; Combined Congregational and Baptist Churches of SA, *Green and Gold Cookery Book*, 1963, 191; Combined Congregational and Baptist Churches of SA, *Green and Gold Cookery Book*, ca. 1960s, 191; Cavalier Brand, *Recipes Old and New*, n.p.; Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 1952, 300–301; Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 2002, 310.

⁶³³ Hoyle, *An Annotated Bibliography of Australian Domestic Cookery Books, 1860s to 1950*.

⁶³⁴ Muskett, *The Art of Living in Australia*, n.p.

(1916), and its subsequent 1920 and 1941 editions, includes “macaroni” along with rice, sago, barley, treacle, fish and, strangely, bacon under the heading “Substitutes for Meat,” pointing out that they all “contain protein in varying degrees.”⁶³⁵ Pell was one of the first cookbook authors to be concerned by nutrition, which perhaps is not surprising, given that vitamins were discovered at the time that she was writing.⁶³⁶ She recommended that meat be eaten only once a day, which could explain why she provides a vegetarian chapter in her book featuring dishes like “Vegetarian Rabbit,” where boiled macaroni is further cooked with milk and onion, thickened with flour and flavoured with butter and parsley, and the much more common “Macaroni Cheese.”⁶³⁷

The women behind the *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, produced by various branches of the Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union of Queensland, were also believers in the health benefits, not to mention easy digestion and the lower impacts on the household pocketbook that they believed went along with a vegetarian diet. The introduction to the “Vegetarian Cookery” section in the 12th edition of the book (1923) reads:

Many people find their health distinctly benefited by a vegetarian diet. Vegetables, fresh and dried fruits, nuts, cereals, milk, cream, eggs, and cheese supply all the food constituents necessary to man. A vegetarian diet may be made quite as palatable as a meat diet, besides being much more readily digested and more economical.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁵ Flora Pell, *Our Cookery Book*, 8.

⁶³⁶ “Flora Pell,” Australian Women’s History Forum, accessed December 21, 2015, <http://www.womenshistory.com.au/image.asp?iID=401>.

⁶³⁷ Pell, *Our Cookery Book*, 1916, 94, 97.

⁶³⁸ P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1923, 61. This section was not in the 1908 (7th edition) of the book.

In their book, there were two recipes with pasta categorised as vegetarian dishes: “Vermicelli Soup” and “Macaroni and Tomatoes.”⁶³⁹

The Victorian sisters of the W.M.U., the P.W.M.U., featured a “Vegetarian Cookery” chapter for the first time in the 1916 edition of their cookbook.⁶⁴⁰ Fiona Bligh, author of a history of the P.W.M.U. cookbooks, suggests this inclusion could have been made “in response to the increasing awareness of vegetarianism as a healthy or even fashionable choice.”⁶⁴¹ Or, as it was published during the First World War, its inclusion could have been influenced by government calls to help the war effort by consuming less meat.⁶⁴² *The Sydney Morning Herald’s* Penelope, in aiming for two meatless dinners per week to help purchase war certificates, suggested “[m]acaroni with the utmost advantage can be pressed into one’s service in the making of meatless dishes.”⁶⁴³ In addition to this, both during and after World War I, the cost of meat increased.⁶⁴⁴ In the sample, the recommendation to eat less meat could explain why many recipes explicitly labelled as substitutes for meat can be found around this time, some of them using pasta. “A Substitute for Meat” published, appropriately enough, in *The War Chest Cookery Book* (1917) involves layering fried onion, fried tomatoes and boiled macaroni in a pie dish, and serving them with gravy.⁶⁴⁵ The P.W.M.U.’s “Substitute for Meat (A Good Vegetable Stew),” published in the 1921 edition of its book, is a flour-thickened vegetable stew with a half cup of macaroni added at the end. It also includes the instructions

⁶³⁹ P.W.M.U. of Queensland, 1923, 62, 64. Both of these recipes can also be found in P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1944, 88, 90; P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1952, 74, 76.

⁶⁴⁰ Bligh, *From Suet to Saffron: The History of the PWMU Cookbook in Victoria 1904-2012*, 30.

⁶⁴¹ Bligh, 30.

⁶⁴² See, for example, “Conserving Food Supplies. The ‘Eat Less Meat’ Campaign,” *Age*, April 26, 1917, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article154975469>.

⁶⁴³ “Penelope’s Weekly Notes—Meat Versus War Certificates,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 17, 1918, 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article15763291>.

⁶⁴⁴ Barbara Santich, “Eating in Australia: From Rations to Ravioli,” *Echo* 41, no. 1 (2002): 24–27.

⁶⁴⁵ Citizens’ War Chest Fund (NSW), *The War Chest Cookery Book*, 33. An edited version of the same recipe is also in the second edition, which was published as *The Kindergarten Cookery Book*. This version suggests that you can omit the macaroni. Kindergarten Union of New South Wales, *The Kindergarten Cookery Book*, 41.

that it can be baked in a pie dish and “covered with a good crust,” showing pasta can even be used in pie fillings.⁶⁴⁶ Deborah Buller-Murphy, writing under the pseudonym Lady Hackett, includes a number of pasta recipes in *The Australian Household Guide* (1916) but only labels “Macaroni Cheese (another way)” as “a good substitute for meat.”⁶⁴⁷

Some years later, during the Second World War, with meat rationing in place, *The Commonsense Cookery Book* (1941) moves a recipe for “Spaghetti” which could be found in the ca. 1925 edition of the book from a chapter titled “Supplements” to a chapter now called “Meat Substitutes and Savouries.”⁶⁴⁸ Also during the war years, the *W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1944) includes a very inventive “Substitute for Meat” recipe which requires a mixture of milk-soaked breadcrumbs combined with butter, peanut butter, eggs, onions and herbs to be poured over cooked macaroni and steamed for over an hour. Ironically enough, the W.M.U. suggests to “serve cold with or without ham.”⁶⁴⁹ The *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book* (ca. 1940s) does not provide a recipe explicitly described as a substitute for meat, but simply states in an introductory section that “Macaroni and cheese eaten together are a good substitute for meat.”⁶⁵⁰

Classing Pasta as a Vegetable

Curiously, a number of authors categorise pasta as a vegetable. Beeton, for example, includes vermicelli and macaroni, along with rice, mushroom ketchup and turnips, amongst other ingredients, in a list of the “principal” “various herbs and vegetables” “required for the purpose of making soups and gravies.”⁶⁵¹ In a list of cooking times for “Vegetables,” the

⁶⁴⁶ P.W.M.U. of Victoria, *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book of Victoria*, 65.

⁶⁴⁷ Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide*, 633.

⁶⁴⁸ The same recipe with minor quantity changes can also be found in the 1956 edition. NSW Public School Cookery Teachers’ Association, *The Commonsense Cookery Book*, 1941, 75; NSW Public School Cookery Teachers’ Association, *The Commonsense Cookery Book*, ca. 1925, 191; NSW Public School Cookery Teachers’ Association, *The Commonsense Cookery Book*, 1956, 73.

⁶⁴⁹ P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1944, 56; P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1952, 43.

⁶⁵⁰ Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*, 3.

⁶⁵¹ Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 48.

W.M.U. Cookery Book (1923, 1944 and 1952) advises it takes “20 to 30 mins” to cook “rice, potatoes, macaroni, celery, cauliflower, young cabbage, peas” while *The Coronation Cookery Book* (1941, 1945 and ca. 1954) includes macaroni under the heading of vegetables in a sample weight-loss diet.⁶⁵² In *Cooking for Bachelors* (1959), advertising man and food writer Ted Moloney advises “spaghetti counts as vegetables, so does rice.”⁶⁵³ Leaving aside Moloney’s tongue-in-cheek advice, some authors clearly had a broader definition of vegetables than is typically employed today. Hackett, for example, categorises almost half of her pasta recipes, as well as dishes featuring rice, legumes and even polenta, in the “Vegetable Dishes” chapter of *The Australian Household Guide* (1916).⁶⁵⁴ Interestingly while grains such as rice or a processed food such as pasta could be classified as vegetables, wheat and bread were not classified in this way in cookbooks. Journalist Zara Aronson, in *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration* (1900), who places most of her pasta recipes in the “Vegetables” chapter and even includes a recipe titled “Macaroni as a Vegetable,” suggests another reason.⁶⁵⁵ In the introduction to her “Vegetables” chapter, she writes of the lamentable way in which many Australians cook them and suggests “[y]ou must in reality regard your vegetable as an ‘entrée’ which, if you might wish, you could even serve as such.”⁶⁵⁶ If vegetables are entrees, then the inclusion of pasta is not as strange as it might first seem, because it was a common way to use the ingredient. In any case, the positioning of pasta as a vegetable, as well as an alternative to meat and thus appropriate for vegetarians, shows just how adaptable it was viewed to be as an ingredient, and how it could fulfil a multitude of culinary purposes.

⁶⁵² P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1923, xxiii; P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1944, xviii; P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1952, xviii; Jessie Sawyer and Sarah Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, 1941, 261; Jessie Sawyer and Sara Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, 1945, 261; Jessie Sawyer and Sara Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, ca. 1954, 261.

⁶⁵³ Ted Moloney and George Molnar, *Cooking for Bachelors*, 10.

⁶⁵⁴ Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide*, 581–642.

⁶⁵⁵ Mrs Fred B. Aronson, *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration*, 106.

⁶⁵⁶ Aronson, 93.

Pasta in Different Courses

In the study sample pasta has been recommended for use in every course of a meal (including dessert), as well as being considered to be a complete meal in itself. In the early part of the study period, it is common to see pasta included in dishes classed as soups, savouries, entrees, meat, poultry, breakfast dishes, egg dishes, lunch dishes, fish, vegetables, salads, vegetarian and puddings. Later in the study period (from 1950 onwards),⁶⁵⁷ we begin to see pasta categorised in chapters solely devoted to the ingredient, or in combination with similar ingredients, such as rice.⁶⁵⁸ Pasta chapters can be found in Italian cookbooks, such as the “Pasta Asciutta” chapter in Elizabeth David’s *Italian Food* (1954); in continental cookery books, for example the “Twenty Minutes for Spaghetti” chapter in *Oh, For a French Wife!* (1952); and in general cookbooks, such as the *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook* (1970) which features a chapter titled “Pastas [sic].”⁶⁵⁹ Around the same time, dishes featuring pasta also appear in chapters dedicated to one-pot meals and entertaining, such as “Entrees, One-Course Meals” in Maria Kozslik Donovan’s *Continental Cookery in Australia* (1955 and 1960) and the “Entertaining” chapter of the *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1961), which was not present in the 1950 edition of the book.⁶⁶⁰ Pasta in “entertaining” and “one-pot” chapters might be a new phenomenon, perhaps reflecting increased interest in dinner parties and a perceived desire for convenience that became evident in this era, but pasta also can still be found in the same types of chapters that dominated the early period of this study, with two notable exceptions. Recipes for pasta in breakfast dishes and pasta in sweet dishes largely disappear

⁶⁵⁷ There are two notable exceptions from pre-1950: “XVIII—Macaroni and Vermicelli” features in the “Contents” page of *The English and Australian Cookery Book* (1864), but only one recipe is listed under it and there are a total of 115 “chapters” in the book and Mrs G. Vassal Cox’s *All in One Recipe Book and Household Guide* (1926) contains a chapter titled “Macaroni and Spaghetti Dishes” on the “Contents” page, though the chapter itself is titled “Cheese, Macaroni, Spaghetti” and of the ten dishes in the chapter, only three contain pasta. Abbott, *The English and Australian Cookery Book*, xv; Mrs G. Vassal Cox, *The “All in One” Recipe Book and Household Guide*, n.p.

⁶⁵⁸ For example, a “Pasta and Rice” chapter can be found in Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, 120.

⁶⁵⁹ David, *Italian Food*, 79; Moloney and Coleman, *Oh, For a French Wife!*, 1952, 89; Sinclair, *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook*, 94.

⁶⁶⁰ Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1955, 53; Maria Kozslik Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1960, 64; P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Jenkins, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1961, 110.

from the sample in the later period, reflecting a major shift in the way in which cookbook authors recommended the ingredient be used.

Pasta for Breakfast

In colonial times, breakfast in Australia was a substantial affair and, like every other meal, centred around meat.⁶⁶¹ Muskett describes “chops, steak, and sausages” as the “eternal trio” of the breakfast table. He laments that most Australians rush through breakfast which he declares “in every respect [as] the most important meal of the day” and suggests that they “make more variety at the breakfast table.” He hopes that the recipes which he provides in his volume, courtesy of Wicken, will help them to do that. One of those recipes is “Breakfast Meat” which calls for cold meat and macaroni, to be layered with slices of tomatoes, topped with breadcrumbs and baked in the oven.⁶⁶²

This thrifty dish is one of only two pasta recipes in the sample that are explicitly labelled, via the title, as suitable for breakfast. The other is “Macaroni for Breakfast” in the *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book* (ca. 1940s), produced by a company that advertised macaroni as “the perfect breakfast food.”⁶⁶³ Other authors, such as Fanny Fawcett Story, Emily Futter and Schauer, make clear that they think pasta is appropriate breakfast fare by including recipes which use the ingredient in chapters titled “Breakfast Dishes.”⁶⁶⁴ More common, however, are pasta dishes featured in chapters which combine breakfast with other meals or courses such as luncheon, high tea, entrees, supper or savouries. Authors who elected to do this include

⁶⁶¹ For a description of breakfast in colonial Australia, see Laurel Evelyn Dyson, *How to Cook a Galah: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary Heritage* (South Melbourne, Vic.: Lothian Books, 2002).

⁶⁶² Muskett, *The Art of Living in Australia*, n.p.

⁶⁶³ “Macaroni for Breakfast” includes five sweet and savoury suggestions on how to eat pasta for breakfast. Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*, 5; “Send Them Off Satisfied,” *Argus*, June 25, 1924, 8, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4306781>.

⁶⁶⁴ “Breakfast Dishes” chapters can be found in Fanny Fawcett Story, *Australian Economic Cookery Book and Housewife’s Companion*, 53; Futter, *Australian Home Cookery*, 62; Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 268.

Isabel Ross, Aronson, Henrietta C. McGowan and Hackett.⁶⁶⁵ These chapters pose a problem for the food historian—does the author intend for all of the dishes in the chapter to be suitable for all of these purposes? Or would your average reader in 1911 somehow know that the “Curried Eggs and Spaghetti” in *The Keeyuga Cookery Book* was suitable for luncheon and supper, for example, but not for breakfast?⁶⁶⁶ It is impossible to tell from the available evidence. Further, does this mean that dishes in other chapters were not suitable for breakfast? Not necessarily, although it is a pity that not all authors have been as thorough as Jean Rutledge who in *The Goulburn Cookery Book* (1905) includes a list of dishes suitable for breakfast culled from other chapters.⁶⁶⁷

Whether Australians actually ate dishes such as “Meat and Macaroni Hash” first thing in the morning, as recommended for breakfast by Hackett in 1916, is unclear.⁶⁶⁸ What we do know is that breakfast underwent a radical change in the 20th century in Australia and elsewhere, moving away from the meat-laden hearty repast of the colonial and federation periods to a lighter meal which required much less cooking and much more cereal, particularly industrially-produced varieties. With this change, pasta recipes for breakfast unsurprisingly largely disappear from the sample. After 1945, only new editions of older books which frequently contain many of the same recipes continue to categorise pasta dishes in breakfast chapters.⁶⁶⁹ This change can be attributed to a number of factors. Laurel Dyson suggests that the discovery and isolation of various vitamins in the 1910s and 1920s led to a greater emphasis on fruit,

⁶⁶⁵ “Luncheon and Breakfast Dishes” is a chapter in Ross, *Cookery Class Recipes*, 151; “Breakfast Dishes and Savouries” features in Aronson, *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration*, 189; “High Tea and Breakfast Dishes” is a chapter in Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide*, 581; “For Breakfast, Lunch or Supper” can be found in McGowan, *The Keeyuga Cookery Book*, 65.

⁶⁶⁶ McGowan, 68.

⁶⁶⁷ Rutledge, *The Goulburn Cookery Book*, 69. The only recipe that contains pasta in this list, however, is “Croquettes.” A categorised list of breakfast recipes can also be found in Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*.

⁶⁶⁸ Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide*, 723.

⁶⁶⁹ These books are *The Nu-Kooka*, ca. 1947, 40; Campbell, *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 47; P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1952, 21; Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 1952, 277; P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Jenkins, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 50; Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 2002, 286.

fruit juice and cereal for breakfast.⁶⁷⁰ Symons, meanwhile, credits the shift to the arrival of American multinationals such as Kelloggs in the 1920s and the production of American-style breakfast cereals, which he describes as an example of “early convenience food.”⁶⁷¹ The appeal of the no-cook breakfast quickly became apparent and with other factors such as more women in the workforce with less time and perhaps less desire to cook in the morning, cereal became the centre of the Australian breakfast. By the 1970s, Symons writes that a common breakfast consists of “sugary packet muesli and reconstituted orange juice.”⁶⁷² While Symons may have been exaggerating, pasta was no longer seen as suitable for the morning meal.

Pasta for Dessert

Of all of the uses suggested for pasta, it is possibly its inclusion in sweet dishes that would most surprise a modern eater. According to Alan Davidson, macaroni in 19th century England was more likely “to appear as a sweet dish, reflecting the English fondness for puddings.”⁶⁷³ As early cookery books in Australia typically contained a large proportion of sweet dishes and were dominated by recipes from the English culinary tradition, perhaps it should not be so surprising that sweet pasta dishes can be found from the very beginning of the sample. However, of the 1,263 pasta recipes studied, only seventy-four (or slightly under 6 per cent) can be described as sweet.⁶⁷⁴ While sweet pasta dishes are few in number, one recipe dominates: the macaroni pudding. Almost two-thirds of the sweet pasta recipes in the sample can be described as a macaroni or vermicelli pudding.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷⁰ Dyson, *How to Cook a Galah: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary Heritage*.

⁶⁷¹ Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*, 225.

⁶⁷² Symons, 225.

⁶⁷³ Davidson, *The Oxford Companion to Food*, 469.

⁶⁷⁴ There are two sweet pasta recipes that have been excluded from the sample because the authors almost certainly meant “macaroon” not “macaroni.” These recipes are “Iced Pudding” from Wicken, *The Kingswood Cookery Book*, 145, an error which has been corrected in the 6th edition (ca. 1910s) of the same book and “Macaroni Biscuits” from McGowan, *The Keeyuga Cookery Book*, 122.

⁶⁷⁵ Vermicelli puddings have been counted with macaroni puddings as they are usually a variation of the latter.

We first encounter versions of this dish in *The Book of Household Management* (1861). Beeton is a fan of macaroni, as she calls it “wholesome and delicious” and suggests it “ought to be much more used by all classes in England than it is.” She also declares it useful for “thickening soups and making puddings.”⁶⁷⁶ She includes three pasta puddings in her book: “Sweet Macaroni Pudding,” “Marmalade and Vermicelli Pudding” and “Vermicelli Pudding.”⁶⁷⁷ Macaroni puddings are often classed as a type of milk pudding,⁶⁷⁸ and the recipe, at its simplest, involves cooking the pasta in water or milk over the stove until tender, often with a flavouring of some sort such as lemon peel or vanilla essence, then adding milk, eggs and sugar, and occasionally butter. The mixture is poured into a pie dish, sprinkled with a spice (usually nutmeg) and baked. There are many variations of this recipe. Simple and relatively economical versions can be found in books including *Mrs Maclurcan's Cookery Book* (1898 and 1912) and *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book* (1924).⁶⁷⁹ Occasionally the stovetop softening of the macaroni is omitted and the dish is cooked entirely in the oven, as is the case in *The Keeyuga Cookery Book* (1911) and *The Australian Household Guide* (1916).⁶⁸⁰ Beeton’s puddings follow the stovetop and oven method but are more luxurious than the basic recipe, as they also variously suggest lining the edges of the pie dish with pastry; the addition of brandy and raisins; the use, both prescribed and suggested, of preserves; and enriching the pudding with cream, although only if the cream is “obtainable.”⁶⁸¹ Richer versions of macaroni

⁶⁷⁶ Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 72. Davidson points out that Beeton’s definitions of macaroni and vermicelli are inconsistent and “suggest that she was a victim of the terminological confusion which for long surrounded ‘vermicelli’ and ‘macaroni’.” Davidson, *The Oxford Companion to Food*, 469.

⁶⁷⁷ Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 654–55, 656, 690–91. There is another sweet pasta dish in Beeton, “A Sweet Dish of Macaroni” which calls for hot custard to be poured over stewed macaroni, cooled and then served with candied citron. Beeton, 729–30.

⁶⁷⁸ Milk puddings combine milk with a cereal, usually rice, sago, tapioca or macaroni, eggs and sugar. For a description see “Milk Puddings” in Prudence, *Australian Cookery of Today*, 306–7.

⁶⁷⁹ Hannah Maclurcan, *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book*, 1898, recipe 535; Hannah Maclurcan, *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book*, 1912, 131; Margaret A. Wylie, *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*, 1924, 93.

⁶⁸⁰ Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide*, 776; McGowan, *The Keeyuga Cookery Book*, 89–90.

⁶⁸¹ Lining the pie dish with pastry is suggested in “Sweet Macaroni Pudding” and prescribed in “Vermicelli Pudding”; brandy is called for in “Sweet Macaroni Pudding”; raisins are required for “Vermicelli and Marmalade Pudding”; preserves are required for the “Vermicelli and Marmalade Pudding” but is a variation in the “Sweet Macaroni Pudding,” in which case you would omit the brandy;

puddings can also be found in books such as *The Australian Cook* (1876), where Alfred J. Wilkinson, chef at the Athenaeum Club in Melbourne, incorporates six eggs and six ounces (170 grams) of sugar into a vermicelli pudding that contains just two ounces (fifty-seven grams) of pasta.⁶⁸² In *A Friend in the Kitchen* (1898), Colcord suggests topping the cooked and cooled macaroni pudding with “mashed fresh berries or bits of jelly” and meringue.⁶⁸³ The ability of the macaroni pudding to be produced in either decadent or thrifty versions again speaks to the versatility of pasta.

In addition to the puddings, there are nineteen recipes described as macaroni or vermicelli custards. These are often very similar to the pudding recipes. While a few are cooked solely on the stove, such as the “Macaroni Custard” in the 1921 edition of the *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, most are cooked on both the stovetop and in the oven and include the same ingredients as the pudding recipes.⁶⁸⁴ In some cases the recipes are interchangeable: for instance, the only difference between the “Macaroni Pudding” in the 1924 edition of *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book* and the “Macaroni Custard” in the 1950 and 1966 editions of the same book are some minor adjustments to the quantities and the addition of salt to the ingredients list in the latter.⁶⁸⁵ From around the mid-1940s, it becomes increasingly popular to describe these types of dishes as “custards” rather than “puddings”; after 1950 there are just three recipes labelled as puddings as opposed to eight custards.

Of the eleven remaining sweet pasta recipes, more than half of them can be found in the *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book* (ca. 1940s). It is perhaps not surprising that a company attempting to sell as much pasta as possible should include macaroni even in recipes such as

cream, if it is available, is listed as an ingredient in the “Vermicelli Pudding.” Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 654–55, 656, 690–91.

⁶⁸² Alfred J. Wilkinson, *The Australian Cook*, 95.

⁶⁸³ “Jelly” most likely means jam, as this was originally an American cookbook. Colcord, *A Friend in the Kitchen*, 77–78.

⁶⁸⁴ P.W.M.U. of Victoria, *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book of Victoria*, 97.

⁶⁸⁵ Wylie, *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*, 1924, 93; Margaret A. Wylie, *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*, 1950, 119; Margaret A. Wylie, *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*, 1966, 112.

“Apple Meringue” and “Raspberry Souffle.”⁶⁸⁶ Rinoldi also manufactured “Milk macaroni,” a pasta preparation with added milk, which the company predominantly suggested using in sweet dishes and advertised as featuring “wholesome health-giving milk” and a way to make a “soft, creamy, delicious” macaroni custard.⁶⁸⁷

In the non-promotional cookbooks, the most inventive sweet pasta recipe is no doubt “Pineapple Macaroni” from *The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book* (1937).⁶⁸⁸ It involves lining a mould with half a quantity of pineapple jelly (gelatin-based dessert), adding diced preserved pineapple, and filling up the rest of the mould with the remaining pineapple jelly coloured with cochineal.⁶⁸⁹ Meanwhile, macaroni is cooked in milk with sugar, and served cold in the middle of the set jelly with custard and whipped cream.

In any case, from circa 1945, sweet pasta recipes, like pasta in breakfast dishes, can only be found in books which are new editions of long-running titles.⁶⁹⁰ All but one of these recipes was published in previous editions.⁶⁹¹ The reason why new cookbooks stop recommending

⁶⁸⁶ Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*, 14, 19.

⁶⁸⁷ “Just Plain Macaroni Custard—but What a Difference!,” *Argus*, November 21, 1928, 15, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3970442>.

⁶⁸⁸ *The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book*, 344.

⁶⁸⁹ Cochineal is red food colour derived from an insect.

⁶⁹⁰ The last “original” sweet pasta recipes in the sample are in Prudence, *Australian Cookery of Today*, 306–7; Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*, 13–22.

⁶⁹¹ The exception is the 1973 recipe for “Baked Rice Custard” which offers macaroni as an alternative to the rice in P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Gemmell, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 110. The recipes which have all appeared previously are: “Rules for Making Milk Puddings” in Sawyer and Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, 1941, 101–2 and Sawyer and Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, ca. 1954, 98–99, which is present in the 1941 edition; “Rice, Macaroni or Vermicelli Pudding. No. 1” in Flora Pell, *Our Cookery Book*, 1948, 128, which is present in both the 1916 and 1920 editions, although the amount of pasta is expressed in ounces rather than pounds; “Vermicelli Custard” in Combined Congregational and Baptist Churches of SA, *Green and Gold Cookery Book*, 1944, 73; Combined Congregational and Baptist Churches of SA, *Green and Gold Cookery Book*, 1963, 93; Combined Congregational and Baptist Churches of SA, *Green and Gold Cookery Book*, ca. 1960s, 93, which is present in the NSW ca. 1932 edition of the book, albeit with differing oven instructions; “Macaroni Custard” in Wylie, *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*, 1950, 119 and Wylie, *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*, 1966, 112, appeared in the 1924 edition under the title of “Macaroni Pudding”; “Macaroni or Spaghetti Pudding” in Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 1952, 399 and Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 2002, 413, which in the 1939 edition is not the same as the recipe for “Macaroni or Spaghetti Pudding,” rather it is the same as the recipe for “Macaroni Pudding,” with the addition of spaghetti as a possible substitute; “Macaroni, Tapioca, Sago, and Vermicelli Custards” in Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 1952, 343 and Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery*

pasta as an ingredient in sweet dishes is not immediately obvious. However, one possible explanation could lie in the cultural backgrounds and travel experiences of cookbook authors around this time. Many of the cookbook writers with books in the sample which were published after 1945 were born abroad, such as Hungarian-born and US-university educated Donovan;⁶⁹² had travelled extensively, for instance food editor Margaret Fulton;⁶⁹³ or were married to foreigners and had “close personal contacts with European hostesses,” including Zelmear Deutsch.⁶⁹⁴ Subsequently, in accordance with their more “European” experiences of pasta, these authors present pasta as a savoury dish, implying by omission that using it in a sweet dish is not appropriate. Travel as a justification for the changing Australian palate in regards to moving away from sweet pasta towards savoury pasta is even explicitly noted in a 1950 newspaper article: “Australians who have travelled abroad...know that macaroni itself, its relations—spaghetti, vermicelli, noodles, and other paste dishes—are much better as savouries than served up as puddings with milk and eggs.”⁶⁹⁵ In 1973, Fulton, stressing that pasta needs to be cooked “‘al dente’ (to the tooth)” also advises that “[p]asta is meant to be chewed, not swallowed like a soft pudding.”⁶⁹⁶

Another part of the explanation relates to the increased use of the domestic refrigerator, which brought cold dishes into fashion. Even though fridges were mass-produced in the 1920s, they only became more popular than ice chests in the 1950s; by 1960, nine out ten

Book, 2002, 406, which is the same although with slightly different wording as the 1939 edition; and “Rice, Macaroni or Vermicelli Custard” in NSW Public School Cookery Teachers’ Association, *The Commonsense Cookery Book*, 1956, which is also present, albeit with minor alterations, in the 1941 edition.

⁶⁹² The background and travel experiences of Donovan are described in Donna Lee Brien, “Maria Kozslik Donovan,” *Tablet to Table* 1, no. 2 (2012).

⁶⁹³ Fulton’s Italian cookbook appears to be sponsored by the Italian national airline Alitalia. On the theme of extensive travel by Australian women’s magazine editors in the 1960s and 1970s see Susan Sheridan, “Eating the Other: Food and Cultural Difference in the Australian Women’s Weekly in the 1960s,” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 21, no. 3 (2000): 319–29.

⁶⁹⁴ Deutsch, *Selected Continental Recipes for the Australian Home*, outside book cover.

⁶⁹⁵ “Macaroni Should Be Hot and Strong,” *Advocate*, July 22, 1950, 18, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article69298519>.

⁶⁹⁶ Fulton, *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook*, 4.

Australian homes boasted a fridge in the kitchen.⁶⁹⁷ According to Dyson, the fridge led to a “major revolution in dessert cookery.”⁶⁹⁸ It meant that “soups and hot puddings, so much in favour in colonial times, were relegated to the winter months, puddings replaced by a whole new range of cold desserts.”⁶⁹⁹

The rise of convenience foods, such as ready-made cakes, instant cake mixes and frozen pastry, may also have hastened the decline of sweet pasta recipes in cookbooks.⁷⁰⁰ With the increased industrialisation of the kitchen came the possibility that dessert could be easily outsourced to the factory and cheaply bought at the supermarket. In regards to pre-made sweet pasta dishes, there is evidence that a macaroni pudding mix was available for purchase from the 1930s. In the early 1930s, one could buy “Renex Macaroni Puddings, no milk required, pkt” from prominent Sydney department stores Marcus Clark and Grace Bros.⁷⁰¹ In the late 1940s “Radco Macaroni Pudding,” also in packets, could be acquired in stores such as the Maryborough Cash and Carry in country Queensland and at the Wong Bros. store in Lismore, north-eastern New South Wales.⁷⁰² However similar to macaroni pudding recipes in cookbooks, advertisements for these macaroni pudding mixes are difficult to find after the early 1950s, reinforcing the evidence for changing tastes and habits with regard to these sorts of desserts.

Economy and Frugality in the Kitchen

“If carefulness is practiced, no extravagance need exist, for every scrap may be turned into use, and nothing thrown away,” wrote the Schauer sisters in the first edition of *The Schauer*

⁶⁹⁷ Dyson, *How to Cook a Galah: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary Heritage*.

⁶⁹⁸ Dyson, 152.

⁶⁹⁹ Dyson, 152.

⁷⁰⁰ For details of the introduction of these products, see Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*.

⁷⁰¹ “The Big Store Central Square,” *Sun*, October 22, 1931, 10, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article223671720>; “Grace Bros.,” *Sun*, March 9, 1933, 32, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article229056085>.

⁷⁰² “Maryborough Cash & Carry Specials,” *Maryborough Chronicle*, August 8, 1947, 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article147459539>; “Wong Bros.,” *Northern Star*, May 16, 1947, 10, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article99160340>.

Cookery Book in 1909.⁷⁰³ They also wrote that “good cookery is the reverse of expensive,” and thus expressed a sentiment that most cookbook authors in Australia would agree with, regardless of whether they were writing in 1868 or 1968.⁷⁰⁴ Thriftiness in the kitchen was (and remains) a highly valued quality of the Australian cook and thus is a chief concern of many of the cookbooks in this study. *The Australian Housewives' Manual: A Book for Beginners and People with Small Incomes* (1883) and the *Australian Economic Cookery Book and Housewife's Companion* (1900) make this plain from their titles, but many other authors express how economic concerns have guided their approaches in introductory sections.⁷⁰⁵ Prudence in *Australian Cookery of Today* (ca. 1943), for example, notes “this volume has been built up” from an “economic basis” because “economy—always the watchword of the thrifty housewife—was never more important than today.”⁷⁰⁶ Even authors of gourmet and continental books, where perhaps one would expect novelty and flavour to trump economy, also are concerned with expense. Porter, in gourmet cookbook *The Chef Suggests* (ca. 1949), writes that “throughout this book you'll find any number of recipes that can be adapted to the glorification of leftovers, and less expensive foodstuffs,” while Deutsch, in the preface to *Selected Continental Recipes for the Australian Home* (1955), aims to put the mind of the Anglo-Australian housewife at ease: “Contrary to a widely-held belief, continental cooking, when short of extravagancies, which really belong to a past era, is not expensive. As a matter of fact, I have found the continental ways in many respects cheaper than our Australian-English methods of preparing meals, with the emphasis on expensive cuts of meat.”⁷⁰⁷ Pasta is used by these authors, and many others in the sample, because it was relatively cheap, could

⁷⁰³ Schauer and Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 13.

⁷⁰⁴ Schauer and Schauer, 12.

⁷⁰⁵ An Old Housekeeper, *The Australian Housewives' Manual*; Story, *Australian Economic Cookery Book and Housewife's Companion*.

⁷⁰⁶ Prudence, *Australian Cookery of Today*, 6.

⁷⁰⁷ Porter, *The Chef Suggests*, 193; Deutsch, *Selected Continental Recipes for the Australian Home*, 9.

be used to add bulk and stretch ingredients, and was particularly helpful in making new dishes out of leftovers from previous meals.

Pasta is Cheap but Nutritious

In 1916, Pell noted macaroni, along with other carbohydrates, was a “cheap food constituent.”⁷⁰⁸ Many other authors in the sample describe macaroni and vermicelli as economical but also nutritious, as well as indispensable in stretching more expensive ingredients such as meat. Rita in *Cottage Cookery* (ca. 1898), for example, includes macaroni and vermicelli in a list of ingredients which “any spare pence, left over from meat, may be well invested in” for “they are inexpensive, and many nice things can be made with them.” If women did this “it would make for improvement and reduce the quantity of meat required.”⁷⁰⁹ Elsewhere, Rita notes it is a good idea to “keep a variety of... grains on hand,” amongst them macaroni, but also rice, barley, lentils, haricot, split or whole peas, “and use them in turn: thus you may easily have variety, also wholesome cheap food.”⁷¹⁰ Other cookbooks present pasta recipes as economical. *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook* (1975) describes a recipe for “Macaroni Cheese Pie” as “an Italian style snack for 6 that’s easy on the budget.”⁷¹¹ Both *The War Chest Cookery Book* (1917) and *Australian Cookery of Today* (ca. 1943) include dishes with pasta in chapters titled “Thrift Recipes” and “Economic Dishes” respectively, while Porter lists “Macaroni-stuffed Peppers” and “Turkey Tetrizzini,” recipes which contain both pasta and wine, under the title “Wine Does Wonders for Thrift Dishes.”⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁸ Pell, *Our Cookery Book*, 1916, 9.

⁷⁰⁹ Rita, *Cottage Cookery*, 71–72.

⁷¹⁰ Rita, 16–17.

⁷¹¹ *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook*, 14.

⁷¹² The chapter for “Thrift Recipes” includes “Macaroni Mould” and “Macaroni Cheese” in Citizens’ War Chest Fund (NSW), *The War Chest Cookery Book*, 128–129, 137; in Prudence, *Australian Cookery of Today*, 226, 235, “Thrift Recipes” includes “Delhi Stew” and “Savoury Macaroni Pudding”; Porter, *The Chef Suggests*, 193.

Pasta and Leftovers

It is in the art of dealing with leftovers, particularly meat, that pasta becomes a very useful ingredient in the pantry of the thrifty cook. The need to use up meat leftovers comes from the Anglo-Australian tradition of cooking a large joint of meat on a Sunday, and then having to devise ever-more inventive ways to serve that meat to the family for the rest of the week. While some of these recipes do not explicitly state they are dishes made from leftovers, unlike the “Vermicelli Soup” in *The Antipodean Cookery Book and Kitchen Companion* (1895) which can be made using “any bones, remains of joints, or else part of a shin of beef,” or the “cold meat of any kind, roast or boiled” that is called for in “Polpetti” from *Cookery Class Recipes* (1900), many other pasta recipes can be found in sections dedicated to cooking with cold meat.⁷¹³

As *Common-sense Hints on Plain Cookery* (1916) points out, “macaroni is frequently served as an accompaniment to dishes made of cold meat.”⁷¹⁴ Hence in *The Goulburn Cookery Book* (1905) compiled for “country cooks,” we find recipes for “Macaroni and Meat Pudding,” “Macaroni and Meat with Tomatoes,” “Macaroni and Meat” and “Croquettes” in a chapter titled “What to do with Cold Meat.”⁷¹⁵ In the 1937 edition of the same book, the recipes remain with some minor alterations, but the chapter is now called “Cold Meat Cookery.”⁷¹⁶ This somewhat more formal name seems to have elevated “What to do with Cold Meat” to a method of cookery in itself. The 1920 edition of the *Cookery Book of Good and Tried Receipts* from the Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of NSW appears to confirm this by listing “Cold Meat Cookery (Or Twice Cooking)” with other methods such as braising, roasting and baking; pasta features prominently in their explanation of this style of

⁷¹³ Rawson, *The Antipodean Cookery Book and Kitchen Companion*, 114–15; Ross, *Cookery Class Recipes*, 186.

⁷¹⁴ NSW Public School Cookery Teachers' Association, *Common-Sense Hints on Plain Cookery*, 40.

⁷¹⁵ Rutledge, *The Goulburn Cookery Book*, 61–64.

⁷¹⁶ Jean Rutledge and Thelma McCarthy, *The New Goulburn Cookery Book*, 49. In the “Contents” page the chapter is referred to as “Meat, Cold.”

cooking. After advising readers that “[m]any tasty dishes may be made with previously cooked meat as a foundation,” the author echoes the advice provided by *Common-sense Hints on Plain Cookery*: “[m]acaroni, spaghetti, rice or mashed potatoes are a suitable accompaniment for ‘Twice Cooked’ Meats.”⁷¹⁷ Another champion of using pasta in the utilisation of leftover meat is Schauer. Her 1909 book contains seven pasta recipes in the “Cold Meat” subsection under “Meat Cookery,” while subsequent editions feature an entire chapter dedicated to “Cold Meat Cookery” with recipes including “Mince and Spaghetti,” a dish very similar to a spaghetti bolognese, though it is baked before serving.⁷¹⁸

Pasta’s role in frugal cooking, however, was not confined to stretching previously cooked meat, with recipes for other leftover ingredients, including fish and pasta, also in the sample. In regards to fish, Schauer, along with her “Cold Meat” sub-chapter, provided one for “Cold Fish (re-cooked),” with recipes for “Fish and Macaroni Pie” and “Fish Cutlets.”⁷¹⁹ The P.W.M.U. also provided a “Cold Fish” subsection in the 1941 and 1950 editions, including a recipe for “Fish and Macaroni.”⁷²⁰ Interestingly, the same recipe exists in the 1961 version, albeit with minor alterations; however, it has been re-categorised in a chapter titled “Luxury with Left-overs.”⁷²¹ The use of “Luxury with Left-overs” reveals something of the era’s pre-occupation with injecting glamour into all areas of cooking even what many would regard as the most unglamorous task of cooking with leftovers.

⁷¹⁷ Women’s Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of NSW, *Cookery Book of Good and Tried Receipts*, 16.

⁷¹⁸ The recipes in Schauer and Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book* are “Savoury Cutlets,” 230–231; “Rice Cutlets,” 231; “Timboles of Mutton and Tomato,” 231; “Cold Meat and Macaroni,” 233; “Mince in Potato,” 236; “Macaroni Mould,” 237; and “Baked Mould Meat,” 240. “Mince and Spaghetti” in the “Cold Meat Cookery” chapter can be found in Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 295; Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 1952, 307–8; Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 2002, 317–18.

⁷¹⁹ Schauer and Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 109, 111.

⁷²⁰ Campbell, *The New P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 33; Campbell, *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 32.

⁷²¹ P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Jenkins, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 73.

Still in the 1960s, Australian cooking doyenne Fulton in her best-selling book *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook* also shows that cooked pasta should not go to waste when she appends a “[n]ote” to her recipe for “Neapolitan Omelette,” pointing out “[l]eftover spaghetti in sauce may be used in this dish.”⁷²² The use of pasta leftovers is not solely a 1960s phenomenon, however, with Wicken calling for the use of cold macaroni in her recipe for “Breakfast Meat” in 1895 and Rita urging readers to use leftover macaroni or vermicelli from pudding-making in soups.⁷²³

Macaroni Cheese

It is possible that the need to be thrifty and economise could explain the existence of the most popular recipe in the study. Recipes or mentions of macaroni cheese can be found in 71 per cent of the cookbooks in the sample.⁷²⁴ Unlike any other dish, these recipes feature in every decade from the 1860s to the 1970s.⁷²⁵ Part of the dish’s broad appeal could come from the fact that it is inexpensive to make, but also that the clever cook can avoid waste by utilising leftovers or ingredients that are not at their best. Beeton points out cheese that is “too near the rind, or too dry to put on [the] table” can be used with macaroni, and An Old Housekeeper, Rita, and Jessie Sawyer and Sara Moore-Sims of the CWA, share the same sentiment.⁷²⁶ Schauer, too, says dry cheese can be used in macaroni cheese, and also notes that stale bread can be utilised in the making of this dish, in the form of breadcrumbs.⁷²⁷ The

⁷²² Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, 32.

⁷²³ Muskett, *The Art of Living in Australia*, n.p.; Rita, *Cottage Cookery*, 30.

⁷²⁴ A recipe is included in this count if it is made using pasta; cheese; milk; cream or a white sauce; and is baked.

⁷²⁵ Books in the 1860s with mentions or recipes for macaroni cheese include Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 819–20; Abbott, *The English and Australian Cookery Book*, 63–64. In the 1970s, macaroni cheese recipes can be found in Sinclair, *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook*, 98; P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Gemmell, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 89.

⁷²⁶ Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 816; An Old Housekeeper, *The Australian Housewives’ Manual*, 78; Rita, *Cottage Cookery*, 28; Sawyer and Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, 1941, 141; Sawyer and Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, 1945, 155; Sawyer and Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, ca. 1954, 148.

⁷²⁷ Schauer and Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 12–13; Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 6A–7; Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 1952, 16–17; Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 2002, 16–17.

enduring popularity of macaroni cheese is no doubt aided by the dish's other qualities: it is filling, versatile, generally thought of as tasty and made primarily with ingredients the average Australian would usually have in the pantry and the fridge, which also makes it rather convenient.

Convenience

The ease and speed with which many pasta dishes can be prepared, and the long shelf life of both the dried and tinned products, are attributes which many cookbook authors in the sample have recognised. Grouping these characteristics together under the theme of "convenience," the sample presents many examples throughout the entire study period, but the theme reaches an apogee between the 1950s and 1970s. In these years, the feminist movement plus the food industry's concerted efforts to take food preparation out of the kitchen and into the factory were increasingly felt.⁷²⁸ However, as culinary historian Laura Shapiro has noted in the American context, these trends did not mean that all or even most women stopped cooking and simply started serving food from tins or boxes.⁷²⁹ While some undoubtedly did, many others adapted and incorporated these foods into existing recipes, or, with the help of cookbooks and other sources of recipes, into new dishes. Dried, tinned and ready-to-buy fresh pasta were already what Symons would call convenience foods, so it was particularly well suited to cooking in this period, and beyond.

Long Shelf Life

Dried and tinned pasta obviously have a long shelf life, making them convenient products to keep in the pantry. Some authors from the early part of the sample recognised this fact, and explicitly suggested the cook have them on hand. "Though not absolutely essential," writes McGowan in 1911's *Keeyuga Cookery Book*, "a tin of vermicelli, spaghetti or macaroni...are

⁷²⁸ Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*.

⁷²⁹ Laura Shapiro, *Something from the Oven: Reinventing Dinner in 1950s America* (New York: Viking, 2004).

among other things that will be found very conducive to comfort” while in 1943 Prudence lists “1lb macaroni,” “1lb vermicelli” and “1lb spaghetti” in a guide intended for those setting up house for the first time.⁷³⁰ While it is from a product placement cookbook which clearly has a vested interest in selling more pasta, Cavalier Brand in the 1930s advises the Australian housewife that with its pasta “products on her pantry shelves,” she “need never be perplexed for something new, tasty and delectable to tickle the palate of her home-coming menfolks.”⁷³¹ Some 30 years later, the P.W.M.U. of Victoria reminds readers that “[t]o be prepared” in the creation of “meals in a hurry,” they need to “keep on the shelves or in the refrigerator, packaged and tinned foods such as...noodles.”⁷³²

Ease

In addition to its long shelf life, dried pasta was regarded by many authors as easy to cook. “[T]o prepare it [spaghetti] properly is almost as simple as making a pot of tea,” write Moloney and Coleman in 1952’s playful but decidedly gourmet *Oh, For a French Wife!*⁷³³ That pasta was easy to prepare was not a new sentiment in the history of Australian cookbooks. In 1900, Aronson noted pasta was not just delicious and wholesome but could be “cooked with but small trouble”; Porter categorised his recipe for “Macaroni and Wine Sauce” in a chapter titled “Easy to do–Easy to Serve”; and Dorothy Daly, in the Australian edition of her book *Cooking the Italian Way* (ca. 1969), cautioned that as long as “one remembers a few simple rules, nothing could be much simpler than the cooking of *Pasta*.”⁷³⁴

⁷³⁰ McGowan, *The Keeyuga Cookery Book*, 8; Prudence, *Australian Cookery of Today*, 33–35.

⁷³¹ Cavalier Brand, *Recipes Old and New*, n.p.

⁷³² P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Jenkins, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 67.

⁷³³ Moloney and Coleman, *Oh, For a French Wife!*, 1952, 90.

⁷³⁴ Aronson, *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration*, 106; Porter, *The Chef Suggests*, 180; Dorothy Daly, *Cooking the Italian Way*, 59.

Speed

Many of the same authors who remarked upon the ease with which dried pasta could be prepared, also stressed how quickly it could be cooked. Aronson, for example, tells the cook “it [macaroni] can be prepared for the table very quickly, a fact that permits of its use when perhaps an extra dish is necessary at very short notice.”⁷³⁵ Coleman and Moloney, meanwhile, dedicate an entire chapter to cooking pasta with a title that emphasises speed of preparation: “Twenty Minutes for Spaghetti.”⁷³⁶ While Coleman and Moloney stress the “right” way to make spaghetti, which happens to be quickly, Donovan seems to prioritise speed over what we could call authenticity in her “Minestrone” recipe, when she notes “this is the quickest recipe for minestrone, and the one best suited to our way of living.”⁷³⁷

Pasta recipes and speed are also clearly linked in the 1950 edition of the *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, which declares on its cover that it includes “pressure cooking.” Whether the inclusion of this chapter, which is not present in previous editions, was at the request or suggestion of prominent advertiser, Hawkins American Universal Pressure Cookers, or was a response to a genuine need that the P.W.M.U. detected amongst its readers, is difficult to say. In any case, the introduction to the new chapter rationalises why pressure cooking is a desirable way for the modern woman to cook:

It would appear that a new era has dawned for the “hurry-up” housekeeper—the mother with a family to attend to, the woman who wishes to fulfil a round of social duties, or the business woman who has to prepare her own evening meal. All may have dishes, previously denied them, by using a pressure-cooker—the household boon that makes the cook scoff at time.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁵ Aronson, *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration*, 106.

⁷³⁶ Moloney and Coleman, *Oh, For a French Wife!*, 1952, 89.

⁷³⁷ Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1955, 12; Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1960, 12.

⁷³⁸ Campbell, *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 180.

Not surprisingly, the book lists “[s]aving in cooking time” as the first of five “advantages of pressure cooking” but also notes that it “reduces fuel costs,” hence demonstrating not just the theme of convenience but also domestic economy.⁷³⁹ The chapter includes two recipes which require pasta: “Italian Spaghetti” and “Minestrone.” Both of these recipes mark the first time that the P.W.M.U. of Victoria cookbooks link ethnicity to pasta dishes, with “Italian Spaghetti” composed of minced beef and tomato sauce atop cooked pasta, seemingly an early take on what a modern Australian cook likely would call spaghetti bolognese.⁷⁴⁰ It is difficult to know why these inclusions occurred at this time, but with Italian ethnicity increasingly and more explicitly linked to pasta in the 1950s, as will be discussed, and only marginal changes occurring to recipes in the rest of the 1950 edition, perhaps a new chapter was simply a good place to insert recipes which had begun to widely circulate in Australia.

Fresh Pasta

Some authors believed fresh pasta could be just as convenient as dried pasta. Coleman and Moloney highlight that it is easy to make. They tell the story of Italian restaurateur Claudio who describes the making of egg noodles at home as simple (“no [pasta] press is necessary”) and the cooking, at least, as quick (“...don’t cook long time...[c]ook only ten maybe twelve minutes”).⁷⁴¹ Wynwode Reid, in *New Australian Cookery Illustrated* (ca. 1950), provides a recipe for homemade noodles, along with a variation which features a “teaspoon of meat extract or vegemite,” and also describes them as “easy and delicious.”⁷⁴² Most other authors, however, do not share the attitude that making homemade pasta is a stress-free task. David says that while it is “neither an intricate nor highly skilled process, it does require patience and time, and a certain knack which can be acquired”; Daly suggests trying it “if you are a good pastry maker and have time to experiment”; and Fulton stresses that it is an option “if

⁷³⁹ Campbell, 180.

⁷⁴⁰ Campbell, 183, 181.

⁷⁴¹ Moloney and Coleman, *Oh, For a French Wife!*, 1952, 47.

⁷⁴² Wynwode Reid, *New Australian Cookery Illustrated*, 10.

you have a light hand with pastry.”⁷⁴³ They all agree that the cooking happens quickly: “home-made *Pasta* needs usually no more than half the length of time to cook in comparison with the bought varieties.”⁷⁴⁴

However, the commercial production of fresh pasta turns what most agree is at the very least not straightforward into a product of great convenience: “if you don’t make them (noodles) yourself, buy them only from the store that sells to the Italian families in the neighbourhood,” write Coleman and Moloney, a statement in keeping with the man-about-town, cosmopolitan air of their book.⁷⁴⁵ This advice is included only in the 1964 edition of *Oh, For a French Wife!*, implying that in the first 1952 edition fresh pasta was not so easily available. Indeed, the suggestion to replace pasta that you can make yourself with either commercially-produced fresh pasta or even dried pasta does not become commonplace till the 1960s and 1970s.⁷⁴⁶

There are some obvious reasons for this: while there is evidence to suggest that commercially-made fresh pasta was available at least in major Australian cities in the 1950s, it was not widely available.⁷⁴⁷ Recipes for fresh pasta can primarily be found, as expected, in books dedicated solely to Italian cuisine. For example, in Fulton’s 1968 general cookbook, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, despite the existence of a dedicated “Pasta and Rice” chapter, there are no recipes for or even mentions of making pasta at home. However, by 1973, in *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook*, she not only makes the distinction between homemade

⁷⁴³ David, *Italian Food*, 70; Daly, *Cooking the Italian Way*, 61; Fulton, *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook*, 33.

⁷⁴⁴ Daly, *Cooking the Italian Way*, 60–61.

⁷⁴⁵ Ted Moloney and Deke Coleman, *Oh, For a French Wife!*, 1964, 51.

⁷⁴⁶ An exception is David, *Italian Food*, 68, but she was writing for an English audience.

⁷⁴⁷ B. Callose & Sons advertises ravioli as early as 1933 in a French language newspaper but a 1937 advertisement for the same company in *The Woman’s Mirror Cookery Book* suggests that these ravioli are canned. See “Sasso,” *Le Courrier Australien*, December 15, 1933, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article160823807>; *The Woman’s Mirror Cookery Book*, 96. More definitive proof of fresh pasta availability, at least in inner Melbourne, comes in 1952 when the La Tosca Food Company begins production of fresh ravioli. In the 1960s, these products are frozen, extending their shelf life. See “Selling Pasta to Melbourne,” Museum Victoria, 2007, <http://museumvictoria.com.au/discoverycentre/infosheets/the-melbourne-story/selling-pasta-to-melbourne/>.

and dried pasta, she includes homemade pasta dough recipes for “Egg Pasta (Pasta Gialla)” and “Green Pasta (Pasta Verde).”⁷⁴⁸ These doughs are then used as the basis for many other recipes, including “Pasta with Butter (Pasta al Burro),” “Ravioli,” “Lasagne” and “Ribbon Noodles (Tagliatelle).”⁷⁴⁹ More often than not, however, when a fresh pasta dough is called for in a recipe, Fulton also allows for the cook to buy the pasta ready-made, although it is not always clear whether she is calling for commercially-made fresh pasta or dried pasta. The instruction to “cook 500g (1 lb) home-made or bought ribbon noodles” to make her “Ribbon Noodles Alfredo” seems to imply that the cook can buy ready-made fresh noodles while the option to buy “packaged green lasagne” instead of making “Green Pasta (Pasta Verde)” from scratch for “Baked Green Lasagne” implies that she means a dried product that is likely to be readily available.⁷⁵⁰ 1975’s *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook*, a book primarily produced to sell products of convenience such as the company’s range of ready-made pasta sauces, is clearer about the types of pasta available: “Ravioli may be bought ready to cook, or make it yourself with a cheese or meat filling.”⁷⁵¹

Tinned Spaghetti

Perhaps the easiest and quickest way to prepare spaghetti was simply to open a tin. According to the *W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1944), having canned spaghetti on hand could “help out on occasions when interruptions upset catering plans or unexpected visitors arrive.”⁷⁵² However, despite evidence to suggest that tinned spaghetti, albeit imported, was obtainable in Australia since 1913,⁷⁵³ and that spaghetti sandwiches, made with canned spaghetti, were on sale in

⁷⁴⁸ Fulton, *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook*, 33, 35, 39.

⁷⁴⁹ Fulton, 36, 37, 40.

⁷⁵⁰ Fulton, 36, 39, 41.

⁷⁵¹ *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook*, 68.

⁷⁵² P.W.M.U. of Queensland, *W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 1944, xxvi.

⁷⁵³ “Spaghetti a [sic] l’Italienne” is mentioned in a Heinz American Pure Foods advertisement in 1913, but Heinz did not begin local production until 1935. “Heinz Tomato Soup,” *Western Mail*, April 4, 1913, 51, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article37955029>; “A Great New Industry,” *Sunday Times*, September 29, 1935, 20, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article58742761>.

some Australian cafés and department stores from at least the 1920s,⁷⁵⁴ there is no explicit mention of tinned spaghetti in the sample till 1939.⁷⁵⁵ The ingredient appears in the recipe for “Roman Pie” from *The Schauer Cookery Book* (1939) and provides the cook with a shortcut; instead of topping the pie with cooked vermicelli and tomato sauce, she can use “a small tin of spaghetti and tomato sauce” instead.⁷⁵⁶

Using a tin of spaghetti to take a shortcut does not become prevalent until the 1950s, but is still relatively uncommon. “Baked Spaghetti Dinner” and “Fish and Spaghetti Casserole,” both from Reid’s *New Australian Cookery Illustrated* (ca. 1950), require “1 tin of spaghetti in tomato sauce” and are baked in the oven with a sprinkling of grated cheese, the former with slices of sausage and onion, the latter with a tin of salmon or fish cutlets.⁷⁵⁷ Interestingly, “Baked Spaghetti Dinner” is included in the chapter “Something Different for Dinner,” implying such a preparation was not typical. “Fish and Spaghetti Casserole,” possibly because it also involves tinned fish, is in the “Quick Tricks with Tins” chapter, a telling title which emphasises speed of preparation and cleverness on the part of the cook. Both of the dishes are deemed suitable for guests, with Reid in the introduction to “Something Different for Dinner” urging hostesses to “be venturesome once in a while” and in “Quick Tricks with Tins” highlighting just how convenient tins can be: “those tins in your emergency cupboard are better than money in the bank,” but warns that the clever hostess needs to “use your ingenuity as well as your tin-opener. That naked, straight-from-the-tin look never fooled anybody.”⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁴ “Spaghetti Sandwiches Are Very, Very Nice,” *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, August 28, 1924, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article63530655>; “Boans ‘Big Magnet’ Winter Fair,” *Mirror*, July 21, 1928, 9, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article76409268>. For a description of spaghetti sandwiches in Australia, see Beckett, *Convicted Tastes: Food in Australia*.

⁷⁵⁵ There are recipes for spaghetti sandwiches before 1939 but they either provide instructions for cooking the spaghetti filling, as Vassal Cox does, or they do not make it clear whether the spaghetti is tinned. Vassal Cox, *The “All in One” Recipe Book and Household Guide*, recipe 339; Rutledge and McCarthy, *The New Goulburn Cookery Book*, 130.

⁷⁵⁶ Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 345.

⁷⁵⁷ Reid, *New Australian Cookery Illustrated*, 8, 40.

⁷⁵⁸ Reid, 38, 6.

Taking shortcuts in entertaining is further emphasised by Helen Cox in *The Hostess Cookbook* (1952). Cox, while lamenting the loss of domestic help in the kitchen, nonetheless says there is no need to mourn it because “modern progress has given us advantages that once were never dreamed of.”⁷⁵⁹ Tinned and other prepared foods are part of this modern world, with Cox assuring readers that she can teach them the “secrets” that they need to entertain in such a world. She presents her recipes in menus for “all kinds of parties” and for all kinds of women from “the lone-hand housewife” to the “business woman living alone in a small flat or apartment.”⁷⁶⁰ For the latter woman, a dinner menu for four is suggested which includes a tin of spaghetti, diluted “with a little cream or top milk” and served with the main course of “American cutlets,” tinned green beans and frozen scones. The entrée is carrot juice bought from a health food shop and the dessert is store-bought ice-cream with lemon sauce. The whole meal plan focuses on getting food to the table as quickly as possible by outsourcing the majority of preparation to industry, but perhaps most revealing about Cox’s priorities are the times allocated to the tasks: the hostess is given five minutes to open the can of spaghetti and prepare it, but fifteen minutes to “change her frock.”⁷⁶¹

While tinned spaghetti was acceptable to both Cox and Reid, only three years later it was intolerable to Donovan, the author of *Continental Cookery in Australia* (1955 and 1960). Donovan provides a long introductory section on spaghetti explaining the proper way to both cook and eat pasta, information that she must have believed Australians needed. She finishes the section with her thoughts on tinned spaghetti: “Finally—never, never, take the short-cut and serve pre-cooked and tinned spaghetti. Leave that for the boy scout picnic and camp

⁷⁵⁹ Helen May Cox, *The Hostess Cook Book*, vii.

⁷⁶⁰ Cox, viii.

⁷⁶¹ Cox, 13.

use.”⁷⁶² Clearly she thought that both tinned spaghetti and short-cuts had their uses, just not in the kitchen of the self-respecting 1950s hostess.

Fluidity of Italian Ethnicity

When Beeton wrote in 1864 that macaroni “is the favourite food of Italy, where, especially among the Neapolitans, it may be regarded as the staff of life,” she was not the only author to acknowledge a link between Italy and pasta, but she was certainly in the minority.⁷⁶³ The sample shows that of the 1,263 recipes studied, only 396 recipes (less than a third) contain a reference to Italy. Pasta, for the great majority of authors, was simply an economical, versatile and convenient ingredient. It may, implicitly, have had Italian connotations, but those connotations were not considered worth highlighting or even noting. However, by looking at the recipes that do have Italian identifiers, we can detect additional themes. Some authors highlight that pasta has Italian origins, without providing any “Italian” recipes. Others feature pasta recipes which do highlight ethnicity, but that ethnicity is not Italian. The great majority use pasta as an ingredient in “Italian” recipes, but only a few authors have taken this a step further and employed pasta recipes as way for readers to understand and even experience Italy itself. By analysing each of these themes in detail, and pointing out changes in the way that these narratives develop, we can better understand the fluidity of ethnicity in the history of pasta in Australia.

Definition

The difficulty of assigning ethnicity to food has been discussed by various historians; because of the complex two-way flow between ingredients and techniques, especially in new world settings such as Australia, it is, in many regards, an artificial construct.⁷⁶⁴ In addition to this complex issue, what might once have been considered a recipe which belongs to a particular

⁷⁶² Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1955, 65.

⁷⁶³ Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 72.

⁷⁶⁴ See, for example, Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food*.

cuisine can change because cuisine is constantly evolving, adapting and absorbing influences.⁷⁶⁵ For example, by today's standards, Beeton's sweet macaroni puddings are not recognisable as Italian recipes. However, dishes which combined pasta, sugar and spices can be found in early Italian cookbooks including, notably, the first printed cookbook, Platina's *On Right Pleasure and Good Health* (1474).⁷⁶⁶ In any case, by the 19th century when Beeton was writing, pasta cooked in this way had largely fallen out of fashion in Italy, where the combination of tomato sauce and pasta was beginning its ascent to gradual world domination.⁷⁶⁷ However the sweet pasta tradition, as we have seen, had already left Italy and, by way of England, made its way to Australia and elsewhere. The point of this part of the analysis, therefore, is not to definitively label any particular Italian recipes as "authentic," because this label is clearly problematic, or to track whether they are truly of Italian origin. Instead, the goal is to examine the recipes about which the author has communicated to the reader that he or she believed the recipe to be Italian, in order to better understand how ethnicity can function in relation to food.

Thus for the purposes of this analysis, recipes in the sample were categorised as "Italian" if the title featured the word "Italian" in any language (for example, Italian soup, à l'italienne); included a regional Italian place name (for example, Florence soup, Roman pudding) or used Italian language (for example, tagliatelle but not common or generic terms like macaroni or

⁷⁶⁵ See, for example, Berghe, "Ethnic Cuisine: Culture in Nature."

⁷⁶⁶ Most of Platina's recipes are acknowledged as coming from the manuscript *Libro de Art Coquinaria* by Maestro Martino of Como (ca. 1465). A similar recipe for "Vermicelli" can be found in Maestro Martino, *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*, ed. Luigi Ballerini, trans. Jeremy Parzen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 70; Platina and Mary Ella Milham, *Platina, On Right Pleasure and Good Health: A Critical Edition and Translation of De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine* (Tempe, Ariz.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 335.

⁷⁶⁷ Pellegrino Artusi's *Science in the Kitchen and the Art of Eating Well*, first published in 1891 and regarded as the blueprint of modern Italian cooking, contains only one recipe for pasta with sugar ("Spaghetti da Quaresima (Lenten Spaghetti)") but he prefaces it with "[m]any who read this recipe will cry out, 'Oh, what a ridiculous pasta!'" indicating that it is an oddity. This is further supported by his discussion of sugar and spices elsewhere: in adapting a soup recipe from the mid-1600s, Artusi omits the sugar and cinnamon explaining that "tastes have changed for the better." Pellegrino Artusi, *Science in the Kitchen and the Art of Eating Well*, trans. Murtha Baca and Stephen Sartarelli (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 69, 107.

spaghetti); if the text, either in general introduction, headnotes or in the recipe itself, discussed the Italian heritage of a recipe or described it as being inspired by Italy; if the ingredient of pasta was described as coming from Italy, either in an ingredients list or in the copy of the recipe (for example, Naples macaroni); and/or either the chapter, section or entire book was described as Italian (for example, David's *Italian Food* or the Italy subsection of *The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book*). These attributes were chosen as they signify to the reader that the recipe is, in some way, "Italian."

Pasta has Italian Origins

There is a clear distinction between recipes that acknowledge the Italian origins of pasta and the inclusion of recipes which are presented as "Italian." Before the 1900s, recipes in the sample are far more likely to acknowledge that pasta is eaten by Italians or that the ingredient itself comes from Italy than they are to present any recipes as "Italian."⁷⁶⁸ Beeton, for example, tells us on more than one occasion that macaroni is "the principal article of food in many parts of Italy."⁷⁶⁹ Abbott also notes that pasta "was first prepared in Italy, and introduced into commerce in the name of Italian or Genoese paste."⁷⁷⁰ He provides a description of a typical "Italian Dinner" which features "a tureen full of *tagliarini*; a paste composed of flour and eggs, rolled out exceedingly thin and cut into shreds..."⁷⁷¹ Rita, writing in *Cottage Cookery*, describes pasta as "nourishing" and believes "with macaroni, cheese and tomatoes the Italians have from the chemical standpoint, a suitable food."⁷⁷² Neither Beeton, Abbott nor Rita present any pasta recipes as "Italian." Aronson's book is something of an anomaly in this early period. In *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration*, she explicitly

⁷⁶⁸ Before 1900, there are sixteen recipes that meet the requirement to be categorised as "Italian" but ten refer to the Italian origins of pasta, five call for the use of "Naples macaroni" and only Wicken's "Italian Soup" in Muskett, *The Art of Living in Australia*, n.p. is presented as an "Italian" recipe.

⁷⁶⁹ Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 72.

⁷⁷⁰ Andrew Ure quoted in Abbott, *The English and Australian Cookery Book*, 63.

⁷⁷¹ An article in *Chambers's Journal* quoted in Abbott, 22–23.

⁷⁷² Rita, *Cottage Cookery*, 62.

makes the link between Italy and pasta as well as providing “Italian” recipes. “Macaroni, you all know, is an Italian national dish,” she points out before supplying the “national method” as well as a recipe for “Macaroni Tomato (Italian).”⁷⁷³

However, with two notable exceptions, all books after Aronson’s which explicitly propagate the narrative that pasta has Italian roots can either be described as continental cookery books or Italian cookbooks. These include the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* (1937), *Oh, for a French Wife!* (1952 and 1964), *Italian Food* (1954), *Continental Cookery in Australia* (1955 and 1960), *Cooking the Italian Way* (ca. 1969), *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook* (1973) and *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook* (1975). The exceptions are two of the biggest-selling cookbooks in Australia’s history: *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook* (1968) and the *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook* (1970) by Ellen Sinclair. Both of these books can be described as mainstream commercial cookbooks which had the backing of popular Australian women’s magazines, explicitly in the case of the latter; in the case of the former, Fulton was the “cookery editor” for *Woman’s Day* as the title page of the book shows.⁷⁷⁴ They both include introductory sections to their pasta chapters which leave us in no doubt as to where the ingredient originates. Fulton declares that “[i]f you like pasta there’s no need to go to Rome and eat as the Romans do,” while Sinclair makes the point that “many nations have claimed to have invented macaroni...but it is in Italy that pasta-making was perfected.”⁷⁷⁵ That these books felt the need to explicitly point out the Italian roots of pasta, when all other general cookbooks in the sample between 1900 and 1968 did not, points to a change in attitude towards not just accepting foreign foods but celebrating them. This more open attitude reflects changes in Australian society, which occurred in the early 1970s, including notably the

⁷⁷³ Aronson, *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration*, 106–7. The former recipe features boiled macaroni with butter and a cheese-heavy béchamel sauce, the latter boiled macaroni with a butter and tomato puree sauce.

⁷⁷⁴ Fulton worked for many food magazines over the course of her career, see Brien, “Margaret Fulton: A Study of a 1960s Food Writer as an Activist.”

⁷⁷⁵ Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, 120; Sinclair, *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook*, 94.

election of the socially progressive Whitlam Government after 23 years of conservative rule and the complete abolition of the White Australia policy, which laid the foundation for multicultural Australia to eventually emerge.⁷⁷⁶

Pasta is Made in Italy

Another, more subtle way that authors draw attention to the Italian roots of pasta is by calling for the Italian-made version of the ingredient. Recipes which list or describe “Naples macaroni,” “Naples vermicelli” or “Genoa macaroni” can be found as early as 1876, notably in Wilkinson’s *The Australian Cook*.⁷⁷⁷ All of the pasta recipes in this book specify that the macaroni or vermicelli must be from Naples, but none of them claim to be “Italian” recipes.⁷⁷⁸ The lack of a local product is not the reason for this: the first commercial macaroni produced in Australia is said to have been made by Pietro Lucini and sold in Melbourne as early as 1855.⁷⁷⁹ Other pasta makers in the Victorian capital during the 1860s included Sebastian Danelli of Brunswick, who reportedly produced pasta using flour from Adelaide, and the firm of Casassa, Ravenna and Co., who manufactured and sold pasta in the CBD made from imported Californian wheat.⁷⁸⁰ Whether Wilkinson believed that the quality of the local product was inferior or because suggesting a foreign-made foodstuff was more in keeping with his position as chef of an exclusive Melbourne club, we cannot know.⁷⁸¹ Rawson, a

⁷⁷⁶ The “White Australia” policy sought to stop migration by non-Europeans, particularly Asians. See “Fact Sheet—Abolition of the ‘White Australia’ Policy.”

⁷⁷⁷ Macaroni from both Naples and Genoa, major pasta-producing hubs, have been imported into Australia since at least the mid-1850s. “Shipping Intelligence,” *Telegraph*, November 7, 1879, 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article169505569>.

⁷⁷⁸ These recipes include “Macaroni Soup,” “Vermicelli Soup,” “Macaroni au Gratin,” “Vermicelli Pudding” and “Macaroni Pudding.” The recipe for “Macaroni Soup” also allows for French macaroni to be used instead of those from Naples. Wilkinson, *The Australian Cook*, 8, 88, 95.

⁷⁷⁹ Gervasoni, *Bullboar, Macaroni & Mineral Water: Spa Country’s Swiss/Italian Story*.

⁷⁸⁰ “Commercial Intelligence,” *Argus*, March 1, 1861, 4, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5698045>; William Joseph O’Hea, *The Introduction of New Rural Industries into Victoria: With Observations on the Best Means Towards the Attainment of That End and the Utilisation of Juvenile Labor at the Disposal of the State* (Melbourne: J. & A. McKinley, 1871), <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/247550>. According to the latter source, Casassa, Ravenna and Co. had closed down by 1871.

⁷⁸¹ An 1879 article describes macaroni from country Victoria, as “not approach[ing] the Italian manufacture” while advertisements from Casassa, Ravenna and Co. describe their pasta as “equal to any imported from France or Italy,” implying there is a belief local pasta is thought of as inferior.

woman dedicated to helping her “sister housewives,” calls for “Naples Macaroni” in only one of her six pasta recipes, the one for “Macaroni Cheese.”⁷⁸² In 1900, Ross does not call for the use of Italian-made macaroni but, in describing how to cook it, notes “that of good quality, thoroughly dry, and of genuine Italian manufacture, may take much longer to cook.”⁷⁸³ In *The Australian Household Guide* (1916), Hackett informs her readers that Genoese macaroni will take a lot longer to cook (“about 30 minutes”) than the Neapolitan type (“usually ready eight or ten minutes sooner”).⁷⁸⁴ However, of the thirty-six pasta recipes in her book, only one stipulates the use of “Naples macaroni.”⁷⁸⁵

“Italian paste” is another term used by a handful of authors in the sample to describe a type of pasta, but despite use of the word Italian, it does not seem to indicate that it is necessarily an Italian-made product. Rita explains it as “macaroni, cut in small fancy shapes,” and the fact that in the sample it is used or discussed commonly in relation to soups or puddings supports the idea that it is a generic term.⁷⁸⁶

In any case, after 1916, no other author expressly mentions the use of pasta made in Italy in his or her recipes.⁷⁸⁷ It may be the case that locally-produced pasta had improved in quality or perhaps authors did not feel the need to make a distinction between the imported and local products. Regardless of the reason, the disappearance of these regional descriptors for pasta

“Brunswick Exhibition,” *Mercury and Weekly Courier*, October 18, 1879, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article59576338>; “Macaroni, Vermicelli...,” *Argus*, November 3, 1862, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article6481418>.

⁷⁸² Rawson, *The Antipodean Cookery Book and Kitchen Companion*, preface, 115-116.

⁷⁸³ Ross, *Cookery Class Recipes*, 188.

⁷⁸⁴ Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide*, 607.

⁷⁸⁵ The recipe is “Macaroni a la Viennoise” in Hackett, 632.

⁷⁸⁶ Rita, *Cottage Cookery*, 22. The term also can be found in Ross, *Cookery Class Recipes*, 19; P.W.M.U of Victoria, *Home Cookery for Australia*, 23; Sawyer and Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, 1941, 92; Sawyer and Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, 1945, 102; Sawyer and Moore-Sims, *The Coronation Cookery Book*, ca. 1954, 99.

⁷⁸⁷ However, David points out that “the best brands” of pasta are “imported from Naples,” while Fulton mentions in passing that “pasta from Naples” is available from “good delicatessen[s] or the gourmet section of large retail stores.” David, *Italian Food*, 82; Fulton, *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook*, 4–5.

has the effect of obscuring or making less clear a link between pasta and the traditional places in which it was produced.

Pasta Can Cross Ethnicities

The sample shows that pasta recipes can feature ethnicities that are not Italian. The use of the French language as well as the practice of featuring pasta in recipes which are marked as belonging to other countries further complicates the common belief that pasta recipes are synonymous with being Italian.

The Use of French Language in Pasta Recipes

That there should be pasta recipes early in the sample that communicate some link with Italy written in French, or an attempt at French, is not surprising. Bannerman found that much of the “Italian” food in Australia during the Federation era was brought with the British via the French: the appearance of à l’italienne in recipe titles demonstrates this.⁷⁸⁸ Bannerman also suggests that the translation of these dishes was muddled or Anglicised, which is confirmed in titles like “Noisettes of Lamb à L’Italien” from 1912’s *The Kookaburra Cookery Book* and “Ox Tongue Napolitaine” in *The Chef Suggests* (ca. 1949).⁷⁸⁹ Another reason for the use of French was its ability to elevate a dish from “low” to “high” cuisine.⁷⁹⁰ The desire to make a dish sound more sophisticated could explain the examples noted as the first was from a community cookbook compiled by society ladies and the second was from a book praised by renowned gastronome André L. Simon as “a serious attempt at lifting the approach of the people of Australia as a whole to their daily food from the lower range of mere feeding to the

⁷⁸⁸ Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*.

⁷⁸⁹ Bannerman; Lady Victoria Buxton Girls’ Club, *The Kookaburra Cookery Book*, 31; Porter, *The Chef Suggests*, 109. On the transcription of recipe names in this section, the author has transcribed them as they appear in the original source which means that errors are reproduced here. The author has not included sic after every error as this would make the recipe names more difficult to read.

⁷⁹⁰ Santich, “The High and the Low: Australian Cuisine in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.”

higher levels of gastronomy.”⁷⁹¹ In regards to ethnicity, therefore, the use of French terminology has less to do with communicating any sort of “French-ness” and more to do with following the English tradition of using French to make the dish more estimable to an Anglo palate.⁷⁹²

In looking at the numbers, however, there are actually not many “Italian” French recipes: there are only twenty-one in total, of which twelve are “Italienne,” five “Napolitaine” and one “Milanaise.”⁷⁹³ This finding could reflect the fact that the majority of books in the sample are aimed at the working or middle classes. However, it is instructive to look closely at the most popular of these dishes: spaghetti or macaroni à l’italienne. This recipe appears in four books: Ross’ *Cookery Class Recipes* (1900), the first edition of *The Schauer Cookbook* (1909), and then only in recipe books produced by pasta companies, namely Cavalier in the 1930s and Rinoldi in the 1940s.⁷⁹⁴ The death of spaghetti à l’italienne however is accompanied with the birth of a new dish in 1950 which appears to be the same in English translation, Italian spaghetti.⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹¹ “World Acclaim! Britain’s Ace Critic, Andre L. Simon Praises an Australian Author & His Latest Book,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 29, 1950, 12, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18158104>.

⁷⁹² In the American context, Levenstein explains how adding “Italienne” to spaghetti on menus in the early 1900s reassured eaters that the dish had been “civilized and purified in French hands.” Levenstein, “The American Response to Italian Food, 1880-1930,” 77–78.

⁷⁹³ These recipes can be found in Ross, *Cookery Class Recipes*, 90–91; Schauer and Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 403; Lady Victoria Buxton Girls’ Club, *The Kookaburra Cookery Book*, 31–32; Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide*, 505; Cavalier Brand, *Recipes Old and New*, n.p.; Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*, 6, 10, 24–25; Porter, *The Chef Suggests*, 79, 104, 109; Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1955, 125; Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1960, 125; The Leggo’s *Italian Cookbook*, 68–69. The recipes in the Leggo’s book are not titled “Italienne” but use a canned tomato sauce called “Leggo’s Chunky Tomato Italienne” as an ingredient.

⁷⁹⁴ The recipes are “Macaroni à l’italienne” in Ross, *Cookery Class Recipes*, 190; Cavalier Brand, *Recipes Old and New*, n.p.; Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*, 6; “Macaroni a la Italienne” in Schauer and Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*, 403; “Spaghetti a la Italienne, No.1” and “Spaghetti a la Italienne, No. 2” in Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*, 24–25.

⁷⁹⁵ Notably, it is not the same dish. Italian spaghetti recipes usually feature a minced meat and tomato sauce, but in the sample all the “à l’italienne” recipes are different. Ross’ recipe features a rich meat stock and tomato sauce, while Cavalier’s recipe has no stock in it. In Rinoldi’s two versions, one features “bottled tomato sauce” the other a cornflour-thickened tomato sauce. The Schauers’ recipe is the oddest as it involves dishing the boiled macaroni “in the form of cutlets” and spooning over them a “good gravy” garnished with cauliflower and grated coconut. Their recipe is so different from the others, it is likely an error.

Pasta Dishes Associated with Other Ethnicities

Before discussing Italian spaghetti, it is worth noting some of the other ethnicities with which pasta was associated. Early in the sample, Maclurcan provides recipes for “Macaroni Espagnole” and “Macaroni a L'Indienne” in her self-titled cookbook of 1898.⁷⁹⁶ In the 1930s, the ever-inventive Cavalier Brand also adds curry to pasta in “Spaghetti a' L'Indienne” as well as invoking the spirit of Scotland in “Macaroni a' la Dundee.”⁷⁹⁷ Still in French, or a version of it, Hackett gives us an “Austrian” pasta dish in “Macaroni a la Viennoise” while in 1937, *The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book* provides “Irish Fish Cake” made with vermicelli and “Chow Gan” made with macaroni.⁷⁹⁸ In 1973, the P.W.M.U. features a recipe for “Maltese Macaroni” in their “International Recipes” chapter.⁷⁹⁹

Of the other ethnicities associated with pasta dishes, however, American is the most popular. Along with the Spanish and Indian versions, Maclurcan also supplies an “American Macaroni Cheese” in both the 1898 and 1912 editions, an exact copy of which is also to be found in *The Kookaburra Cookery Book* (1912).⁸⁰⁰ In the second edition of *The Nu-Kooka* (ca. 1947), there is a recipe for “Spaghetti and Meatballs” which is not explicitly labelled as American but was absent from the first edition. As this book claims to be “revised and re-edited and including the latest American recipes,” it logically follows that this recipe is one of the American additions.⁸⁰¹ Donovan was educated at the University of Chicago before migrating to Australia, and a number of her recipes come via the US, often with other ethnicities attached.⁸⁰² “Spaghetti with Oysters (American)” is a clear case of a spaghetti dish with an American

⁷⁹⁶ Maclurcan, *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book*, 1898, recipes 494, 495.

⁷⁹⁷ Cavalier Brand, *Recipes Old and New*, n.p.

⁷⁹⁸ Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide*, 632; *The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book*, 86, 104.

⁷⁹⁹ P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Gemmell, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 144.

⁸⁰⁰ Maclurcan, *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book*, 1898, recipe 461; Maclurcan, *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book*, 1912, 118–19; Lady Victoria Buxton Girls' Club, *The Kookaburra Cookery Book*, 165.

⁸⁰¹ *The Nu-Kooka*, cover, 51.

⁸⁰² Donna Lee Brien, “The Cookbooks of Maria Kozslik Donovan,” *TEXT Special Issue 24: Cookbooks: Writing, Reading and Publishing Culinary Literature in Australasia*, no. 24 (2013): 1–7.

identity, but her “Sauerbraten (German)” which is served with boiled macaroni is an “authentic” German recipe from a Chicago restaurant.⁸⁰³

Donovan’s recipes cross ethnicities with ease. She frequently advises spaghetti or macaroni, usually along with rice and/or potatoes, as accompaniments to meat dishes from other countries. In “Veal Paprikash (Hungarian),” for example, she suggests the dish be served “very hot, with boiled rice or plain macaroni (in Hungary it is served with specially made dumplings), or potatoes.” In telling the reader that the correct accompaniment for the dish in its homeland, but not supplying a recipe, and instead suggesting pasta as a possible accompaniment, Donovan not only freely mixes foods from different countries, demonstrating how dishes can become hybridised, she also clearly values convenience more than authenticity. She likely leaves out the traditional dumpling recipe because it might mean that she would not be able to declare: “Veal Paprikash is a very simple dish, easy to prepare and economical. It has many advantages which should appeal to all housewives: it can be prepared in advance and reheated; the cheapest cut of the veal gives the best results.”⁸⁰⁴ Donovan believes speed, thriftiness and versatility are all more important than strict adherence to the rules of a cuisine, which can also be seen in the way that pasta is used and discussed by most cookbook writers in the full sample.

Interestingly, some authors present Italian recipes without any pasta at all. In Anne Dyason’s *A Cook’s Tour* (1931), one of the first continental cookery books published in Australia, there are no pasta recipes in the Italian section but vermicelli is required for the “Egg and Lemon Soup” in the Greek chapter.⁸⁰⁵ Deutsch’s 1955 book *Selected Continental Recipes for Australia* also features Italian recipes such as “Minestrone” and “Risotto Italiano” but none of them contain

⁸⁰³ Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1955, 66, 133; Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1960, 66, 133.

⁸⁰⁴ Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1955, 109; Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1960, 109.

⁸⁰⁵ Dyason, *A Cook’s Tour for Cooks*, 21. There is a recipe for “Pasta alla Turca” in the Turkish section but this is a sweet almond pastry rather than a pasta dish.

pasta. Of her recipes that do contain pasta, the term “noodles” is used, and never the much more popular labels of “macaroni,” “spaghetti” or “vermicelli.” Of the five noodle recipes, two are accompaniments to meat and chicken dishes, one is an omelette filled with noodles, and the last two—“Plain Noodle Soup” and “Consomme’ with Kreplach”—are described in footnotes as “the famous Viennese Nudelsuppe” and “a famous Jewish national dish” respectively.⁸⁰⁶ Deutsch believed that Australians were most interested in Central European cuisine, and these recipes are a reflection of that. However, that the Australian-born wife of an Austrian doctor says that her next area of culinary focus was “Southern European, mainly Italian” recipes, but does not include any with pasta, is curious to say the least.⁸⁰⁷ It does demonstrate, however, how Italian ethnicity and pasta are not always linked, even in books that purport to provide ethnic recipes.

Pasta is Used in “Italian” Dishes

Despite the difficulties in tracking Italian ethnicity throughout the sample, there is a simple observation that can be made. If we remove recipes that describe the Italian roots of pasta, including mentions of pasta coming from Naples or Genoa, then the number of recipes that are described as “Italian,” with some exceptions, increases over time. In observing Figure 1, we can see a small number of pasta recipes deemed “Italian” in the early period of the study, with small peaks in the 1910s and the 1930s. There is a decline in the 1940s, but a notable crescendo in the 1950s. In the 1960s, more pasta recipes are presented as Italian than ever before, and, in the early 1970s, the presence of locally-produced books dedicated solely to Italian cuisine sees the percentage of “Italian” recipes jump significantly, even though the study stops in 1975. It is important to note that the graph reflects the sample which is *not* representative of all cookbooks in Australia. However, it is a useful tool in helping to isolate

⁸⁰⁶ Deutsch, *Selected Continental Recipes for the Australian Home*, 27, 31, 37, 56, 59.

⁸⁰⁷ Deutsch, outside back cover.

when pasta took on a stronger “Italian” flavour—clearly during the 1950s—and allows us to focus our analysis on understanding how and why this occurred.

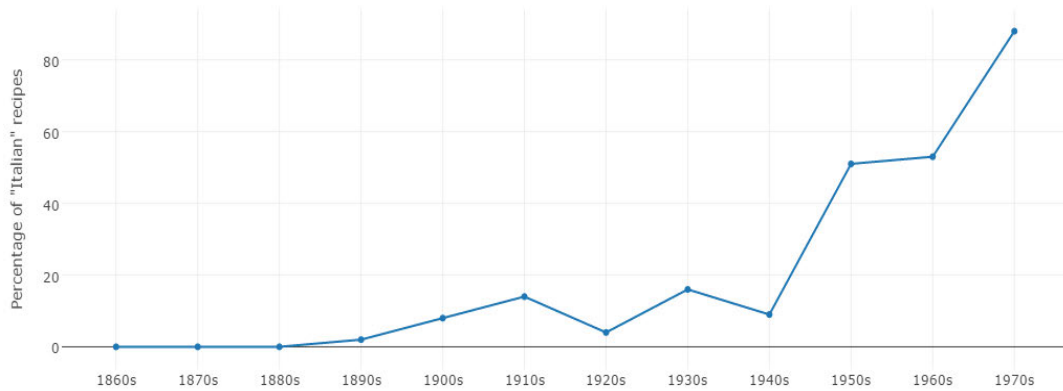


Figure 1 - "Italian" Recipes by Decade

Before attempting to explain the upward swing in the 1950s, it is worth analysing the smaller peaks of “Italian” recipes in the earlier periods. In the 1910s, 14 per cent of all recipes are described as “Italian” which can be attributed primarily to the existence of two books that have previously been discussed in relation to the use of French language in “Italian” recipes: *The Kookaburra Cookery Book* (1912) and *The Australian Household Guide* (1916). That both books were produced by society women, in collaboration in the case of the former and individually in the case of the latter, could explain not just the existence of more “Italian” recipes but the existence of more foreign recipes in general. While none of the “Italian” recipes have any commentary regarding their origins, the *Kookaburra* often provides us with the name of the contributor. So we know, for example, that the recipe for “Spaghetti or Macaroni (Italian),” which features a tomato sauce made with “a speck of garlic (size of a pin’s head)” has been submitted by “Lady William Cecil (Baroness Amherst of Hackney),” a well-travelled amateur archaeologist who accompanied her husband to Australia from England in

1905.⁸⁰⁸ The recipe for “Gniocchi [sic] alla Romana,” on the other hand, comes from “Mrs Tom Pope” whose name can frequently be found in the society gossip pages of Adelaide’s newspapers.⁸⁰⁹ Hackett, meanwhile, includes a recipe for “Gniocchi [sic] alla Lombarda” as well as one for “Neapolitan Spaghetti” which features tomato sauce flavoured with vegetables atop “soft” spaghetti; while it omits garlic, it does include the addition of half a cup of olive oil, at a time when this ingredient was reportedly repugnant to many Australian housewives.⁸¹⁰

In the 1930s, when Australian interest in foreign food was piqued for a time, the number of “Italian” recipes increases to 17 per cent.⁸¹¹ While the jump from the 1910s to the 1930s does not seem substantial, (just 3 per cent), the number of books which contain “Italian” recipes more than doubles: only three out of ten in the 1910s, but seven out of eleven in the 1930s. With the increase in the number of books comes an increase in the type of book that features “Italian” recipes. Only one, *Something Different for Dinner* (1936), can be seen as a direct descendant of the books containing “Italian” recipes published in the 1910s. As the title suggests, it offers recipes which are “slightly unusual and varied” and its list of contributors reads like a who’s who of society women including Lady Gowrie, wife of the then Governor-General of Australia.⁸¹² “Macaroni with Cauliflower,” contributed by Australian poet Dorothea Mackellar and described as a “Sicilian dish,” is the only “Italian” recipe with pasta in the book.⁸¹³ Among the other books to feature “Italian” recipes in this period were a community cookbook, a book produced by a pasta manufacturer, a vegetarian cookbook and a long-

⁸⁰⁸ Lady Victoria Buxton Girls’ Club, *The Kookaburra Cookery Book*, 81; Billie Melman, *Women’s Orient: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work* (London: Macmillan, 1992); “Personal,” *West Australian*, March 8, 1905, 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article25376192>.

⁸⁰⁹ Lady Victoria Buxton Girls’ Club, *The Kookaburra Cookery Book*, 295–96; “Society Gossip,” *Critic*, April 13, 1904, 22, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article211403373>.

⁸¹⁰ Hackett, *The Australian Household Guide*, 588, 642; Chloe, “Olive Oil,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 24, 1915, 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article15582553>.

⁸¹¹ The observation that there was increased interest in foreign food is made by Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary History*.

⁸¹² Australian Hostesses, *Something Different for Dinner*, v. It is also a “community” cookbook as profits from its sale went to the Bush Book Club of New South Wales.

⁸¹³ Australian Hostesses, 66.

running domestic manual.⁸¹⁴ None of these books make a feature of their Italian recipes, in that there are no reasons given for their inclusion and no comment on their origins, and they are all found in chapters which are based on courses or types of food.

Two books, however, do highlight the inclusion of “Italian” recipes, either through commentary which highlights the Italian origins of its recipes or via a chapter breakdown that uses “Italy” as a section. The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* (1937) falls into the former category. It champions Italian cuisine at every opportunity and the majority of recipes in the book that are assigned a nationality are Italian. Research has shown that the book was published by a group of Italian migrants who had the goal of “building bridges” between Italians and Australian, and it is arguably Australia’s first Italian cookbook.⁸¹⁵ Given this knowledge, it is not surprising to find pasta recipes such as “Genoese Ribbon Macaroni” and “Florentine Meat-Paste Balls” on its pages. Both of these dishes would almost certainly be more recognisable to a modern Australian cook if they had been published under the titles used in the Italian edition: “Lasagne col Pesto alla Genoese” and “Ravioli alla Fiorentina.”⁸¹⁶

The Woman’s Mirror Cookery Book, also published in 1937, falls into the latter of these categories, and marks the first time that pasta recipes appear in a dedicated “Italian” section. The book is largely a compilation of reader recipes sent into *The Australian Woman’s Mirror*, a weekly magazine published from 1924 to 1961.⁸¹⁷ In the “Italy” subsection of the “Foreign Dishes” chapter, which was “Contributed by Courtesy of Representatives of Foreign Nations resident in Australia,” are two pasta recipes: “Gnocchi alla Romano [sic]” and “Ravioli.”⁸¹⁸ The book also features the first “Minnestrone Soup [sic]” with pasta recipe in the sample, although

⁸¹⁴ Women’s Auxiliary of the Congregational Union of NSW, *Green and Gold Cookery Book*; Cavalier Brand, *Recipes Old and New*; Bartlett, *Healthful Cookery*; Schauer, *The Schauer Cookery Book*.

⁸¹⁵ See Chapter Three of this thesis or Appendix B: Cammarano, “Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia’s First Italo-Australian Cookbook.”

⁸¹⁶ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 101, 99.

⁸¹⁷ Bryan Shedden, “The Phantom: A Publishing History in Australia,” *The Deep Woods*, 2006, <http://www.deepwoods.org/mirror.html>.

⁸¹⁸ *The Woman’s Mirror Cookery Book*, 97, 112, 113.

interestingly it does not appear in the “Italy” subsection, but rather can be found in the general “Soup” chapter.⁸¹⁹

The practice of putting dishes that are not traditionally part of the Australian cook’s repertoire in either books with dedicated “Foreign” or “International” chapters, or in complete books dedicated to gourmet or continental cookery, begins in the 1930s.⁸²⁰ In the 1940s, however, perhaps because of World War II, only three books with “Italian” recipes can be described in this way. *Australian Cookery of Today* (ca. 1943) features two dishes under a “From Italy” subsection, but only one of them, “Minestrone (Italian Soup),” contains pasta.⁸²¹ Pasta manufacturer Rinoldi features a list of “Continental Dishes” in *the Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book* (ca. 1940s) which grouped together all of the book’s “à l’italienne” dishes as well as “Chicken: Italian-style” and the descriptively-named “Italian Method of Cooking 1 lb of Rinoldi Spaghetti.”⁸²² *The Chef Suggests* (ca. 1949), meanwhile, does not quarantine “Italian” recipes into their own section, but the whole book is obviously written from the perspective of a Francophile epicurean, as he provides additional information about dishes such as “Ravioles a la Napolitaine” and cooking styles such as “Italienne.”⁸²³ These recipes are anomalies in this period as the overall percentage of “Italian” recipes in the 1940s drops to 9 per cent.⁸²⁴

It is in the 1950s that we see the number of “Italian” recipes in the sample rise significantly to 51 per cent. The era of mass Italian migration to Australia seemingly provides an easy way to

⁸¹⁹ *The Woman’s Mirror Cookery Book*, 309. This recipe allows for a choice between pasta or rice, whereas others such as “Lombardy Soup (Minestrone)” in *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 15 call for just rice.

⁸²⁰ See, for example, “Continental Dishes” in Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*; “Dishes from Other Lands” in Prudence, *Australian Cookery of Today*; “International Recipes” in both Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook* and P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Gemmell, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*; and “International Cooking” in Sinclair, *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook*.

⁸²¹ Prudence, *Australian Cookery of Today*, 478.

⁸²² Rinoldi, *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*, 12, 23–24.

⁸²³ Porter, *The Chef Suggests*, 77, 104.

⁸²⁴ There is only one other book in this period with an “Italian” recipe—“Roman Pudding” in Combined Congregational and Baptist Churches of SA, *Green and Gold Cookery Book*, 1944, 23. It is also the same recipe which appeared in the early 1930s edition of the same book.

explain this increase. Australians were exposed to more Italian food, including pasta prepared in an Italian manner, and it is therefore logical to assume that this change in society would be reflected in the pages of its cookbooks. However, closer examination of the 1950s books shows that 80 per cent of the Italian recipes come from just one source: *David's Italian Food* (1954). This book was originally published in England and written by an Englishwoman with the purpose of educating the *English* about Italian food.⁸²⁵ While there was a boom in locally-produced continental and gourmet books, such as *Oh, For a French Wife!* (1952), *Continental Cookery in Australia* (1955) and *Selected Continental Cookery for Australians* (1955), these contained relatively few "Italian" pasta recipes. As discussed previously, *Selected Continental Cookery for Australians* contained none at all; even though both *Oh, for a French Wife!* and *Continental Cookery in Australia* feature sections dedicated to pasta which strongly reinforce the idea that pasta is an Italian dish and should be treated accordingly, the latter also recommends the use of pasta as an accompaniment to dishes of other ethnicities.⁸²⁶

There are also more identifiably "Italian" recipes in the general cookbooks of the 1950s; this increase is perhaps best understood by noting the emergence of the recipe for "Italian Spaghetti." This dish appears in the first edition of *New Australian Cookery Illustrated* (ca. 1950), and, significantly, is a new addition to two long-running cookbooks that began in the 1900s, the 8th edition of the *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1950) and the 10th edition of *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book* (1952). In the latter book, where the full title is "Italian Spaghetti, or Macaroni, and Cheese," the recipe features spaghetti or macaroni topped with a tomato-based sauce, but both *New Australian Cookery Illustrated* and the *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book* feature a recipe for spaghetti with a minced meat and tomato sauce.⁸²⁷ While recipes for

⁸²⁵ However, David did have an Australian following, see the subsection of this chapter, Elizabeth David's *Italian Food* (1954)

⁸²⁶ See the discussion of Donovan's treatment of "Veal Paprikash (Hungarian)" in Pasta Dishes Associated with Other Ethnicities above.

⁸²⁷ Reid, *New Australian Cookery Illustrated*, 11; Campbell, *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 183; Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 1952, 692–93.

spaghetti or macaroni with small or minced pieces of meat and tomato sauce existed prior to the 1950s, the addition of “Italian” to the title is new and indicates that Italian ethnicity is increasingly being attached to pasta dishes.⁸²⁸ Describing previously non-Italian recipes as Italian can be seen in the P.W.M.U. cookbooks where the 1921 edition contained a similar recipe simply titled “Spaghetti.”⁸²⁹ Interestingly, after the early 1950s, recipes for “Italian Spaghetti” disappear.⁸³⁰ Instead dishes which feature the combination of minced meat, tomato and pasta become known as “Spaghetti Bolognese,” with the first recipe in the sample using this terminology appearing in 1955.⁸³¹ It could be argued that the shift in recipe names from simple “Spaghetti” to “Italian Spaghetti” to the decidedly more exotic-sounding “Spaghetti Bolognese” can be associated with perceptions of Italy held by Australians in the 1950s. As cultural historian Stephen Gundle argues, foreigners have long associated Italy with “glamour,” but in the 1950s this link was further strengthened, as was discussed in detail in the Introduction of this thesis. As Rome became a centre for Hollywood stars and the international jet set, as portrayed in Federico Fellini’s film *La Dolce Vita* (1960), not only did the Italian lifestyle “become fashionable and desirable,” but the country itself “became an image to be consumed, to be bought into, and to be savoured in small doses, by means of a film, a vacation, a meal in a restaurant, an item of clothing, or a domestic appliance.”⁸³² In Gundle’s work, the foreigners in question are American, but the many local newspaper and magazine articles which gush about Italian celebrities, beauty, fashion and lifestyle in the 1950s suggests that Australians also bought into the same image of Italy, even if it was at odds

⁸²⁸ Some examples include “Macaroni and Meat with Tomatoes” in Rutledge, *The Goulburn Cookery Book*, 64 and “Spaghetti” in McGowan, *The Keeyuga Cookery Book*, 11.

⁸²⁹ P.W.M.U. of Victoria, *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book of Victoria*, 70. The key difference between 1921’s “Spaghetti” and 1950’s “Italian Spaghetti” is that the latter is cooked in a pressure cooker.

⁸³⁰ However, the 1952 recipe for “Italian Spaghetti, or Macaroni, and Cheese” is also in the 1962 edition of Schauer, *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*, 2002, 724–25.

⁸³¹ Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1955, 66. “Tagliatelle alla Bolognese,” the dish spaghetti bolognese is thought to have been modelled on, can also be found in David, *Italian Food*, 85.

⁸³² Stephen Gundle, “Hollywood Glamour and Mass Consumption in Postwar Italy,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 3 (2002): 113.

with the largely poor Italians who were migrating to their shores in ever-increasing numbers.⁸³³ With themes of glamour and sophistication increasingly present in 1950s cookbooks, it is not surprising then that we find more “Italian” dishes.⁸³⁴

In the 1960s, the number of “Italian” recipes stays relatively steady at 53 per cent. However, examining the new editions of existing books suggests that “Italian” pasta dishes are increasingly popular with cookbook authors. The second edition of Donovan’s *Continental Cookery in Australia* (1960), for example, features an expanded “Speaking of Spaghetti” section with new recipes for “Spaghetti all’Amatriciana (Italian),” “Lasagne al Forno (Italian Baked Noodles)” and “Fettucine con Funghi (Italian),” the latter of which comes with a description of eating the dish at the famous Roman restaurant where Fettucine Alfredo is said to originate.⁸³⁵ Another new addition is “Spaghetti with Scallops (Italian)” which, despite the “(Italian)” at the end of the recipe title, is described by Donovan as a cross between “a salsa di parmiggiano [sic] and that great Southern Italy delicacy, spaghetti con frutti del mare” which she “recently invented.” She encourages her readers to follow her lead and “employ your palate rather than follow the recipe books slavishly.”⁸³⁶ This urging to base cooking upon tradition but to feel free to create, adapt and change as the individual desires is a recurring motif in Donovan’s work.

Another book with a new “Italian” recipe is the revamped 1961 edition of the *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*. It includes an “Entertaining” section for the first time which includes a recipe for “Ravioli” which calls for rissole steak, celery, onion, a tin of tomato soup, spaghetti and

⁸³³ See “Life in Plush-Lined Playgrounds”; “Italian Fashion,” *Age*, October 29, 1954, 7, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article210674645>; Bill Strutton, “Lollobrigida versus Loren Fight for Film Crown,” *Australian Women’s Weekly*, June 1, 1955, 23, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article52621385>. For more on the link between Italian glamour influencing Australian food and drink trends see Cammarano, “Espresso in 1950s Sydney: One Drink, Two Scenes.”

⁸³⁴ These themes are clearly visible in books such as Reid, *New Australian Cookery Illustrated*, 5 where the author points out “garnishes add glamour”; and Cox, *The Hostess Cook Book*, 3 who provides “a sophisticated menu that will appeal to the husbands.”

⁸³⁵ Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1960, 78, 79.

⁸³⁶ Donovan, 60.

curry powder.⁸³⁷ While this combination bears little resemblance to what a modern Australian cook or diner would label ravioli, particularly because it lacks any type of filled pasta, it does illustrate how ethnic recipes or terminology which are not well-known in a culture can easily become debased. Perhaps thankfully, this version of ravioli did not catch on: it is absent from the 1973 edition of the P.W.M.U. cookbook and there is nothing similar to it in any other cookbook in the sample. It does show, however, how a recipe can claim an “Italian” identity, without being Italian at all.

In the late 1960s and the early 1970s, the Italian origins of pasta and the use of pasta in both “Italian” and dishes of other ethnicities are visible in the widely-circulated *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook* (1968) and the *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook* (1970). As has been described, both of these books discuss pasta in a way that would leave no reader in doubt that the ingredient has Italian origins. However, notably, they do not feature the majority of their pasta recipes in “Italian” or “International” sections.⁸³⁸ Instead, Fulton categorised them in a “Pasta and Rice” chapter while Sinclair includes a “Pastas” chapter. While they are not the first general cookbooks to feature pasta as a chapter or sub-chapter, the way they do it is novel.⁸³⁹ In Fulton, “Italian” pasta recipes including “Green Lasagne Modena Style” and “Pesto” sit alongside pasta dishes from other ethnicities (Greece’s “Pasticcio”) and others with no specific nationality assigned (“Lemon Meatballs with Noodles”).⁸⁴⁰ Sinclair follows the same pattern: “Italian” dishes such as “Spaghetti alla Carbonara” and “Spaghetti Marinara” appear next to “Tuna Spaghetti Casserole” and the ever-present “Macaroni Cheese.”⁸⁴¹ These books suggest that “Italian” pasta dishes have made the jump from “foreign” sections to “pasta”

⁸³⁷ P.W.M.U. of Victoria, Jenkins, et al., *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 117.

⁸³⁸ In fact, there are no pasta recipes in Fulton’s “International” section and only “Cannelloni” in Sinclair’s “Italy” subsection of the “International Cookery” chapter. Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, 206–41; Sinclair, *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook*, 127–28.

⁸³⁹ See Footnote 657 for the exceptions.

⁸⁴⁰ Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, 122, 124.

⁸⁴¹ Sinclair, *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook*, 96, 98.

chapters, and this demonstrates that they are now accepted as part of everyday cooking in Australia, in much the same way as non-ethnic pasta dishes have been since the earliest cookbooks in the sample. Still, this finding does not mean that Australians are completely familiar with pasta, or do not require instructions on how to cook it properly; for instance, Fulton still felt compelled to include step-by-step pictures with instructions showing how to eat spaghetti properly and Sinclair discusses at length the properties of different kinds of pasta available.⁸⁴² Nevertheless, both “Italian” and non-Italian pasta dishes are firmly entrenched in the Australian cooking repertoire by the early 1970s.

In the 1970s, the number of “Italian” recipes in the sample jumps to 88 per cent. This large increase can be attributed to the publication of local cookbooks dedicated solely to Italian food for the first time. Both *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Food* (1973) and *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook* (1975) are commercial successes and, within their pages, as well as in those of imported cookbooks such as Daly’s *Cooking the Italian Way* (ca. 1969) and most importantly David’s *Italian Food* (1954), another narrative can be detected: namely that reading about, cooking and eating pasta is a way to experience Italian culture itself.

Pasta is a Way to Experience Italy

While cookbooks have long functioned primarily as instructional guides for teaching women how to cook, folklorist Lucy M. Long notes that they can also be seen as “the first virtual media for culinary tourism, offering windows into other people’s food.”⁸⁴³ A number of cookbooks in the study can be seen as sites of culinary tourism, or, more specifically, as Bell and Valentine explain it, “kitchen-table tourism,” a way for people to cook and literally taste the other without leaving their own homes.⁸⁴⁴ In the sample, the cookbooks that

⁸⁴² Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, 126–27; Sinclair, *Australian Women’s Weekly Cookbook*, 94.

⁸⁴³ Lucy M. Long, “Culinary Tourism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. Jeffrey M. Pilcher (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3.

⁸⁴⁴ David Bell and Gill Valentine, *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 6.

communicate this type of message are largely limited to those that focus specifically on Italian cuisine. The mix of recipes, the notes that accompany them and the general commentary provide the cook not just with information on how to cook the dish but also, importantly, with enough detail to understand something of Italian history, culture and lifestyle. As we have seen, while books as far back as Beeton do feature information about how pasta is an integral part of Italian life, it is in the Italian cuisine cookbooks that these details are provided in expanded form so that the audience can more deeply appreciate and arguably actually experience them. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the work of David.

Elizabeth David's *Italian Food* (1954)

Cookery writer David has long been credited with bringing the food of Europe, specifically France and the Mediterranean, to the attention of the ration-weary English after World War II.⁸⁴⁵ Around the time her third book, *Italian Food* (1954), was published, she was described as England's most successful cookery writer.⁸⁴⁶ The aim of the book, as in all her books, was to explain a different style of cooking to her compatriots that they can, for the most part, try at home. As a result, she provides substitutions and ideas on what to do when the Italian ingredient or equipment is not available.⁸⁴⁷ She even titles a chapter "Italian Dishes for English Kitchens" where she highlights that even though the English have become accustomed to wartime shortages, they can learn from the Italians about better ways to tackle these limitations.⁸⁴⁸ However, David clearly believed that one could not cook like an Italian unless one understood Italy itself, and, as a result she provided not just historical context and literary references, but packed her books with intricate detail explaining how Italians shop, cook and

⁸⁴⁵ Artemis Cooper, *Writing at the Kitchen Table: The Authorized Biography of Elizabeth David* (London: Michael Joseph, 1999).

⁸⁴⁶ "A New 'Mrs. Beeton,' but She Likes Garlic," *Courier-Mail*, October 26, 1953, 8, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article51092126>.

⁸⁴⁷ For example, she suggests using a coffee grinder-like device as a substitute for an Italian wooden cheese grater. David, *Italian Food*, 44.

⁸⁴⁸ David, 18–22.

eat. There are no “luscious photographs”: instead David relies on her words, with just a few line drawings by Renato Guttuso, to paint a vivid picture of Italy.⁸⁴⁹

What is also clear from *Italian Food* is that David believed that one could not appreciate Italy without understanding the highly regional nature of its food. As this concept was “not grasped at all” by those outside Italy, she makes a concerted effort to explain it and uses her pasta recipes in particular to this end.⁸⁵⁰ While some other authors in the sample provide regional origins for “Italian” pasta recipes, David does it much more extensively. In fact, of the sixty-two pasta recipes featured in *Italian Food*, most of which are found in the “Pasta Asciutta” and “Ravioli, Gnocchi, etc” chapters, she provides information about where the recipe is from in half of them. Often this inclusion is as simple as pointing out that a dish is from a particular place: “Pappardelle con la Lepre...Pappardelle or Tagliatelle with Hare Sauce,” for example, is simply described as “A Tuscan dish.”⁸⁵¹ But sometimes the information provided is more detailed, explaining regional differences or similarities between dishes, for example: “*Cappelletti* (little hats) are a form of ravioli which appear with varying stuffings in Tuscany, Umbria, Emilia and Romagna, Rome and in northern Italy. This particular recipe is the one from Perugia, where *cappelletti in brodo* is the traditional Christmas Eve dish.”⁸⁵² Either way, the effect of highlighting regionalism is to help the reader not just to grasp the nature of Italian food but, because food is such an integral part of Italian culture, experience something of Italy, all without leaving home.

While David’s influence on England’s culinary culture is well documented, there is much less known about how her work was received in Australia.⁸⁵³ A 1953 newspaper article points out

⁸⁴⁹ The inclusion of “luscious photographs” is typical of cookbooks of the “culinary tourism” type according to Long, “Culinary Tourism,” 4.

⁸⁵⁰ David, *Italian Food*, 14.

⁸⁵¹ David, 89–90.

⁸⁵² David, 98–99.

⁸⁵³ See, for example, Rachel Cooke, “The Enduring Legacy of Elizabeth David, Britain’s First Lady of Food,” *Observer*, December 8, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2013/dec/08/elizabeth-david-first-lady-of-food>.

that David received fan mail from her Australian fans.⁸⁵⁴ Writer Marion Halligan was obviously one of these fans. She describes that when “meals got serious,” she began to consult David’s work “book by book as they became available.” While she credits the *Australian Women’s Weekly* with giving form to the dinner party in the late 1960s, she says that it was David who gave “meaning to the food” and praised her for promoting the “idea of realness” in cooking.⁸⁵⁵ Cook and author Stephanie Alexander was also a fan. In the 1950s in her mother’s house, Alexander describes David as “the authority referred to in our kitchen.”⁸⁵⁶ Later, when she reflects on David’s death in 1992, she recalls how the description of a fish soup in *Italian Food* inspired her to seek out the same place some twenty years later in the hope of experiencing the joy that David described. For Alexander, David’s “recipes were different. They coloured in the background, put in the people, even suggested the weather, [and] described the journey.”⁸⁵⁷

The Margaret Fulton Cookbook (1968) Versus Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook (1973)

Another way to contrast the use of pasta as an ingredient in “Italian” dishes to the use of pasta as a way to experience Italy is to compare two books from the same author. As would be expected from the title, *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook (1973)* features only “Italian” pasta recipes, while her 1968 cookbook, as has been discussed, is a general cookbook which features both Italian and non-Italian treatments of pasta. Comparing the introduction of the pasta chapters, the 1968 book is focused on the practicality of cooking and eating pasta, with a strong emphasis on spaghetti.⁸⁵⁸ The 1973 introduction also includes similar advice on how to cook pasta, but there is no information on how to eat it and the emphasis on spaghetti is

⁸⁵⁴ “A New ‘Mrs. Beeton,’ but She Likes Garlic,” 8.

⁸⁵⁵ Marion Halligan, “From Castor to Olive in One Generation: A Gastronomic Education,” *Meanjin* 49, no. 2 (1990): 207, 209.

⁸⁵⁶ Stephanie Alexander, *A Cook’s Life* (Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin Group, 2012), 41–42.

⁸⁵⁷ Alexander, 251.

⁸⁵⁸ There is a “For Spaghetti” subsection in the introduction to the “Pasta and Rice” chapter. Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, 120.

gone. Instead, new in this book is some theorising on the origins of pasta, and, importantly, a distinction between “*pasta fatta in casa* (home-made pasta)” and “the kind that is mass produced and sold dried in packets.”⁸⁵⁹ As has been discussed, the 1968 book contained no mentions of fresh pasta, but in 1973, of the fifteen recipes in the “Pasta” chapter, seven either explain how to make or use fresh pasta as an ingredient, five give the reader a choice between the use of fresh or dried pasta and only three feature dried pasta alone.⁸⁶⁰ The “*pasta fatta in casa*” recipes seem to show a desire to present a more complete picture of Italian pasta use, and provide the intended Australian audience with the knowledge required to produce these dishes themselves. The author’s need to provide novel recipes to an audience which has perhaps moved beyond simple spaghetti could also be part of the inspiration for their inclusion.

The use of the Italian language and increased inclusion of regional information are also features of Fulton’s 1973 book which have the effect of making the book more about experiencing Italy, not just cooking Italian (or Italian-style) recipes. While Fulton does not provide the depth of information that David did, she does, on occasion, make an effort to explain the origins and customs around dishes. This greater emphasis on Italian place and culture is best seen by comparing the different recipes for spaghetti bolognese in each of her books. In 1968, Fulton does not mention Bologna at all, and simply calls it a “Meat Sauce”; she also fails to specify the pasta that goes with it, although the recipe is accompanied by a large image showing spaghetti with the meat sauce. The recipe itself uses two kinds of meat, beef and pork, and also allows for substituting the pork with chicken livers and bacon.⁸⁶¹ In 1973, Fulton does publish a recipe for “Spaghetti Bolognese” with an accompanying recipe for “Bolognese Sauce,” which is sub-titled “Ragù alla Bolognese.” In the recipe headnotes, she

⁸⁵⁹ Fulton, *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook*, 33.

⁸⁶⁰ Fulton, 33–45.

⁸⁶¹ Fulton, *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*, 122–23.

attempts to link the dish firmly with Bologna and the Bolognese by stating that “[r]agù is the sauce from Bologna that people all over the world love to serve with spaghetti” and “the true ragù is not just a sauce of tomato-flavoured minced meat.” The recipe features a greatly reduced amount of tomato and includes white wine, prosciutto and a discussion of the Bolognese habit of including cream or milk.⁸⁶²

Conclusion

In 1596, Elizabethan writer, inventor and scientific thinker Sir Hugh Plat praised pasta. He wrote: “it is very durable...it is speedily dressed...it is cheape... serueth both in steede of bread and meate...it may be made as delicate as you please...[and] there is sufficient matter to bee hadde al the yeare long.”⁸⁶³ In making the case for pasta as a victual for seafaring and military expeditions, Plat also echoed much later views about why pasta has been an ingredient consistently used in popular cookbooks in Australia from 1860 to 1975. Pasta is versatile, as it has been used in different courses, in different forms and for different purposes throughout the study period. It has been partnered with meat, historically an important ingredient in Australia, as well as recommended as a substitute for it. It has been marketed as suitable for vegetarians, as well as promoted by those who believed Australians should eat less meat.

Pasta has also been continually featured in recipes because it has always been a relatively affordable ingredient. As domestic economy was a concern of many Australian cookbook writers, pasta’s ability to stretch more expensive ingredients, particularly meat, and the way that it can turn leftovers into tasty new dishes has been both noted and exploited.

⁸⁶² Fulton, *Margaret Fulton’s Italian Cookbook*, 37, 48.

⁸⁶³ Plat, *Sundrie New and Artificiall Remedies Against Famine* as quoted in Malcolm Thick, *Sir Hugh Plat: The Search for Useful Knowledge in Early Modern London* (Totnes, Dev.: Prospect Books, 2010), 119–20.

In addition to its versatility and affordability, its convenience was discussed by many authors in the sample. It has a long shelf life in its dried and tinned forms, and, in all its forms including fresh, can be relatively easily and quickly prepared.

Reflecting upon these qualities, it is clear how pasta became an integral ingredient in Australian pantries. In *One Continuous Picnic*, Symons explains that Australia lacks a cuisine because it never had an agrarian tradition of food production. Initially, he argues, the colonisers brought everything with them and then, once the fledgling colony was established, the food industry stepped in to produce food which was essentially easily transportable.⁸⁶⁴ In this context, pasta is indeed the perfect food for the land of the continuous picnic.

Despite this historic evidence, the belief that pasta was introduced to Australia by Italian immigrants who brought it with them in the post-World War II period persists in popular media. However, after analysing recipes that included pasta from ninety cookbooks over a 115-year period, this chapter demonstrates that not only has pasta been present since the very first cookbook published by an Australian, well before any significant Italian migration to this country, but its ethnicity has most often been of limited or no importance. The majority of recipes in the sample cannot be described as “Italian” and do not communicate an Italian ethnic identity.

Italian ethnicity is, however, increasingly attached to recipes featuring pasta after 1950, but mass Italian immigration during this period does not necessarily explain this increase. Pasta’s more Italian flavour could be linked to ideas of glamour associated with all things Italian in the 1950s, and increasing preoccupations and desires by Australian housewives to present novel and sophisticated fare, no doubt assisted by media outlets such as the *Australian Women’s Weekly* and the food industry itself.

⁸⁶⁴ Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*.

In the 1970s, Italian ethnicity is even more firmly linked to pasta as local cookbooks solely dedicated to Italian cuisine are published for the first time. Under the short-lived, but highly influential Whitlam Government of the early 1970s, many Australians began to see themselves not as conservative subjects of the former British Empire, but as cosmopolitan members of a society whose ethnic make-up was rapidly changing. The inhabitants of this Australia, many of whom had travelled to Europe and elsewhere, were open to new ideas and practices, including those associated with food. Assisted by a willing food industry and media, always eager to exploit new tastes and cuisines in bids to sell more products, Australians were eager to show how they had changed. Embracing ethnic foods, including Italian pasta dishes, gave them an easy, as well as tasty, way to do that.

Conclusion

In Australia, the eating and enjoyment of ethnic food is often equated with being tolerant, open and accepting of migrants.⁸⁶⁵ However, what has come to be called “eating the Other” does not necessarily mean embracing or understanding the Other.⁸⁶⁶ Italian ingredients and recipes, although in forms that often may not seem very Italian, have existed in Australia since colonial times. Parmesan, pasta and olive oil could be bought on the streets of Sydney by at least the 1830s, and “very superior Italian cheeses” and “Italian hams” were on sale in Melbourne’s central business district by around the 1850s.⁸⁶⁷ By the end of the 19th century, the intelligentsia could eat minestrone and osso buco at restaurants such as Melbourne’s Fasoli’s, and if Anglo-Australian housewives were bored of the admittedly Anglicised Italian recipes that could be found in their trusty copies of Mrs Beeton’s, they could read recipes with a stronger Italian flavour in metropolitan newspapers.⁸⁶⁸ While availability of ingredients and existence of recipes are not evidence that Australians were cooking Italian food, it does reveal that ideas of Italian food, even if heavily mediated by English sensibilities, were in existence in Australia and as the example of Fasoli’s shows, some people were eating it. Similarly, Italian people have also migrated to Australia since colonisation. While their numbers did not become significant in proportion to the overall population until the 1950s, they nonetheless formed the largest non-English speaking minority group by the early 1930s. However, while

⁸⁶⁵ Flowers and Swan, “Eating the Asian Other? Pedagogies of Food Multiculturalism in Australia.”

⁸⁶⁶ This view is explored further in Hage, “At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-Building”; Elspeth Probyn, *Carnal Appetites: Foodsexidentities* (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁸⁶⁷ “Advertisements,” *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, August 14, 1823, 2, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2182097>; “Late Arrivals,” *Sydney Herald*, March 21, 1836, 1, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article28654737>; “Friday, 17th September,” *Argus*, September 13, 1852, 1, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4787119>; “Hams—Small Italian Hams...,” *Argus*, August 3, 1854, 8, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4795901>.

⁸⁶⁸ For a description of eating at Fasoli’s, see Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*; “Italian” recipes include “Italian Cream” and “Soup a la Solferino (Sardinian recipe)” in Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, 80, 722–23; an example of a recipe with a stronger Italian flavour is “Maccaroni [sic] Dressed with Oil” which includes olive oil, garlic, anchovies and olives in “Household,” *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, August 30, 1890, 485, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page16766846>.

Australians have been aware of Italian ingredients and Italian food, or something approximating it, for a very long time, they have only embraced Italians as valuable members of a multicultural Australia relatively recently.

This thesis demonstrates that Italian food in Australia commenced its march towards popularity in the 1950s. It was at this point that the Anglo-Australian food preservation company Leggo's began to "turn Italian," the Italian migrant-owned Perfect Cheese Company initiated a campaign to sell their cheeses beyond ethnic communities and a noticeable number of cookbooks available in Australia began to emphasise their pasta recipes as being the product of, or at least heavily influenced by, the *Bel Paese*. On the surface, these chapters might suggest that industrialisation, migration and the media were together responsible for making Italian food popular; there is no doubt, as other scholarship has shown, that these factors all made contributions.⁸⁶⁹ However, what is also shown in this thesis is that conceptual factors, primarily positive ideas about Italy itself which were in circulation in Australia not just in the 1950s but had been present since white settlement of this country, gave Italian food an aura of romance and glamour which made it attractive to mainstream Australians. These positive notions of Italian food and culture also helped to cancel out or at least mitigate ambivalence that Anglo-Australians might have felt towards actual Italian migrants. In short, this thesis demonstrates how Italian migrants could be considered "dirty wogs" at the same time as Italian food could be sold as sophisticated and fashionable fare to Anglo-Australian housewives. Reflecting on how ideas in circulation about a migrant's country might affect the acceptance, or otherwise, of that migrant's food, has not previously been extensively explored in the fields of migration studies or food history and offers a new approach to understanding ethnic food adoption in Australia.

⁸⁶⁹ See, for example, Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*; Stansbury, "The Making of a Multicultural Palate: The Diffusion of Italian Food in Australia, 1945-1975."

While a chief concern of this thesis is to explore the effect which ideas about Italy had on Italian food in Australia, another aim is to understand and examine the dynamic nature of ethnicity. The following summative analysis of each of the chapters explains how ethnicity was invented to suit the aims and goals of the individuals and groups involved, as well as how ideas about Italy were exploited to sell Italian food to all Australians. These case studies also provide a more nuanced understanding of how food habits change within a society and reveal the importance of cookbooks as products and sites where contact can be made between cultures.

Chapter One: Leggo's not-so-Authentico: Invention and Representation in 20th Century Italo-Australian Foodways

This chapter demonstrates how ethnicity can function as a resource that can be exploited by those outside of the ethnic group for economic gain. Leggo's originally marketed itself as proud of the country Victorian town in which it originated and the health-giving qualities of the produce that it canned and bottled. In the 1950s, a change in marketing strategy saw the company begin to slowly associate the Leggo's brand with Italy and Italian food, as can best be seen in the advertising and packaging of Leggo's Tomato Paste. By the 1970s, Leggo's described itself as "authentico [sic]" and linked itself exclusively with signifiers and symbols of Italy but, crucially, not of Italian migrants. It became, in the mind of the public, an Italian brand. By the early 2000s, with Italian migrants and their descendants having long adopted the hyphenated and hybridised identity of Italo-Australians, Leggo's connected itself through marketing and advertising with these Italian migrants for the first time. This change happened only after Italian migrants had become lauded and valued members of Australian society, with

negative feelings towards Italians a fading memory for those within the Italo-Australian community and almost completely unknown to their Australian-born descendants.⁸⁷⁰

The decision of an Anglo-Australian brand to “turn Italian” effectively shows how ethnicity can be invented for the benefit of those external to the ethnic group for financial gain. That Italian-ness could be seen as a positive in 1950s Australia by a mainstream food company when there was still much ambivalence regarding the inclusion of Italian migrants as members of White Australia seems incongruous. As shown, this apparent tension is dissolved when we consider the positive meanings that Italy carried for Anglo-Australians, meanings that Leggo’s was careful to exploit in its advertising and marketing. The invented Italian ethnicity of Leggo’s was aligned with Italian glamour, sophistication and style, which was far removed from the way that the actual ethnicity of Australia’s Italian migrants typically was represented in popular media.⁸⁷¹ In the 1970s, Leggo’s cemented the link with the concept of Italian glamour by using one of Italy’s most famous and glamorous film stars to advertise their brand, Gina Lollobrigida.

The upward mobility of Italian migrants and their descendants, as well as the acceptance and celebration of Australia as a multicultural society, no doubt encouraged Leggo’s to eventually embrace actual Italo-Australians in their advertising and marketing. The move illustrates the flexibility inherent in the process of inventing ethnicity and underscores the changes in Australian society that allowed this to happen. It shows that while ideas of Italy were nearly always positive, whether in the Romantic or the Glamorous periods, Italians in Australia were not able to inspire the same positivity until much later.

⁸⁷⁰ This is expressed in some of the stories by young Italo-Australians in Italo-Australian Youth Association, *Doppia Identità: I Giovani: Conoscerli per Capirli: Stories by Young Italo-Australians* ([Sydney]: Italo-Australian Youth Association, 2002).

⁸⁷¹ For a discussion of Anglo-Australian attitudes towards Italians in the 1950s see Bosworth, “Cop What Lot? A Study of Australian Attitudes Towards Italian Mass Migration in the 1950s.”

Chapter Two: The Perfect Cheese Company: Ethnic Entrepreneurs and the Business of Relationships

The history of the Perfect Cheese Company demonstrates how ethnicity can be used for economic advantage, similar to the story of Leggo's; however in this case, the use of ethnicity is by people who are, in effect, exploiting their own heritage. This chapter details and analyses the company's complicated relationship with ethnicity. Whereas in the history of Leggo's Italian ethnicity was only ever portrayed as a positive resource, and was, until recently, almost always associated with ideas of Italy rather than Italian migrants, in the case of Perfect Cheese, ethnicity functions in all three ways described by Wallman et al.: as a positive, neutral *and* negative resource.⁸⁷² The way that ethnicity was used depended on the type of consumer which the company was trying to attract.

Prior to 1955, the Perfect Cheese Company marketed itself almost exclusively to Italian migrants. In its advertising and marketing materials, much of it published in the Italian ethnic press, the subtext was that only an Italian knows how to make Italian cheese properly. The company also formed a relationship with Italian priests within the Roman Catholic Church in Australia which further underscored the "authentic" Italian ethnicity of the people who produced the product and the product itself. In all his communications with Italian migrant consumers, company founder Natale Italiano presented his Italian ethnicity as a commercial advantage which signified authenticity and quality.

After 1955, the Perfect Cheese Company began to market its cheese to mainstream Anglo-Australians. In these interactions, the presentation of ethnicity is not as clear cut. While a souvenir brochure aimed at both Italian migrants and Anglo-Australians still presented Italiano as the clever and resourceful Italian migrant behind the company, the advertising material aimed solely at Anglo-Australians did not emphasise the role of the Italian migrant. Some

⁸⁷² Wallman, "Foreword," ix-xii.

advertisements did rely on signifiers of Italy, in similar ways to strategies employed by Leggo's, and in this way the company also took advantage of the glamorous ideas that Italy invoked. However, many more advertisements glossed over the company's ethnicity. In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the company produced cookbooks and recipe brochures which focused more on novelty than ethnicity. It could be theorised that the Italianos took this approach as they wanted to communicate that Italian cheese did not need to be limited to use in Italian cooking and dishes.

However, in 1980, perhaps reflecting the degree to which Italians felt accepted by mainstream Anglo-Australians, the company made changes to highlight its ethnicity. It added a prominent Italian flag to the company's logo and provided a public history which emphasised the migrant roots of the owners, replete with sepia-tinged photos of the Italiano family at work.

Earlier, however, there is evidence that the company chose to obscure its Italian ethnicity, although the Italian names and origins of the cheeses that the company sold would always make this a difficult task. It could be argued that the initial choice of a brand name that did not reference Italy or use Italian language (in contrast to most Italian food companies started by Italian migrants) could have been a way to obscure the Italian ownership of the business. Given that the company was founded in 1930 when anti-Italian sentiment was on the rise, and would eventually increase dramatically with the events leading up to the Second World War, as well as during the war itself, this decision could be viewed as a prophetic and good one. It could also be argued that Italiano always foresaw a market beyond the Italian community and simply thought that an English name would be more accessible to a mainstream Anglo-Australian audience. This argument, however, also suggests that the obfuscation of Italian ethnicity was needed so as not to limit the company's commercial appeal.

The fluctuations in the way that the Italiano family used their ethnicity, highlighting it when it seemed that the audience would be most receptive and obscuring it when it may have caused

the company damage or limited its appeal, demonstrates again how ethnicity as a resource is not fixed. It can mean and imply different things to different people at different points in history.

Chapter Three: Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia's First Italo-Australian Cookbook

In the third chapter, Italian ethnicity is shown to be a resource that can be purposely obscured in a bid to achieve not commercial success, the driving force in the use of ethnicity by Leggo's and Perfect Cheese, but to promote cultural advancement. This chapter examines the origins, context and content of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* which was published in 1937 by a group of educated Italian migrants linked with fascism. It argues that the book's authorial intent was clearly to promote the Italian culinary tradition as the most suitable model for Australians to follow, and thus should be considered as Australia's first Italo-Australian cookbook.

There appears to be a paradox at the heart of this chapter: why would a person or group obscure their ethnicity if their purpose was to promote not just the food but the people and culture attached to that ethnicity? The publisher of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company, was clearly in the business of promoting all facets of Italian culture to Australians, but in the anonymously-written *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, Italian ethnicity appears to be deliberately downplayed. Recipes which were not Italian are included; Italian language, even for dishes such as pizza, is avoided; and ingredients are included which Italians would not typically use. The book aimed to be as accessible to the typical Anglo-Australian housewife as possible. It is likely that labelling the book as Italian, making it feature exclusively Italian recipes or crediting it to an Italian author may have been perceived as likely to be off-putting to an audience who was already ambivalent towards Italian migrants at a time when anti-Italian sentiment was increasing exponentially.

As is also apparent in the Perfect Cheese case, there is a tension at work between accessibility and ethnicity. Both of these case studies suggest that for Italians in 1930s Australia, obscuring your ethnicity, at least to some degree, allowed your product to be bought or your message to be heard by the dominant culture. The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* contained the message that Italian food and Italian culture, which are clearly inextricably linked in the author's opinion, have had centuries to develop, are more climatically suited to Australia and provide the best model for this young country. At the same time, Australia itself has an abundance of excellent produce, but its natural goodness needs the guiding hand of culturally-experienced Italians to help it come to fruition. The subtext of the book is that Anglo-Australians do not value Italians or their culture but that they should because there is much to admire and to learn from them. If they did, Australians would live much more fulfilled lives, both culinarily and culturally.

The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* constructs an image of Italy as culturally potent. It references the glory of the Roman Empire (a trope in keeping with the fascist ideology of the publishers), the contributions which Italy has made to music and literature, and the aesthetic beauty for which Italy is known. The book seeks to remind Anglo-Australians of Romantic Italy, in the politically turbulent 1930s when these associations were being overshadowed. The book makes no mention of the presence of Italian migrants in Australia, even though the men behind the book are themselves Italian migrants. However, these men were not typical of the Italians who came to Australia later during mass migration, in that they were educated, supremely confident of their high status and had the resources to produce materials which were designed, ultimately, to increase the social standing of all Italians in Australia.

In describing the invention of ethnicity, social scientist Loretta Baldassar explains:

The most innovative difference between the invention of ethnicity and the previous conceptions of ethnicity is that in terms of the older models, like assimilation, individuals are defined as passive, unconscious and isolated (disunited) victims of society. By contrast, the invention of ethnicity supports a view of immigrants as actively involved in decision-making and as collectively aware of their position in society.⁸⁷³

The Italian migrants behind the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* fit firmly into this latter view of immigrants. These men had no intention of assimilating quietly into mainstream Australian society. Instead, they wanted mainstream Australians to become more like them. They believed that they and their Italian culture had much to teach Australians, not just about how to eat but how to live. That they needed to, or thought they needed to, obscure their ethnicity in order to spread their message and make it palatable to Anglo-Australians illustrates the attitudes towards Italians at that time. In contrast decades later, in the 1980s, when Italian migrant-produced cookbooks began to be published in earnest, the Italian migrant backgrounds of authors were not considered to be liabilities that needed to be hidden but rather assets to be highlighted. By that time, Anglo-Australians had shown that they appreciated the contributions of Italian migrants, especially in relation to food. In foreseeing this shift, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* could be viewed as being prophetic and before its time.

⁸⁷³ Loretta Baldassar, "Italo-Australian Youth in Perth (Space Speaks and Clothes Communicate)," in *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940-1990*, ed. Richard Bosworth and Romano Ugolini (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1992), 209–10.

Chapter Four: Sweet and Savoury: Pasta in Popular Australian Cookbooks, 1860-1975

In the fourth chapter, which examines pasta recipes included in ninety cookbooks available in Australia over a 115-year period, ethnicity refers not to a group of people but rather to an ingredient. The word “pasta” or “macaroni,” as it was more commonly described for the majority of the study period, carries an Italian connotation by virtue of the fact that it is the food most identified with what Italians ate. However, the study of 1,263 pasta recipes reveals that this Italian identity, for the most part, was a quality that was not emphasised by cookbook writers. Over two-thirds of the recipes in the sample did not highlight that pasta was an Italian ingredient or that the dish was in any way “Italian.” This finding does not indicate that these recipes had no Italian roots. It is generally difficult to trace the exact ethnic origins of a dish because of the ways in which cuisines absorb foreign influences and because what begins as foreign can and often does become local or at least familiar. In any case, the majority of the cookbook writers in the sample saw no reason to emphasise a relationship between their pasta dishes and Italian ethnicity.

However, in the period between 1950 and 1975, cookbook writers increasingly began to make their pasta dishes more “Italian.” The majority of the 396 recipes which highlighted the Italian identity of pasta were published in this period. The increase of books that focused solely on foreign or Italian food logically resulted in more “Italian” pasta recipes; these books generally, though not always, existed to encourage housewives to cook novel, “exciting” food, in order to appear as sophisticated, glamorous and modern hostesses. As the increase in “Italian” recipes coincided with the dawning of the Glamorous Italy era, the idea that cooking and presenting Italian food to guests would increase the cultural capital of the hostess is a logical conclusion to reach.

General cookbooks also included more “Italian” pasta recipes, likely for the same reasons. In some cases, recipes which were very similar in ingredients and methods treated Italian

ethnicity neutrally prior to the 1950s, but became “Italian” during this decade. Labelling recipes as Italian was a way to cash in on the desirability which Anglo-Australians attached to Italian material goods at that time.

As was the case with Leggo’s, the people using ethnicity to their advantage in this story were not Italian migrants, but rather, for the most part, members of the Anglo-Australian majority.⁸⁷⁴ The only book in the sample produced by Italian migrants is the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, and, as has been discussed, the author hid what was almost certainly his Italian migrant status. There is no mention of Australia’s Italian migrants in any of the other books, except in the 1952 and 1964 editions of *Oh, For a French Wife!* which includes something of a caricature of an Italian waiter and recipes from an elite Italian couple about to return to Italy.⁸⁷⁵ Pasta in the latter half of the study clearly profited from being associated with positive ideas of Italy, but not with Italian migrants. As was noted in the case of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, this situation changed, but not until the 1980s when books published by Italian migrants about Italian food came to be highly valued because of the lived experiences and perceived authenticity that those migrants were able to bring to the subject of Italian food.⁸⁷⁶

Discussion

In attempting to go beyond the industrialisation versus immigration debate that has characterised most discussions of change in the way that Australians feed themselves, this thesis offers a more nuanced understanding of how food cultures evolve. It emphasises the

⁸⁷⁴ While the majority of identified writers in the study were either born in Australia or had Anglo-Celtic origins, those that did not include Anna Colcord (US), Maria Kozslik Donovan (Hungary) and Deke Coleman (US). Amy Schauer had German immigrant parents, Zara Aronson was of Jewish heritage and spent time being educated in Germany and Zelmear M. Deutsch married an Austrian.

⁸⁷⁵ Moloney and Coleman, *Oh, For a French Wife!*, 1952; Moloney and Coleman, *Oh, For a French Wife!*, 1964.

⁸⁷⁶ Some of the Italian cookbooks published by Italian migrants in Australia in this period include Donnini, Milani, and Pierce, *Donnini’s Pasta Book*; Percuoco and Dale, *The Secrets of Pulcinella: Italian Cooking in Australia*. Note that both of these books feature an Anglo-Australian co-writer.

power of the agency of the actors, whether they are Italian migrants or Anglo-Australians, over the assumption of the gradually accepting nature of Anglo-Australian society, and provides more detail of how changes in food habits can occur. Migrants did not simply come here, make and sell their food, while waiting to be discovered by Anglo-Australians eager for new tastes, nor did Anglo-Australian businesses merely put Italian food on the market and wait for other open-minded Anglo-Australians to buy it. Such a model would clearly be simplistic: however the trope persists that Australia's multicultural food market has been the result of Anglo-Australians first embracing multicultural food and, as an extension of that, multiculturalism.⁸⁷⁷ Not only does such a narrative position the Anglo-Australian mainstream as the "good" force, in that they had the sense to accept this interesting, nutritious and delicious food, but it denies agency to both the migrants and the Anglo-Australians who actively engaged in making and selling Italian food. It also does not consider other types of narratives about how change in food cultures can occur. Dietary change is not a static equation but rather a dynamic process which is influenced by social, economic and cultural factors. Examining these factors tells us not just about why changes in food habits have occurred, but also about the nature of the society in which the changes have taken place. If we continue to see changes in food habits as a simple equation rather than a multifaceted interaction, we miss out on opportunities to better understand ourselves both historically and contemporaneously.

With regards to Anglo-Australians, the Leggo's case study could be viewed in a negative light. Here we see an Anglo-Australian business which anticipated the popularity of Italian food and appropriated the culture and food of Italians in order to profit. However, the emphasis that the company placed on educating Anglo-Australians about Italian food should be recognised as having been useful in communicating those ideas beyond the cultural elite to a public who

⁸⁷⁷ This trope is described and discussed in Rebecca Huntley, *Eating between the Lines: Food & Equality in Australia* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2008).

most likely had not experienced Italian food *in situ*.⁸⁷⁸ The best-selling *The Leggo's Italian Cookbook* (1975), for example, is estimated to have sold more than 100,000 copies and was one of the first cookbooks published in Australia to focus solely on Italian food, while the company's 1982 cookbook was one of the first published in Australia to stress the regional nature of Italian food.⁸⁷⁹ While the company unsurprisingly boasts that they have "a long heritage in teaching Australians how to cook Authentic Italian meals," narratives of Italian food in Australia do not readily acknowledge the role that Leggo's has played in helping to popularise Italian food, beyond including their contributions under the blanket argument of industrialisation.⁸⁸⁰ I contend that acknowledging the efforts of a company such as Leggo's challenges the romanticism with which both Anglo-Australians and Italian migrants tend to view the dramatic changes that occurred in their eating habits from the 1950s onwards. Cultural theorist Jean Duruz asserts that the myths produced in the 1990s, the point at which she is writing, about food from the 1950s and 1960s tell us much about how Australians want to view themselves now. Adopting "wogfood" permits Australians to dismiss all that was "bad" about the 1950s, which included mass-produced food and "the monotonous legacy of British cooking."⁸⁸¹ It allows them to celebrate the progress that Anglo-Australians have made since they developed a cosmopolitan and multicultural identity which favours foods, such as those produced by Italians in Australia, that are "of the earth, of the seasons, 'real' food."⁸⁸² Conversely, Italian migrants like to believe they were the ones who "taught these barbarians how to eat, how to drink, how to dress."⁸⁸³ Crediting Leggo's with helping to persuade Anglo-

⁸⁷⁸ The theory that overseas travel contributed to the gourmet food boom of the 1960s is discussed in Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*.

⁸⁷⁹ *The Leggo's Italian Cookbook*; *Leggo's Italian Cookbook*; Ryding, "Marketing Concept Is Paying Off for Leggo's," 16.

⁸⁸⁰ Simplot New Zealand, "Cookbooks," 2017, <http://leggos.co.nz/recipes-and-tips/cookbooks>.

⁸⁸¹ Jean Duruz, "Food as Nostalgia: Eating the Fifties and Sixties," *Australian Historical Studies* 29, no. 113 (1999): 239. "Wogfood" is the title of John Newton's book which is discussed in the Duruz article.

⁸⁸² Duruz, 241.

⁸⁸³ *Nando Donnini, Tiberio Donnini & Gianni Milani, Interview with Savina Cassino. October 1991, OH196, Source: Co.As.It IHS.*

Australians to cook and eat Italian food does not fit with how these myths function for either party, given that it was a brand which mass-produced their products, was never owned or operated by Italian migrants and has been owned by a multi-national corporation since 1966.

The story of the Perfect Cheese Company, on the other hand, is one that appears to fit more neatly within this narrative of Australian multicultural culinary embrace, albeit one that begins earlier than most typically assume it would, namely in the 1930s rather than the 1950s. Poor migrants come from Italy with little more than their traditional knowledge of cheesemaking. They begin to make cheese in a backyard copper, mostly for their Italian compatriots, but adventurous Anglo-Australians eventually discover (in common marketplaces like the Queen Victoria Market), taste, embrace and make popular their cheese. Cheese no longer means only cheddar in Australia, thanks to immigration. Such a narrative suggests that ethnic food adoption is unidirectional in flow which, as this thesis has demonstrated, it is not. In looking more closely at the history of the Perfect Cheese Company, we can see that Natale Italiano and his family did not just make the types of cheese that they knew how to make from Italy; they learnt new skills, such as how to make fetta and haloumi; they sought out new markets including Greek, Maltese and Anglo-Australian consumers; and they devised methods that would facilitate their success in these markets. Perhaps more importantly, they formed and maintained relationships outside of the Italian ethnic community which enabled them to achieve economic success. They were, as has been argued, aided by positive ideas of Italy that they linked with their food, but they also used ingenuity and innovation. When the story of the Perfect Cheese Company and its contribution to food in Australia is reduced simply to being the result of Anglo-Australians gradually awakening to the fruits of Italian immigration, key aspects of this narrative are obscured, namely the labour of adopting and adapting to a new market, learning new skills and implementing innovative methods of production and marketing, all of which can only be done by interpreting and understanding the economic and cultural conditions of the host country. Also, the Perfect Cheese Company, while Italian

migrant-owned and operated until 1981, did not produce its cheese using artisanal methods. For most of its history, the company's products, just like those of Leggo's, were made in a modern factory using industrialised processes. In these ways, the Perfect Cheese Company also does not fit the standard narrative suggested by the myth of Italians being the bearers of "real" or "authentic" food.

The chapter on the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* also demonstrates that Italian migrants came to Australia and exhibited agency by proactively engaging with the Anglo-Australian mainstream. However, they engaged through the medium of a cookbook and, unlike Leggo's or the Perfect Cheese Company, there is no evidence to suggest that this book had significant effects on the dietary habits of the general populace. In the history of Italian food in Australia, this episode might therefore be viewed as an interesting anomaly worthy only of a footnote. But this story is important because (aside from being focused on the first Italo-Australian cookbook published in Australia) it provides evidence that immigration alone is not enough to encourage adoption of novel or unfamiliar foods. This chapter shows that food change can only happen when cultures come into contact under conditions which encourage and support that change. The 1930s was most definitely not that time, and especially not for Italian food. While the ideas generated in the Glamorous Italy phase enabled Italian food products to be distanced from Italian migrants in the 1950s, in the 1930s the age of Glamorous Italy was still a good twenty years away and the ideas of Romantic Italy had dimmed somewhat.⁸⁸⁴ Italy's political machinations, including the invasion of Ethiopia, dominated discussions and perceptions of Italy in Australia.⁸⁸⁵ Even though the cookbook

⁸⁸⁴ Pesman argues that the influence of Italy on Australian culture in the 1920s and 1930s was less obvious than it had been in the 19th century as Australians appeared to become more parochial after the Great War and Depression. See Pesman, "Italian Culture in C19th Australia."

⁸⁸⁵ Australian newspapers covered Mussolini and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in detail, see, for example, "Mussolini's Inflexible Will: Thirteen Years of Dictatorship," *Argus*, October 4, 1935, 9, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article11773908>; "Mussolini. Dictator's Life-Story," *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 16, 1935, 13, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article17213528>.

relies on and reinforces ideas about Italy and Italian culture that were developed during the Romantic Italy period, the Anglo-Australian public were clearly not ready to hear or heed its advice, nor were the social, political and cultural circumstances conducive to implementing the changes in diet and cooking that it recommended.

The analysis of pasta recipes that forms the fourth chapter of this thesis also adds depth to our understanding of how change in food cultures can occur. It challenges the linear narrative of ethnic food adoption by demonstrating that recipes can already exist within a culture, albeit in slightly different forms, and can adopt an ethnic identity when it is culturally prudent to do so. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the case of the recipe for spaghetti bolognese. The study shows that a number of recipes which featured tomatoes, small pieces of meat and macaroni could be found as early as the 1890s, though these recipes were usually baked and contained much more meat than tomato.⁸⁸⁶ In the 1920s, recipes began to more strongly resemble what Australians would recognise as a “spag bol” today in that spaghetti was called for, more tomato was specified and the method did not involve baking. The title of these recipes was simply “Spaghetti.”⁸⁸⁷ In the early 1950s, similar recipes were re-christened as “Italian Spaghetti” and, finally, by the end of the decade and for the remainder of the study period, these recipes were frequently titled “Spaghetti Bolognese.”⁸⁸⁸ Leaving aside the controversy as to how Italian spaghetti bolognese actually is, this finding demonstrates that this dish was part of an evolution of a recipe that existed in Australia prior to any significant Italian immigration, rather than the result of the recipe travelling from Italy and becoming hybridised once it arrived.⁸⁸⁹ This theory of Australian spaghetti bolognese also explains why the family-friendly version of this dish that is frequently listed as one of Australia’s favourite

⁸⁸⁶ See, for example, “Breakfast Meat” in Muskett, *The Art of Living in Australia*, n.p.

⁸⁸⁷ See, for example, “Spaghetti” in P.W.M.U. of Victoria, *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book of Victoria*, 70.

⁸⁸⁸ See, for example, “Italian Spaghetti” in Reid, *New Australian Cookery Illustrated*, 11; “Spaghetti Bolognese” in Donovan, *Continental Cookery in Australia*, 1955, 66.

⁸⁸⁹ See Kirchgassner, “Italian or British? Writer Solves Riddle of Spaghetti Bolognese.”

meals bears little resemblance to the Italian dish from which it is popularly thought to have descended, *Tagliatelle alla Bolognese*.⁸⁹⁰

The thesis also emphasises the importance of the cookbook as a useful historical source, as well as a point of contact where the culinary and cultural Other can be encountered in a non-threatening way by the average Australian housewife. Close readings of cookbooks are established historical methods in the field of food history,⁸⁹¹ and much excellent recent scholarship on cookbooks exists in Australia,⁸⁹² but their usefulness for the current study is worth underscoring for a number of reasons. All four chapters, to varying extents, rely on analysis of cookbooks to understand culinary, cultural and social change in relation to Italian food and its status in Australia.

While the main limitation of studying cookbooks as historical documents is that they can never tell us what people actually cooked and ate,⁸⁹³ both the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* and the pasta study demonstrate that cookbooks can still be used as a way to better understand the societies that produced them. The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is particularly worthy of attention because analysing it through the lens of utopian literature allows us to see that it is a rare comment on the lived experience of Italian migrants in 1930s Australia. If, as sociologist Ruth Levitas writes, “we learn a lot about the experience of living under any set of conditions by reflection upon the desires which those conditions generate and yet leave unfulfilled,” then the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* tells us that the Italian migrants felt they, their food and their culture were ignored or spurned by the

⁸⁹⁰ Helen Walker, “‘Spag Bol’ Tops the Menu Ladder in Australia,” *Queensland Country Life*, February 22, 2017, <http://www.queenslandcountrylife.com.au/story/4482577/spag-bol-still-a-favourite/>.

⁸⁹¹ See, for example, Albala, “Cookbooks as Historical Documents.”

⁸⁹² See, for example, Sarah Jane Shepherd Black, “‘Tried and Tested’: Community Cookbooks in Australia, 1890-1980” (PhD diss., University of Adelaide, 2010); William Blake Singley, “Recipes for a Nation: Cookbooks and Australian Culture to 1939” (PhD diss., Australian National University, 2013).

⁸⁹³ Lynne Ireland, “The Compiled Cookbook as Foodways Autobiography,” in *The Taste of American Place: A Reader on Regional and Ethnic Foods*, ed. Barbara G. Shortridge and James R. Shortridge (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 111–17.

Anglo-Australian majority.⁸⁹⁴ These perceptions obviously caused them much pain, as they felt that Italians in Australia had much to offer this new country both culinarily and culturally.

Conversely, analysing a number of cookbooks over a longer period of time allows us to see societal change in action. The evolution of spaghetti bolognese in the pasta study, for example, reveals technological, commercial, nutritional and social changes. It could be argued that improvements and the more widespread use of gas stoves in the 1920s prompted the switch from baking the pasta in this dish to boiling it,⁸⁹⁵ that increased numbers of recipes calling for spaghetti rather than macaroni were the result of increased availability of this pasta shape on the market;⁸⁹⁶ that the addition of more tomatoes to the dish was a response to dietary advice to eat more vegetables;⁸⁹⁷ and finally, that the Italianisation of the name of the dish was a response to ideas that Italy equalled sophistication and glamour, qualities that the 1950s housewife was encouraged by popular media to display in her cooking and entertaining efforts.

In the chapters that focus on Anglo-Australian and Italian migrant businesses, we can see how both Leggo's and Perfect Cheese produced cookbooks which were designed to further the general population's knowledge and understanding of Italian food in order to sell more "Italian" food products. In examining the cookbooks produced by the two companies, it is somewhat ironic that the ersatz Italian company is more dedicated to Italian food, offering

⁸⁹⁴ Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (Witney, Oxon.: Peter Lang, 2011), 9.

⁸⁹⁵ Gas stoves were available by the late 19th century, but they took a while to become popular. It is claimed by the mid-1920s, 90 per cent of Melbourne households were using gas stoves in Michal Bosworth, *Australian Lives: A History of Clothing, Food and Domestic Technology* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1988).

⁸⁹⁶ While difficult to prove, as macaroni was still used as an umbrella term for all types of pasta shapes as late as the 1970s, there did appear to be increased production of the spaghetti-shape in Australia, see "Spaghetti—by the Mile—for Us!," *Good Neighbour*, May 1, 1964, 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article176530631>.

⁸⁹⁷ Even though dietary reformers such as Muskett had been advocating more vegetable consumption since the late 19th century, the discovery of vitamins in the early 20th century led to more calls to include vegetables as part of a balanced diet, see Santich, *What the Doctors Ordered: 150 Years of Dietary Advice in Australia*.

more background information about Italian cuisine and how Italians eat, than the company that is owned and operated by Italian migrants. Both examples reinforce key themes in the thesis, namely the flexible nature of ethnicity and the common goals of Italian food businesses. That the books and recipe pamphlets produced by these companies were available either free of charge or at a low price demonstrates their desires to reach working class and lower middle-class audiences and to circulate their interpretations of Italian food beyond the upper classes who may have encountered Italian food in restaurants or by travelling.

This thesis demonstrates that cookbooks provided an accessible way for the average Anglo-Australian housewife to encounter ideas not just about Italian food but, in some cases, Italian culture and even Italian people. These ideas may have been more “Italian” than Italian, as they were, (with notable exceptions) ideas that were mediated and interpreted by Anglo-Australians such as Margaret Fulton or even English women including Beeton and Elizabeth David, but they did help to spread Italian gastronomic discourse beyond the upper classes. These cookbooks provided safe, non-threatening spaces for Anglo-Australians to explore the Other. Even though we cannot know what, if anything, Anglo-Australian housewives cooked from these books, we can confidentially say that cookbooks can be useful sources for exploring food history as they reflect changing ideas about food.

Limitations and Future Directions

The case study approach used by this thesis does not allow for production of a comprehensive or continuous narrative of the history of Italian food in Australia. While this is a limitation of the project, there are good reasons why this method was warranted. The large gap in scholarly literature, chiefly the lack of overarching narratives of Italian food in Australia as well as a lack of scholarship on this subject prior to post-World War II mass migration, made the case study approach a logical one, particularly in order for the thesis to fit within the scope of

a single PhD project. The need to cover a long period of time so as to understand when Italian food entered the mainstream and the point at which it became popular, as well as what contributed to its rising popularity, also supports the case study methodology utilised in this thesis.

Analysis of these four related case studies has demonstrated the emergence of common themes which help to further our understanding not just of the history of Italian food in Australia, but how food adoption and change can occur. Studying specific examples which illustrate or challenge the typical reasons given for food change such as industrialisation, immigration and the media, allows for much useful historical detail to emerge, including the role of the agency of groups and individuals involved as well as the specific methods that they employed to make impacts on the mainstream food culture.

Before a nuanced overarching narrative of the history of Italian food in Australia can be pursued, more detailed studies similar to the ones featured in this thesis are needed to further illuminate the points of contact between the majority and minority cultures, and how these points of contact functioned as areas where cultural change, and as an extension culinary change, could take place. These studies could include, for example, an exploration of the effects of intermarriage between Italians and Australians on Italian food businesses and practices. Such a study could be grounded in the work of historians Harvey Levenstein and Joseph Conlin who theorised that marriage between Northern Italians and Southern Italians in the US resulted in the supremacy of the cuisine of the south, not just because those from the south outnumbered those from the north, but because the convenience of southern preparations such as industrialised forms of dried pasta made them more appealing as compared to the long preparation time and more intense labour required for the northern

staple dish of polenta.⁸⁹⁸ Taking this one step further, exploring how marriage between Italians and Australians provided points at which different food cultures came into contact and the effects that these interchanges had could illustrate another way that food change occurs. Limiting the study to Italians and Australians who intermarried and worked in businesses that either sold or promoted Italian food in some way could be particularly revealing, as there are many examples where this has occurred.⁸⁹⁹ Inter-marriage has never been explored as a way that Italian food was able to break out of the Italian ethnic community into the mainstream, and such a study might also make useful contributions with regard to other issues such as gender relations in mixed marriages and how these relations may manifest through the medium of food.⁹⁰⁰

The role of Italian migrant women in Italian food businesses could also provide a fruitful avenue of research. While the chapter on the Perfect Cheese Company focused on the role of Natale Italiano, his wife Maria's experience in the business is little explored. If, as historian Mark Seymour noted, it is difficult to uncover the history of migrants because their experiences often do not appear in official documents, it is at least doubly so if the person in whose history you are interested is an ethnic woman who, in all official documentation, is represented by her husband.⁹⁰¹ Exploring the role of women such as Maria is an area of further research that could provide insights into how gender, family and ethnic business

⁸⁹⁸ Levenstein and Conlin, "The Food Habits of Italian Immigrants to America: An Examination of the Persistence of a Food Culture and the Rise of 'Fast Food' in America."

⁸⁹⁹ For example, proprietor of the Italian Society restaurant Rino Codognotto married an Australian of Irish descent, founder of coffee roaster Grinders Giancarlo Giusti married an Australian of Swedish descent and proprietor of Mario's restaurant Ferdi Vigano married an Australian of unknown descent. *Rino Codognotto, Interview with Maria Tence, 9th February 1984*, OH20, Source: IHS; *Giancarlo Giusti, Interviewer unknown, October 1991*, OH194, Source: IHS; and *Ferdi Vigano, Interview with Maria Tence, 17th November 1983*, OH55, Source: IHS.

⁹⁰⁰ Though not about Italians and not the main thrust of the study, Flowers and Swan examine the case of "Frank" and how his marriage to a Chinese woman influences his experience of food in Flowers and Swan, "Eating the Asian Other? Pedagogies of Food Multiculturalism in Australia."

⁹⁰¹ Seymour, "Writing Minority History: Sources for the Italians."

interact and intersect. It could also help us to reconstruct the often overlooked roles that women played in the development of ethnic businesses in Australia.

Another limitation of this thesis is that it has, for the most part, only studied the relationship between Italian migrants and Anglo-Australians. In the Perfect Cheese chapter, we learn that Natale Italiano learnt to make Greek and Maltese cheeses and we can hypothesise that he might have learnt these skills from migrants from those countries. There would clearly be value in exploring how Italian migrants came into contact with other migrant cultures, and what effects such interactions might have had on Australian food culture. A logical extension of the intermarriage study suggested above could include Italians marrying into non-Anglo Australian families, thus allowing a more complete understanding of the effects of intermarriage on food culture.

With regards to points of contact and ways in which ideas about food can be spread, this thesis used cookbooks as the primary medium for exploring these issues. However, other media, including magazines and newspapers, present opportunities for further exploration. The increased digitisation of these sources creates new possibilities for migration history to be told from the perspective of the migrants. The National Library of Australia's Trove digitisation of *Il Giornale Italiano* (1932-1940), the newspaper published by the same Italian migrants behind the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, was of great use to this project, and could be further studied in a bid to understand more about this fascinating group of Italian migrants. While these men have attracted some scholarly attention from Italianists, none of it focuses on their relationship with food and how it intersected with their fascist ideology.⁹⁰² A thorough study of Italian food in a source such as *Il Giornale Italiano*, which aimed to cover the entire Italian diaspora in Australia, could permit us not just to elicit the history of largely

⁹⁰² See, for example, Cappello, "Italian Australians, the Church, War and Fascism in Melbourne 1919-1945"; Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, 1922-1945*.

unknown early Italian food entrepreneurs but also provide a more complete picture of the availability of Italian food across Australia in the 1930s, as well as increasing our understanding of the attitudes of Italian migrants towards their host country. If more Italian migrant newspapers from across Australia were to be digitised (a move that is unlikely to occur in the near future given recent funding cuts to Trove), it would make it more feasible to continue to map Italian food in Australia over larger geographic areas and for longer periods of time.

Trove also allows us to more easily examine not just migrant history but the attitudes of the dominant culture towards migrants and multiculturalism. The digitisation of the *Australian Women's Weekly* from 1933, the year in which it began, to 1982 provides an excellent source to allow further exploration of and expansion on the themes that have been identified in this thesis.⁹⁰³ The new territory mapped by this thesis, namely the power of ideas in influencing ethnic food acceptance, could be further studied by analysing representations of Italian food, Italian material products, Italian culture, Italians and Italian migrants in Australia. I suspect that such a study would strengthen the findings of this thesis by adding detail and nuance to the theory that romantic and glamorous ideas of Italy have helped to make Italian food appealing to Anglo-Australians, despite the low status of Italian migrants for much of this timeframe. Continuing this study beyond those materials that have been digitised would be laborious but also would allow identification of other ideas of Italy that have become influential in Australia. For example, examining representations of Italian-related material in the 1990s would likely reveal the existence of the idea of "Authentic Italy," where Italians are viewed as carriers of a more "real" and "genuine" culture who have close ties to the land,

⁹⁰³ The *Australian Women's Weekly* has been used to understand representations of the Other, but not in the way suggested here. See, for example, Sheridan, "Eating the Other: Food and Cultural Difference in the Australian Women's Weekly in the 1960s"; Susan Sheridan, "The 'Australian Woman' and Her Migrant Others in the Postwar Australian Women's Weekly," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 14, no. 2 (2000): 121–32.

value artisanal production and enjoy a slower way of life, and how these ideas have shaped present-day meanings of Italian food for Australians. While the Romantic and Glamorous Italy phases rely solely on ideas of Italy which were largely divorced from Italian migrants themselves, “Authentic Italy” celebrates these Italian migrants as ambassadors of this “better” way of living.

This thesis concentrates on understanding the relationship between Italian migrants and Italian food history between the 1930s and the early 1980s. During this time, Australia changed from a country which valued and wanted to maintain its British heritage to one which officially embraced multiculturalism and celebrated cultural diversity. While there is a significant gap between the timeframe covered by this thesis and the present day, Australia is now generally viewed as a successful multicultural nation and ethnic food is presented as a positive by-product of this multiculturalism. However, anthropologist Ghassan Hage has criticised this popularly construed model of multiculturalism. Instead of “real” multiculturalism, where migrants are on equal footing with Anglo-Australians and genuine interactions occur between them, he labels Australian multiculturalism as “cosmo-multiculturalism” where Anglo-Australians value the migrant contribution only as far as it can enrich them. He uses food to illustrate his point. While he concedes that migrants themselves have used food for positive home-building experiences, ethnic food is consumed and experienced by sophisticated cosmopolitan (White) Australians as a way to increase their own personal cultural capital. The interaction is not about migrants, and in fact Hage calls it “multiculturalism without migrants”; instead it feeds into the narrative of migration as a way to enrich the lives of White Australians.⁹⁰⁴

⁹⁰⁴ Hage, “At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-Building.” See also Flowers and Swan, “Eating the Asian Other? Pedagogies of Food Multiculturalism in Australia.”

This thesis challenges some aspects of this critique. The main weakness in this theory is that it still posits the migrants in a passive role, something which this thesis has shown is not always the case. It certainly was not the case for Italiano and the Perfect Cheese Company, who became so ingratiated with government officials that they helped ensure foreign competitors did not enter the market, nor for the men behind the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, who spread their pro-Italian message via mainstream forms of media. However, the case studies in this thesis do support the idea that cultural capital is an important aspect in the acceptance of migrant food. In the case of Italian food, that cultural capital has come from two distinct strands. Initially it came from inherited British romantic ideas of Italian culture as one of superior accomplishment. In the post-World War II years, Italian material goods and cultural products signified glamour and modernity, qualities that were successfully sold to Anglo-Australians as desirable through companies such as Leggo's and in cookbooks circulating in Australia. As Hage would no doubt note, these associations were largely divorced from the actual Italian migrants who were coming to Australia. However, as cultural diversity became valued, Italian migrants were celebrated first for rescuing Australia from its Anglo-Saxon dreariness and, subsequently, as carriers of a more "authentic" way of living.

This thesis uses the lens of food to understand the Italian migration experience and the changing cultural landscape of Australia. It does this by adopting a case study approach which draws on historic culinary trends, constructed primarily from cookbooks, and business development, sourced from business records and marketing materials, to produce a nuanced picture that includes both the migrant perspective and the changing outlook of the host population. This approach represents a new model which could usefully be employed to understand how and why other ethnic foods have been accepted in Australia. It could also be used to understand when ethnic food has not been universally embraced as in more recent examples of "culinary xenophobia" identified by food studies scholars Lara Anderson and Heather Benbow such as the controversy over halal food, where some in the community

believe halal certification funds terrorism, or why food poisoning is more commonly associated with “Asian” food as compared to any other type of food.⁹⁰⁵ In answering these questions, we also might better understand if the way Italian food was accepted and made popular in Australia is related to the uniqueness of Italy and ideas of Italian-ness, or whether there are commonalities in the way other ethnic foods have been accepted in Australia. Ultimately, such research could result in narratives that put to rest what has been argued here to be the myth that Australia’s current food culture is simply the result of migrants bringing new food, the processes of industrialisation or any other straight-forward individual theory. In adding nuance and detail to the narrative of how Australia’s food culture has changed, it would celebrate those migrants and Anglo-Australians who have actively contributed to creating what is, for the most part, a country which enjoys a multicultural palate.

⁹⁰⁵ Lara Anderson and Heather Benbow, “Are We ‘Foodies’ or Food Phobic?,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 20, 2014, <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/are-we-foodies-or-food-phobic-20141119-11pmb6.html>; Anderson and Benbow, “Cultural Indigestion in Multicultural Australia: Fear of ‘Foreign’ Foods in Australian Media.”

Appendix A: Ankeny, Rachel A., and Tania Cammarano. "Leggo's Not-so-Authentico: Invention and Representation in Twentieth-Century Italo-Australian Foodways." In *Representing Italy Through Food*, edited by Peter Naccarato, Zachary Nowak, and Elgin K. Eckert. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.

12

Leggo's not-so-authentico: Invention and representation in twentieth-century Italo-Australian foodways

*Rachel A. Ankeny and
Tania Cammarano*

Introduction: Leggo's is Italian ... isn't it?

Leggo's is a popular Australian range of foodstuffs. The brand's flagship product is tomato paste but it is also used to sell pasta sauces, tomato passata, and a variety of fresh and frozen pasta-related items.¹ The distinctive deep red, white, and gold packaging and the use of slogans such as "the authentic Italian touch," "for authentic Italian flavour," and "Leggo's authentico! [sic]," leads casual observers to conclude that Leggo's is an Italian brand, or at the very least, one that has Italian origins, when in fact, it does not. The story of Leggo's, and how it "turned" Italian, is a fascinating tale of a company recognizing that changes in Australian society and attitudes toward Italian food and migrants as the country became increasingly multicultural meant that developing an "authentic" Italian identity made good business sense. Evidence of this is the brand's success: in the tomato paste category, Leggo's holds a 73.2 percent share of the Australian market, which has an overall value of AUS\$58.5 million per year. In the shelf-stable pasta sauce category as a whole, which includes tomato paste, Leggo's leads with 36.4 percent of a market estimated to be worth \$281 million annually.² In a list of Australia's best-loved brands, "Leggo's tomato products" are ranked at number 31 and Leggo's is an integral part of the "national dinner": "[a]s we noted, it's spagbol [spaghetti bolognese], usually made with San Remo pasta and Leggo [sic] tomato paste."³

The history of Leggo's gives a case of how Italian food came to be represented and supported by an invented sense of "authenticity" in order to create a distinct Italo-Australian product. In this chapter, we trace the evolution of this brand of products, and demonstrate how Leggo's became a truly hybridized and quintessentially Italo-Australian product, despite its Anglo origins, through a series of marketing and advertising campaigns. This change was evolutionary rather than revolutionary, as we show through a detailed examination of advertising, branded cookbooks, company records, and newspaper reports. We argue that Leggo's transformed itself through four distinct phases of marketing, using the brand to promote the goodness of Bendigo tomatoes in the early half of the twentieth century, developing an Italian accent in the 1950s, aligning itself with the glamour of Italian icon Gina Lollobrigida in the 1970s, and becoming a fully-fledged Italo-Australian product by the end of the century with the help of cooking doyenne Margaret Fulton, ex-Australian prime minister Gough Whitlam, and Italo-Australians themselves. Over time, the company recognized the importance of harnessing various changing meanings associated with Italian food in Australia, ranging from sophistication and glamour through to innovation and the association of Italian food with conviviality, thus allowing its products to remain popular despite major sociocultural changes.

The voluminous literature on authenticity of food products and traditions has clearly established that many representations of authenticity are ill founded, if the term is taken to imply that the "same" ingredients and processes as found in the context of origin are in use within the new locale.⁴ So perhaps more precisely, authenticity is that which is believed or accepted to be genuine, real, or true to itself.⁵ Against the backdrop of ever evolving and increasingly globalized foodways, it is clear that representations of authenticity often are contrived to suit various purposes, such as to market a product or tourist locale,⁶ or to inspire a sense of nationalistic pride. Assertions about authenticity typically are accompanied by complex narratives that position the product or foodway, and implicitly make relational claims: something is authentic as compared to something else, which may be real or imagined. Hence "[a]uthenticity is not an objective criterion but is socially constructed and linked to expectations."⁷ It is precisely these processes of expectations and social construction, and their representation which are critical to explore in the context of twentieth-century foodways, particularly in multicultural societies such as Australia, and which are illustrative of wider cultural trends that have important implications beyond the history of food.

Background

H. M. Leggo & Co. was founded by Henry Madren Leggo, who was born in 1869 to Cornish migrants in Eaglehawk, a district of Bendigo, about 150km from Melbourne. While company literature often gives the company's foundation year as 1881 or 1882, the *Bendigo Advertiser* reported that Leggo started working for merchant Frederick Rickards in 1882, became a partner in 1891, and started trading as H. M. Leggo and Co. after buying out Rickards in 1894.⁸ Legend has it that Leggo sold his mother's tomato relish to the gold miners in Bendigo when he was just thirteen.⁹ Another story claims that a Spaniard gave Leggo the recipe for tomato

sauce,¹⁰ and in fact Spanish migrants to Bendigo were pioneers of the area's tomato industry.¹¹ By 1918, when the company went public, in addition to tomato products, Leggo's produced, manufactured, and packaged a wide range including jams, bacon, canned fruit, coffee, flour, and biscuits.¹² Despite its status as a public company, Leggo's remained a family-run business until 1955 when John Foster bought a controlling interest.¹³ Company records from 1924 to 1957 show that none of the original or subsequent directors have names with identifiably Italian origins.¹⁴ In 1958, Leggo's was bought by Associated Canneries, which in the following year was renamed Harvest Foods, and its products were produced along with others in the Harvest Foods portfolio. In 1966, the Australian division of Dutch multinational East Asiatic Company bought a large percentage of shares and installed Dutch directors; it changed the name to EAC Plumrose in 1972, and in turn was acquired in 1993 by Pacific Dunlop.¹⁵ In 1995, Simplot Australia, a wholly owned subsidiary of its U.S. parent company, took over the company and remains the present-day owner of the Leggo's brand.¹⁶

All five owners of the Leggo's brand during the twentieth century to varying degrees promoted Leggo's as an "Italian" product, as will be shown. We outline four distinct phases of marketing, concentrating on Leggo's canned tomato products, for several reasons: canned tomato products were produced by the company for its entire history and have been most widely marketed and represented as in some sense "Italian," following their adoption as a focal point for the company's Italian "shift."¹⁷

Bendigo roots, 1910s to 1925

Three main themes can be detected in Leggo's advertising of this early period: an emphasis on the provenance of Bendigo; claims about use of the "Progress Red" tomato; and a focus on the health-giving properties of the products and the Leggo's process for making them. A 1913 advertisement for Leggo's Tomato Sauce highlighting the centrality of the Victorian gold mining town is typical: "'Leggo's' claims to be the Original Genuine 'Bendigo' Tomato Sauce—EVERY bottle of which is made in Bendigo, the Home of good tomatoes and the HOME of LEGGO'S SAUCE TOMATOES, grown in their own plantations under expert supervision."¹⁸ The insistence on "Bendigo" prompts us to ask what was so special about tomatoes from this region? While the town was best known for the gold rush that occurred there in the 1850s, once gold began to dwindle, tomato growing began: a 1919 account of the industry states that while many believed the soil of Bendigo was good only for gold, Spaniards met with success: "Now the reputation of Bendigo tomatoes is such that the street barrow-ers of Melbourne invariably label their wares 'Ripe Bendigo tomatoes,' no matter in what district they were grown."¹⁹ By 1939, with many large sauce making companies now operating tomato-pulping plants in Bendigo, it was claimed that "[t]he Bendigo tomato is unexcelled for sauce making, and the table variety is known throughout Australia."²⁰

In addition to highlighting the provenance of its tomatoes, Leggo's stressed the type of tomato they used—the "Progress Red." A 1914 advertisement for soup emphasizes the use of "'Progress Reds' Picked at Early Morn! and picked *especially* for 'Leggo's' ... with a flavor only possible in specially cultured Tomatoes such as grown by Leggo's in their own plantations in

there [sic] Famous Bendigo Valley, under expert supervision ... 'Progress Reds' are the the [sic] ONLY tomatoes used ..."²¹

However, both the stress on Bendigo and Progress Reds begins to dwindle as the 1920s continued. A 1925 recipe booklet produced by the company has only one mention of Bendigo origins and none of "Progress Reds." Instead, it concentrates on the health-giving properties of Leggo's products, and the special "process" that makes them so healthy. This theme was not new: in 1913, the consumer is urged to remember that "IT'S THE PROCESS" that makes "Leggo's Sauce the best," while another advertisement in the same year mentions the "wholesome [and] nutritious" nature of Leggo's soup.²² But the 1925 booklet is dominated by the message that Leggo's products are good for you: "The reason is to be found in Leggo's method of processing ... [t]his is the reason that makes Leggo's Tomtato [sic] Soup higher in its percentage of Protein, Fat, Carbohydrates and Ash ..."²³

Why did Leggo's de-emphasize both Bendigo and Progress Reds, in favor of health claims? First, shortages of Bendigo tomatoes in this period meant that Leggo's probably sourced tomatoes from elsewhere: a 1929 article notes that a letter was received by various firms in far north Queensland from H. M. Leggo noting the shortages of tomatoes in Victoria, asking for "co-operation locally" and providing a variety of seeds for tomatoes, including but not limited to Progress Reds.²⁴ Thus, it is probable that the tomatoes being used were no longer coming from Bendigo, nor were they exclusively Progress Reds. Also by 1926, Leggo's was sending its tomato pulp from Bendigo to Melbourne to be manufactured.²⁵ This move meant that the company could no longer claim, as they had in 1913, that "EVERY bottle ... is made in Bendigo."²⁶ Further, many other sauce-making factories were processing tomatoes in Bendigo by the late 1930s, so Bendigo and its special tomatoes were no longer a unique selling point.²⁷ The distinctive Leggo's "process" would continue to be used as a marketing device into the future, in a variety of ways. But what is clear from this early history is that the abandonment of initial marketing campaigns was not related to a turn toward representing the product in terms of its Italian "roots."

An Italian accent, 1950s to 1975

What we have termed the "Italian Accent" period dates from the early 1950s to the mid-1970s.²⁸ During this phase, the recipes, styling, and labeling on the cans suggest connections to Italy, but there are no explicit claims that Leggo's *is* in any sense Italian. Tomato paste was the most prominent product to be rebranded with Italian connotations, as is clear from illustrations of the can, which include the use of the Italian language that dates to 1957.²⁹ There is evidence to suggest that Leggo's was making tomato paste as early as 1930, but the company was manufacturing a tomato paste-like product much earlier under the name of "Tomatis."³⁰ Classified advertisements between 1926 and 1935 suggest that "Tomatis" was a concentrated tomato product, easily eaten on bread or with meats, and portable enough to take on picnics, but not directly connected in any way to Italian foodways.³¹

Leggo's had clear competitors in the tomato paste market. According to a 1935 Italian-language newspaper report on the tomato-preserving industry in Australia, factories producing preserved tomato products similar to those found in Italy had only been operating

in Australia for a “very few years.”³² For instance, Rosella manufactured tomato paste and regularly advertised their tomato products in *Il Giornale Italiano* from 1932 onwards as “the perfect substitute for original Italian sauces, extracts and concentrates.”³³ In addition to Leggo’s and Rosella, tomato paste was produced in the 1950s and 1960s by Brookes, Kia Ora, Tom Piper, Alfa, La Tosca, and La Gina; the latter two companies were Italian migrant-owned, and imported products also were available in major Australian cities. In an indication of the target audience for tomato paste products, a 1956 *Australasian Grocer* article states that Tom Piper Tomato Paste was “primarily introduced to meet the demands of New Australian housewives,” meaning recent migrants during the major waves of Italian immigration that occurred in the 1950 and 1960s, though it also notes it is “becoming increasingly popular with Australian women as a means of bringing the goodness of tomatoes into a greater number of dishes.”³⁴

Use of Italian language on can labeling, as we have already noted, dates back to at least 1957, but there is circumstantial evidence that Leggo’s had already started using Italian on their cans in 1953 or 1954, for instance in the subtitle of the *Leggo’s Golden Anniversary Cookbook* (2003)—“50 years of teaching Italian”—implies that 1953 was the year Leggo’s began promoting “Italian” cooking through their products.³⁵

More generally, the 1950s were a time of great change at Leggo’s, including a major restructuring in 1952 which left no one on the board with a Leggo surname.³⁶ In an interesting link with Rosella, who as noted had been advertising in Italian-language newspapers since the 1930s, a Mr. J. Chippindalle, previously of Rosella and H. J. Heinz, was appointed works manager.³⁷ In 1953, the company suffered a massive loss of £40,565 and shareholders at the general meeting suggested Leggo’s be wound up, but the move was rejected.³⁸ In 1954–5, John Foster Investments Pty. Ltd bought the majority of the shares in the company and a 1955 article announcing the buyout, detailed the company’s new strategy: “[It] would expand the present products of H. M. Leggo and a move would be made to develop extensively concentrated food products from vegetables and fruits. Tomato concentrate would be given special attention ...”³⁹ By 1957, the Chairman could tell shareholders that “[y]our company has embarked on a completely new marketing programme designed to penetrate the national market on a much wider scale.”⁴⁰

The outcomes of the new marketing plan can be seen in advertisements which appeared in *The Australian Women’s Weekly* and major metropolitan newspapers: the new focus was clearly on Leggo’s tomato paste (as well as pickles). For instance, a 1957 advertisement features a recipe and image for “Spaghetti Marinara,” describing it as “the tastiest Spaghetti this side of Napoli.” Although there are many “Italian” signifiers represented in this advertisement (e.g., pasta is pictured accompanied by glasses of red wine and a bottle of Chianti and the Italian-language can is visible), there is no claim that Leggo’s product *is* Italian, which is a key difference between this period and the next, as will be shown. Instead, the advertisement tells the reader that “whenever a recipe says ‘tomatoes’ then you need Leggo’s Tomato Paste—a five times concentrate of the pick of glowing, sun ripe tomatoes.” The advertisement suggests that Leggo’s tomato paste be used “to add richer, fuller flavour to soups, sauces, casseroles; and for some real cooking fun, try continental dishes using Leggo’s Tomato Paste, like the easy to prepare, easy-on-the-pocket Spaghetti Marinara here ...”⁴¹ The

tagline which became popular in this period—“Leggo’s makes meals magic!”—does not communicate Italian-ness or Italian roots in any specific way.⁴²

FIGURE 12.1 “Just Five Simple Ingredients and Leggo’s Tomato Paste”—a Leggo’s advertisement from *The Australian Women’s Weekly* (Sydney, October 23, 1957), 14, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48207245>. Magazine article found in Trove, reproduced courtesy of the National Library of Australia, with permission from Leggo’s, Simplot Australia.

In 1959, the same Italian-language labeling is featured on a can pictured in the Annual Report, with the only change being the deletion of the name of the company because it is now a fully-owned subsidiary of Associated Canneries (soon to be Harvest Foods). “*Tipo Italiano*” replaces “Melbourne, Victoria, Australia” at least on the front of the can, further obscuring the origins of the product.⁴³ The new owners believed Leggo’s had a bright future, despite already having its own range of canned vegetables and meats; the 1959 Chairman’s Address notes that “[i]t is not the Board’s intention to lose the well-known and respected brand name of Leggo’s in favour of Harvest, but gradually to blend the two names so that they will, in time, become synonymous.”⁴⁴ The 1959 Annual Report lists tomato paste and pickles amongst the leaders in the company’s product range: these products “have established a wide consumer demand, and show most economic returns.”⁴⁵

The 1960s was a quiet period for Leggo’s in terms of advertising, but products being produced according to a list in the 1963 Annual Report under the Leggo’s brand include a range of pickles and condiments as well as tomato paste, tomato puree and tomato sauce; in 1966, peeled tomatoes are added to the product range.⁴⁶

By 1969, now under the direction of EAC Plumrose, the Annual Report states, “The advertising campaign conducted during the year for LEGGO tomato paste contributed towards lifting the sales of this product substantially and consolidating the LEGGO brand as the market leader in the tomato paste field.”⁴⁷ Although material evidence of this advertising campaign is lacking, there are other indicators that Leggo’s had begun to promote its products specifically to an “ethnic” market. For example, “Continental Foodstore” Robilotta’s features Leggo’s *Triplo Concentrato di Pomodoro* in a 1967 advertisement in *La Fiamma*, and Leggo’s Tomato Paste is the focus of a 1969 advertisement spot on an Italian-language radio show in Sydney.⁴⁸

However, the *Leggo’s Tomato Paste Good Cooks’ Book*, published in 1970, is aimed at a mainstream consumer audience. In this period, “the goodness of tomatoes” still trumped the presentation of products as “authentically Italian.” Nevertheless, the book is dominated by Italian-inspired recipes and contains an entire section titled “Tomato Paste and Pasta ... Italian Style.” It notes that “[n]othing suits the flavour of pasta and pizza as well as tomato paste. Which really isn’t so surprising because Italy’s the place where tomato paste originated. So for a really authentic Italian dish always put Leggo’s Tomato Paste alongside the pasta.”⁴⁹ The book also contains a “quick ideas” section with tips for using tomato paste in non-Italian dishes such as sausage rolls and recipes in the casseroles section includes Tropical Curry and Chilli Con Carne (“to capture the flavour of Mexico”). Overall, the emphasis in this cookbook is on using Leggo’s tomato paste to add interest and versatility to cooking, to save time, and most importantly, to add concentrated tomato flavor.⁵⁰ By the end of this period, the

company and its products have an increasingly stronger Italian accent, but claims about Italian origins remain limited.

Italian glamour, 1975 to 1978

The use of an iconic Italian star (Gina Lollobrigida) to promote a company authored cookbook changed Leggo's from a brand that made products that could be used in Italian cooking (among other uses) to one which represented and even embodied, in their words, the "*vera cucina Italiana*"—the true cooking of Italy.⁵¹ *The Leggo's Italian Cookbook* of 1975 was one of the first exclusively "Italian" recipe books published in Australia and was extremely well received.⁵² The book introduces new products in the Leggo's range—all with explicitly "Italian" marketing, such as Leggo's Chunky Tomato Italiane and Leggo's Spaghetti Sauce with Beef. In fact, the 1975 recipe book does not contain many original recipes but borrows heavily from the 1970 book. A comparison between the recipes as printed in 1970 and 1975 shows how Leggo's attempted to enhance the "Italian-ness" of the recipes and hence the associated products.

Recipe/section	1970	1975
Spaghetti Bolognese	"Now add 1 8½ oz. can Leggo's Tomato Paste"	"Now add Leggo's Tomato Paste, the authentic Italian touch"
Pizza	Italian Pizza "... like mother used to make"	Pizza "To make it the way every Italian mamma does ..."
Lasagne	Lasagne	Lasagne "To cook it like they do in Bologna"
Tips with Tomato Paste	Titbit tips with Tomato Paste	Italian Titbits with Leggo's Tomato Paste
Tomato Dip	Spicy Tomato	Italian Tomato Dip
Bloody Mary	Bloody Mary	Bloody Maria

FIGURE 12.2 A table comparing the language used in recipes from the Leggo's Tomato Paste Good Cook's Book (1970) to *The Leggo's Italian Cookbook* (1975).

FIGURE 12.3 "When in Australia, Gina Still Does as the Italians Do ..."—a Leggo's advertisement from *The Australian Women's Weekly* (Sydney, May 11, 1977), 163, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article44560369>. Magazine article found in Trove reproduced courtesy of the National Library of Australia, with permission from Leggo's, Simplot Australia.

The Gina Lollobrigida campaign which ran from 1975 to 1977 lent a certain Italian sophistication to Leggo's products, and put the glamour in this phase. It featured the famous Italian actress in a sparkling gold gown holding a glass of champagne. In the flagship ad, which was a double-page spread, we see Gina on one side and opposite the range of Leggo's tomato products. The headline "Gina, Leggo's and You—A beautiful connection that promises to give your cooking that authentic Italian touch" aims to convince the Australian housewife that she too can access the glamour of Italy through Leggo's products. Gina, however, looks like she has never cooked, let alone cooked in Australia. The copy begs to differ: "Beautiful Gina Lollobrigida. No matter where she is, she always likes to give her cooking that magic touch of

Italy. So when in Australia, Gina uses Leggo's Tomato Products." Hence, there is a clear shift in this phase to representing these products as high class and desirable, rather than merely useful and (in some sense) authentic. This advertisement also is clearly linked to promotion of the cookbook, with a voucher for the cookbook included.⁵³ In the series of ads, Gina's clothes and pose do not change, and her connection to Leggo's remains rather unbelievable, despite one providing a recipe that is "Gina's Favourite" and a second where "Gina presents two new sauces from Leggo's."⁵⁴ In another, it is claimed that despite being in Australia, Gina can do what Italians do because she has "discovered the true taste of home, in Leggo's Italian Tomato Paste ... the one made to an authentic Italian recipe"—and the implication is so can the reader.⁵⁵

Despite the added Italian glamour, many of the messages represented in this campaign are the same as those in the 1975 cookbook: the tomato paste is "made to an authentic Italian recipe"; Chunky Tomato "Italienne" Sauce "gives you an authentic Italian sauce for meats"; Spaghetti sauce with Beef is "[a]nother "Instant Italian" masterpiece"; and Leggo's Peeled Roma Tomatoes are made with "whole juicy Roma tomatoes (Italy's own tomato)."⁵⁶ An indication that Leggo's has seriously embraced its "Italian" identity is that it stops promoting products that do not fit this picture: for instance, the last advertisement for Leggo's pickles in *The Australian Women's Weekly* is in 1973.⁵⁷ After this time, Leggo's appears to have concentrated almost exclusively on Italian-related products, at least in its advertising.⁵⁸ Hence, the emphasis is very much on the most common tagline utilized in these ads: "The Authentic Italian Touch." Through these efforts to represent its products, the company is able to re-brand itself as "Italian" (or at least Italo-Australian) and simultaneously to cash in on and help to shape the culinary prestige that Italy came to have in Australia in this period.

Authentically Italo-Australian, 1978 to the present day

In 1978, Leggo's enters its fourth and final phase: it becomes "authentically" Italo-Australian, meaning it represents itself as a hybrid of the two cultures. It achieves this identity by first changing the packaging of its products, then hiring a series of high-profile, non-Italian Australians to promote its products in some cases in (bastardized) Italian with subtitles, and finally by associating its products for the first time with the cooking of Italo-Australian migrants themselves.

The 1959 and 1975 cans, aside from font changes, display largely the same text. The change in packaging in 1978 reduces the amount of Italian language on the can, eliminating phrases such as "*Vero Frutto di Pomodoro*"; the terms "*Tipo Italiano*" and "*Triplo Concentrato di Pomodoro*" remain but they are made less obvious by rendering them in a cursive font. The phrase "made to an authentic Italian recipe" is added.⁵⁹ The reduction in Italian language labeling and the inclusion of more English indicates that the company is attempting to reposition itself and its brand. This is a clear move away from the Italian-ness personified by Lollobrigida to a more accessible product for the average Australian. The labeling and marketing appear to indicate that the product is still an authentic Italian one, but also a product of the country that created it, Australia.

Enter Margaret Fulton, one of the most widely recognized authorities on Australian cooking, as the new spokesperson for Leggo's.⁶⁰ Together with the increase in English-language descriptions on Leggo's labels, Fulton gives the brand a much more domestic, down-to-earth, and, ultimately, Australian identity. The imagery used in advertising with Fulton reinforces this impression. There is much more physical connection between Fulton and Leggo's products: for instance, she actually holds a can of Leggo's tomato paste, something "La Gina" never did.⁶¹

A 1978 series of advertisements features different recipes—some from the 1975 cookbook, others new—and accompanying them is Fulton sharing her "hints" and "secrets." Unlike the advertisements in the previous era, the recipes are not exclusively Italian. One for "Steak Dianne" [*sic*] (a dish commonly thought to have American-French origins) involves the addition of tomato paste that is atypical for the dish.⁶² Use of a recipe like Steak Diane, a classic of Australian 1970s cooking, together with Fulton herself, indicates a clear desire to popularize the Leggo's brand among average Australian housewives.⁶³

In 1980, Leggo's introduces a range of dried pasta products, described by their marketing director Maurie Ryding as a "natural" extension to what, by 1981, are "four product groups ... integrated under the banner of 'Italian style' food": tomato products, tomato paste, instant sauces, and pasta.⁶⁴ The above is advertised by Fulton in thirty-second television spots as well as display ads notably in *The Australian Women's Weekly*.⁶⁵ Other campaigns in the early 1980s still communicated a certain level of "Italian-ness," including one that focused on Leggo's pasta, featuring actor Bob Ruggiero.⁶⁶

Leggo's cookbook in this period (published in 1982) is much more sophisticated than the 1975 version, using images relating to "high" Italian culture such as a violin and an Italian-language newspaper, and in its wording, which drops much of the whimsy of the earlier volume, even if, by and large, the recipes are basically the same. However, there is an increased emphasis on Italian regions in this book: in the 1975 cookbook, regions were acknowledged only in passing, while in 1982, a whole section is devoted to the regionality of Italian cooking: "Italy has one of the most wonderfully varied cuisines in the world. This is because, at heart, it's intensely regional."⁶⁷ This new emphasis could imply those marketing Leggo's products understand that its market is developing more sophisticated Italian tastes or it could be a way to introduce new products into the market, for instance, Leggo's Spaghetti Sauce Napolitana is a new product featured in 1982 and not present in the 1975 book.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, the chapters on the tomato and pasta acknowledge that these two products are Italian because, in the case of tomatoes: "... there's one ingredient no Italian cook worth his "sal" would ever be without. And that's the tomato. ... [It] lends its special zest to every part of the Italian cuisine ... A plate of juicy sliced tomatoes, their rich redness contrasting vividly with the bright green of spicy fresh basil leaves is a treat for the sight and senses that's truly Italian."⁶⁹ Hence, despite increasing awareness of regionality, Leggo's continues to use familiar imagery to sell "Italian" food as a relatively homogenous entity.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Leggo's started to use "Leggo's Authentic!" [sic] as the brand slogan.⁷⁰ Whether they have misspelt "autentico" on purpose is a key (but unanswerable) question. Was the misspelling an "Italo-Australianism" designed to show that the company was embodying two different cultures that were increasingly hybridized, or was it just a mistake made by a non-Italian speaking marketing team? Regardless of intent, the outcome has been that the catchphrase still in use today communicates the Australian-ness of what is perceived to be an "Italian" brand.

Leggo's "Talking Italian" campaign launched in 1999 featuring a series of well-known Australians and took this sort of hybridization one step further. Ads featured celebrities poking fun at themselves, with perhaps the most memorable of these being the ad starring former Australian prime minister Gough Whitlam, who promoted Leggo's products in Italian with English subtitles. The Whitlam advertisement capitalized on two key well-known facts: his "It's Time" 1972 campaign slogan, and his push for Australia to become a republic. When Whitlam says (in his poor quality Italian, over the strains of "*Il Canto degli Italiani*") that a dish prepared with Leggo's is "fit for a queen, or a president," and points to himself, the advertisement touches on a hot topic of the day—the failure of the 1999 Australian republic referendum to pass.⁷¹ According to the Simplot Australia senior brand manager at the time, Gemma Trivisonno, the advertisement was trying to "celebrate two cultures." It was highly successful because it was founded on what the advertising agency behind the ads calls a brand truth: "Leggo's teaches Australians about Italian Food."⁷² In so doing, it also "teaches" Australia about a particular vision of Italy through its representations of its food products, as well as representing an emerging hybrid identity present across the Italian diaspora. Leggo's hybridized Italo-Australian identity was further affirmed in its 2003 *Golden Anniversary Cookbook/ Libro di Cucina per L'Anniversario D'Oro*. The book is bilingual, and acknowledges the company's Bendigo beginnings and its founder Henry Madren Leggo. In an introduction by Margaret Fulton, the reader is told that "[o]ur early forays into Italian cooking were often helped by Leggo's Tomato Paste," clearly indicating that this remains a product aimed at Australians, and not Italo-Australians. But for the first time in a Leggo's cookbook, recipes from Italo-Australians are included. By this time, Italo-Australians had become a well-respected group in Australian society, and hence Leggo's attempts to co-opt them into their brand identity. Leggo's has become simultaneously Australian and Italian, and in a sense authentically Italo-Australian, as are the Italo-Australians who present their recipes and their stories in this section of the book. The naming of these recipes as "Secret Family Recipes" ("*Ricette segrete di famiglia*") also reinforces Leggo's self-described role as the "teacher" of Italian food and perhaps even of Italy to Australians for over fifty years: without Leggo's, these secret recipes would remain hidden from the average Australian.⁷³

How did Leggo's become "authentically" Italo-Australian?

What factors were in place that allowed Leggo's to transform its identity in the manner described in the four stages above? Obviously, tomatoes were part of its core business from its very beginnings, which lay a clear foundation for making connections between its tomato-based products and the type of Italian cooking (red sauce based cuisine common in the

Southern provinces) that has become most commonly associated with Italian food outside of Italy. The company also capitalized on the growing popularity of “continental” cookery, and later Italian food, in Australia from the 1950s onwards. The influx of Italian migrants to Australia in the 1950 and 1960s was critical to the growth in popularity in Italian cuisine, which Leggo’s also utilized to fuel its efforts to sell its products. They also recognized the importance of harnessing various meanings associated with Italian food and Italy itself in Australia at various points in the history recounted above, ranging from sophistication and glamour through to innovation and the association of Italian culture with conviviality and more enjoyable ways of eating and dining.⁷⁴

But what, precisely, does it mean to be “authentically” Italo-Australian? As we have documented in this chapter, Leggo’s tomato products are genuine products of Australia in multiple senses. They fulfil Australian expectations of what “Italian” products should be, and have been carefully constructed and represented in order to convey particular meanings ranging from high Italian culture to convivial family meals. As is Australia itself, they are products of the hybridization of multiple cultures with diverse histories: the English origins of H. M. Leggo himself and his tomato products combined with a series of Italian foodways and signifiers to create a novel entity which fits well within contemporary Australian food culture which has been heavily shaped by Italian cuisine. In its hybridity, Leggo’s could be viewed as a quintessential Italo-Australian product (though ironically probably one that few Italo-Australians themselves would use!).

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Kate Murphy, Senior Brand Manager—Shelf Sauces at Simplot Australia, for permission to reproduce the images and assistance in tracking down various Leggo’s cookbooks and advertisements, as well as the archivists at the University of Melbourne for access to the J. B. Were and Son Collection. This chapter was originally presented as a paper at the 2012 Food Conference Perugia sponsored by the Umbra Institute, and the authors would like to acknowledge the valuable feedback received from attendees.

Notes

- 1 See <http://leggos.com.au/our-range> for the full range of Leggo’s products.
- 2 “Market Sizes and Shares,” *Retail World* 68 (13) (2015): 44–91.
- 3 AC Nielsen data quoted in David Dale, *The Little Book of Australia* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2010), 166; David Dale, “Who We Are: From Impulse to Mouth,” *Sun Herald*, 2009, http://blogs.sunherald.com.au/whoweare/archives/2009/06/who_we_are_eati.html (accessed October 12, 2016). Notably San Remo is another Australian-based company producing Italo-Australian foods.
- 4 See Terence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell (eds), *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984); Regina Bendix, “Diverging Paths in the Scientific Search for Authenticity,” *Journal of Folklore Research* 29 (1992): 103–32; Ben Highmore, “The Taj Mahal in the High Street: The Indian Restaurant as Diasporic Popular Culture in Britain,” *Food, Culture & Society* 12 (2) (2009): 173–90.
- 5 Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 17.

- 6 Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (1973): 589–603.
- 7 Shun Lu and Gary Alan Fine, "The Presentation of Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment," *The Sociological Quarterly* 36 (1995): 535–53, 535.
- 8 Douglas Lockwood, ed., *Annals of Bendigo. The Sixth Section. Years 1936 to 1950* (Bendigo: Sandhurst Building Society, 1981), 31.
- 9 Sandra Bruce, *Beginning in Bendigo: From Humble Origins to a Captured Market* (Bendigo: Bendigo Art Gallery, 2011), 8.
- 10 Ann Wright quoted in Al Grassby, *The Spanish in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1983), 55.
- 11 Michael Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia* (Adelaide: Duck Press, 1982), 224.
- 12 University of Melbourne Archives (hereafter UMA), J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co. Ltd, Prospectus of H. M. Leggo and Co. Ltd, 1918.
- 13 "H. M. Leggo Sells to John Foster: Expansion Plans," *The Sun* (Melbourne, July 1, 1955), 20.
- 14 UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co. Ltd, Directors' Reports and Balance Sheets, 1924–57.
- 15 Australian Stock Exchange, *The 1998 ASX Delisted Companies Book 1929 to 1998* (Brisbane: Australian Stock Exchange Limited, 1998), 56, 89, 205;
Neil Shoebridge, "How PacDun Bit Off More Than It Can Chew," *BRW* (Sydney, April 3, 1995), 44;
- 16 Ian Jarrett, "Rejuvenating the Humble Pie," *Asian Business* 32 (6) (1996): 23.
- 17 The time periods provided for the four stages are slightly fluid due to limits in the source materials available for some of the period in question, for instance the lack of display advertising from 1925–57; we have utilized other types of evidence, such as annual reports, classified advertising, and so on, to attempt to reconstruct the relevant marketing campaigns to support our arguments.
- 18 "Leggo's Tomato Sauce," *The Argus* (Melbourne, October 15, 1913), 13.
- 19 "Bendigo Industries. No.2. Rural Production. Tomatoes and Fruit," *The Argus* (Melbourne, August 7, 1919), 7.
- 20 "Gateway to North. Bendigo on Wave of Prosperity," *The Age* (Melbourne, July 22, 1939), 30.
- 21 "'Progress Reds' Picked at Early Morn!," *The Argus* (Melbourne, February 4, 1914), 13.
- 22 "Leggo's Tomato Sauce," *The Argus* (Melbourne, March 5, 1913), 5; "The True Flavor of Vine-Ripened Tomatoes," *The Argus* (Melbourne, December 31, 1913), 5.
- 23 H. M. Leggo and Co. Ltd, *Flavory Fruits and Savory Soups and Their Recipes: Containing Also Valuable Hints and Information on Food Value of Fruits and Vegetables*, 6th ed (Melbourne: H. M. Leggo and Co., 1925), 11.
- 24 "Bowen Notes," *Townsville Daily Bulletin* (Townsville, QLD, July 4, 1929), 11.
- 25 "H. M. Leggo Pty. Ltd Removal From Bendigo "Unjust Railway Freights," *The Argus* (Melbourne, January 26, 1926), 12.
- 26 "Leggo's Tomato Sauce," October 15, 1913.
- 27 "Gateway to North. Bendigo on Wave of Prosperity."
- 28 Although there is a lack of materials available in the 1960s, there are strong continuities between the documentation of marketing campaigns in the 1950s and the cookbook produced in 1970.
- 29 See "Just Five Simple Ingredients and Leggo's Tomato Paste," *Australian Women's Weekly* (Sydney, October 23, 1957), 14.
- 30 "Leggo Concentrated Tomato Paste" was advertised in the classified advertisement: "Savings for Cash at Foreman's," *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, QLD, March 26, 1930), 4; UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co. Ltd, Prospectus of H. M. Leggo and Co. Ltd, 1918.
- 31 Classified advertisements featuring Tomatis include "Johnstone & Wilmot Pty. Ltd.," *Examiner* (Launceston, TAS, August 25, 1926), 6; "R. Davis & Sons," *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, QLD, January 11, 1926), 3; "Thos. Kelly & Sons Ltd," *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, QLD, April 22, 1927), 3; "Boans," *Sunday Times* (Perth, March 31, 1935), 12; It roughly corresponds with a product traditionally made in southern Italian households by pureeing then sun-drying tomatoes until they form a thick peel-like substance which can be more easily stored for use in seasons when fresh tomatoes are not available but there is no evidence of any connection to this foodway.
- 32 Authors' translation of "da pochissimi anni" in "Industria Delle Conserve Di Pomodoro," *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, April 24, 1935), 6. *Il Giornale Italiano* was primarily an Italian-language newspaper published in Australia from 1932 to 1940.

- 33 Rosella advertised in *Il Globo* in 1962, noting that it had produced “La migliore Conserva da oltre 60 anni” [the best tomato paste for over sixty years] which would imply it was producing these tomato products as early as 1902 in “Rosella Tomato Paste,” *Il Globo* (Melbourne, January 2, 1962), 6; Authors’ translation of “i piu perfetti sostituti delle salse estratti e concentrati di pomodori originali Italiani” in “Rosella,” *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, March 26, 1932), 5.
- 34 “Tom Piper Tomato Paste Has Many Uses,” *The Australasian Grocer* (Melbourne, December 1956), 35.
- 35 Whereas 1954 is implied as the date of a can change in an analysis of *The Australasian Grocer*, the official magazine of the Grocers’ Association of Victoria, which carried a list of recommended retail prices for a wide range of grocery products. In June 1954, Leggo’s has four can sizes of tomato paste listed, but in July, there is no longer a listing for Leggo’s tomato paste. In September 1954, a Leggo’s product reappears in the listing and is now described as “Leggo’s Triplo Concentrate” which hints at a change of packaging in this period. A can dating to 1959 clearly reads “Triplo Concentrato di Pomodoro” [triple concentrate of tomato] and “vero frutto di pomodoro” [the true fruit of the tomato] amongst other Italian phrases, although none of this is highlighted in the advertising associated with this can labelling.
- 36 UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co. Ltd, Chairman’s Address, 9 October 1952.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 “Winding-up Move Defeated,” *Examiner* (Launceston, TAS, October 30, 1953), 14.
- 39 “H. M. Leggo Sells to John Foster: Expansion Plans.”
- 40 UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo, H. M. and Co. Ltd, The Stock Exchange Official Record – H. M. Leggo & Co. Ltd, December 1957.
- 41 Note this advertisement makes reference to “continental,” rather than Italian, cooking, and introduces the idea that continental cooking is “fun,” a theme exploited in later Leggo’s cookbooks. It may well be that continental is a euphemism for Italian in a period when there was considerable tension among the Anglo majority regarding the increasing number of Italian migrants. The term was used in this period to describe cooking from non-British European countries and, sometimes, all foreign food. In the 1950s, continental cooking was the activity of fashionable Australian housewives, and was seen as glamorous; it was closely related to the popular representations of 1950s European and especially Italian culture presented by the large city department stores, rather than having any real connections to the culture of the increasing numbers of Italian migrants arriving in Australia at this time.
- 42 “Just Five Simple Ingredients and Leggo’s Tomato Paste.”
- 43 UMA, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 283, Harvest Foods Ltd, Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Annual Report 1959.
- 44 UMA, Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Chairman’s Address to Annual General Meeting, October 30, 1959.
- 45 UMA, Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Annual Report 1959.
- 46 UMA, Harvest Foods Limited Annual Report 1963 and 1966.
- 47 UMA, Harvest Foods Limited Annual Report 1969.
- 48 “Robilotta’s Continental Foodstore,” *La Fiamma*, July 29, 1967, 30;
“Radio 2CH Advertising 1969 To 1970,” *The Legacy of Mamma Lena and Dino Gustin*.
<http://www.mammalena.info/2CH/radio2ch.htm> (accessed September 26, 2016).
- 49 *Leggo’s Tomato Paste Good Cooks’ Book* (Sydney: Woman’s Day, 1970), 11.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 *The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook*, 1st edn (Moorabbin, VIC/Sydney: Lansdowne Press for Plumrose Australia, 1975), 3. Note this sort of use of Italian culinary capital long preceded its use in the United States and potentially elsewhere: see Zachary Nowak, “Café Au Lait to Latte: Charting the Acquisition of Culinary Capital by Italian Food in the United States,” *Italian American Review* 5 (2015): 94–120.
- 52 A 1975 Leggo’s advertisement states the first print run sold out within months, prompting a reprint in its first year as well as in 1977, 1979, and 1980 in “Give Someone a Touch of Italy This Christmas. The Leggo’s Italian Cookbook,” *Australian Women’s Weekly* (Sydney, November 26, 1975), 167; A 1981 article by Leggo’s marketing director Maurie Ryding noted that sales of the book had exceeded 100,000, tying the book specifically to Leggo’s new “marketing concept”: Maurie Ryding, “Marketing Concept Is Paying Off for Leggo’s,” *Retail World* 34 (8) (April 1981): 16.
- 53 “Gina, Leggo’s and You,” *Australian Women’s Weekly* (Sydney, July 30, 1975), 24.
- 54 “Gina’s Favourite Recipe – No. 1,” *Australian Women’s Weekly* (Sydney, July 16, 1975), 32; “Gina Presents Two New Sauces From Leggo’s,” *Australian Women’s Weekly* (Sydney, October 1, 1975), 60.

- 55 "When in Australia, Gina Still Does as the Italians Do ...," *Australian Women's Weekly* (Sydney, May 11, 1977), 163.
- 56 "Gina, Leggo's and You."
- 57 "New Spreadable Sandwich Pickles from Leggo's," *Australian Women's Weekly* (Sydney, February 14, 1973), 79.
- 58 The company did advertise Leggo's Manwich in "New Leggo's Manwich," *Australian Women's Weekly* (Sydney, November 5, 1975), 64, which appears to have been a short-lived product likely picked up from its parent company. According to their website, Leggo's still currently produces two pickle products, but these are not mass marketed in the way their Italian products are.
- 59 Interestingly, this 1978 advertisement claims the new label celebrates Leggo's tomato paste's thirtieth anniversary as the leading tomato paste, which dates the product to 1948, but we have found no other evidence to support this claim. See "Leggo's Tomato Paste," *Australian Women's Weekly* (Sydney, May 24, 1978), 139.
- 60 For the importance of Margaret Fulton's role in Australian cooking, see Colin Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia's Culinary History* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1998), 79.
- 61 For a photo of Fulton holding a Leggo's can see Marcus Tarrant, *Leggo's Libro Di Cucina Per L'Anniversario D'Oro/Leggo's Golden Anniversary Cookbook* (Cheltenham, VIC: Simplot Australia, 2003), 3.
- 62 "Leggo's Steak Dianne," *Australian Women's Weekly* (Sydney, August 2, 1978), 131.
- 63 A recipe for Steak Diane is included in Pamela Clark, *Classics: The Australian Women's Weekly* (Sydney: ACP Books, 2009).
- 64 Ryding, "Marketing Concept Is Paying Off for Leggo's."
- 65 "Only Leggo's," *Retail World* 34 (8) (April 1981): 14–15.
- 66 "Ad for Leggo's 'Al Dente' Pasta, 1984," *YouTube*. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IHvU80WlhQg> (accessed September 26, 2016).
- 67 *Leggo's Italian Cookbook* (Moorabbin, VIC/Sydney: Plumrose Australia: distributed by Lansdowne Press, 1982), 9.
- 68 Using "ethnicity" to sell a product is consistent with Australian food industry practises as described in Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*.
- 69 *Leggo's Italian Cookbook*, 17.
- 70 *Leggo's Authentic! Italian Cookbook* (Melbourne: Leggo's Pty. Ltd, 1992).
- 71 "Gough Whitlam Talks Leggo's" (Australia: Simplot Australia, 2000).
- 72 Kate Cincotta, "The Benefits of Talking Italian," *B&T Weekly*, April 30, 2004, 17.
- 73 Tarrant, *Leggo's Libro Di Cucina per L'Anniversario D'Oro/Leggo's Golden Anniversary Cookbook*.
- 74 In addition to the 'Talking Italian' TV advertisements described, this connection is present in the cartoons contained in various Leggo's cookbooks, which due to space limitations we have not discussed in detail.

Appendix B: Cammarano, Tania. “Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia’s First Italo-Australian Cookbook.” In *Eat History: Food and Drink in Australia and Beyond*, edited by Sofia Eriksson, Madeleine Hastie, and Tom Roberts, 42–75. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.

Chapter Three

Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia’s First
Italo-Australian Cookbook

Tania Cammarano

The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, printed in 1937, could be described as the first major Italian cookbook published in Australia.¹ Despite the lack of ‘Italian’ in its title and no certainty about the identity of its anonymous author, this paper will show that the book was published by a group of Italian migrants, and while it includes recipes from many other cuisines, the authorial intent was primarily to promote the Italian culinary tradition as the most desirable and suitable model for Australians to follow. On the other hand, with its calls for local ingredients and expressions of enthusiasm for Australia’s culinary possibilities, the book is also very much a product of the country in which it was published. In this way, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* can be said to be both Italian and Australian, or Italo-Australian, and therefore an example of a hybridised cultural product.

In addition to examining how the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* communicates its hybrid identity, this paper will explore possible reasons for the book’s publication. The publisher – the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company – was run by Italian migrants who were branded fascists by the Australian Government and considered so dangerous that, as soon as Italy entered World War II, some of them were interned and their company was forced into liquidation.² Why a group of Italians linked with fascism, who were also responsible for the principal fascist Italian-language newspaper in Australia, would publish a cookbook is a chief concern of this paper. Clues to understanding their motives can be found in the book itself, and this paper will argue that the tone and style of the cookbook, as well as the way it was marketed and advertised, were an attempt by the author and publishers to make a connection with mainstream Australians, in a bid to show them that there was a different and, in their opinion, better way to cook and eat. In a time when there was considerable discrimination against Italians, the book aims to show that Italian food, and as an extension Italians themselves, had much to offer Australian society.³

It is difficult to ascertain the popularity of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*. Evidence suggests it was for sale in prominent bookshops in Sydney and Brisbane, and from the publisher’s CBD offices in Melbourne.⁴ The book featured advertisements from firms based in these three cities, as well as

¹ There are six known copies of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* in Australian libraries. See <http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/22081629> for details.

² Of the 11 men listed as directors, founders or involved in the setting up of the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company in the 1937 *Vade Mecum*, four of them were interned, including the company’s founder. See NAA: MP1103/2, PWV11011; PWQ7283; Q7369; PWN9001; “Paper Merchants, Printers and Others,” *The Argus* (Melbourne, July 10, 1940), 10.

³ See “Racism and Italians” in Nino Randazzo and Michael Cigler, *The Italians in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1987), 122–26.

⁴ Classified advertisements in the *Sydney Morning Herald* state that the book is available from Angus and Robertson and Dymock’s Book Arcade, see “For the Housewife,” *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney, September 15, 1937), 2–5; A classified advertisement in *The Courier-Mail* states it is available “at all leading book shops and stores [in] Brisbane”, see “A Boon to the Housewife,” *The Courier-Mail* (Brisbane, October 14, 1937), 3; The above mentioned advertisements, as well as those in *Il Giornale Italiano*, say that the book can be purchased from the publishing company’s Melbourne offices. See, for example, “It’s Smart to Entertain Continentally,” *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, September 28, 1938), 1.

for grocery products which were available across Australia. The nature of these advertisements supports the theory that the book was intended for large-scale distribution.⁵ Despite its availability, there is no evidence that further editions were published or that the book was a best-seller.⁶ However, we cannot discount that the reason for an absence of further editions was not the book's lack of popularity but rather the beginning of World War II and the subsequent liquidation of the publishing company.

Despite uncertainty about the book's popularity, there are many reasons why the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, which is made up of 321 pages and contains no illustrations, is worthy of study. With its small size, simple dark green hard-cover binding and embossed gold letters declaring "Continental Cookery Book" on its cover, it might look like many other cookbooks published in Australia during the inter-war years, but it had a distinctive tone, style and purpose.⁷ According to historian Michael Symons popular cookbooks from this period tended to come primarily from "the CWA [Country Women's Association], the fund-raising committees of private schools, domestic science teachers, home economists with gas companies and newspapers".⁸ Culinary historian Colin Bannerman largely agrees, pointing out that most books could be categorised in four broad classes: textbooks, books from newspapers, magazines and journals, product promotion books, and fundraising and charity books.⁹ In addition to these, there were many cookbooks from overseas available in Australia, particularly from Britain, such as *Beeton's Book of Household Management* as well as collections of recipes from "celebrities", such as *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book* by hotelier Hannah Maclurcan.¹⁰ The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* does not easily fit within any of these categories. Secondly, the book has not been studied in the context of its Italian migrant heritage, though Symons mentions it in his now classic history of food in Australia as proof of "foreign" food prior to post-World War II mass migration and Bannerman describes it as demonstrative of the renewed interest in non-British food that re-emerged as "Continental cookery" in the 1930s.¹¹ Bannerman also notes the "fascinating mixture" of recipes in the book and the "many Italian specialties", including "a no-frills approach to pizza", but neither he nor Symons call it an Italian cookbook.¹²

Perhaps the most intriguing reason to study the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is because it challenges a number of stereotypes and myths about migrant food culture that we often see portrayed in both contemporary Italo-Australian cookbooks and in other narratives about Italian food in Australia. These stereotypes include the maintenance of traditional foodways by Italian migrants and their descendants in an attempt to feel connected to their family, their heritage and, ultimately, their past. This can be seen in the best-selling 2011 cookbook *Mangia! Mangia!*, written by the children of Italian migrants: "As well as saving our families' signature recipes, *Mangia! Mangia!* is about preserving a way of life, a philosophy, that is under threat. This way of life stems from our families' respectful relationship with the land...[t]here was pride in cooking and pleasure in eating. It was about family and community; about love. Such is the spirit of this book."¹³ These accounts often present a romanticised and idealised past, heavy with nostalgia, and tend to suggest that Italian migrants were happiest and most comfortable

⁵ There are 27 advertisements in the book. The majority fit into one of the following categories: Cooking appliances (in particular electric and gas cooking ranges), continental foods (for example Tibaldi Smallgoods), convenience foods (for example Kraft Grated Cheese) and wine (for example Thomas Fiaschi Wines).

⁶ Only one edition of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is noted in the National Library of Australia, *Australian National Bibliography, 1901-1950, Volume 1* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1988), 661; and John Hoyle, *An Annotated Bibliography of Australian Domestic Cookery Books, 1860s to 1950* (Willoughby, NSW: Billycan Cook, 2010), 150.

⁷ There are some inconsistencies in the dimensions of the book listed in the *Australian National Bibliography*, Hoyle's *An Annotated Bibliography of Australian Domestic Cookery Books, 1860s to 1950* and my own measurements; however they are all between 18.5cm and 20cm in length and 12cm and 13cm in width. As the differences are small it is probably due to the quality of the binding rather than different bindings.

⁸ Michael Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia* (Adelaide: Duck Press, 1982), 140.

⁹ Colin Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia's Culinary History* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1998), 45–49.

¹⁰ Bannerman cites Hannah Maclurcan's work as an example of a cookbook by what today would be considered a "celebrity" in Colin Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books* (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1996), 24.

¹¹ Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*, 223–24; Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia's Culinary History*, 56; For a discussion of foreign recipes in early Australian cookbooks see Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*, 158–9.

¹² Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia's Culinary History*, 56, 57.

¹³ Teresa Oates and Angela Villella, *Mangia! Mangia!* (Camberwell, Vic: Lantern, 2011), ix. See, for more examples of this kind of narrative, Riccardo Momesso and Michael Harden, *Antonio & Lucia: Recipes and Stories from My Australian-Calabrian Kitchen* (Sydney: Plum, 2012); Michele Di'Bartolo, *The Sicilian Kitchen* (Camberwell, Vic: Lantern, 2008); Rosa Mitchell, *My Cousin Rosa* (Sydney: Murdoch Books, 2009).

cooking and eating familiar foods in a bid to create a taste of home in a foreign environment.¹⁴ That the Anglo-Celtic majority would eventually see, taste, tentatively adopt, subsequently embrace and feel enriched by some of these migrant foodways, is a popular narrative of Italian food in Australia, especially in the period after World War II which saw large-scale migration from Italy.¹⁵ This linear model is obviously overly simplistic, ignoring the complex interplay that occurs when foods come into contact with new cultures. It could also cast Italian migrants in a passive role – cooking their traditional foods, albeit with the modifications that occur when migrant food cultures are transported, perhaps in a ghettoized environment, till they are “discovered” by the dominant host society and the changing diet is popularised and validated by cultural interpreters and intermediaries such as food writers and restaurant critics. This would be in stark contrast to the migrants behind the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*. Far from being insular and ghettoized, the author and publishers sought to change Australia’s diet not by waiting to be “discovered” but by publishing a cookbook which pro-actively engages in the discourse of the dominant culture. They were their own interpreters and intermediaries. Their cookbook does not present a nostalgic view of their past as a means of fortifying an ethnic identity but boldly, confidently and authoritatively lays out an alternative vision for Australia’s dietary and culinary future. These forward-thinking Italian migrants were interested in proselytising the creation and promotion of a new and better food culture suitable for their adopted country. In publishing the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, these individuals demonstrated that they fit the Italian fascist ideal of the “new man” who did not cling to the stereotype of Italians as happy with the status quo, but rather were mobilised for the good of the nation, or, in this case, the good of their new nation’s stomachs.¹⁶ In this way, there is a firm link between the publishers and Italian fascist ideology.

The importance of cookbooks in codifying cuisine and, more broadly, ethnic food cannot be underestimated.¹⁷ In the context of ethnic food in Singapore, Huat and Rajah have explained this codification as a two-step process. The first step is the presentation of “ethnic” food by “ethnic” people, usually by way of a menu, where the ethnicity of the food is an extension of the ethnicity of the person cooking or producing it. The second step is the production of a cookbook, where these “ethnic” recipes are (re)presented: “Once so codified, anyone can prepare an ‘ethnic’ dish by following the recipe; the food is detached from the ethnicity of the producer”. According to Huat and Rajah, “[a]t this point, a particular style of cooking and its results may be said to be fully inscribed with ‘ethnicity’.”¹⁸ The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is an early attempt at codifying ethnic food in Australia, as many, but not all, of the recipes are assigned nationalities. As well as this, the author goes a step further by suggesting that these ethnic recipes should be cooked by all Australians, hence recommending foreign dishes become fully integrated and part of the Australian national diet. At the same time, it should be remembered that ascribing a nationality or ethnicity to food is a construct: Panayi gives the example of curry, commonly thought of as Indian, when “[i]t is both English and Indian, the marriage of two civilizations, perfectly symbolizing the artificiality of giving food a nationality.”¹⁹ Even describing the union of curry as a marriage between two cuisines, however, implies English and Indian were “pure” to begin with, which is not the case.²⁰ For cuisines do not remain static – they are transformed in response to technological, social, economic, political and cultural factors – both within the confines of the society that spawned them, and when they are

¹⁴ The tendency of migrants to maintain their food culture in adopted countries is not exclusive to Italians as can be seen in the way Australians largely followed English food traditions. See Barbara Santich, *What the Doctors Ordered: 150 Years of Dietary Advice in Australia* (South Melbourne: Hyland House, 1995), 6.

¹⁵ This narrative applies to other migrants as well as Italians and can be seen in John Newton, *Wogfood: An Oral History with Recipes* (Milsons Point, NSW: Random House Australia, 1996); Helen Greenwood, “Migrants and Mavericks: Defining Australian Cuisine,” in *Voracious: The Best New Australian Food Writing*, ed. Paul McNally (Pahran, Vic: Hardie Grant Books, 2011), 60–69; Richard Beckett, *Convicted Tastes: Food in Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984). For a discussion of the theme of “cultural enrichment” see Ghassan Hage, “At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-Building,” in *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney’s West*, ed. Helen Grace et al. (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 1997), 136–38.

¹⁶ The importance of the “new man” in Italian fascism is discussed in Philip V. Cannistraro, “Mussolini’s Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 7, no. 3/4 (1972): 129–130. For a definition of fascism which explains the pre-eminence of the nation and the importance of a “mobilized national community” to the ideology, see Kevin Passmore, *Fascism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 31.

¹⁷ See Arjun Appadurai, “How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (1988): 3–24.

¹⁸ Chua Beng Huat and Ananda Rajah, “Hybridity, Ethnicity and Food in Singapore,” in *Changing Chinese Foodways in Asia*, ed. David Y. H. Wu and Tan Chee-beng (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2001), 162–63.

¹⁹ Panikos Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food* (London: Reaktion, 2008), 28.

²⁰ Huat and Rajah, “Hybridity, Ethnicity and Food in Singapore,” 165–66.

transported elsewhere.²¹ In fact, as cuisine is an area where “cross-fertilization, appropriation, re-appropriation, infusion, diffusion, absorption, invention [and] bricolage” all occur with “hybrid vigour”, it is inevitable that hybridization should take place.²² This “hybrid vigour” is evident in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, as will be argued, and was actively fostered by the author who made a conscious effort to promote change in the national food culture by broadening the culinary influences to which Australians were exposed.

Is it an ‘Italian’ cookbook?

If we consider the key attributes of an ‘Italian’ cookbook to be the inclusion of recipes which belong to the Italian culinary tradition and Italian authorship, there is abundant evidence both within and external to the text that demonstrate this. More recipes are explicitly identified as being part of Italian cuisine in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* than any other national food culture.²³ Overall they represent 13% of the 703 recipes, which isn’t a large percentage; however, if we consider that the next best represented cuisine is French, which encompasses only 5% of recipes, then the percentage of Italian recipes appears to be more significant. Given the high status of French cooking in Australia during this period, where it was the most prestigious foreign cuisine, it would not be unreasonable to expect there to be more French than Italian recipes in a continental cookery book.²⁴ The author explicitly acknowledges the Italian influence in the introduction to the “Soups” chapter: “Our recipes are not confined to Italy, though largely indebted to her”, but he or she could have been referring to the entire book.²⁵

In addition, the Italian recipes contain greater historical detail than other recipes, and, more often than not, are identified by their city or region of origin. Of the 92 Italian recipes in the book, 64 are said to belong to a particular place. For example, to sample “Artichokes in the Jewish Style... cooked in the genuine Jewish way” it is necessary to go not just to Rome, but “one should... enter one of the inns of Trastevere”; and “Siennese ‘Little Horses’”, a recipe for biscuits, “come from Sienna, the old Italian city, not far south of Florence. One still goes there each year to witness the famous Race for the prize Banner (‘Palio’).”²⁶ It is worth noting that the majority of Italian recipes ascribed regional origins come from Tuscany, with Sicilian recipes a distant second.²⁷ Only 11 of the 37 French recipes are given a city or region of origin and, the next best represented cuisine, German, of which there are 18 recipes, has just two exact locales provided; one of these, “Berlin ‘Panettone’”, is described in decidedly Italian terms: “Really the name ‘panettone’ (little rolls) belongs to a well-known Italian sweet. It is a Milanese specialty and we describe it further on. The German sweet we are discussing is different from the genuine ‘panettone,’ but they claim it, so what’s to be done?”²⁸

All of this suggests a great deal of knowledge about Italian food on the part of the unnamed author, which supports the theory that he or she was of Italian origin. Other evidence is the advice given in regards to pronunciation, which is more often given for words of Italian origin than others: “Chianti”, the author advises the reader to “sound the ‘ch’ like ‘k’” and of “Panettone”, “[i]f you are Italian it is unnecessary to remind you that the final ‘e’ is sounded like the ‘a’ in day.”²⁹ In addition to this, recipe names in other languages are often not given because the author says they are unpronounceable: “Dried Ling in the Spanish Way”; “In Spain they call it by a name that it takes a Spaniard to pronounce” and of “Potatoes in the Russian Way”; “This dish is not so difficult to make as its Russian name is to pronounce.”³⁰

The author’s declaration in the “Foreword” that Italian cooking is well suited to Australia’s climate is one of many pro-Italian statements, and reveals that even though the book includes recipes from a variety of cuisines, it is primarily concerned with promoting Italian food:

²¹ Pierre L. van den Berghe, “Ethnic Cuisine: Culture in Nature,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 7, no. 3 (1984): 387–97.

²² Huat and Rajah, “Hybridity, Ethnicity and Food in Singapore,” 164.

²³ This count includes only recipes that have been labelled by the author as belonging to these cuisines, or the recipe title contains a national or regional identifier. Recipes which have been described as belonging to general regions (eg. “Mediterranean”) or more than one country have not been included in the count.

²⁴ For a discussion of the role of French food in Australia, see Barbara Santich, “The High and the Low: Australian Cuisine in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in *Culinary Distinction*, ed. Emma Costantino and Sian Supski (Perth: API Network, 2006), 37–49.

²⁵ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* (Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1937), 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 169, 229.

²⁷ Twenty-one recipes are given Tuscan origins (9 from Florence, 2 from Livorno, 1 from Siena and 9 are attributed to the region of Tuscany) whereas there are 9 recipes listed as being Sicilian (1 from Palermo and 8 from the region of Sicily). Grouping the remaining recipes into their region of origin, the count is: Veneto (6), Emilia-Romagna (6), Lombardy (5), Campania (5), Lazio (5), Liguria (4), Sardinia (1), Marche (1) and Piedmont (1).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 236.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 243, 294.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 38, 186.

It is time for Australians to realise, in fact, that what one may call Mediterranean cookery has much to offer them. Italian cookery, for instance, embodies ideas, aims and methods that have not only been ripening for literally thousands of years, but have been doing so under climatic conditions far more closely resembling those of Australia than do the British. Many of the Italian recipes that figure in our pages may have been already hoary antiques when Lucullus, that famous Roman epicure, was the great gastronomic dictator of the world half a century B.C.³¹

French cookery is practically an offshoot of the Italian. British cookery, with all its merits, can boast no such illustrious pedigree. It is only common sense, then, for Australians to avail themselves of what, in the very nature of things, must offer them most valuable and interesting examples of food preparation. To ignore such a mine of information is not merely to confess, but to cherish, one's own ignorance.³²

Along with climatic similarities, what is apparent from this quotation is that the author believes it is the long pedigree of Italian food, that Italians and their ancestors have been thinking about and experimenting with how food should be cooked and eaten “for literally thousands of years”, which should be of value to Australians. In addition to this, the reference to Lucullus, “that famous Roman epicure”, invokes the glory of the Roman Empire, a much perpetuated myth in fascist Italy, and provides another link between the author and fascist ideology.³³ The concept of historical pedigree being important in developing strong food traditions pervades the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*: “Excellent dishes” are made with onions because they have “been in constant use from the earliest ages”; Southern Europeans know that endives are “a first-rate stomachic” because they have been administered “from time immemorial”; and salad which “constitute[s] an almost complete form of nourishment” “takes a very prominent place in the dietary of the Mediterranean peoples, and the custom of eating raw vegetables goes back to the very earliest times.”³⁴ The author states that Italians have had the advantage of time to develop a culture around food, whereas Australians clearly have not, and it is the benefits of this venerable culture which he or she wants to share with the Australian audience.

There is ample evidence that the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is Italian in origin within the book itself. However while “cookbooks are important primary sources for food historians”, it is necessary, in the opinion of culinary historian Elizabeth Driver, to gather evidence beyond the book, including bibliographic information, publishing history and social context, in order to interpret the meaning on the page in a useful way.³⁵ In looking outside the primary source, we also find plenty of evidence of the book's ‘Italian-ness’, not least of which is the history of the publishing company which is behind the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*.

The Cosmopolitan Publishing Company was comprised primarily of politically-minded Italian migrants and described itself as “ITALIANA AL CENTO PER CENTO” (“One hundred per cent Italian”).³⁶ It was the brainchild of Filippo Maria Bianchi, who came to Australia in 1928, and who, together with journalist Franco Battistessa, founded *Il Giornale Italiano*, a pro-fascist Italian language newspaper published from 1932 until 1940.³⁷ The newspaper pre-dated the founding of the publishing company, and it was to ensure continued publication of *Il Giornale Italiano*, which had been disrupted by

³¹ The dietary advice that Australians should eat more like those in the Mediterranean rather than the British because of climatic similarities dates to the mid-19th century and is discussed in Santich, *What the Doctors Ordered: 150 Years of Dietary Advice in Australia*, 1–66.

³² *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 2.

³³ Italian fascists glorified Imperial Rome, with Caesar and Mussolini “presented as heroes of the same great national tradition, with Caesar as predecessor of fascism”, see Cannistraro, “Mussolini’s Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?”, 126.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 176, 177, 205.

³⁵ Elizabeth Driver, “Cookbooks as Primary Sources for Writing History: A Bibliographer’s View,” *Food, Culture & Society* 12, no. 3 (2009): 258.

³⁶ “Avviso Importante,” *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, July 7, 1937), 7; On the transcription of article names and quotes in Italian, the author has transcribed them as they appear in the original source which means that errors, in particular the lack of capitalisation and the incorrect placing or omission of accents, are reproduced here. The author has not included sic after every error as this would make the quotes more difficult to read.

³⁷ “I Dirigenti Del ‘Giornale Italiano’,” *Vade Mecum* (Sydney, June 30, 1936), 101; Gaetano Rando, “Aspects of the History of the Italian Language Press in Australia 1885–1985,” in *Italians in Australia: Historical and Social Perspectives: Proceedings of the Conference on the Italians in Australia, the First 200 Years, Held at the University of Wollongong and Macquarie University, 27–29 August 1988*, ed. Michael Arrighi and Gaetano Rando (Wollongong, NSW: Department of Modern Languages, University of Wollongong, Dante Alighieri Society, Wollongong Chapter, 1993), 197–214.

Australian reaction to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in late 1935, but also to meet the commercial needs of Italians in Australia that the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company was said to have been formed.³⁸

Based in Melbourne, the publishing company attracted shareholders from across the Italian diaspora in Australia, notably from as far away as North Queensland and Western Australia, many of whom were listed with short biographies in the *Vade Mecum*, an annual magazine described as the "Trade and Social Guide for Italians in Australia" published by *Il Giornale Italiano* and printed by the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company.³⁹ While Bianchi was noted as the founder of the company, other prominent directors listed in the 1936 *Vade Mecum* included president of the publishing syndicate Severino De Marco, of the well-known De Marco Brothers' terrazzo firm; his brother Annibale and lawyer Valentino Adami. Of interest is also the number of directors in the company with direct links to the food and wine business, particularly in Melbourne, including wine merchant Frank Lanteri, Italian food importer Azzo Ongarello and, perhaps most pertinently, restaurateur Rinaldo Massoni.⁴⁰ Massoni, a surgical instrument maker by trade, was proprietor of Melbourne's Florentino restaurant, and his family was later included as part of the "Spaghetti Mafia", a moniker given by the food media in the late 1970s and early 1980s to the handful of Italian restaurants established in the 1920s, often credited with introducing Melbourne to Italian food.⁴¹ What makes Massoni's inclusion particularly tantalising is his Tuscan origins, given that so many of the recipes in the book are identified as being from Florence or Tuscany; however no evidence could be found linking Massoni to the authorship of the book.⁴² The much-expanded list of shareholders in the 1937 *Vade Mecum* included another prominent "Spaghetti Mafia" representative, Giuseppe Codognotto, of Melbourne's Italian Society restaurant, and Niccolò Mirabella, who the magazine credits with opening Victoria's only Italian patisserie in 1925.⁴³ Franco Battistessa, labelled as a director and executive of *Il Giornale Italiano*, is not listed as being involved with the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company.⁴⁴ The lack of evidence to suggest a link between Battistessa and the book is vexing because Battistessa, who was educated in England, was a staunch defender of Italian food, and his writing style and wit is not dissimilar to that displayed in the cookbook.⁴⁵

The exact politics of those behind the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company is difficult to establish. For example, Bianchi has been described as being more interested in business than fascism, though he had "outbursts of patriotism that identified him as a fascist".⁴⁶ At the same time, government records indicated that when Bianchi was taken to the Tatura Internment Camp in 1940 he demonstrated "pro-Fascist and

³⁸ "Nel Gennaio 1935...", *Vade Mecum* (Sydney, October 28, 1937), 21; "Rapporto dell' Amministratore Delegato Rag. F. M. Bianchi La Fondazione Della Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Ltd.," *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, February 3, 1937), 3.

³⁹ The *Vade Mecum* was printed from 1934 to 1939, with the exception of 1935, which could be attributed to printing difficulties experienced during the Italo-Abyssinian War. The 1934 issue was the only one not printed by the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company; "Special Anniversary Number 'Il Giornale Italiano'," *Vade Mecum* (Sydney, July 25, 1934), 1; "I Fondatori e Dirigenti Della 'Cosmopolitan'," *Vade Mecum* (Sydney, October 28, 1937), 31–49.

⁴⁰ "I Dirigenti Del 'Giornale Italiano'," 101; "I Direttori Della 'Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Ltd.," *Vade Mecum* (Sydney, June 30, 1936), 103–5.

⁴¹ The Florentino was an Italian and continental restaurant which attracted a sophisticated clientele; For details of the Massoni family's restaurant history, see Anne Latreille, "French Food From An Italian Tradition," *The Age* (Melbourne, August 28, 1979), 15; For details of the "Spaghetti Mafia", see Eric Page, "The Spaghetti Mafia," *The Herald* (Melbourne, September 8, 1980), 7; Massoni's trade was noted in his naturalisation record, see NAA: A659, 1939/1/11297.

⁴² Rinaldo Massoni's granddaughter Michele Massoni-Dubuc found no documents among Massoni's personal papers about the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company or the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*. Personal communication, Michele Massoni-Dubuc, 15th & 17th August 2012.

⁴³ The Italian Society changed its name to the Society Restaurant when World War II began, according to Anne Latreille, "The 'Club' Top O' Bourke," *The Age* (Melbourne, August 14, 1979), 15; "I Fondatori e Dirigenti Della 'Cosmopolitan'," 35, 43.

⁴⁴ "I Fondatori e Dirigenti De 'Il Giornale Italiano'," *Vade Mecum* (Sydney, October 28, 1937), 29.

⁴⁵ There was no evidence in Battistessa's private papers held at the Mitchell Library in Sydney to connect him to the book. However, he wrote many letters to newspapers defending Italian food and wine. An example is a letter he wrote in response to Dame Zara Holt's comment published on the 28th October 1968 in *The Australian* about the poor quality of continental wines: "Such incredible, unjustifiable, slashing, slur against the superior, fine wines of Italy, France, Portugal, Spain and Germany, to name the foremost, famous wine-growing, Continental countries, will make the bones of such expert connoisseurs [sic], and discriminating gourmets: Cato, Horace, Cicero, Virgil, Pliny, Lucullus, Omar Khayam, to mention only a few portentous wine-lovers, rattle with anger in their grave." See Franco Battistessa Correspondence, 1916-1977 (being mainly letters received), Franco Battistessa – Papers, 1912-1982, MLMSS 5288 Add-on 1917, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

⁴⁶ Anthony Cappello, "Italian Australians, the Church, War and Fascism in Melbourne 1919-1945" (Masters' diss., Victoria University of Technology, 1999), 24.

pro-Nazi sympathies".⁴⁷ Three years later, now an inmate at South Australia's Loveday Internment Camp, a report on his character and "political outlook" noted that "Bianchi, although having a Fascist history and even now being a firm believer in the Fascist ideals, is undoubtedly anti-Mussolini".⁴⁸ Similarly Battistessa, who established the first *Fascio* in India and politically "belonged to the fascists of the 'first hour'"⁴⁹, is described by historian Gianfranco Cresciani as a dissident fascist, not happy with the Italian state's control over the *Fasci*.⁵⁰ Some of the men listed in the *Vade Mecum* as founders, directors or shareholders of the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company are described as exemplary fascists and/or patriots, and many of them belong to fascist-leaning clubs and organisations. However this is not helpful in attempting to understand their political beliefs when you consider what Battistessa himself told the Commonwealth Investigation Branch in 1939: "Only 6% of the Italians in Australia are registered Fascists... of these merely 10% are genuine Fascists by conviction and ex militants from Italy, 15% are merely opportunists who joined up for fear or in the hope of material advantages, while the remaining 75% have linked up with Fascism for sentimental reasons and in sympathy with the movement which they sincerely believe has regenerated Italy."⁵¹ While Battistessa's comments may have been politically motivated, they are supported by Italian journalist Pino Bosi who believes "most Italians attended its [the Fascist Party's] functions [in Australia], making little distinction between patriotism, nationalism and Fascism".⁵²

Untangling the exact political beliefs of these men is beyond the scope of this paper, but what is clear from the newspaper, the publishing company and the *Vade Mecum*, is that these migrants were proud of their Italian heritage and largely concerned with furthering the interests of Italians in Australia, while building a bridge between themselves and their new country. Under the title "Viva L'Australia! Viva L'Italia! Our Appeal to the Australian Press For a Better Understanding and the Promotion of the Italo-Australian Friendship", Battistessa writes *Il Giornale Italiano* "has clearly defined its aim by the following, unmistakable caption, spread across its heading 'In forefront of our policy: the promotion and maintenance of friendly relations between the Italian and Australian peoples'."⁵³ In support of this, the paper also published a section in English, a move which was praised by various politicians including NSW Premier Sir Bertram Stevens⁵⁴, and encouraged both Italians to learn English and "British-Australian readers" to learn Italian in the belief that "the good work of assimilation would be immensely expedited" if they did so.⁵⁵

While the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company printed everything from baptism announcements to *Fascio* newsletters for the Italian community, many of their publications were focused on helping Australians understand Italians and the works discuss different facets of Italian culture seemingly for those less familiar with it. These works, more often than not, were published in English or in both Italian and English. Publications included the *Newest Italian-English Reader/Nuovissimo Libro di Lettura Italiano-Inglese* (1936) by Gino Nibbi, intended to help those learning Italian; *What for? Abyssinia, the League: The point of View of a Naturalized Australian on the Italo-Abyssinian Dispute* (1936) by A. Baccarini, an explanation of Italy's decision to go to war in Ethiopia; and *Il Canzoniere Italiano in Australia* (1937), a collection of "48 of the most popular patriotic and Neapolitan songs".⁵⁶ A cookbook on Italian food written

⁴⁷ NAA, series 1233/1, item N25326, Italian Enemy Aliens and Naturalised British Subjects of Italian Origin suitable for review in relation to release and employment under supervision of national work quoted in Gianfranco Cresciani, "A Not So Brutal Friendship. Italian Responses to National Socialism in Australia," *Altreitalie* 34 (2007): 20.

⁴⁸ NAA: B741, V/16878S.

⁴⁹ Author translation of "appartiene ai fascisti della 'prima ora'" in "I Fondatori e Dirigenti De 'Il Giornale Italiano'," 29.

⁵⁰ Gianfranco Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, 1922-1945* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980), 58–9.

⁵¹ NAA, series A6126, item 57, Battistessa to CIB Inspector Ronald Browne, 14 August 1939 quoted in Cresciani, "A Not So Brutal Friendship. Italian Responses to National Socialism in Australia," 7.

⁵² Pino Bosi, "The Fatal Years of Irrevocable Destinies (Part 2) – Italian Politics and Italian-Australians Between Two Wars," *Italy Down Under* 13, (Winter 2004): 55.

⁵³ Franco Battistessa, "Viva L'Australia! Viva L'Italia! Our Appeal to the Australian Press For a Better Understanding and the Promotion of the Italo-Australian Friendship," *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, August 27, 1932), 1.

⁵⁴ "N.S.W. Premier's Message to Our Journal," *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, June 22, 1938), 1.

⁵⁵ "Still Forward," *Vade Mecum* (Sydney, September 28, 1938), 34.

⁵⁶ Gino Nibbi's book was printed by the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company on behalf of his well-known Leonardo Art Shop. Gino Nibbi, *Newest Italian-English Reader/Nuovissimo Libro Di Lettura Italiano-Inglese* (Melbourne: Leonardo Art Shop: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1936); A Baccarini, *What for? Abyssinia, The League: The Point of View of a Naturalized Australian on the Italo-Abyssinian Dispute* (Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1936); Author translation of "48 Canzonette Patriottiche e Napoletane piu' Popolari" in *Il*

in English fits very much within this mould – it was another aspect of Italian culture that the publishers wanted to communicate to an Australian audience. It also fits with the character of the company’s founder, according to Pino Bosi, who knew Filippo Maria Bianchi in a professional capacity. Bosi maintains that Bianchi was “highly intelligent and a smooth business operator” as well as a master of public relations.⁵⁷ According to Bosi, Bianchi understood that the way to make people sympathetic to your cause, which in this case, was Italians and Italian culture, was to “seduce rather than frontally attack”. He believes Bianchi could very well have been the brains behind the cookbook because he knew that the way to show Italians’ worth, in the face of an often ambivalent Anglo-Australian attitude, was by “seduction”. As Bosi tells it, Bianchi understood that if you can’t win a duel, you invite them to lunch, and the cookbook, as we shall see, can be regarded as an invitation to dine.⁵⁸

The most definitive evidence of the ‘Italian’ genesis of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* comes in the form of an Italian language version.⁵⁹ Titled “*La Cucina Continentale*” (“The Continental Cookery Book”) and published about four months after the English edition, the book is an almost identical translation from the original with a few notable differences.⁶⁰ Some of the advertisements for *La Cucina Continentale* call it the “Libro di Cucina Italiana e Continentale” (“Book of Italian and Continental Cuisine”) and refer to the English version in Italian as “the first Italian cookbook printed in Australia.”⁶¹ Interestingly the explicit labelling of the book as “Italian” does not occur in any of the English-language advertising for the English edition. Also, while the English version is concerned with explaining the geographic origins of many of the Italian dishes, much of this content has been removed, as have most introductory sections, many literary references and pronunciation instructions. In the Italian version there also appears to be an assumption that the intended (Italian) audience can cope with the full titles of some of the dishes, which the author had apparently deemed too difficult to pronounce in the English version.⁶² What is left is a stripped back book of recipes, where educating the reader on various facets of Italian and continental food is not the priority that it was in the English version, perhaps because: “The Italian housewife is already instinctively a good cook and this book more than having the pretence of teaching her, rather is intended to make complete her knowledge of the art of cooking.”⁶³

Less care appears to have been taken with the Italian version: the order of recipes has been changed, resulting in ones that refer to methods in preceding recipes which in fact appear later.⁶⁴ There also are a number of inconsistencies with the translation: for example the “ham” from “Whiting in the German Way” in the English edition is translated as “prosciutto (‘bacon’),” even though bacon is also translated as “carne secca (‘bacon’),” “carnesecca (‘bacon’),” “lardo” and sometimes just “bacon”, and ham is usually translated as simply “prosciutto”.⁶⁵ This could suggest that more than one person translated it, or it was

Canzoniere Italiano in Australia (Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1937). The latter was not published in English, as it contains song lyrics which are in either Neapolitan dialect or Italian.

⁵⁷ Bosi, “The Fatal Years of Irrevocable Destinies (Part 2) – Italian Politics and Italian-Australians Between Two Wars”, 57–58.

⁵⁸ Personal communication, Pino Bosi, 27th August 2012.

⁵⁹ There is one known copy in Australian libraries of the Italian edition. It is at the NLA and is bound together with the English version. There is no evidence to suggest the book was ever sold this way, and therefore it is logical to assume that this binding was done independently of the publishing company.

⁶⁰ These differences include dropping “First Australian” from the title, use of the metric system, often with the imperial system given in brackets, and the addition of 10 recipes, primarily in the “Game” section. Also, the Italian version does not have four recipes which are in the English edition, including “Curried Spaghetti”, which perhaps was thought to be inappropriate for Italian palates. It is also notable that the “About Wines” chapter is excluded from the Italian version.

⁶¹ “Sfogliando...,” *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, June 15, 1938), 6; Author translation of “...il primo libro di cucina italiana stampato in Australia...” from “Un Regalo Natalizio Di Grande Utilita’,” *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, November 24, 1937), 3.

⁶² For example, “Potatoes in the Russian Way”, which was described as easier to make than pronounce in the English version is given the same title in the Italian, “Patate alla Russa”, but the introduction includes the actual name of the dish: “Volete sapere come si chiama questo piatto in Russia? Eccovi accontentati: Pekenaiio Kartoffeliv Smetane.” (Author translation: “Do you want to know what this dish is called in Russia? Here you are: Pekenaiio Kartoffeliv Smetane.”) *La Cucina Continentale* (Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1937), 201.

⁶³ Author translation of “La massaia italiana e’ gia’ istintivamente una buona cuoca e questo libro piu’ che avere la pretesa d’insegnarle, ha lo scopo invece d’integrare la sua conoscenza in fatto di arte culinaria.” Ibid, A.

⁶⁴ For example, “Cozze alla Marinara” (the corresponding recipe in the English edition is titled “Marinated Mussels”) states “Fate cuocere cinque o sei dozzine di cozze in acqua come e’ detto sopra.” (Author translation: “Cook five or six dozen mussels in water as described above.”) The recipe it refers to, unlike the English edition, is not above, it is three recipes after it. Ibid, 78.

⁶⁵ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 52; *La Cucina Continentale*, 54, 58, 105, 106, 124, 147.

simply not proofread, which the proliferation of several errors also supports.⁶⁶ All of this implies that the priority of the company was publishing the English version – the Italian edition appears to have been an afterthought or the move of a smart businessman, which Bianchi reportedly was, capitalising on work that had already been done. The other major difference is the preface: while the English “Foreword” is a call for Australians to consider continental, and more specifically Italian and Mediterranean recipes, as worthy because they have stood the test of time and are consistent with nutritional advice of the day, the Italian “Prefazione” more directly targets Italian housewives and their egos. As noted, the author already believes they know how to cook but they have “[i]ncluded many tips and suggestions on the preparation and preservation of various foods, much more useful if we consider that as a result of climate, water and raw materials available in Australia, even the most expert Italian cook might be faced with difficulties compromising the success of her delicacies.”⁶⁷

A cultural product of Australia

While the pro-Italian sentiment expressed in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is probably what one would expect from a group of Italians linked with fascism, perhaps more surprising is the author’s enthusiasm for Australia and in particular Australian produce. The country is, according to the author, blessed with an abundance from nature: “No country in the world is better qualified than Australia to win lucrative and healthful results from fish” and “[i]n Australian waters there are many and good varieties of rays with delicate and tasty flesh”; its climate is also enviable: “[T]he materials for salad-making are so abundant, especially in sunny Australia” and “[i]n climate in the world is better suited for poultry-raising”.⁶⁸ The book also includes recipes of no discernible ethnicity that we could call Australian because they make a feature of Australian produce, like “Schnapper a’ la Sydney” which is a variation on “Sole a’ la Francaise” but requires the addition of a dozen oysters, which are described as being more common in Australia than they are in France or Italy.⁶⁹ Perhaps the author’s greatest enthusiasm is reserved for the wine industry: “In Australia, if it [the wine industry] did not start so soon, it will certainly live as long. We claim this, in fact, for one of the chief merits of our book, that it should bring into something like its right perspective a healthful, remunerative, open-air industry destined to grow so vigorously during the coming years.”⁷⁰ The author was, of course, correct and very far-sighted.

To further dilute any sense of Italian parochialism, the multi-ethnic nature of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* can be argued to be reflective of a ‘new’ country’s mindset free of the ‘oppression’ of culinary tradition.⁷¹ In addition to the cuisines already mentioned as being represented in the book, there are recipes from America, Austria, Portugal, Poland, Holland, Denmark, England, Wales, Scotland, Belgium, India, Greece, Tunisia and Hungary. The list may appear to stretch the definition of “continental” but it was not uncommon in this period for “continental food” to be used as a synonym of “foreign food”.⁷² It is hard to imagine a similarly broadminded book of foreign recipes being published in Italy under Mussolini’s fascist regime in the 1930s.⁷³

⁶⁶ Errors include “covolfiore” instead of “cavolfiore” (“cauliflower”) and “Sherry” written as “Cherry” throughout, *Ibid*, 191, 219; This is not to say there are not errors in the English version, and sometimes these errors are corrected, or an attempt is made at correction, in the Italian version. For example “Eel soup in the Polish Style” in the English edition is described as a Polish national soup, however the method corresponds to the Dutch soup Aalsoep. In the Italian, the recipe is titled “Zuppa di Anguilla alla Polacca (Aalsoep)” (“Eel soup in the Polish Style (Aalsoep)”) and is described as a national dish of Holland. *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 61; *La Cucina Continentale*, 95.

⁶⁷ Author translation of “Vi sono inclusi numerosi consigli e suggerimenti sulla preparazione e conservazione delle varie vivande, tanto piu’ utili se si considera, come a causa del clima, dell’acqua e delle materie prime disponibili in Australia, anche la cuoca italiana piu’ esperta potrebbe trovarsi di fronte a difficolta’ compromettenti la buona riuscita dei suoi manicaretti.” *Ibid*, A.

⁶⁸ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 31, 69, 142, 204.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 63, 82.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 293.

⁷¹ For a discussion of the inventiveness of Australian cooks, see Santich, *Bold Palates*.

⁷² For example, a feature on “Continental Cookery” in a 1934 issue of *Everylady’s Journal* includes recipes labelled as South African and Chinese amongst the more expected ones from Europe. See “Continental Cookery. Unusual Recipes Gathered from Many Countries.,” *Everylady’s Journal* (Melbourne, January 1, 1934), 32.

⁷³ Italian cookbooks in the fascist era borrowed from “regional specialities adapted for national use” but were mostly about teaching housewives how to get by “under the increasing restrictions caused by Mussolini’s drive for self-sufficiency”. The spectacular exception was F.T. Marinetti’s *The Futurist Cookbook* (1932), which communicated the ideals of futurism, a movement which, at least initially, was strongly linked to Italian fascism. Both fascists and futurists were against the use of foreign language and what they saw as foreign culture in Italy, so it is unlikely that they would accept a cookbook made up of foreign and Italian recipes. See Carol Helstosky, “Recipe for the Nation:

Accessibility

That the book includes recipes from Britain and Scotland, both with and without a continental twist⁷⁴, does seem strange, unless we consider their use as part of an overall strategy on the part of the author to make the book acceptable and accessible to a mainstream Australian audience. In the recipe for “Scotch Shortbread”, the author even admits “[s]trictly speaking, we are deserting the Continental kitchen for the moment to enter the sacred precincts of the Scottish kitchen, but it has struck us that even a Continental cooking-book cannot do less than include this sweet with its wide Christmas popularity.”⁷⁵ Perhaps the author felt to include popular and familiar recipes such as shortbread, amongst others, would make readers feel comfortable and more likely to try some of the less familiar and more exotic recipes. Evidence of this desire not to alienate can also be found in the way the author is careful not to dismiss British food outright, the culinary tradition at the heart of the Australian diet: “Not, for a moment, that the latter [British cookery] has no merits, but that so many of its good points are unsuitable, or only half-suited, to Australian conditions.” Two paragraphs later, the author underlines that British cookery is not without worth, however “with all its merits,” it just does not have the same “illustrious pedigree [as French cookery which is derived from Italian cookery].”⁷⁶

Calling the English version of the book a “Continental” cookery book rather than an “Italian and Continental cookery book”, and not crediting an author who likely had an Italian name could also have been an attempt to make it less threatening. The concept of “continental cookery” would have been familiar to a middle-class Australian housewife in the 1930s, whereas “Italian cookery” was much less well known.⁷⁷ Also, it could be argued that the term “Italian” was likely to have had some negative connotations in this period. While the Italian migrant community in Australia was relatively small, especially considering the size it would swell to after the Second World War, there was fear especially in the sugarcane plantations of Queensland that Italian labour would take Australian jobs, and many examples of racism against Italians were evident.⁷⁸

In keeping with the general accessibility of the book, the author makes allowances for culturally-conditioned tastes and this can be seen in regards to garlic, an item to which Australians have traditionally been averse. The author is aware of this and allows for it: in the recipe for “Chine of Pork”, for example, the advice is to “[a]dd a dash of garlic if you like”.⁷⁹ In the case of olive oil, however, the author is less permissive: “As regards the oil, the advice is not only pithy, but healthful. If you are, or think you are, deficient in a taste for good olive oil, correct your error as fast as you can.”⁸⁰ However, this edict on olive oil is something of an exception, with the author generally allowing for substitutions where necessary: in “Schnapper with Cheese”, for example, the author says use “Kraft cheese, for instance, if you have not got any Gruyere”.⁸¹ Although it should also be noted that Kraft is an advertiser in the book, which could have influenced its inclusion here, there is a general tone of not being too prescriptive, especially with things that may be unfamiliar.

The decision of the author to use English when giving the titles of foreign recipes also adds to the book’s approachability. While there is some use of Italian and other foreign words, these are usually provided in brackets or inverted commas, or, more commonly, not given at all. For example, a recipe describing a disc of dough topped with cheese and tomato is not called pizza, but is simply “A Neapolitan Recipe.”⁸² Comparing the titles of the same recipes in the English edition to the Italian version reveals words which the author must have thought were just too foreign. The “Genoese Ribbon-Macaroni” in the English edition, for example, becomes “Lasagne col Pesto alla Genovese” in the Italian version.⁸³ Using the term “ribbon-macaroni” instead of lasagne is an example of the author speaking to the audience in

Reading Italian History Through *La Scienza in Cucina* and *La Cucina Futurista*,” *Food and Foodways* 11, no. 2–3 (2003): 126–7; For more on the fascist attitude to foreign culture in Italy, see Cannistraro, “Mussolini’s Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?”.

⁷⁴ The observation that the recipes are both with and without a continental twist was made by Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary History*, 56.

⁷⁵ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 264.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁷ A 1935 article by Enid Lyons, wife of Australian PM Joseph Lyons, about her impressions of Italy records that she was completely unfamiliar with Italian food. See Enid Lyons, “Mrs. Lyons’s Impressions of Italy,” *The Courier-Mail* (Brisbane, April 22, 1935), 14.

⁷⁸ See, as an example of racism against Italians, Brisbane’s Truth Cartoon Against Italians in Gianfranco Cresciani, *Migrants or Mates: Italian Life in Australia* (Sydney: Knockmore Enterprises, 1988), 164–5.

⁷⁹ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 138.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 204.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 269.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 96; *La Cucina Continentale*, 101.

terms they might better understand – macaroni was a generic term to describe all kinds of pasta in Australia in the early half of the previous century, whereas few people would have understood what was meant by lasagne. The same could be said of pizza and pesto. Of course, all of these words have since entered everyday food language in Australia.

The use of English in recipe titles seems to have been a conscious decision especially when we consider the way recipes were named in a book which served as source material for the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book: Countess Morphy's Recipes of All Nations*.⁸⁴ This book, published in 1935 in London and New York, and also available in Australia, contains so many similar recipes that it is highly likely that the author, in some places, copied from it though quantities and ingredients were frequently altered.⁸⁵ One major difference, however, is the approach to naming recipes: Morphy generally uses the native language followed by an English translation in brackets, for example, “Streichkäse mit Käseresten (A cheese savory)” whereas a very similar recipe in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is simply “German Cheese Savouries”.⁸⁶ Other differences between the two books highlight some of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* author's intentions. Unlike *Recipes of All Nations*, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is not divided into chapters according to nationality; instead “Meat Soup in Barcelona Style” is followed by “Romagna Christmas Soup” in the “Soups” chapter, and as a result, the book, like the publisher's name, does have a cosmopolitan air.⁸⁷ Also, while *Recipes of All Nations* contains recipes from countries like Japan, China and the continent of South America, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* completely ignores these. The author's decision not to include Asian or South American recipes suggests that he or she believes Australia's food culture should be primarily European, perhaps because it is the food culture that the author most understood.⁸⁸ That *Recipes of All Nations* provides source material for the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* proves that it is indeed alive with “hybrid vigour”. In fact we see globalisation at work: recipes by an American-born woman who lived in England and wrote for both English and American housewives, with help from a variety of French, Italian and German chefs working in London and New York, amongst others, are used as either inspiration or more directly copied by what was almost certainly an Italian migrant writing for an Australian audience.

Using some familiar recipes, allowing for personal taste and substitutions, explaining recipes in terms which the audience would understand and minimising the use of foreign language appear to have indeed made the book accessible to an Australian mainstream audience, at least according to an *Argus* book reviewer who, in August 1937, stated that most of the dishes from the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* “seem to be appetising enough to tempt even conservative cooks to experiment”.⁸⁹

Fidelity to origins

Making recipes accessible did not necessarily mean that the author was compromising or dumbing them down. Throughout the book there is a tension between the author's desire to be correct and true to the origins of particular dishes, especially Italian ones, and the need to publish a book which an Australian audience would accept and use. While it has been noted that Italian and foreign words are generally

⁸⁴ Countess Morphy was the pseudonym of Marcelle Azra Forbes née Hincks, a New Orleans native who found success as a cookbook writer in London in the 1930s and 1940s. Fred Kelso, *For the Love of Fungus: A One Hundred Year Bibliography of Mushroom Cookery, 1899-1999* (Oxford, Pa: Hengwrt Pub, 2009), 4–5.

⁸⁵ The altering of times, ingredients and methods make it difficult to prove plagiarism. However, by concentrating on errors, there is strong evidence. For example, the recipe for “French Vegetable Soup” in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* (titled “Zuppa di Legumi alla Francese (Brunoise)” in the Italian version) has the same introductory sentence, though paraphrased, as *Recipes of All Nations*' “Brunoise (Vegetable Soup)”, however the ingredients and method are nothing alike. Instead the ingredients and method, again paraphrased and with some minor timing alterations, match the recipe listed below in *Recipes of All Nations* – “Potage aux Herbes (Sorrel, Lettuce, and Chervil Soup).” *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 26; *La Cucina Continentale*, 24; Countess Marcelle Morphy, *Recipes of All Nations* (New York: WM. H. Wise & Company, 1935), 29.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 401; *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 275.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 16.

⁸⁸ India is the only Asian cuisine represented in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*. It could be argued that this is because Indian food, or perhaps more correctly Anglo-Indian food, was already part of the English culinary tradition by the 19th century, as described by April Bullock, “The Cosmopolitan Cookbook: Class, Taste, and Foreign Foods in Victorian Cookery Books,” *Food, Culture & Society* 15, no. 3 (2012): 440. Also, notably, Battistessa and Bianchi both lived in India before migrating to Australia, and there is a curious addition to the recipe “Sformato di Bracioline e Verdure” in *La Cucina Continentale*, 106, which is not present in the corresponding recipe “Cutlets and Vegetables” in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 102: “Gl'Indiani sono molto golosi di questa pietanza.” (“The Indians just love this dish.”) Perhaps this line was added by Bianchi or Battistessa, writing from personal experience?

⁸⁹ “Two Cookery Books,” *The Argus* (Melbourne, August 18, 1937), 18.

avoided, in some cases they are used, perhaps because the author believes no acceptable English equivalent exists. Where these words are used, they are generally followed by an explanation: “Risotto” is “(a mixture of rice, butter, and grated cheese)”; “Foccacia” is followed by “(a kind of cake or bun)”; and after the method explaining “Artichokes in Pinzimonio” the author adds “[p]inzimonio’ is the Italian name of the sauce. Into it they dip, too, the raw celery, etc.”⁹⁰

The author was also clearly interested in challenging what his or her audience might believe they knew about Italian food. Nowhere is this more evident than in the entry for “Broth”:

Spaghetti, by its shape, its colour, its knack of giving relish to other food, the way of eating it, its own taste, and the dash of local colour traditionally associated with it, assumes in the mind and imagination of the tourist in Italy such an importance that for him Italian cookery and spaghetti have become almost synonymous... Any candid examination, in fact, would show that the one of all Italian national dishes most widely and persistently [sic] consumed is the well known thick soup (minestra) of which a fundamental ingredient is broth (brodo).⁹¹

Intelligent & witty

The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is written with intelligence and wit which is not always evident in other Australian cookbooks of the 1930s.⁹² There are many literary references, and these are not restricted to Italian authors, for example, of the belief that spaghetti is Italy’s national dish: “This impression, like the report of Mark Twain’s death, is slightly exaggerated”; of a sweet biscuit called “Cenci ... [t]his name has nothing to do with Shelley’s tragedy”; and of “Trout in the Moorish Way... Othello himself may have enjoyed it, who knows?”⁹³ Expert opinion is cited on diet and nutrition, including Sir Robert McCarrison, a Northern Irish expert on nutrition, and, significantly, Australian doctor Philip E. Muskett, who is referenced in relation to Australians’ inability to cook vegetables:

...a state of things all the less excusable seeing that it is now many years since the late Dr. Muskett not only urged their use, but in his “Australian Book of Diet” described how it should be done.⁹⁴

Muskett believed that Australians ate too much meat, not enough vegetables and fish, and would benefit from eating more like those in Mediterranean countries.⁹⁵ His thoughts are echoed throughout the book and are clearly shared by the author with recipes for fish and vegetables numbering in the hundreds, while there are only 21 recipes in the “Meat” chapter.

The wit of the author is on display in recipes like “Lamb in a Hurry”: “To start with, it must be real lamb, not mutton rejuvenated like ambitious ladies on the wrong side of forty”; in the recipe for “Hare Loaf”, which references the famous alleged quote of 18th century English cookery book writer Hannah Glasse, “First, catch your hare”: “We assume, in fact, that the hare has been caught by someone else, and merely request our readers, in the traditional language of the kitchen oracles, to ‘take’ it”; and in the recipe for “Baba”, a pastry with a hole in the middle, which means woman in Polish: “‘Baba’ is a Polish word of which a definition may be constructed from this recipe.”⁹⁶

This demonstrates that our author was not only highly educated and somewhat playful but regarded food as a subject of cultural significance without a hint of being patronising. The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is not simply a book of recipes, it is also a celebration of the civilizational importance of cooking, which the author says “can proudly claim to be at once the oldest of arts and the youngest of sciences”, “[t]he oldest of arts, because one cannot picture a humanity in possession of any art at all, and yet so undeveloped as not to have already rebelled against the repulsiveness of raw meat, and invented Cookery as the corrective” and “[t]he youngest of sciences, inasmuch as it is only of recent years that the Dietist has been taken seriously enough to impart weight to his learned confirmation of what mere

⁹⁰ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 130, 172, 227. Regarding foccacia, while Australians have come to know it as a flat bread with garlic and herbs, filled like a sandwich, the author is also correct as there are sweet as well as savoury versions according to John Irving and Paola Gho, eds., *The Slow Food Dictionary to Italian Regional Cooking* (Bra, Italy: Slow Food Editore, 2010), 232–33.

⁹¹ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 12.

⁹² Some examples of 1930s cookbooks, which do not, by and large, share the wit evident in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* include: A. A. Drummond, *The Blossoms Cookery Book* (Adelaide: Hunkin, Ellis & King, 1931); A. M. Campbell and Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union of Victoria, *The New P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*, 3rd impres (Melbourne: Brown, Prior, Anderson, 1936); *The Leader Spare Corner Book: A Unique Collection of Home and Household Hints and Kitchen Recipes - Part X* (Melbourne: The Age, 1938).

⁹³ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 12, 47, 267.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 164.

⁹⁵ For Muskett’s opinion on the Australian diet see Philip E. Muskett, *The Art of Living in Australia* (Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Library, 2004), <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/muskett/philip/art/>.

⁹⁶ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 113, 221, 305.

ordinary Cooks had discovered themselves thousands of years ago... that some foods are of much greater value than some others...⁹⁷

Audience

Another key difference between this book and others typical of this time is that the author does not appear to be speaking primarily or solely to women: “Nothing is too fantastic, nothing too ambitious, for *his* [author’s emphasis] genial imagination to suggest as a means of tickling the diner’s palate.”⁹⁸ While at other times the author addresses both sexes: “By his or her meat, you’ll know your cook.”⁹⁹ This is not to say that women are never directly addressed; they are, especially in regards to domestic economy: “A good cook will save her household a vast amount of expense by making an attractive and nutritious dish out of cuts that will cost, with luck, not more than a half, or even a quarter, of what must be paid for their expensive rivals”¹⁰⁰ and the “housewife” is frequently invoked, often in a way that expresses a sexism characteristic of its time: “The following recipes [from famous continental chefs]... state the methods so plainly that the average housewife will find no difficulty in following such illustrious examples... [a]nyhow, we have done our best”.¹⁰¹ Overall, however, the book is not explicitly aimed at women – being a good wife or mother or even hostess are never mentioned – and this supports the idea that the book is written for all Australians.¹⁰² The title reinforces this, as does the first sentence of the book: “This volume is the First Continental Cookery Book printed in Australia for Australians”.¹⁰³

However, the book was advertised in distinctly different ways, which were not always reflective of the actual contents. Classified advertisements in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Courier-Mail* addressed the housewife, saying the book is “a boon to the housewife” and “teaches you to cook well and eat better.”¹⁰⁴ In *Il Giornale Italiano*, however, display advertisements market the book as the perfect gift to buy your Australian friends for Christmas, yet more evidence of the publishing company wanting their migrant readers to reach out and connect with mainstream Australians.¹⁰⁵ It also is advertised on the English pages of *Il Giornale Italiano*, and these are the only ads that market the book as ideal for entertaining and dinner parties, something to which the book does not make reference.¹⁰⁶ Possibly, the publisher believes Australians regard continental cookery as food for entertaining, and will market it as such, even if that was not the main stated intention of the author. Once the Italian version was published, *Il Giornale Italiano* ads continue to suggest Italians buy the English version for Australian friends and the Italian version for themselves. It addresses its ads “to gourmet friends” and to connoisseurs, not to housewives or dinner party hostesses, perhaps revealing what it saw as the key difference between the two food cultures.¹⁰⁷ The multitude of marketing messages showed a level of sophistication in differentiating according to the likely medium’s audience while trying to appeal to as wide a readership as possible.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 1.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 93.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 134.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 93.

¹⁰² As opposed to the Italian version which says it is actually for Italian housewives; There is one exception in the English version, the “Sweets” chapter is explicitly aimed at women: “Here is, sure enough, if anywhere, the peculiarly and appropriately feminine department of the noble art of Cookery. Not that the she-cook fails to shine in all branches – perish the thought! – but that here the eternal feminine is wont to revel in results that mere man, unless a culinary genius, can only contemplate and enjoy with respectful admiration.” Ibid, 214.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 1; Despite this claim from the author, evidence suggests it was not the first continental cookery book published in Australia – gas companies in Sydney and Adelaide published booklets of continental recipes by Madame Leo Cherniavsky in the late 1920s and 1930s; Anne Dyason’s *A Cook’s Tour for Cooks*, published in 1931, featured dishes from around the world; and *Nu-kooka, A Modern Cookery Book* which contained Jewish and continental dishes appeared in the 1930s. See Madame Leo Cherniavsky, *Continental Recipes* (Sydney: Australian Gas Light Company, n.d.); Madame Leo Cherniavsky, *Continental Recipes* (Adelaide: The South Australian Gas Company, n.d.); Anne Dyason, *A Cook’s Tour for Cooks: National Dishes of Nineteen Nations* (Melbourne: Ramsay Publishing Pty. Ltd, 1931); *Nu-kooka, A Modern Cookery Book: Containing Best Jewish and Continental Dishes, Cocktails, Savouries, Confectionery* (Sydney: n.p., n.d.).

¹⁰⁴ “For the Housewife,” 2–5; “A Boon to the Housewife,” 3.

¹⁰⁵ “Ecco un’ottima occasione per offrire ai vostri amici Australiani un qualcosa di totalmente diverso che non potranno non apprezzare appieno” (Author translation: “This [Christmas] is an excellent opportunity to offer your Australian friends something totally different that they can’t fail to fully appreciate”). “Attenzione!,” *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, December 1, 1937), 2.

¹⁰⁶ “It’s Smart to Entertain Continentally,” 1.

¹⁰⁷ “Agli Amici Buongustai,” *Il Giornale Italiano* (Sydney, February 16, 1938), 3.

Why was it written?

As we have seen, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* was written in an accessible but intelligent way, aimed at attracting a large mainstream Australian audience. Why it was written is difficult to answer, especially when the author remains unknown. However if we consider the evidence provided in the book itself and the publishing company behind the book, we can conclude that it was written to persuade Australians that there is a better, more suitable way for them to cook and eat, and that way is based largely upon the history and experience of Italians. This is illustrated in the following quote, which is ostensibly about the inability of Australians to cook vegetables:

One opposing factor still at work is the prejudice against everything “foreign,” and one forgets or overlooks that the use of certain vegetables in certain “foreign” countries has been the result of centuries and centuries of experience and civilisation.¹⁰⁸

If we substitute the word “Italian” for foreign and think beyond vegetable cooking advice, the author appears to be urging the audience to embrace Italians because they come from a civilisation that Australians can learn from. This is not to say that the author believes Australia has nothing to offer. As we have seen, he or she readily and enthusiastically acknowledges that Australia has an abundance of natural bounty and is a land of great opportunity – its waters are teeming with fish, its climate is perfect for poultry rearing, and “no other country in the world offers better opportunities for vegetable-production and appreciation, whether as regards quality, quantity, or variety, than does this Commonwealth” – but Australians don’t always know how to take advantage of this nature because they lack a sophisticated food culture, either because there has not been time to develop one or because “[t]oo many Australians of British stock” have been “over-faithful to the footsteps of their fathers” in following a food tradition that does not suit their climate.¹⁰⁹ That is where the author believes Italy, and Italians, can help, for they have had centuries to develop a food culture that is not just excellent in its own right, but is suitable for Australia because of the similarity to the Mediterranean climate, something Dr Muskett pointed out in the late 19th century.¹¹⁰ In order for Australians to access this culture, they need education, hence the mission of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*.

The author of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* may have been taking the advice given to Italian migrants by the Archbishop of Brisbane James Duhig in the 1934 *Vade Mecum*: “Be proud of your ancestry: never forget “Our Italy” and by your exemplary lives and industrious habits maintain the traditions of your nation and promote the welfare of Australia, your adopted country.”¹¹¹ The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* author believes his or her heritage can help usher in, if not a culinary revolution than at least a rapid-fire evolution:

Let us try, here, to do our modest best towards encouraging the opening of a new and better chapter in the history of Australian cookery. Surely the time is ripe for such a move!¹¹²

This injunction reads like a political manifesto, which, given the fascist heritage of the book, is not incongruous. While the book doesn’t seemingly push a fascist agenda, it does express nationalistic sentiments about both Italy and Australia.

The migrants behind the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* wanted, in the words of Battistessa, to forge a strong relationship between “ancient, noble Italy that gave us birth and the new great Australia that is to-day our adopted country and will to-morrow be the fatherland of our children’s children”.¹¹³ This desire to create a relationship between Italy and Australia is evident in the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* and has resulted in the creation of Australia’s first Italo-Australian cookbook. At the same time, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is not just a marriage of Italian culture and Australian nature; the inclusion of recipes from other cuisines and the use of Countess Morphy’s *Recipes of All Nations* as source material means the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* has been influenced by a wide variety of cultures and, as such, is a truly hybridised product.

¹⁰⁸ *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 164.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 163.

¹¹⁰ Philip E. Muskett, *The Book of Diet: With, Also, A Collection of Savoury, Choice, Delicious and Selected Recipes* (Melbourne: George Robertson & Co, 1898).

¹¹¹ James Duhig, “Message To the Sons and Daughters of Italy and Their Children in Australia,” *Vade Mecum* (Sydney, July 25, 1934), 5.

¹¹² *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 165.

¹¹³ Battistessa, “Viva L’Australia! Viva L’Italia! Our Appeal to the Australian Press For a Better Understanding and the Promotion of the Italo-Australian Friendship,” 1.

Ultimately, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* challenges the ideas that all Italian migrants were uneducated, had a ghetto mentality and maintained their food traditions as a way to connect with their past. For here were a group of educated Italian migrants who not only wanted to participate and engage with mainstream Australian society, they wanted to actively change it. The *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* is unusual as a migrant-produced cookbook in that it does not sentimentally reference nostalgia and romanticism, instead it appeals to logic and reason – Australians should change the way they eat because it does not suit their climate and it does not make the most of what they naturally have available to them. It is an enterprising and assured work, and in the way it manages to deliver its revolutionary message while attempting not to alienate its audience, it is clever and somewhat subversive. However, clever as it might have been, it did not work. Australians were not ready to heed the message of the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* in the 1930s and the onset of World War II would not have encouraged the adoption of foreign food traditions. However, it could be argued, that the future the book envisaged for Australian cooks and eaters, one where Australians embraced foods from many cultures and looked beyond Britain as the main source of their culinary and dietary habits, has in many respects, come true.

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to Dr Paolo Baracchi at the Italian Historical Society for access to the Society's collections and for his assistance with this paper, in particular for putting her in touch with various individuals who she would also like to thank including Professor Alfredo Luzi, Pino Bosi and Michele Massoni-Dubuc. A version of this paper was presented at the Australian Historical Association 31st Annual Conference in Adelaide 2012 and the author is indebted to those who made helpful comments, in particular Blake Singley whose assistance in finding a physical copy of *La Cucina Continentale* was invaluable. In addition, the author would like to thank her principal supervisor Associate Professor Rachel A. Ankeny and co-supervisor Dr Catherine Kevin, as well as David Southwell for his assistance with editing and proofreading.

Bibliography

- Appadurai, Arjun. "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (1988): 3–24.
- Baccarini, A. *What for? Abyssinia, The League: The Point of View of a Naturalized Australian on the Italo-Abyssinian Dispute*. Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1936.
- Bannerman, Colin. *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*. Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1996.
- . *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia's Culinary History*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1998.
- Battistessa, Franco. "Viva L'Australia! Viva L'Italia! Our Appeal to the Australian Press For a Better Understanding and the Promotion of the Italo-Australian Friendship." *Il Giornale Italiano*. Sydney, August 27, 1932.
- Beckett, Richard. *Convicted Tastes: Food in Australia*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984.
- Van den Berghe, Pierre L. "Ethnic Cuisine: Culture in Nature." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 7, no. 3 (1984): 387–97.
- Bosi, Pino. "The Fatal Years of Irrevocable Destinies (Part 2) – Italian Politics and Italian-Australians Between Two Wars." *Italy Down Under* 13 (2004): 54–58.
- Bullock, April. "The Cosmopolitan Cookbook: Class, Taste, and Foreign Foods in Victorian Cookery Books." *Food, Culture & Society* 15, no. 3 (2012): 437–54.
- Campbell, A. M., and Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Victoria. *The New P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*. 3rd impres. Melbourne: Brown, Prior, Anderson, 1936.
- Cannistraro, Philip V. "Mussolini's Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?" *Journal of Contemporary History* 7, no. 3/4 (1972): 115–139.
- Cappello, Anthony. "Italian Australians, the Church, War and Fascism in Melbourne 1919-1945." Masters' diss., Victoria University of Technology, 1999.
- Cherniavsky, Madame Leo. *Continental Recipes*. Sydney: Australian Gas Light Company, n.d.
- . *Continental Recipes*. Adelaide: The South Australian Gas Company, n.d.
- Cresciani, Gianfranco. "A Not So Brutal Friendship. Italian Responses to National Socialism in Australia." *Altreitalia* 34 (2007): 4–38.
- . *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, 1922-1945*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980.

- . *Migrants or Mates: Italian Life in Australia*. Sydney: Knockmore Enterprises, 1988.
- Di'Bartolo, Michele. *The Sicilian Kitchen*. Camberwell, Vic: Lantern, 2008.
- Driver, Elizabeth. "Cookbooks as Primary Sources for Writing History: A Bibliographer's View." *Food, Culture & Society* 12, no. 3 (2009): 257–74.
- Drummond, A. A. *The Blossoms Cookery Book*. Adelaide: Hunkin, Ellis & King, 1931.
- Duhig, James. "Message To the Sons and Daughters of Italy and Their Children in Australia." *Vade Mecum*. Sydney, July 1934.
- Dyason, Anne. *A Cook's Tour for Cooks: National Dishes of Nineteen Nations*. Melbourne: Ramsay Publishing Pty. Ltd, 1931.
- Greenwood, Helen. "Migrants and Mavericks: Defining Australian Cuisine." In *Voracious: The Best New Australian Food Writing*, edited by Paul McNally, 60–69. Prahran, Vic: Hardie Grant Books, 2011.
- Hage, Ghassan. "At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-Building." In *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, edited by Helen Grace, Ghassan Hage, Lesley Johnson, Julie Langsworth, and Michael Symonds, 99–154. Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 1997.
- Helstosky, Carol. "Recipe for the Nation: Reading Italian History Through La Scienza in Cucina and La Cucina Futurista." *Food and Foodways* 11, no. 2–3 (2003): 113–140.
- Hoyle, John. *An Annotated Bibliography of Australian Domestic Cookery Books, 1860s to 1950*. Willoughby, NSW: Billycan Cook, 2010.
- Huat, Chua Beng, and Ananda Rajah. "Hybridity, Ethnicity and Food in Singapore." In *Changing Chinese Foodways in Asia*, edited by David Y. H. Wu and Tan Chee-beng, 161–197. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2001.
- Irving, John, and Paola Gho, eds. *The Slow Food Dictionary to Italian Regional Cooking*. Bra, Italy: Slow Food Editore, 2010.
- Kelso, Fred. *For the Love of Fungus: A One Hundred Year Bibliography of Mushroom Cookery, 1899-1999*. Oxford, Pa: Hengwrt Pub, 2009.
- Latreille, Anne. "French Food From An Italian Tradition." *The Age*. Melbourne, August 28, 1979.
- . "Molina's: A Family Flavor." *The Age*. Melbourne, August 7, 1979.
- . "The 'Club' Top O'Bourke." *The Age*. Melbourne, August 14, 1979.
- Lyons, Enid. "Mrs. Lyons's Impressions of Italy." *The Courier-Mail*. Brisbane, April 22, 1935.
- Mitchell, Rosa. *My Cousin Rosa*. Sydney: Murdoch Books, 2009.
- Momesso, Riccardo, and Michael Harden. *Antonio & Lucia: Recipes and Stories from My Australian-Calabrian Kitchen*. Sydney: Plum, 2012.
- Morphy, Countess Marcelle. *Recipes of All Nations*. New York: WM. H. Wise & Company, 1935.
- Muskett, Philip E. *The Art of Living in Australia*. Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Library, 2004. <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/muskett/philip/art/>.
- . *The Book of Diet: With, Also, A Collection of Savoury, Choice, Delicious and Selected Recipes*. Melbourne: George Robertson & Co, 1898.
- National Library of Australia. *Australian National Bibliography, 1901-1950, Volume 1*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1988.
- Newton, John. *Wogfood: An Oral History with Recipes*. Milsons Point, NSW: Random House Australia, 1996.
- Nibbi, Gino. *Newest Italian-English Reader/Nuovissimo Libro Di Lettura Italiano-Inglese*. Melbourne: Leonardo Art Shop: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1936.
- Oates, Teresa, and Angela Villella. *Mangia! Mangia!* Camberwell, Vic: Lantern, 2011.
- Page, Eric. "The Spaghetti Mafia." *The Herald*. Melbourne, September 8, 1980.
- Panayi, Panikos. *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food*. London: Reaktion, 2008.
- Passmore, Kevin. *Fascism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Randazzo, Nino, and Michael Cigler. *The Italians in Australia*. Melbourne: AE Press, 1987.
- Rando, Gaetano. "Aspects of the History of the Italian Language Press in Australia 1885-1985." In *Italians in Australia: Historical and Social Perspectives: Proceedings of the Conference on the Italians in Australia, the First 200 Years, Held at the University of Wollongong and Macquarie University, 27-29 August 1988*, edited by Michael Arrighi and Gaetano Rando, 197–214. Wollongong, NSW: Department of Modern Languages, University of Wollongong, Dante Alighieri Society, Wollongong Chapter, 1993.
- Santich, Barbara. *Bold Palates*. Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 2012.
- . "The High and the Low: Australian Cuisine in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." In *Culinary Distinction*, edited by Emma Costantino and Sian Supski, 37–49. Perth: API Network, 2006.
- . *What the Doctors Ordered: 150 Years of Dietary Advice in Australia*. South Melbourne: Hyland House, 1995.

Symons, Michael. *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*. Adelaide: Duck Press, 1982.

“A Boon to the Housewife.” *The Courier-Mail*. Brisbane, October 14, 1937.

“Agli Amici Buongustai.” *Il Giornale Italiano*. Sydney, February 16, 1938.

“Attenzione!” *Il Giornale Italiano*. Sydney, December 1, 1937.

“Avviso Importante.” *Il Giornale Italiano*. Sydney, July 7, 1937.

“Continental Cookery. Unusual Recipes Gathered from Many Countries.” *Everylady’s Journal*. Melbourne, January 1934.

First Australian Continental Cookery Book. Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1937.

“For the Housewife.” *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Sydney, September 15, 1937.

“I Direttori Della ‘Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Ltd.’” *Vade Mecum*. Sydney, June 1936.

“I Dirigenti Del ‘Giornale Italiano’.” *Vade Mecum*. Sydney, June 1936.

“I Fondatori e Dirigenti De ‘Il Giornale Italiano’.” *Vade Mecum*. Sydney, October 1937.

“I Fondatori e Dirigenti Della ‘Cosmopolitan’.” *Vade Mecum*. Sydney, October 1937.

Il Canzoniere Italiano in Australia. Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1937.

“It’s Smart to Entertain Continentally.” *Il Giornale Italiano*. Sydney, September 28, 1938.

La Cucina Continentale. Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1937.

“N.S.W. Premier’s Message to Our Journal.” *Il Giornale Italiano*. Sydney, June 22, 1938.

“Nel Gennaio 1935...” *Vade Mecum*. Sydney, October 1937.

Nu-kooka, A Modern Cookery Book: Containing Best Jewish and Continental Dishes, Cocktails, Savouries, Confectionery. Sydney: n.p., n.d.

“Paper Merchants, Printers and Others.” *The Argus*. Melbourne, July 10, 1940.

“Rapporto dell’Amministratore Delegato Rag. F. M. Bianchi La Fondazione Della Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Ltd.” *Il Giornale Italiano*. Sydney, February 3, 1937.

“Sfogliando...” *Il Giornale Italiano*. Sydney, June 15, 1938.

“Special Anniversary Number ‘Il Giornale Italiano’.” *Vade Mecum*. Sydney, July 1934.

“Still Forward.” *Vade Mecum*. Sydney, September 1938.

The Leader Spare Corner Book: A Unique Collection of Home and Household Hints and Kitchen Recipes - Part X. Melbourne: The Age, 1938.

“Two Cookery Books.” *The Argus*. Melbourne, August 18, 1937.

“Un Regalo Natalizio Di Grande Utilita’.” *Il Giornale Italiano*. Sydney, November 24, 1937.

Archives

National Archives of Australia: Prisoners of War Information Bureau; MP1103/2, Dossiers containing reports on Internees and Prisoners of War held in Australian camps, single number series with alphabetical prefix, 01 Aug 1939 – 24 Dec 1945; items:

PWV11011 Prisoner of War/Internee; Bianchi, Filippo Maria; Year of birth – 1897; Nationality – Italian, 1939 – 1945.

PWQ7283 Prisoner of War/Internee; Signorini, Oreste; Year of birth – 1890; Nationality – Italian naturalised, 1939 – 1945.

Q7369 Prisoner of War/Internee; Capra, Celestino Natale Enrico; Year of birth – 1893; Nationality – Italian naturalised, 1939 – 1945.

PWN9001 Prisoner of War/Internee; Agostini, Antonio; Year of birth – 1903; Nationality – Italian, 1939 – 1945.

PWN9011 Prisoner of War/Internee; Battistessa, Franco; Year of birth – 1885; Nationality – Italian, 1939 – 1945.

National Archives of Australia: Department of the Interior [II], Central Office; A659, Correspondence files, class 1 (general, passports), 01 Jan 1892 – 31 Jul 1970; 1939/1/11297, Massoni, Rinaldo – Naturalisation, 1922 – 1939.

National Archives of Australia: Investigation Branch, Victoria; B741, Correspondence files, single number series with "V" (Victoria) prefix, 01 Jan 1914 – 31 Dec 1964; BIANCHI, Filippo Mario (sic), 1936 – 1947.

Mitchell Library. Franco Battistessa – Papers, 1912-1982, MLMSS 5288 Add-on 1917. Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Appendix C: Chapter Four Cookbook Sample: Chronological Order and Bibliography

Chronological Order (with shortened title)

1. *The Book of Household Management* (1861)
2. *The English and Australian Cookery Book* (1864)
3. *The Australian Cook* (1876)
4. *The Australian Housewives' Manual* (1883)
5. *The Kingswood Cookery Book* (1888)
6. *Cookery Recipes for the People* (1888)
7. *The Art of Living in Australia* (1894)
8. *Australian Enquiry Book of Household and General Information* (1894)
9. *The Antipodean Cookery Book and Kitchen Companion* (1895)
10. *Cottage Cookery* [1898?]
11. *The Book of Diet* (1898)
12. *A Friend in the Kitchen* (1898)
13. *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book* (1898)
14. *Australian Economic Cookery Book and Housewife's Companion* (1900)
15. *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration* (1900)
16. *Cookery Class Recipes* (1900)
17. *The Adelaide Cookery Note Book* (1902)
18. *Home Cookery for Australia* (1904)
19. *The Goulburn Cookery Book* (1905)
20. *Hobart Cookery Book of Tested Recipes* (1908)
21. *W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1908)
22. *The Schauer Cookery Book* (1909)
23. *The Keeyuga Cookery Book* (1911)
24. *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book* (1912)
25. *The Kookaburra Cookery Book* (1912)
26. *The Common-Sense Cookery Book* (1914)
27. *Common-Sense Hints on Plain Cookery* (1916)
28. *Our Cookery Book* (1916)
29. *The Australian Household Guide* (1916)
30. *The War Chest Cookery Book* (1917)
31. *Barossa Cookery Book* (1917)
32. *Our Cookery Book* (1920)
33. *Cookery Book of Good and Tried Receipts* (1920)
34. *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book of Victoria* (1921)
35. *W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1923)
36. *The Kindergarten Cookery Book* (1924)
37. *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book* (1924)
38. *The Commonsense Cookery Book* [1925?]
39. *Australian Home Cookery* (1926)
40. *The "All in One" Recipe Book and Household Guide* (1926)
41. *Simple Cookery* [193-?]

42. *A Cook's Tour for Cooks* (1931)
43. *Green and Gold Cookery Book* [1932?]
44. *Recipes Old and New* [1934?]
45. *Healthful Cookery* [1934?]
46. *Nu-Kooka* [1935?]
47. *Something Different for Dinner* (1936)
48. *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* (1937)
49. *The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book* (1937)
50. *The New Goulburn Cookery Book* (1937)
51. *The Schauer Cookery Book* (1939)
52. *The Commonsense Cookery Book* (1941)
53. *The Coronation Cookery Book* (1941)
54. *The New P.W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1941)
55. *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book* [194-?]
56. *Australian Cookery of Today* [1943?]
57. *Green and Gold Cookery Book* (1944)
58. *W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1944)
59. *The Coronation Cookery Book* (1945)
60. *The Nu-Kooka* [1947?]
61. *Our Cookery Book* (1948)
62. *The Chef Suggests* [1949?]
63. *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1950)
64. *New Australian Cookery Illustrated* [1950?]
65. *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book* (1950)
66. *W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1952)
67. *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book* (1952)
68. *Oh, For a French Wife!* (1952)
69. *The Hostess Cook Book* (1952)
70. *Italian Food* (1954)
71. *The Coronation Cookery Book* [1954?]
72. *Selected Continental Recipes for the Australian Home* (1955)
73. *Continental Cookery in Australia* (1955)
74. *The Commonsense Cookery Book* (1956)
75. *Cooking for Bachelors* (1959)
76. *Bill Harney's Cook Book* (1960)
77. *Continental Cookery in Australia* (1960)
78. *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1961)
79. *The Hobart Cookery Book* (1961)
80. *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book* (1962)
81. *Green and Gold Cookery Book* (1963)
82. *Oh, For a French Wife!* (1964)
83. *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book* (1966)
84. *Green and Gold Cookery Book* [196-?]
85. *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook* (1968)
86. *Cooking the Italian Way* [1969?]
87. *Australian Women's Weekly Cookbook* (1970)

88. *Margaret Fulton's Italian Cookbook* (1973)
 89. *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book* (1973)
 90. *The Leggo's Italian Cookbook* (1975)

Bibliography of Cookbooks and Recipe Booklets

- Abbott, Edward. *The English and Australian Cookery Book: Cookery for the Many, as Well as for the Upper Ten Thousand by an Australian Aristologist*. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston, 1864.
- Aronson, Mrs Fred B. *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration*. Sydney: William Brooks, 1900.
- Australian Hostesses. *Something Different for Dinner*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1936.
- Barossa Cookery Book: 400 Tried Recipes*. Tanunda, SA: s.n., 1917.
- Bartlett, Jenny. *Healthful Cookery*. Warburton, Vic.: Signs Publishing, [1934?].
- Beeton, Mrs Isabella. *The Book of Household Management*. Facsim. ed. West Melbourne, Vic.: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1977. First published 1861 by S. O. Beeton Publishing (London).
- Campbell, A. M. *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book: Including Pressure Cooking / Arranged by Miss A. M. Campbell, M.A. Issued by the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Victoria*. 8th ed. Melbourne: Hibbins, Taylor, 1950.
- . *The New P.W.M.U. Cookery Book / Arranged by Miss A.M. Campbell, M.A. / Issued by the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Victoria*. 4th ed. Melbourne: Brown, Prior, Anderson, 1941.
- Cavalier Brand. *Recipes Old and New: Special Recipes for Macaroni, Spaghetti & Vermicelli*. Collingwood, Vic.: Macaroni Products, [1934?].
- Citizens' War Chest Fund (NSW). *The War Chest Cookery Book*. Sydney: Websdale, Shoosmith, 1917.
- Colcord, Anna L. *A Friend in the Kitchen, or What to Cook and How to Cook It*. Melbourne: Echo Publishing, 1898.
- Combined Congregational and Baptist Churches of South Australia. *Green and Gold Cookery Book*. 29th ed. Adelaide: Rigby, [196-?].
- . *Green and Gold Cookery Book*. 28th ed. Adelaide: Rigby, 1963.
- . *Green and Gold Cookery Book: Containing Many Good and Proved Recipes*. 19th ed. Adelaide: R. M. Osborne, 1944.
- Cox, Helen May. *The Hostess Cook Book*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1952.

- Daly, Dorothy. *Cooking the Italian Way*. Melbourne: Sun Books, [1969?].
- David, Elizabeth. *Italian Food*. London: Macdonald, 1954.
- Deutsch, Zelmear Mary. *Selected Continental Recipes for the Australian Home*. Sydney: Greendale Publishing, 1955.
- Donovan, Maria Kozslik. *Continental Cookery in Australia*. London: Heinemann, 1955.
- . *Continental Cookery in Australia*. 2nd ed. Melbourne: Heinemann, 1960.
- Dyason, Anne. *A Cook's Tour for Cooks: National Dishes of Nineteen Nations*. Melbourne: Ramsay Publishing, 1931.
- First Australian Continental Cookery Book*. Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1937.
- Fulton, Margaret. *Margaret Fulton's Italian Cookbook*. Dee Why West, NSW; London; New York: Paul Hamlyn, 1973.
- . *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*. London; Sydney: Hamlyn, 1968.
- Futter, Emily. *Australian Home Cookery*. 3rd ed. Sydney: Edwards Dunlop, 1926.
- Harney, William Edward, and Patricia Thompson. *Bill Harney's Cook Book*. Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1960.
- Hills, Alice. *The Adelaide Cookery Note Book, for Domestic Economy Pupils*. Adelaide: Education Dept., 1902.
- Hobart Cookery Book of Tested Recipes, Household Hints and Home Remedies / Hobart Methodist Central Mission*. Hobart: Davies Bros., 1908.
- An Old Housekeeper. *The Australian Housewives' Manual: A Book for Beginners and People with Small Incomes*. Facsim. ed. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2012. First published 1883 by A. H. Massina (Melbourne).
- Kindergarten Union of New South Wales. *The Kindergarten Cookery Book*. 2nd ed. Sydney: Motor Press of Australia, 1924.
- Lady Hackett. *The Australian Household Guide*. Perth: E. S. Wigg & Son, 1916.
- Lady Victoria Buxton Girls' Club. *The Kookaburra Cookery Book of Culinary and Household Recipes and Hints*. 2nd ed. Melbourne: E. W. Cole, 1912.
- Maclurcan, Hannah. *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book: A Collection of Practical Recipes Specially Suitable for Australia*. 2nd ed. Townsville, Qld.: H. Maclurcan, 1898.
- . *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book: A Collection of Practical Recipes Specially Suitable for Australia and New Zealand*. 11th ed. Melbourne: E. W. Cole, 1912.
- McGowan, Henrietta C. *The Keeyuga Cookery Book*. Melbourne: Thomas C. Lothian, 1911.

- Moloney, Ted, and Deke Coleman. *Oh, For a French Wife!* Sydney: Shepherd Press, 1952.
- . *Oh, For a French Wife!* 2nd ed. Sydney: Ure Smith, 1964.
- Moloney, Ted, and George Molnar. *Cooking for Bachelors*. Sydney: Shepherd Press, 1959.
- Muskett, Philip E. *The Art of Living in Australia: Together with Three Hundred Australian Cookery Recipes and Accessory Kitchen Information by Mrs H. Wicken*. eBooks@Adelaide. Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Library, 2004. First published 1894 by Eyre & Spottiswoode (London).
- . *The Book of Diet: With, Also, A Collection of Savoury, Choice, Delicious and Selected Recipes*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1898.
- NSW Public School Cookery Teachers' Association. *Common-Sense Hints on Plain Cookery: A Companion to the Common-Sense Cookery Book, Explaining All Methods of Preparing Food*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1916.
- . *The Common-Sense Cookery Book*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1914.
- . *The Commonsense Cookery Book*. Rev. ed. Sydney: Cornstalk Publishing, [1925?].
- . *The Commonsense Cookery Book*. New & enl. ed. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1941.
- . *The Commonsense Cookery Book*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1956.
- Nu-Kooka, A Modern Cookery Book: Containing Best Jewish and Continental Dishes, Cocktails, Savouries, Confectionery*. Sydney: Waite & Bull, [1935?].
- Pearson, Margaret J. *Cookery Recipes for the People*. Melbourne: M. L. Hutchinson, 1888.
- Pell, Flora. *Our Cookery Book*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1916.
- . *Our Cookery Book*. 4th ed. Melbourne: Specialty Press, 1920.
- . *Our Cookery Book*. 21st ed. Melbourne: Specialty Press, 1948.
- Porter, John D. *The Chef Suggests: Strange and Exciting Dishes with Delicacies of the Table for To-day and To-morrow*. Melbourne: National Press, [1949?].
- Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union. *W.M.U. Cookery Book: Every One a Tried Recipe*. 16th ed. Brisbane: Gordon & Gotch, 1944.
- . *W.M.U. Cookery Book: Every One a Tried Recipe, in Aid of the Queensland Presbyterian Missions*. 18th ed. Brisbane: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1952.
- . *W.M.U. Cookery Book: Over 588 Tried Recipes*. 7th ed. Brisbane: W. R. Smith & Paterson, 1908.
- Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union, Ann Gemmell, Val Howat, and Gwen Mierisch. *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*. Rev. metric ed. Melbourne: Lothian, 1973.

- Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Queensland. *W.M.U. Cookery Book: Over 800 Tried Recipes*. 12th ed. Brisbane: Thomson Bros. & Birch, 1923.
- Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Victoria. *Home Cookery for Australia: All Tested Recipes*. Melbourne: Arbuckle, Waddell & Fawckner, 1904.
- . *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book of Victoria*. 4th ed. Melbourne: Brown, Prior, 1921.
- Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Victoria, Gwen Jenkins, Betty Hanna, and Muriel McMillan. *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*. Rev. ed. Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire, 1961.
- Prudence. *Australian Cookery of Today*. Melbourne: Sun News-Pictorial, [1943?].
- Queensland Department of Public Instruction. *Simple Cookery*. Brisbane: A. H. Tucker, Government Printer, [193-?].
- Rawson, Mrs Lance. *Australian Enquiry Book of Household and General Information: A Practical Guide for the Cottage, Villa, and Bush Home*. Facsim. ed. Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1985. First published 1894 by Pater & Knapton (Melbourne).
- . *The Antipodean Cookery Book and Kitchen Companion*. Facsim. ed. Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1992. First published 1895 by George Robertson (Melbourne).
- Reid, Wynwode. *New Australian Cookery Illustrated*. Melbourne: Colorgravure Publications, [1950?].
- Rinoldi. *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*. Prahran, Vic.: Thos. Reynolds, [194-?].
- Rita. *Cottage Cookery (Hygienic and Economic)*. 3rd ed. Melbourne: George Robertson, [1898?].
- Ross, Isabel. *Cookery Class Recipes: As Taught in the Kitchens of the Metropolitan Gas Company, Melbourne, the Auckland Gas Company, New Zealand, Etc.* Melbourne: Echo Publishing, 1900.
- Rutledge, Jean. *The Goulburn Cookery Book*. 2nd ed. Sydney: W. C. Penfold, 1905.
- Rutledge, Jean, and Thelma McCarthy. *The New Goulburn Cookery Book*. 38th ed. Sydney: W. E. Smith, 1937.
- Sawyer, Jessie, and Sara Moore-Sims. *The Coronation Cookery Book / Compiled for the Country Women's Association of New South Wales, Australia by Jessie Sawyer and Sara Moore-Sims*. 7th ed. Sydney: CWA NSW, [1954?].
- . *The Coronation Cookery Book / Compiled for the Country Women's Association of New South Wales, Australia by Jessie Sawyer and Sara Moore-Sims; Cover Design by Sylvia Dryhurst*. 3rd ed. Sydney: CWA, 1941.

- . *The Coronation Cookery Book / Compiled for the Country Women's Association of New South Wales, Australia by Jessie Sawyer and Sara Moore-Sims*. 4th ed. Sydney: CWA NSW, 1945.
- Schauer, Amy. *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*. 10th ed. Brisbane: W. R. Smith & Paterson, 1952.
- . *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*. Facsim. ed. Fortitude Valley, Qld.: Gap Publishing, 2002. First published 1962 by W. R. Smith & Paterson (Brisbane).
- . *The Schauer Cookery Book*. 8th ed. Brisbane: W. R. Smith & Paterson, 1939.
- Schauer, Amy, and Minnie Schauer. *The Schauer Cookery Book*. Brisbane; Sydney: Edwards, Dunlop, 1909.
- Sinclair, Ellen. *Australian Women's Weekly Cookbook*. Sydney: Golden Press, 1970.
- Story, Fanny Fawcett. *Australian Economic Cookery Book and Housewife's Companion*. Sydney: Kealy & Philip, 1900.
- The Hobart Cookery Book: Tested Recipes, Household Hints, Home Remedies*. Hobart: J. Walch & Sons, 1961.
- The Leggo's Italian Cookbook*. Moorabbin, Vic.; Dee Why West, NSW: Lansdowne Press for Plumrose Australia, 1975.
- The Nu-Kooka: Containing the Best Jewish and Continental Dishes, Cocktails, Savouries, Confectionery*. 2nd ed. Sydney: Lakes & Ashes, [1947?].
- The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book: A Selection of 2,000 Recipes from The Australian Woman's Mirror*. Sydney: The Bulletin, 1937.
- Vassal Cox, Mrs G. *The "All in One" Recipe Book and Household Guide*. Melbourne: Disabled Men's Association of Australia, 1926.
- Wicken, H. F. *The Kingswood Cookery Book*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1888.
- Wilkinson, Alfred J. *The Australian Cook: A Complete Manual of Cookery Suitable for the Australian Colonies: With Especial Reference to the Gas Cooking Stove*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1876.
- Women's Auxiliary of the Congregational Union of New South Wales. *Green and Gold Cookery Book: Containing Many Good and Proved Recipes*. 1st ed. Adelaide: R. M. Osborne, [1932?].
- Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales. *Cookery Book of Good and Tried Receipts*. 16th ed. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1920.
- Wylie, Margaret A. *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*. Perth: E. S. Wigg, 1924.
- . *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*. 11th ed. Perth: E. S. Wigg & Son, 1950.

———. *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*. 18th ed. Perth: E. S. Wigg & Son, 1966.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archives

Co.As.It Italian Historical Society (IHS)

Maria Italiano nee Fasciale, Interview with Laura Mecca, 1988, Notes, Source: Co.As.It Italian Historical Society.

P-01673, A Milk Van Belonging to the Perfect Cheese Co., Image, Source: Co.As.It Italian Historical Society.

Nando Donnini, Tiberio Donnini & Gianni Milani, Interview with Savina Cassino, October 1991, OH196, Source: Co.As.It Italian Historical Society.

Ferdi Vigano, Interview with Maria Tence, 17th November 1983, OH55, Source: Co.As.It Italian Historical Society.

Rino Codognotto, Interview with Maria Tence, 9th February 1984, OH20, Source: Co.As.It Italian Historical Society.

Giancarlo Giusti, Interviewer unknown, October 1991, OH194, Source: Co.As.It Italian Historical Society.

National Archives of Australia (NAA)

National Archives of Australia: Department of the Interior [II], Central Office; A659, Correspondence files, class 1 (general, passports), 01 Jan 1892 – 31 Jul 1970; 1939/1/11297, Massoni, Rinaldo—Naturalisation, 1922–1939.

National Archives of Australia: Investigation Branch, Victoria; B741, Correspondence files, single number series with "V" (Victoria) prefix, 01 Jan 1914–31 Dec 1964; BIANCHI, Filippo Mario [sic], 1936–1947.

National Archives of Australia: Investigation Branch, Central Office, Melbourne and Canberra; A12217, Alien Land Transfer files, single number with L [Land] prefix, 01 Jan 1940–31 Dec 1946; L4255, Natale and Maria Italiano—purchase of property North Balwyn, Melbourne Vic, 04 Sep 1941–16 Oct 1941.

National Archives of Australia: Investigation Branch, Central Office, Melbourne and Canberra; A12217, Alien Land Transfer files, single number with L [Land] prefix, 01 Jan 1940–31 Dec 1946; L5283, Natale P. I. and Maria A. Italiano—purchase of property Middle Park Vic, 04 Feb 1942–26 Feb 1942.

National Archives of Australia: Prisoners of War Information Bureau; MP1103/2, Dossiers containing reports on Internees and Prisoners of War held in Australian camps, single number series with alphabetical prefix, 01 Aug 1939–24 Dec 1945; items: PWV11011 Prisoner of War/Internee; Bianchi, Filippo Maria; Year of birth—1897; Nationality—Italian, 1939–1945.

PWQ7283 Prisoner of War/Internee; Signorini, Oreste; Year of birth—1890;
Nationality—Italian naturalised, 1939–1945.

Q7369 Prisoner of War/Internee; Capra, Celestino Natale Enrico; Year of birth—1893;
Nationality—Italian naturalised, 1939–1945.

PWN9001 Prisoner of War/Internee; Agostini, Antonio; Year of birth—1903;
Nationality—Italian, 1939–1945.

PWN9011 Prisoner of War/Internee; Battistessa, Franco; Year of birth—1885;
Nationality—Italian, 1939–1945.

Public Record Office Victoria (PROV)

PROV, VA 2613 Master of the Supreme Court, VPRS 28/P30 Probate and Administration Files,
Unit 321, 1177966 Italiano Maria Assunta Balwyn Retired.

PROV, VA 2649 Department of Agriculture, VPRS 9603/P5 General Correspondence Files (RMS
System), Unit 7, 7837B-01 80/2495 Small Scale Cheese Industry.

PROV, VA 2695 Department of Health II (commonly known as the Health Department
Victoria), VPRS 14836/P2 General Correspondence Files (General Health Branch
?1944-1978; Public Health Division 1978-1986), Unit 172, H. F. & D. 4039/1 Public
Health Division—Food & Drugs, Cheese.

PROV, VA 618 Department of Agriculture, VPRS 10163/P3 Central Administration
Correspondence Files, Unit 99, Dairy Products Butter & Cheese Factories Part 1.

PROV, VA 618 Department of Agriculture, VPRS 10163/P3 Central Administration
Correspondence Files, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheesemaking.

PROV, VA 618 Department of Agriculture, VPRS 10163/P3 Central Administration
Correspondence Files, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for
Licence Perfect Cheese Co.

PROV, VA 618 Department of Agriculture, VPRS 10163/P3 Central Administration
Correspondence Files, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for
Licence G. & T. Lentini.

PROV, VA 618 Department of Agriculture, VPRS 10163/P3 Central Administration
Correspondence Files, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for
Licence Morabito.

PROV, VA 618 Department of Agriculture, VPRS 10163/P3 Central Administration
Correspondence Files, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for
Licence Varrasso & Marcello.

PROV, VA 618 Department of Agriculture, VPRS 10163/P3 Central Administration
Correspondence Files, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for
Licence S. E. Goldman.

PROV, VA 618 Department of Agriculture, VPRS 10163/P3 Central Administration
Correspondence Files, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for
Licence Kraft Foods & Coragulac.

PROV, VA 618 Department of Agriculture, VPRS 10163/P3 Central Administration
Correspondence Files, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Manufacturers Federation.

PROV, VPRS 10163/P3, Unit 100, Dairy Products Cheese Factories Application for Licence
Perfect Cheese Co.

RAS Heritage (Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria)

The Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria. *Annual Exhibition: Catalogue of Exhibits*. Ascot Vale,
Vic.: Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, 1952-1980. Marked editions, where
available.

State Library of NSW

Franco Battistessa—Papers, 1912-1982, MLMSS 5288 Add-on 1917. Mitchell Library, Sydney.

University of Melbourne Archives (UMA)

University of Melbourne Archives, J. B. Were and Son Collection, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo,
H. M. and Co. Ltd., Chairman's Address, 9 October 1952.

University of Melbourne Archives, J. B. Were and Son Collection, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo,
H. M. and Co. Ltd., Prospectus of H. M. Leggo and Company Limited, 1918.

University of Melbourne Archives, J. B. Were and Son Collection, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo,
H. M. and Co. Ltd., Directors' Reports and Balance Sheets, 1924–1957.

University of Melbourne Archives, J. B. Were and Son Collection, 2000.0017, Box 355, Leggo,
H. M. and Co. Ltd., The Stock Exchange Official Record—H. M. Leggo & Co. Ltd.,
December 1957.

University of Melbourne Archives, J. B. Were and Son Collection, 2000.0017, Box 283, Harvest
Foods Ltd, Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Annual Report 1959.

University of Melbourne Archives, J. B. Were and Son Collection, 2000.0017, Box 283, Harvest
Foods Ltd., Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Chairman's Address to Annual
General Meeting, 30 October 1959.

University of Melbourne Archives, J. B. Were and Son Collection, 2000.0017, Box 283, Harvest
Foods Ltd., Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Annual Report 1959.

University of Melbourne Archives, J. B. Were and Son Collection, 2000.0017, Box 283, Harvest
Foods Ltd., Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Limited Annual Report 1963 and
1966.

University of Melbourne Archives, J. B. Were and Son, 2000.0017, Box 283, Harvest Foods Ltd.,
Associated Canneries Ltd. Harvest Foods Limited Annual Report 1969.

- University of Melbourne Archives, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Prospectus, 1959.
- University of Melbourne Archives, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Directors' Report and Accounts, 30th June, 1963.
- University of Melbourne Archives, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1968.0018, Box 742, Italiano Cheese 1959-1965, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Directors' Report and Accounts, 30th June, 1965.
- University of Melbourne Archives, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1990.0080, Box 209, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited 1975-1981, Letter from H. W. Marsh to the Secretary, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited, 28 January 1981.
- University of Melbourne Archives, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1990.0080, Box 209, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited 1975-1981, Italiano Cheese Industries Limited Directors' Report and Accounts, 30th June, 1980.
- University of Melbourne Archives, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1987.0138 Box 118, Italiano Cheese Industries Ltd. 1965-1972, Letter from N. P. Italiano Jnr. to the Secretary, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited, 15 October 1973.
- University of Melbourne Archives, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Ltd. Collection, 1987.0138 Box 118, Italiano Cheese Industries Ltd. 1965-1972, Letter from P. D. George to the Secretary, Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited, 17 March 1969.

Books and Book Chapters

- Baccarini, A. *What for? Abyssinia, The League: The Point of View of a Naturalized Australian on the Italo-Abyssinian Dispute*. Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1936.
- Culotta, Nino. *They're a Weird Mob*. Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2012. First published 1957 by Ure Smith (Sydney).
- Il Canzoniere Italiano in Australia*. Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1937.
- Lyng, Jens. *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress*. Melbourne: Macmillan in association with Melbourne University Press, 1927.
- Nibbi, Gino. *Newest Italian-English Reader/Nuovissimo Libro di Lettura Italiano-Inglese*. Melbourne: Leonardo Art Shop: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1936.
- O'Hea, William Joseph. *The Introduction of New Rural Industries into Victoria: With Observations on the Best Means Towards the Attainment of That End and the Utilisation of Juvenile Labor at the Disposal of the State*. Melbourne: J. & A. McKinley, 1871. <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/247550>.

Business Records (Not Accessed Through Archives)

Italiano Cheese Industries Limited. *Directors' Report and Accounts 30th June 1966*. Fitzroy, Vic.: Italiano Cheese Industries, 1966.

———. *Directors' Report and Accounts 30th June 1967*. Fitzroy, Vic.: Italiano Cheese Industries, 1967.

———. *Directors' Report and Accounts 30th June 1968*. Fitzroy, Vic.: Italiano Cheese Industries, 1968.

Perfect Cheese Co. *Perfect Cheese Co., N. P. Italiano, Pty. Ltd.* Fitzroy, Vic.: Perfect Cheese, 1955.

Cookbooks and Recipe Booklets

Abbott, Edward. *The English and Australian Cookery Book: Cookery for the Many, as Well as for the Upper Ten Thousand by an Australian Aristologist*. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston, 1864.

Aronson, Mrs Fred B. *XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration*. Sydney: William Brooks, 1900.

Australian Hostesses. *Something Different for Dinner*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1936.

Barossa Cookery Book: 400 Tried Recipes. Tanunda, SA: s.n., 1917.

Bartlett, Jenny. *Healthful Cookery*. Warburton, Vic.: Signs Publishing, [1934?].

Beeton, Mrs Isabella. *The Book of Household Management*. Facsim. ed. West Melbourne, Vic.: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1977. First published 1861 by S. O. Beeton Publishing (London).

Campbell, A. M. *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book: Including Pressure Cooking / Arranged by Miss A. M. Campbell, M.A. Issued by the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Victoria*. 8th ed. Melbourne: Hibbins, Taylor, 1950.

———. *The New P.W.M.U. Cookery Book / Arranged by Miss A.M. Campbell, M.A. / Issued by the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Victoria*. 4th ed. Melbourne: Brown, Prior, Anderson, 1941.

Cavalier Brand. *Recipes Old and New: Special Recipes for Macaroni, Spaghetti & Vermicelli*. Collingwood, Vic.: Macaroni Products, [1934?].

Citizens' War Chest Fund (NSW). *The War Chest Cookery Book*. Sydney: Websdale, Shoosmith, 1917.

Colcord, Anna L. *A Friend in the Kitchen, or What to Cook and How to Cook It*. Melbourne: Echo Publishing, 1898.

Combined Congregational and Baptist Churches of South Australia. *Green and Gold Cookery Book*. 29th ed. Adelaide: Rigby, [196-?].

———. *Green and Gold Cookery Book*. 28th ed. Adelaide: Rigby, 1963.

- — —. *Green and Gold Cookery Book: Containing Many Good and Proved Recipes*. 19th ed. Adelaide: R. M. Osborne, 1944.
- Cox, Helen May. *The Hostess Cook Book*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1952.
- Daly, Dorothy. *Cooking the Italian Way*. Melbourne: Sun Books, [1969?].
- David, Elizabeth. *Italian Food*. London: Macdonald, 1954.
- Deutsch, Zelmear Mary. *Selected Continental Recipes for the Australian Home*. Sydney: Greendale Publishing, 1955.
- Donovan, Maria Kozslik. *Continental Cookery in Australia*. London: Heinemann, 1955.
- — —. *Continental Cookery in Australia*. 2nd ed. Melbourne: Heinemann, 1960.
- Dyason, Anne. *A Cook's Tour for Cooks: National Dishes of Nineteen Nations*. Melbourne: Ramsay Publishing, 1931.
- First Australian Continental Cookery Book*. Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1937.
- Fulton, Margaret. *Margaret Fulton's Italian Cookbook*. Dee Why West, NSW; London; New York: Paul Hamlyn, 1973.
- — —. *The Margaret Fulton Cookbook*. London; Sydney: Hamlyn, 1968.
- Futter, Emily. *Australian Home Cookery*. 3rd ed. Sydney: Edwards Dunlop, 1926.
- Harney, William Edward, and Patricia Thompson. *Bill Harney's Cook Book*. Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1960.
- Hills, Alice. *The Adelaide Cookery Note Book, for Domestic Economy Pupils*. Adelaide: Education Dept., 1902.
- H. M. Leggo & Co. Ltd. *Flavory Fruits and Savory Soups and Their Recipes: Containing Also Valuable Hints and Information on Food Value of Fruits and Vegetables*. 6th ed. Melbourne: H. M. Leggo, 1925.
- Hobart Cookery Book of Tested Recipes, Household Hints and Home Remedies / Hobart Methodist Central Mission*. Hobart: Davies Bros., 1908.
- An Old Housekeeper. *The Australian Housewives' Manual: A Book for Beginners and People with Small Incomes*. Facsim. ed. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2012. First published 1883 by A. H. Massina (Melbourne).
- Kindergarten Union of New South Wales. *The Kindergarten Cookery Book*. 2nd ed. Sydney: Motor Press of Australia, 1924.
- La Cucina Continentale*. Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing, 1937.
- Lady Hackett. *The Australian Household Guide*. Perth: E. S. Wigg & Son, 1916.
- Lady Victoria Buxton Girls' Club. *The Kookaburra Cookery Book of Culinary and Household Recipes and Hints*. 2nd ed. Melbourne: E. W. Cole, 1912.
- Leggo's Authentico! Italian Cookbook*. Melbourne: Leggo's, 1992.

- Leggo's Italian Cookbook*. Moorabbin, Vic.; Dee Why West, NSW: Plumrose (Australia) distributed by Lansdowne Press, 1982.
- Leggo's Tomato Paste Good Cooks' Book*. Sydney: Woman's Day, 1970.
- Maclurcan, Hannah. *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book: A Collection of Practical Recipes Specially Suitable for Australia*. 2nd ed. Townsville, Qld.: H. Maclurcan, 1898.
- . *Mrs. Maclurcan's Cookery Book: A Collection of Practical Recipes Specially Suitable for Australia and New Zealand*. 11th ed. Melbourne: E. W. Cole, 1912.
- McGowan, Henrietta C. *The Keeyuga Cookery Book*. Melbourne: Thomas C. Lothian, 1911.
- Moloney, Ted, and Deke Coleman. *Oh, For a French Wife!* Sydney: Shepherd Press, 1952.
- . *Oh, For a French Wife!* 2nd ed. Sydney: Ure Smith, 1964.
- Moloney, Ted, and George Molnar. *Cooking for Bachelors*. Sydney: Shepherd Press, 1959.
- Morphy, Countess Marcelle. *Recipes of All Nations*. New York: WM. H. Wise, 1935.
- Muskett, Philip E. *The Art of Living in Australia: Together with Three Hundred Australian Cookery Recipes and Accessory Kitchen Information by Mrs H. Wicken*. eBooks@Adelaide. Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Library, 2004. First published 1894 by Eyre & Spottiswoode (London).
- . *The Book of Diet: With, Also, A Collection of Savoury, Choice, Delicious and Selected Recipes*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1898.
- Northover, Robin, and Norma Van Eck. *The Feminine Touch Wine and Food*. Melbourne: Decalon, 1978.
- NSW Public School Cookery Teachers' Association. *Common-Sense Hints on Plain Cookery: A Companion to the Common-Sense Cookery Book, Explaining All Methods of Preparing Food*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1916.
- . *The Common-Sense Cookery Book*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1914.
- . *The Commonsense Cookery Book*. Rev. ed. Sydney: Cornstalk Publishing, [1925?].
- . *The Commonsense Cookery Book*. New & enl. ed. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1941.
- . *The Commonsense Cookery Book*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1956.
- Nu-Kooka, A Modern Cookery Book: Containing Best Jewish and Continental Dishes, Cocktails, Savouries, Confectionery*. Sydney: Waite & Bull, [1935?].
- Pearson, Margaret J. *Cookery Recipes for the People*. Melbourne: M. L. Hutchinson, 1888.
- Pell, Flora. *Our Cookery Book*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1916.
- . *Our Cookery Book*. 4th ed. Melbourne: Specialty Press, 1920.
- . *Our Cookery Book*. 21st ed. Melbourne: Specialty Press, 1948.
- Perfect Brand Cheese Recipes*. Fitzroy, Vic.: Perfect Cheese (N. P. Italiano), [197-?].

- Porter, John D. *The Chef Suggests: Strange and Exciting Dishes with Delicacies of the Table for To-day and To-morrow*. Melbourne: National Press, [1949?].
- Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union. *W.M.U. Cookery Book: Every One a Tried Recipe*. 16th ed. Brisbane: Gordon & Gotch, 1944.
- . *W.M.U. Cookery Book: Every One a Tried Recipe, in Aid of the Queensland Presbyterian Missions*. 18th ed. Brisbane: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1952.
- . *W.M.U. Cookery Book: Over 588 Tried Recipes*. 7th ed. Brisbane: W. R. Smith & Paterson, 1908.
- Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union, Ann Gemmell, Val Howat, and Gwen Mierisch. *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*. Rev. metric ed. Melbourne: Lothian, 1973.
- Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Queensland. *W.M.U. Cookery Book: Over 800 Tried Recipes*. 12th ed. Brisbane: Thomson Bros. & Birch, 1923.
- Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Victoria. *Home Cookery for Australia: All Tested Recipes*. Melbourne: Arbuckle, Waddell & Fawckner, 1904.
- . *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book of Victoria*. 4th ed. Melbourne: Brown, Prior, 1921.
- Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Victoria, Gwen Jenkins, Betty Hanna, and Muriel McMillan. *P.W.M.U. Cookery Book*. Rev. ed. Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire, 1961.
- Prudence. *Australian Cookery of Today*. Melbourne: Sun News-Pictorial, [1943?].
- Queensland Department of Public Instruction. *Simple Cookery*. Brisbane: A. H. Tucker, Government Printer, [193-?].
- Rawson, Mrs Lance. *Australian Enquiry Book of Household and General Information: A Practical Guide for the Cottage, Villa, and Bush Home*. Facsim. ed. Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1985. First published 1894 by Pater & Knaptton (Melbourne).
- . *The Antipodean Cookery Book and Kitchen Companion*. Facsim. ed. Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1992. First published 1895 by George Robertson (Melbourne).
- Reid, Wynwode. *New Australian Cookery Illustrated*. Melbourne: Colorgravure Publications, [1950?].
- Rinoldi. *Rinoldi Macaroni Recipe Book*. Prahran, Vic.: Thos. Reynolds, [194-?].
- Rita. *Cottage Cookery (Hygienic and Economic)*. 3rd ed. Melbourne: George Robertson, [1898?].
- Ross, Isabel. *Cookery Class Recipes: As Taught in the Kitchens of the Metropolitan Gas Company, Melbourne, the Auckland Gas Company, New Zealand, Etc*. Melbourne: Echo Publishing, 1900.
- Rutledge, Jean. *The Goulburn Cookery Book*. 2nd ed. Sydney: W. C. Penfold, 1905.
- Rutledge, Jean, and Thelma McCarthy. *The New Goulburn Cookery Book*. 38th ed. Sydney: W. E. Smith, 1937.

- Sawyer, Jessie, and Sara Moore-Sims. *The Coronation Cookery Book / Compiled for the Country Women's Association of New South Wales, Australia by Jessie Sawyer and Sara Moore-Sims*. 7th ed. Sydney: CWA NSW, [1954?].
- . *The Coronation Cookery Book / Compiled for the Country Women's Association of New South Wales, Australia by Jessie Sawyer and Sara Moore-Sims; Cover Design by Sylvia Dryhurst*. 3rd ed. Sydney: CWA, 1941.
- . *The Coronation Cookery Book / Compiled for the Country Women's Association of New South Wales, Australia by Jessie Sawyer and Sara Moore-Sims*. 4th ed. Sydney: CWA NSW, 1945.
- Schauer, Amy. *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*. 10th ed. Brisbane: W. R. Smith & Paterson, 1952.
- . *The Schauer Australian Cookery Book*. Facsim. ed. Fortitude Valley, Qld.: Gap Publishing, 2002. First published 1962 by W. R. Smith & Paterson (Brisbane).
- . *The Schauer Cookery Book*. 8th ed. Brisbane: W. R. Smith & Paterson, 1939.
- Schauer, Amy, and Minnie Schauer. *The Schauer Cookery Book*. Brisbane; Sydney: Edwards, Dunlop, 1909.
- Sinclair, Ellen. *Australian Women's Weekly Cookbook*. Sydney: Golden Press, 1970.
- Story, Fanny Fawcett. *Australian Economic Cookery Book and Housewife's Companion*. Sydney: Kealy & Philip, 1900
- Tarrant, Marcus. *Leggo's Libro Di Cucina per L'Anniversario D'Oro/Leggo's Golden Anniversary Cookbook*. Cheltenham, Vic.: Simplot Australia, 2003.
- The Hobart Cookery Book: Tested Recipes, Household Hints, Home Remedies*. Hobart: J. Walch & Sons, 1961.
- The Leggo's Italian Cookbook*. Moorabbin, Vic.; Dee Why West, NSW: Lansdowne Press for Plumrose Australia, 1975.
- The Nu-Kooka: Containing the Best Jewish and Continental Dishes, Cocktails, Savouries, Confectionery*. 2nd ed. Sydney: Lakes & Ashes, [1947?].
- The Woman's Mirror Cookery Book: A Selection of 2,000 Recipes from The Australian Woman's Mirror*. Sydney: The Bulletin, 1937.
- Vassal Cox, Mrs G. *The "All in One" Recipe Book and Household Guide*. Melbourne: Disabled Men's Association of Australia, 1926.
- Wicken, H. F. *The Kingswood Cookery Book*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1888.
- Wilkinson, Alfred J. *The Australian Cook: A Complete Manual of Cookery Suitable for the Australian Colonies: With Especial Reference to the Gas Cooking Stove*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1876.
- Women's Auxiliary of the Congregational Union of New South Wales. *Green and Gold Cookery Book: Containing Many Good and Proved Recipes*. 1st ed. Adelaide: R. M. Osborne, [1932?].

Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales. *Cookery Book of Good and Tried Receipts*. 16th ed. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1920.

Wylie, Margaret A. *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*. Perth: E. S. Wigg, 1924.

———. *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*. 11th ed. Perth: E. S. Wigg & Son, 1950.

———. *The Golden Wattle Cookery Book*. 18th ed. Perth: E. S. Wigg & Son, 1966.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Advertiser and Register (Adelaide), 1931.

Advocate (Burnie, Tas.), 1950.

Age (Melbourne), 1862, 1917, 1928, 1939, 1949, 1954, 1958, 1961-62, 1965, 1969-71 1975, 1978, 1985.

Argus (Melbourne), 1852, 1854, 1861-62, 1913-14, 1919, 1924, 1926, 1932, 1935, 1937, 1940, 1955.

Asian Business (Hong Kong), 1996.

Australasian Grocer (Melbourne), 1954, 1956-68.

Austral-Asiatic Review, Tasmanian and Australian Advertiser, 1842.

Australia Now (Canberra), 1973.

Australian Foreign Affairs Record (Canberra), 1973.

Australian Women's Weekly (Sydney), 1952, 1955, 1957, 1973, 1975, 1977-78.

British Food Journal (London), 1968.

Bulletin (Sydney), 1972.

Canberra Times, 1966-67, 1978, 1981.

Catholic Press (NSW), 1933.

Courier-Mail (Brisbane), 1935, 1937, 1953-54.

Critic (Adelaide), 1904.

Evening Advocate (Innisfail, Qld.), 1949.

Everylady's Journal (Melbourne), 1934.

Examiner (Launceston, Tas.), 1926, 1953.

Foodweek (Sydney), 1998.

Good Neighbour (Canberra), 1964.

Goulburn Evening Post (NSW), 1940, 1953-54.

Hobart Town Courier, 1834.

Hotel and Café News (Sydney), 1956.

Il Giornale Italiano (Sydney), 1932-40.

Il Globo (Melbourne), 1959, 1962.

Journal of Agriculture (Melbourne), 1968.

L'Angelo della Famiglia (Melbourne), 1953-54.

La Fiamma (Melbourne), 1967.

Le Courier Australien (Sydney), 1933.

Maryborough Chronicle (Vic.), 1947.

Mercury and Weekly Courier (Vic.), 1879.

Mildura Cultivator (Vic.), 1901.

Mirror (Perth), 1928.

Morning Bulletin (Rockhampton, Qld.), 1926-27, 1930.

Neos Kosmos (Melbourne), 1958-59.

Northern Miner (Charters Towers, Qld.), 1940.

Northern Star (Lismore, NSW), 1947.

Port of Melbourne Quarterly, 1971.

Prahran Telegraph (Vic.), 1916.

Retail World (Sydney), 1981.

Sport (Adelaide), 1946.

Sun (Melbourne), 1955.

Sun (Sydney), 1931, 1933.

Sunday Mail (Brisbane), 1954.

Sunday Times (Perth), 1935.

Sun-Herald (Sydney), 1954.

Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, 1823.

Sydney Herald, 1836.

Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser, 1890.

Sydney Morning Herald, 1918, 1928, 1935, 1937, 1950, 1956-57, 1967, 1969-72, 1974.

Telegraph (Brisbane), 1879.

Townsville Daily Bulletin (Qld.), 1924, 1929.

Vade Mecum (Melbourne), 1934-38.

West Australian, 1905.

Western Herald (Perth), 1959.

Western Mail (Perth), 1913.

Statistics

Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1933. Part X.—Birthplace*. Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1936.

Television Advertisements

"Gough Whitlam Talks Leggo's." Australia: Simplot Australia, 2000.

"Leggo's 'Al Dente' Pasta." Australia: Pacific Dunlop, 1984.

Secondary Sources

Bibliographies

Austin, Bette R. *A Bibliography of Australian Cookery Books Published Prior to 1941*. Melbourne: RMIT, 1987.

Hoyle, John. *An Annotated Bibliography of Australian Domestic Cookery Books, 1860s to 1950*. Willoughby, NSW: Billycan Cook, 2010.

National Library of Australia. *Australian National Bibliography, 1901-1950, Volume 1*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1988.

Books and Book Chapters

Agutter, Karen. "'Italians Deported—Australians Next': Italians, World War I and the Labour Movement." In *Fighting Against War: Peace Activism in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Phillip Deery and Julie Kimber, 157–76. Melbourne: Leftbank Press, 2015.

Alafaci, Marie. *Savage Cows and Cabbage Leaves: An Italian Life*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1999.

Albala, Ken. "Cookbooks as Historical Documents." In *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, edited by Jeffrey M. Pilcher. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Alexakis, Effy, and Leonard Janiszewski. *Greek Cafés and Milk Bars of Australia*. Braddon: Halstead Press, 2016.

Alexander, Stephanie. *A Cook's Life*. Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin Group, 2012.

- Ankeny, Rachel A., and Tania Cammarano. "Leggo's Not-so-Autentico: Invention and Representation in Twentieth-Century Italo-Australian Foodways." In *Representing Italy Through Food*, edited by Peter Naccarato, Zachary Nowak, and Elgin K. Eckert. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.
- Australian Stock Exchange. *The 1998 ASX Delisted Companies Book 1929 to 1998*. Brisbane: Australian Stock Exchange Limited, 1998.
- Baldassar, Loretta, and Roslyn Pesman. *From Paesani to Global Italians: Veneto Migrants in Australia*. Crawley, WA: UWA Publishing, 2005.
- Baldassar, Loretta. "Italo-Australian Youth in Perth (Space Speaks and Clothes Communicate)." In *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940-1990*, edited by Richard Bosworth and Romano Ugolini, 207–23. Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1992.
- Bannerman, Colin. *A Friend in the Kitchen: Old Australian Cookery Books*. Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1996.
- . *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia's Culinary History*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1998.
- Beckett, Richard. *Convicted Tastes: Food in Australia*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1984.
- Belasco, Warren. *Food: The Key Concepts*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008.
- Bell, David, and Gill Valentine. *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat*. London; New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Bligh, Fiona. *From Suet to Saffron: The History of the PWMU Cookbook in Victoria 1904-2012*. Preston, Vic.: Fairfield Press, 2013.
- Boisard, Pierre. *Camembert: A National Myth*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Borrie, W.D. *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation*. Melbourne: Cheshire, 1954.
- Bosi, Pino. *On God's Command: Italian Missionaries in Australia = Missionari Italiani in Australia: Mandati Da Dio*. North Fitzroy, Vic.: CIRC, 1989.
- . *Who Is Afraid of the Ethnic Wolf?* Sydney: Kurunda Films & Publications, 1986.
- Bosworth, Michal. *Australian Lives: A History of Clothing, Food and Domestic Technology*. Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1988.
- Bosworth, Richard. "Cop What Lot? A Study of Australian Attitudes Towards Italian Mass Migration in the 1950s." In *Espresso, Corretto or White? Some Aspects of the Italian Presence in Australia*. Melbourne: Catholic Intercultural Resource Centre, 1986.

- . "Post-War Italian Immigration." In *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, edited by James Jupp, 2nd ed., 505–9. Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Brand, C. P. *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Brown-May, Andrew. *Espresso! Melbourne Coffee Stories*. Melbourne: Arcadia, 2001.
- Brown, Linda Keller. *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*. Edited by Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984.
- Bruce, Sandra. *Beginning in Bendigo: From Humble Origins to a Captured Market*. Bendigo, Vic.: Bendigo Art Gallery, 2011.
- Buckley, Réka. "Material Dreams: Costume and Couture Italian Style: From Hollywood on the Tiber to the Italian Screen." In *The Italian Cinema Book*, edited by Peter Bondanella, 133–41. London: BFI; Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Cammarano, Tania. "Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia's First Italo-Australian Cookbook." In *Eat History: Food and Drink in Australia and Beyond*, edited by Sofia Eriksson, Madeleine Hastie, and Tom Roberts, 42–75. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.
- Castles, Stephen, Caroline Alcorso, Gaetano Rando, and Ellie Vasta, eds. *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*. North Sydney, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992.
- Castles, Stephen, and Ellie Vasta. "Australia: New Conflicts around Old Dilemmas." In *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, edited by Wayne A. Cornelius, Takeyuki Tsuda, Philip L. Martin, and James F. Hollifield, 2nd ed., 141–73. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Chapman, Garry. *The Italians in Australia*. South Yarra, Vic.: Macmillan Education Australia, 2007.
- Ciccotosto, Emma, and Michal Bosworth. *Emma: A Recipe for Life*. Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1995.
- Cinotto, Simone. *The Italian American Table: Food, Family, and Community in New York City*. Urbana; Chicago; Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2013.
- Collins, Jock, Katherine Gibson, Caroline Alcorso, Stephen Castles, and David Tait. *A Shop Full of Dreams: Ethnic Small Business in Australia*. Leichhardt, NSW: Pluto Press Australia, 1995.

- Cooper, Artemis. *Writing at the Kitchen Table: The Authorized Biography of Elizabeth David*. London: Michael Joseph, 1999.
- Corrieri, Michael Peter. *Italians of Port Pirie: A Social History*. Port Pirie, SA: Our Lady of Martyrs, Port Pirie Italian Community, 1992.
- Cresciani, Gianfranco. *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, 1922-1945*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980.
- . *Migrants or Mates: Italian Life in Australia*. Sydney: Knockmore Enterprises, 1988.
- . "The Bogey of the Italian Fifth Column: Internment and the Making of Italo-Australia." In *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940-1990*, edited by Richard Bosworth and Romano Ugolini, 11–32. Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1992.
- . *The Italians in Australia*. Rev. ed. Cambridge; Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- . *Trieste Goes to Australia*. Lindfield, NSW: Padana Press, 2011.
- Croll, Robert Henderson. *I Recall: Collections and Recollections*. Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, 1939.
- Dale, David. *The Little Book of Australia*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2010.
- Davey, Lois, Margaret MacPherson, and F. W. Clements. "The Hungry Years: 1788-1792." In *Tucker in Australia*, edited by Beverley Wood, 24–46. Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1977.
- Davidson, Alan. *The Oxford Companion to Food*. Edited by Tom Jaine. 2nd ed. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Davidson, John. "History, Identity and Ethnicity." In *Making History: An Introduction to the History and Practices of a Discipline*, edited by Peter Lambert and Phillip Schofield, 205–14. London; New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Diner, Hasia R. *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Douglass, William A. "Images and Adages: Anglo-Australian Perceptions of Italians in Queensland." In *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940-1990*, edited by Richard Bosworth and Romano Ugolini, 33–59. Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1992.
- Downes, Stephen. *Advanced Australian Fare: How Australian Cooking Became the World's Best*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2002.
- Dupleix, Jill. "Notes From an Australian Kitchen." In *Voracious: The Best New Australian Food Writing*, edited by Paul McNally, 33–43. Prahran, Vic.: Hardie Grant Books, 2011.

- Dyson, Laurel Evelyn. *How to Cook a Galah: Celebrating Australia's Culinary Heritage*. South Melbourne, Vic.: Lothian Books, 2002.
- Elkner, Cate. "The Internment of Italian-Australians: A Perspective from Melbourne, Victoria." In *Enemy Aliens: The Internment of Italian Migrants in Australia during the Second World War*, 1–13. Bacchus Marsh, Vic.: Connor Court Publishing, 2005.
- Ferguson, Priscilla Parkhurst. *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Floyd, Janet, and Laurel Forster, eds. *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions*. Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.
- Franklin, James. "Foreword." In *Enemy Aliens: The Internment of Italian Migrants in Australia during the Second World War*, i–v. Bacchus Marsh, Vic.: Connor Court Publishing, 2005.
- Gabaccia, Donna R. *Italy's Many Diasporas*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.
- . *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Gamba, Charles. *A Report on the Italian Fishermen of Fremantle*. Perth: University of Western Australia, 1952.
- Gervasoni, Clare. *Bullboar, Macaroni & Mineral Water: Spa Country's Swiss/Italian Story*. 2nd ed. Hepburn Springs, Vic.: Hepburn Springs Swiss Italian Festa, 2007.
- Gibbs et al., Suzanne. *Margaret Fulton A Celebration*. Canberra: National Library of Australia for the Friends of the National Library of Australia, 2007.
- Gobbo, James. *The Italian Heritage of Victoria: A Short History of the Early Italian Settlement*. Melbourne: Italian Historical Society, 1985.
- Gobbo, Sir James. *Something to Declare: A Memoir*. Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, 2010.
- Gollan, Anne. *The Tradition of Australian Cooking*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978.
- Goody, Jack. *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Gordon, Robert S. C. "Hollywood and Italy: Industries and Fantasies." In *The Italian Cinema Book*, edited by Peter Bondanella, 123–29. London: BFI; Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Grassby, Al. *The Spanish in Australia*. Melbourne: AE Press, 1983.
- Greenwood, Helen. "Migrants and Mavericks: Defining Australian Cuisine." In *Voracious: The Best New Australian Food Writing*, edited by Paul McNally, 60–69. Prahran, Vic.: Hardie Grant Books, 2011.

- Gundle, Stephen. *Glamour: A History*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Hage, Ghassan. "At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-Building." In *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, edited by Helen Grace, Ghassan Hage, Lesley Johnson, Julie Langsworth, and Michael Symonds, 99–154. Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 1997.
- Hayes, Babette. *Two Hundred Years of Australian Cooking*. Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1970.
- Heuzenroeder, Angela. *Barossa Food*. Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 1999.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Huat, Chua Beng, and Ananda Rajah. "Hybridity, Ethnicity and Food in Singapore." In *Changing Chinese Foodways in Asia*, edited by David Y. H. Wu and Tan Chee-beng, 161–97. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2001.
- Humble, Nicola. *Culinary Pleasures: Cookbooks and the Transformation of British Food*. London: Faber & Faber, 2005.
- Huntley, Rebecca. *Eating between the Lines: Food & Equality in Australia*. Melbourne: Black Inc., 2008.
- Inness, Sherrie A. "Eating Ethnic." In *Pilaf, Pozole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food*, edited by Sherrie A. Inness, 1–13. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.
- Ireland, Lynne. "The Compiled Cookbook as Foodways Autobiography." In *The Taste of American Place: A Reader on Regional and Ethnic Foods*, edited by Barbara G. Shortridge and James R. Shortridge, 111–17. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.
- Irving, John, and Paola Gho, eds. *The Slow Food Dictionary to Italian Regional Cooking*. Bra, Italy: Slow Food Editore, 2010.
- Italo-Australian Youth Association. *Doppia Identità: I Giovani: Conoscerli per Capirli: Stories by Young Italo-Australians*. [Sydney]: Italo-Australian Youth Association, 2002.
- Iuliano, Susanna. *Vite Italiane: Italian Lives in Western Australia*. Crawley, WA: UWA Publishing, 2010.
- James, Allison. "How British Is British Food?" In *Food, Health, and Identity*, edited by Patricia Caplan, 71–86. London; New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Jayasuriya, Laksiri. *Immigration Policies and Ethnic Relations in Australia and Australian Multicultural Education in Comparative Perspective*. Perth: Department of Social Work and Social Administration, University of Western Australia, 1987.

- Jupp, James, ed. "Italians." In *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, 596–635. North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1998.
- Kelso, Fred. *For the Love of Fungus: A One Hundred Year Bibliography of Mushroom Cookery, 1899-1999*. Oxford, Pa.: Hengwrt Publishing, 2009.
- Levenstein, Harvey. "The American Response to Italian Food, 1880-1930." In *Food in the USA: A Reader*, edited by Carole Counihan, 75–90. New York; London: Routledge, 2002.
- Levenstein, Harvey A. *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Levenstein, Harvey A., and Joseph R. Conlin. "The Food Habits of Italian Immigrants to America: An Examination of the Persistence of a Food Culture and the Rise of 'Fast Food' in America." In *Dominant Symbols in Popular Culture*, edited by Kevin O. Browne, Ray Broadus Browne, and Marshall William Fishwick, 231–46. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1990.
- Levitas, Ruth. *The Concept of Utopia*. Witney, Oxon.: Peter Lang, 2011.
- Lo Bianco, Joseph. "Italian Culture and Language." In *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, edited by James Jupp, 2nd ed., 509–11. Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Lockwood, Douglas, ed. *Annals of Bendigo. The Sixth Section. Years 1936 to 1950*. Bendigo, Vic.: Sandhurst Building Society, 1981.
- Long, Lucy M. "Culinary Tourism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, edited by Jeffrey M. Pilcher, 389–406. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- . "Introduction to Ethnic American Food Today." In *Ethnic American Food Today: A Cultural Encyclopedia*, edited by Lucy M. Long, 1–13. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015.
- Mason, Laura. *Food Culture in Great Britain*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004.
- Melman, Billie. *Women's Orient: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work*. London: Macmillan, 1992.
- Mennell, Stephen. *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Oxford; New York: B. Blackwell, 1985.
- Miller, Jeff, and Jonathan Deutsch. *Food Studies: An Introduction to Research Methods*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2009.
- Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin, 1985.
- Newton, John. *Wogfood: An Oral History with Recipes*. Milsons Point, NSW: Random House Australia, 1996.

- O'Brien, Ilma. "Italian Pioneers." In *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, edited by James Jupp, 2nd ed., 489–90. Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- O'Connor, Desmond. *No Need to Be Afraid: Italian Settlers in South Australia Between 1839 and the Second World War*. Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 1996.
- O'Connor, Maura. *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Panayi, Panikos. *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food*. London: Reaktion, 2008.
- Pascoe, Robert. *Buongiorno Australia: Our Italian Heritage*. Richmond, Vic.: Greenhouse Publications, 1987.
- . "Italian Settlement until 1914." In *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, edited by James Jupp, 2nd ed., 486–89. Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . *Open for Business: Immigrant and Aboriginal Entrepreneurs Tell Their Story*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1990.
- Passmore, Kevin. *Fascism: A Very Short Introduction*. 2nd ed. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Pesman, Ros. "Australians in Italy: The Long View." In *Australians in Italy: Contemporary Lives and Impressions*, edited by Bill Kent, Ros Pesman, and Cynthia Troup, 1.1-1.15. Melbourne: Monash University ePress, 2008.
- . "Sir Samuel Griffith, Dante and the Italian Presence in Nineteenth-Century Australian Literary Culture." In *Italy Under the Southern Cross: An Australasian Celebration of Dino De Poli and the Cassamarca Foundation*, edited by David Moss and Gino Moliterno, 86–104. Crawley, WA: Australasian Centre for Italian Studies, 2011.
- Pilcher, Jeffrey M. "Introduction." In *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, edited by Jeffrey M. Pilcher, xvi–xxviii. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Pitronaci, Sandra. "Attitudes of Italo-Australian Youth Towards Italian Language, Culture and Identity." In *Doppia Identità: I Giovani: Conoscerli per Capirli: Stories by Young Italo-Australians*, 35–43. [Sydney]: Italo-Australian Youth Association, 2002.
- Pont, Graham, Barbara Santich, and Paul Wilkins. *Landmarks of Australian Gastronomy: Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Senior Common Room Club, the University of New South Wales, October 14-November 9, 1988*. Sydney: University of New South Wales, 1988.
- Price, Charles A. *Southern Europeans in Australia*. Melbourne; New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.

- Probyn, Elspeth. *Carnal Appetites: Foodsexidentities*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Randazzo, Nino, and Michael Cigler. *The Italians in Australia*. Melbourne: AE Press, 1987.
- Ratcliff, Mike, ed. *Proceedings of Workshop on Italian Cheese Varieties, January 1977*. Werribee, Vic.: Gilbert Chandler Institute of Dairy Technology, 1977.
- Riley, Gillian. *The Oxford Companion to Italian Food*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Ripe, Cherry. *Goodbye Culinary Cringe*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1993.
- Santich, Barbara. *Bold Palates*. Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 2012.
- . "The High and the Low: Australian Cuisine in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." In *Culinary Distinction*, edited by Emma Costantino and Sian Supski, 37–49. Perth: API Network, 2006.
- . *What the Doctors Ordered: 150 Years of Dietary Advice in Australia*. South Melbourne, Vic.: Hyland House, 1995.
- Schneider, Jane. "Introduction: The Dynamics of Neo-Orientalism in Italy (1848-1995)." In *Italy's "Southern Question"*, edited by Jane Schneider, 1–23. Oxford; New York: Berg, 1998.
- Scholliers, Peter, and Kyri W. Claflin. "Introduction: Surveying Global Food Historiography." In *Writing Food History: A Global Perspective*, edited by Kyri W. Claflin and Peter Scholliers, 1–8. London; New York: Berg, 2012.
- Seymour, Mark. "Writing Minority History: Sources for the Italians." In *Minorities: Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, edited by Shirley Fitzgerald and Garry Wotherspoon, 157–73. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press in association with the Sydney History Group, 1995.
- Shapiro, Laura. *Something from the Oven: Reinventing Dinner in 1950s America*. New York: Viking, 2004.
- Sharpe, Jim. "History from Below." In *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, edited by Peter Burke. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.
- Small, Pauline. "The Maggiorata or Sweater Girl of the 1950s: Mangano, Lollobrigida, Loren." In *The Italian Cinema Book*, edited by Peter Bondanella, 116–22. London: BFI; Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Sollors, Werner. "Introduction: The Invention of Ethnicity." In *The Invention of Ethnicity*, edited by Werner Sollors, ix–xx. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Sui, Ling Hui. *Queen Victoria Market: History, Recipes, Stories*. Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 2003.

- Symons, Michael. *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia*. Adelaide: Duck Press, 1982.
- Talesco, Cristian, ed. *Gli Emigranti Pugliesi in Australia: Risorsa Storica/Italy's Apulian Migrants in Australia: A Historical Resource*. Lecce, Italy: Associazione Multiculturale Italo-Australiana, 2011.
- Taylor, Charles. *The Ethics of Authenticity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Teo, Hsu-Ming, and Richard White. *Cultural History in Australia*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003.
- Thick, Malcolm. *Sir Hugh Plat: The Search for Useful Knowledge in Early Modern London*. Totnes, Dev.: Prospect Books, 2010.
- Tynan, Jacinta. "Introduction: The £10 Bet." In *They're a Weird Mob*, vii–xv. Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2012.
- Vondra, Josef. *A Guide to Cheese in Australia*. Richmond, Vic.: Cavalier Press, 1985.
- Wallman, Sandra. "Foreword." In *Ethnicity at Work*, edited by Sandra Wallman, ix–xii. London: Macmillan, 1979.
- . "Introduction: The Scope for Ethnicity." In *Ethnicity at Work*, edited by Sandra Wallman, 1–14. London: Macmillan, 1979.
- Widcombe, Richard. *Widcombe's Cheese Board: The Richard Widcombe Cheese Articles from the Pages of the Sydney Morning Herald*. Cammeray, NSW: Horwitz Grahame, 1980.
- Wilton, Janis, and Richard Bosworth. *Old Worlds and New Australia: The Post-War Migrant Experience*. Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1984.
- Wynn, Allan. *The Fortunes of Samuel Wynn: Winemaker, Humanist, Zionist*. North Melbourne, Vic.: Cassell Australia, 1968.

Conference Proceedings

- Dunstan, Don. "Italian Heritage." In *Conference Proceedings: Italians in Australia Conference 1985/Australia's Italian Heritage Conference 1986*, 107–13. Brunswick, Vic.: Vaccari Italian Historical Trust, 1987.
- Hankel, Valmai. "French Authority: The French Influence in Australian Winemaking." In *Gastronomic Encounters*, edited by A. Lynn Martin and Barbara Santich, 80–89. Brompton, SA: East Street Publications, 2004.
- Hill, Craig. "French Influences in the South Australian Olive Industry." In *Gastronomic Encounters*, edited by A. Lynn Martin and Barbara Santich, 90–100. Brompton, SA: East Street Publications, 2004.
- King, Sara. "Italians on the Land: Fruit and Vine Growers in the Riverland and the Southern Vales." In *Memories & Identities: Proceedings of the Second Conference on the Impact*

of Italians in South Australia, edited by Desmond O'Connor, 167–73. Adelaide: Australian Humanities Press, 2005.

Pagone, Margaret. "Attitudes to Italians Between the Wars." In *Conference Proceedings: Italians in Australia Conference 1985/Australia's Italian Heritage Conference 1986*, 56–63. Brunswick, Vic.: Vaccari Italian Historical Trust, 1987.

Pesman, Roslyn. "Italian Culture in C19th Australia." In *Conference Proceedings: Italians in Australia Conference 1985/Australia's Italian Heritage Conference 1986*, 144–51. Brunswick, Vic.: Vaccari Italian Historical Trust, 1987.

Pont, Graham. "The French Influence in Early Australian Gastronomic Literature." In *The French-Australian Cultural Connection: Papers from a Symposium Held at the University of New South Wales, 16-17 September 1983*, edited by Anne-Marie Nisbet and Maurice Blackman, 262–72. Kensington, NSW: School of French at the University of New South Wales and the CEEFA, 1984.

———. "Upstart Cuisine: A Cuisine without Peasants." In *Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy: A Multiculinary Society*, edited by Barbara Santich and Michael Symons, 41–55. Adelaide, 1988.

Rando, Gaetano. "Aspects of the History of the Italian Language Press in Australia 1885-1985." In *Italians in Australia: Historical and Social Perspectives: Proceedings of the Conference on the Italians in Australia, the First 200 Years, Held at the University of Wollongong and Macquarie University, 27-29 August 1988*, edited by Michael Arrighi and Gaetano Rando, 197–214. Wollongong, NSW: Department of Modern Languages, University of Wollongong, Dante Alighieri Society, Wollongong Chapter, 1993.

Santich, Barbara. "Edward Abbott's Scrapbook." In *The Pursuit of Happiness: From Colony to Republic: Proceedings of the XIth Symposium of Australian Gastronomy*, 103–10. Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, 1999.

———. "French Food and Fashion at the End of the Nineteenth Century: The View from Colonial Australia." In *Gastronomic Encounters*, edited by A. Lynn Martin and Barbara Santich, 62–69. Brompton, SA: East Street Publications, 2004.

Symons, Michael. "Authentic Kitchen Voices: Internal Clues and Measures of the Historical Value of Community Cookery Books." In *Eating In, Dining Out: Proceedings of the New Zealand Culinary History Conference, 14 & 15 November 2005*, edited by Kate Hunter and Michael Symons, 117–35. Wellington, 2006.

Cookbooks and Recipe Booklets

Acton, Eliza. *Modern Cookery for Private Families*. Rev. ed. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860.

Artusi, Pellegrino. *Science in the Kitchen and the Art of Eating Well*. Translated by Murtha Baca and Stephen Sartarelli. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

- Campbell, A. M. *The New P.W.M.U. Cookery Book / Arranged by Miss A. M. Campbell, M.A.; Issued by the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of Victoria*. 3rd ed. Melbourne: Brown, Prior, Anderson, 1936.
- Cherniavsky, Madame Leo. *Continental Recipes*. Sydney: Australian Gas Light Company, n.d.
- . *Madame Cherniavsky's Recipes*. Adelaide: s.n, n.d.
- Clark, Pamela. *Classics: The Australian Women's Weekly*. Sydney: ACP Books, 2009.
- Dale, David, and Lucio Galletto. *Soffritto: A Delicious Ligurian Memoir*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2007.
- Demaio, Pietro. *Preserving the Italian Way*. Edited by Arnold Bonnet. Burwood East, Vic.: Memoirs Foundation, 2006.
- Di'Bartolo, Michele. *The Sicilian Kitchen*. Camberwell, Vic.: Lantern, 2008.
- Donnini, Tiberio, Gianni Milani, and Peter Pierce. *Donnini's Pasta Book*. Melbourne: Nelson, 1984.
- Drummond, A. A. *The Blossoms Cookery Book*. Adelaide: Hunkin, Ellis & King, 1931.
- Grossi, Guy, and Jan McGuinness. *Grossi Florentino: Secrets & Recipes*. Camberwell, Vic.: Viking, 2003.
- Harden, Michael. *Lygon Street: Stories and Recipes from Melbourne's Melting Pot*. Sydney, NSW: Murdoch Books, 2008.
- Hieatt, Constance B., and Sharon Butler, eds. *Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (Including the Forme of Cury)*. London; New York: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Manfredi, Stefano, and John Newton. *Fresh from Italy: Italian Cooking for the Australian Kitchen*. Rydalmere, NSW: Hodder Headline Australia, 1993.
- Marchetti, Bill. *Marchetti's Latin Cookbook: Recipes and Reminiscences from the Legendary Latin Restaurant*. Ringwood, Vic.: Viking, 1995.
- Marinetti, F. T. *The Futurist Cookbook*. Translated by Suzanne Brill and edited by Lesley Chamberlain. London: Trefoil Publications; San Francisco: Bedford Arts, 1989.
- Marmini, Paola, Mariella Totaro-Genevois, and Nicoletta Zanardi, eds. *Sapori Della Memoria/Of Food and Memories*. Leichhardt, NSW: Padana Press, 2014.
- Martini, Anna, ed. *The Sanremo Recipe Book of Pasta*. London: Angus & Robertson, 1978.
- Martino, Maestro. *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*. Edited by Luigi Ballerini and translated by Jeremy Parzen. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Mitchell, Rosa. *My Cousin Rosa*. Sydney: Murdoch Books, 2009.
- Momesso, Riccardo, and Michael Harden. *Antonio & Lucia: Recipes and Stories from My Australian-Calabrian Kitchen*. Sydney: Plum, 2012.
- O'Donnell, Mietta. *Mietta's Italian Family Recipes*. Melbourne: Black Inc., 2000.

- O'Meara, Maeve, and Guy Grossi. *Italian Food Safari*. Prahran, Vic.: Hardie Grant Books, 2010.
- Oates, Teresa, and Angela Villella. *Mangia! Mangia!* Camberwell, Vic.: Lantern, 2011.
- Pantalone, Angelo. *The Philosopher's Kitchen*. South Yarra, Vic.: Lyncon, 2010.
- Percuoco, Armando, and David Dale. *The Secrets of Pulcinella: Italian Cooking in Australia*. Surry Hills, NSW: Horan Wall & Walker, 1986.
- Platina, and Mary Ella Milham. *Platina, On Right Pleasure and Good Health: A Critical Edition and Translation of De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine*. Tempe, Ariz.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998.
- Polese, Beppi, and John Newton. *Beppi's: A Life in Three Courses*. Sydney: Murdoch Books, 2007.
- Rinoldi. *The New Art of Preparing & Serving Macaroni Dishes*. Prahran, Vic.: Thos. Reynolds, n.d.
- The Leader Spare Corner Book: *A Unique Collection of Home and Household Hints and Kitchen Recipes—Part X*. Melbourne: The Age, 1938.

Journal Articles

- Anderson, Lara, and Heather Merle Benbow. "Cultural Indigestion in Multicultural Australia: Fear of 'Foreign' Foods in Australian Media." *Gastronomica* 15, no. 1 (2015): 34–43.
- Appadurai, Arjun. "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (1988): 3–24.
- Belfanti, Carlo Marco. "Renaissance and 'Made in Italy': Marketing Italian Fashion through History (1949–1952)." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 20, no. 1 (2015): 53–66.
- Bendix, Regina. "Diverging Paths in the Scientific Search for Authenticity." *Journal of Folklore Research* 29, no. 2 (1992): 103–32.
- Berghe, Pierre L. van den. "Ethnic Cuisine: Culture in Nature." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 7, no. 3 (1984): 387–97.
- Boccabella, Zoe. "Bridging Two Cultures: Italian Migrant Food in Australia." *Italian Historical Society Journal* 12, no. 1 (2004): 31–34.
- Bosworth, Michal. "Conversations with Italian Women: Close Encounters of a Culinary Kind." *Studies in Western Australian History* 12 (1991): 95–102.
- Brien, Donna Lee. "Margaret Fulton: A Study of a 1960s Food Writer as an Activist." *Coolabah*, no. 5 (2011): 72–82.
- . "Maria Kozslik Donovan." *Tablet to Table* 1, no. 2 (2012).
- . "The Cookbooks of Maria Kozslik Donovan." *TEXT Special Issue 24: Cookbooks: Writing, Reading and Publishing Culinary Literature in Australasia*, no. 24 (2013): 1–7.

- Buckley, Réka. "Glamour and the Italian Female Film Stars of the 1950s." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 28, no. 3 (2008): 267–89.
- Bullock, April. "The Cosmopolitan Cookbook: Class, Taste, and Foreign Foods in Victorian Cookery Books." *Food, Culture & Society* 15, no. 3 (2012): 437–54.
- Cannistraro, Philip V. "Mussolini's Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?" *Journal of Contemporary History* 7, no. 3/4 (1972): 115–39.
- Cresciani, Gianfranco. "A Not So Brutal Friendship. Italian Responses to National Socialism in Australia." *Altreitalia*, no. 34 (2007): 4–38.
- Driver, Elizabeth. "Cookbooks as Primary Sources for Writing History: A Bibliographer's View." *Food, Culture & Society* 12, no. 3 (2009): 257–74.
- Duruz, Jean. "Food as Nostalgia: Eating the Fifties and Sixties." *Australian Historical Studies* 29, no. 113 (1999): 231–50.
- Featherstone, Guy. "Helmut Newton's Australian Years." *La Trobe Journal* Spring, no. 76 (2005): 105–23.
- Flowers, Rick, and Elaine Swan. "Eating the Asian Other? Pedagogies of Food Multiculturalism in Australia." *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 9, no. 2 (2012): 1–30.
- Gabaccia, Donna R., and Carol Helstosky. "Food, Recipes, Cookbooks, and Italian-American Life—Part One." *Italian Americana* 16, no. 1 (1998): 5–23.
- Gundle, Stephen. "Hollywood Glamour and Mass Consumption in Postwar Italy." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 3 (2002): 95–118.
- Gvion, Liora. "What's Cooking in America? Cookbooks Narrate Ethnicity: 1850-1990." *Food, Culture & Society* 12, no. 1 (2009): 53–76.
- Halligan, Marion. "From Castor to Olive in One Generation: A Gastronomic Education." *Meanjin* 49, no. 2 (1990): 203–12.
- Helstosky, Carol. "Recipe for the Nation: Reading Italian History Through La Scienza in Cucina and La Cucina Futurista." *Food & Foodways* 11, no. 2–3 (2003): 113–40.
- Heuzenroeder, Angela. "A Region, Its Recipes and Their Meaning: The Birth of the Barossa Cookery Book." *History Australia* 3, no. 2 (2006): 46.1-46.13.
- Higmore, Ben. "The Taj Mahal in the High Street: The Indian Restaurant as Diasporic Popular Culture in Britain." *Food, Culture & Society* 12, no. 2 (2009): 173–90.
- Iuliano, Susanna, and Loretta Baldassar. "Deprovincialising Italian Migration Studies: An Overview of Australian and Canadian Research." *FULGOR: Flinders University Languages Group Online Review* 3, no. 3 (2008): 1–16.

- James, Roberta. "The Reliable Beauty of Aroma: Staples of Food and Cultural Production among Italian-Australians." *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 15, no. 1 (2004): 23–39.
- Jones, F. Lancaster. "Italians in the Carlton Area: The Growth of an Ethnic Concentration." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 10, no. 1 (1964): 83–95.
- Lu, Shun, and Gary Alan Fine. "The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment." *Sociological Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (1995): 535–53.
- MacCannell, Dean. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589–603.
- Mann, Jatinder. "'Leavening British Traditions': Integration Policy in Australia, 1962-1972." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 59, no. 1 (2013): 47–62.
- Musicò, Francesca A. "From Simonetti to Rubbo: Italian Art and Artists in Late 19th Century Sydney." *Italian Historical Society Journal* 7, no. 1 (1999): 9–16.
- Nowak, Zachary. "Café Au Lait to Latte: Charting the Acquisition of Culinary Capital by Italian Food in the United States." *Italian American Review* 5, no. 2 (2015): 94–120.
- Postiglione, Nadia. "'It Was Just Horrible': The Food Experience of Immigrants in 1950s Australia." *History Australia* 7, no. 1 (2010): 9.1-9.16.
- Reynolds, Anne. "A Short History of Italian Cafes and Restaurants in Sydney." *Modern Greek Studies (Australia & New Zealand)* 10 (2002): 136–55.
- Santich, Barbara. "Eating in Australia: From Rations to Ravioli." *Echo* 41, no. 1 (2002): 24–27.
- . "Nineteenth-Century Experimentation and the Role of Indigenous Foods in Australian Food Culture." *Australian Humanities Review*, no. 51 (2011).
<http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-November-2011/santich.html>.
- Sheridan, Susan. "Eating the Other: Food and Cultural Difference in the Australian Women's Weekly in the 1960s." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 21, no. 3 (2000): 319–29.
- . "The 'Australian Woman' and Her Migrant Others in the Postwar Australian Women's Weekly." *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 14, no. 2 (2000): 121–32.
- Swinbank, Vicki. "Brief History of the Development of Italian Cuisine in Australia—Part 1." *Italian Historical Society Journal* 3, no. 1 (1995): 5–9.
- . "Brief History of the Development of Italian Cuisine in Australia—Part 2." *Italian Historical Society Journal* 3, no. 2 (1995): 13–15.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Age (Melbourne), 1960, 1979, 1988.

Australian (Canberra), 2011.

B&T Weekly (Sydney), 2004.

BRW (Sydney), 1991, 1995.

Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 2014.

Economist (London), 1988.

Foodweek (Sydney), 1998.

Guardian (London), 2016.

Herald (Melbourne), 1980.

Italy Down Under (Melbourne), 2004.

National Library of Australia News (Canberra), 1998.

New York Times, 1991.

Observer (London), 2013.

Queensland Country Life, 2017.

Research Centre for the History of Food and Drink Newsletter (Adelaide), 2005.

Retail World (Sydney), 2015.

Sunday Herald Sun (Melbourne), 2009.

Sun-Herald (Sydney), 2006.

Sydney Morning Herald, 2014.

Weekend Australian (Canberra), 2014.

Online Sources

Australian Government Department of Home Affairs. "Fact sheet—Abolition of the 'White Australia' Policy." Accessed December 10, 2017.

<http://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/about/corporate/information/fact-sheets/08abolition>.

Cassidy, Jill. "Lactos Cheese Factory." *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, 2006.

[http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/L/Lactos Cheese factory.htm](http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/L/Lactos%20Cheese%20factory.htm).

Co.As.It.SA. "Pattern of Migration from Italy." Accessed December 7, 2017.

<http://www.coasitsa.org.au/index.php/resources>.

Co.As.It Italian Historical Society (IHS). "The Italian Historical Society (IHS)," 2006.

<http://www.coasit.com.au/IHS/index.html>.

- Crook, Edgar. "Vegetarianism in Australia: A History," 2008.
[http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/129994/20111026-1207/www.ivu.org/history/australia/Vegetarianism in Australia a history.pdf](http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/129994/20111026-1207/www.ivu.org/history/australia/Vegetarianism%20in%20Australia%20a%20history.pdf).
- Dale, David. "Who We Are: From Impulse to Mouth." Sun-Herald, 2009.
http://blogs.sunherald.com.au/whoweare/archives/2009/06/who_we_are_eati.html
 (site discontinued).
- . "Who We Are: How Italy Liberated Us." Sydney Morning Herald, 2007.
http://blogs.smh.com.au/sit/archives/2007/04/who_we_are_a_column_about_aust_6.html.
- "Ethnic Riots." Western Australian Museum, 2017. <http://museum.wa.gov.au/explore/wa-goldfields/getting-gold/ethnic-riots>.
- "Flora Pell." Australian Women's History Forum. Accessed December 21, 2015.
<http://www.womenshistory.com.au/image.asp?iID=401>.
- Iltis, Judith. "Chisholm, Caroline (1808–1877)." Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 1, 1966. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/chisholm-caroline-1894>.
- Pesman, Roslyn, and Catherine Kevin. "A History of Italian Settlement in New South Wales." NSW Heritage Office, 1998. <http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/docs/italianhistory.pdf>.
- "Radio 2CH Advertising 1969 To 1970." The Legacy of Mamma Lena and Dino Gustin. Accessed September 26, 2016. <http://www.mammalena.info/2CH/radio2ch.htm>.
- Ryan, Donna Phillips. "Schauer, Amy (1871–1956)." Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 11, 1988. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/schauer-amy-8353>.
- "Selling Pasta to Melbourne." Museum Victoria, 2007.
<http://museumvictoria.com.au/discoverycentre/infosheets/the-melbourne-story/selling-pasta-to-melbourne/>.
- "Senate, 3 October 1945, 17th Parliament, 3rd Session." Historic Hansard. Accessed September 8, 2017.
http://historichansard.net/senate/1945/19451003_senate_17_185/.
- Shedden, Bryan. "The Phantom: A Publishing History in Australia." The Deep Woods, 2006.
<http://www.deepwoods.org/mirror.html>.
- Simplot New Zealand. "Cookbooks," 2017. <http://leggos.co.nz/recipes-and-tips/cookbooks>.

Theses

- Bannerman, Colin. "Print Media and the Development of an Australian Culture of Food and Eating C. 1850 to C. 1920: The Evidence From Newspapers, Periodical Journals and Cookery Literature." PhD diss., University of Canberra, 2001.
- Black, Sarah Jane Shepherd. "'Tried and Tested': Community Cookbooks in Australia, 1890-1980." PhD diss., University of Adelaide, 2010.
- Bouvet, Francesca. "Continuity and Change: A Study of the Daily and Festive Eating Habits of a Group of Post-Second World War Italian Migrants in Adelaide South Australia." PhD diss., Flinders University, 2010.

- Cammarano, Tania. "Espresso in 1950s Sydney: One Drink, Two Scenes." Masters diss., University of Adelaide, 2006.
- Cappello, Anthony. "Italian Australians, the Church, War and Fascism in Melbourne 1919-1945." Masters' diss., Victoria University of Technology, 1999.
- Junor, Andrew. "Backward, British and Bland? A Cultural History of Food in Mid-Twentieth Century Australia." PhD diss., Monash University, 2015.
- Nichol, Barbara. "The Breath of the Wok: Melbourne's Early Chinese Restaurants." PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2012.
- Singley, William Blake. "Recipes for a Nation: Cookbooks and Australian Culture to 1939." PhD diss., Australian National University, 2013.
- Stansbury, Gwendolyn. "The Making of a Multicultural Palate: The Diffusion of Italian Food in Australia, 1945-1975." PhD diss., University of New England, 2005.