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Eating Real Mexican:
Identity, Authenticity, Americanization, Health, and Food Culture in the United States
After 1900

by
Alexandra H. Ibarra

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
History

Thesis Committee:
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Portland State University
2022

Abstract

This thesis examines the connection between Mexican food and identity in the early to mid-twentieth century (1900-1950). Anglo-Americans created evolving racial/ethnic stereotypes during a period of intense Mexican immigration and nativism that used descriptions of food, hygiene habits, and health to reinforce boundaries of whiteness and citizenship.

By examining Americanization teaching manuals, food articles, as well as personal and corporate cookbooks, I seek to understand how Americanizers and other food writers used food to point to emphasize, unhygienic habits, excess use of spice and grease, as well as the “questionable” nature of immigrant food culture to separate them from Anglo-Americans. These qualities all emphasized a disgust with ethnic food, yet simultaneously, there were food writers and food companies that showed a growing taste for ethnic food. Those that hungered for ethnic food, grappled with the same set of questions about identity, immigration, health, and citizenship that those who disdained the food culture.

However, they also bound these sentiments with more nebulous concepts of “authenticity” and desire. Anglo-Americans desired “authentic” ethnic food as it became associated with cosmopolitanism, a concept that Anglo-Americans used to characterize themselves as sophisticated and well-travelled individuals. Pushed by food writers in the early twentieth century, cosmopolitanism served as both an expression of Anglo-American citizenship, as to desire ethnic food was to be a worldly citizen; and a worldly citizen knew what was and was not “authentic”. Readers will find in this thesis that,

“authenticity” was not a static concept, and that the changes this concept underwent had very real and tangible consequences to how Anglo-Americans perceived Mexicans and later Mexican Americans.

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Introduction

“Now a pause to look back. how does America eat? She eats on the fat of the land. She eats in every language. For the most part, however, even with the increasingly popular trend towards foreign foods, the dishes come to the table with an American accent.”

-Clementine Paddleford, *How America Eats*.¹

In 1955, *The New York Times* published an article entitled “Chili Con Carne, a Hot, Economical Dish, Has a Mysterious Past” in their “News of Food” section. The anonymous author exclaimed to readers that chili con carne, a tasty dish already beloved on the southwestern dinner table, was gaining rightful momentum in its national popularity. For the uninformed reader chili con carne means “chili with meat”, a vague descriptor for a dish that everybody who has passed through the southwest has either heard of or tried at least once. At its most basic chili con carne is a combination of meat, chiles, and beans; in fact food writer Robb Walsh points that the earliest form of chili con carne can be traced back to the Mesoamerican markets of Tenochtitlan where it was made from any type of meat from frogs or salamanders to turkey or ducks simmered in a hot chili sauce.² The chili con carne of 1955 was a dynamic dish that reflected a history of cultural and racial contention in the Southwest with every new ingredient or cooking method. The debated origins of chili con carne in both Texas, the proclaimed birthplace

¹ Clementine Paddleford, *How America Eats*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1960), V.

² Robb Walsh, *The Chili Cookbook: A history of the one-pot classic, with cook-off worthy recipes from three bean to four alarm and con carne to vegetarian*, (Berkley: The Speed Press, 2015), 15-16. What is interesting in this book, is that Walsh also discussed the use of fish and lobster in chile con carne. Seafood was and still is a common ingredient in Indigenous and modern-day Mexican food. Yet popular images of Mexican food often portray a

of chili con carne, and other areas of the US who all had their own spin on chili played out in the margins of cookbooks and food articles.

The New York Times, for example, took testimony from a “Westchester housewife who spent her childhood in Arizona...” and swore by chili con carne made from “...beef in a rich, dark-reddish gravy” and presented with a side of beans. Yet in the same testimony they also noted that Midwesterners instead swore by using tomatoes in their chili and considered any other deviation as *not* chili con carne. Whatever the regional combination of chili con carne, many American cooks and indeed even “The Texas Cookbook” claimed chili con carne was an American food, and called slander on any who would point out the dishes had either Mexican or Indigenous roots.³ In fact, “Texas Cookbook” authors Arthur and Bobby Coleman, quipped that “Mexico... had no more to do with “inventing” chili than China did with chop suey.”⁴ Categorizing either chili con carne or chop suey as a dish belonging to a singular nation however misses the point entirely. Both chili con carne and chop suey as described in this article and by the

³ The separation between Mexican and Indigenous cooking is an arbitrary but necessary distinction to note. US food writers, travelers and general foodies are quick to note this difference however both historical and modern-day cookbooks written by either self-identified Mexicans or Indigenous cooks adamantly point out that this separation was imposed on them as opposed instead of originating from within their communities. These same modern-day cooks in fact stress the reclamation of certain foods or cooking techniques that could be termed either Indigenous or Mexican as a means of defining their own personal identity. For further information of the topic see Anibal Capoano, and Adán Medrano, dir., *Truly Texas Mexican*, Henderson, NV: JM Media, LLC, 2021; Luz Calvo, and Catriona Rueda Esquibel, *Decolonize your Diet: Plant-Based Mexican American Recipes for Health and Healing*, (Vancouver, BC, CA: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2015).

⁴ Unidentified author, “Chili Con carne, a hot, Economical Dish, Has a Mysterious Past”, *New York Times*, March 8, 1955. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1955/03/08/93729344.html?pageNumber=24>. Unless explicitly noted otherwise, newspapers articles will have the author space left blank because there was no identifiable author to be found.

standards of modern foodies were foods that came about through the adaption, exotification, and Americanization of ethnic foods by both the cooks of the native food culture and Anglo-Americans.⁵ For example, “The Texas Cookbook” insisted that chili con carne was American *because* Americans cooked it and it had nostalgic meaning attached to the dish. In a later article *The New York Times* would emphasize this same point by announcing that chili powder was, “...strictly an American innovation...” and not a Mexican one as Mexican cooks’ used the whole peppers instead of a blend of spices.⁶ While the first commercialized chili powder blend was sold by Gebhardt Eagle Chili, a US company founded by a German immigrant, the flavor profile of the spice blend was inspired by Tejanas street vendors known as “Chili Queens” who sold their food to both other Tejanos and Anglo-Americans equally.⁷ So, who are we to look to as the creators of chili powder or chili con carne? The German immigrant who founded the company that sold the chili powder nationally or the Tejanas women who sold the food that the spice mixture was based on? While newspapers argue about whether chili was Mexican or American in origin, nobody was arguing about whether the food was tasty.

⁵ I chose to use the term Anglo-American as opposed to white American because it more aptly describes the ideological process behind whitening European immigrants. It is not that they were white Americans but that they underwent an Americanization process that retained attractive parts of their culture whilst also conglomerating people under a single identity. By creating a fictional identity to unify “Americans” under Americanizers also created an undefined and everchanging fictionalized version of an “American” to compare nonwhite immigrants to. Understanding of their identity and how they differed from “Americans” was processed through comparing the ideal white or Anglo-American.

⁶ Mayburn Koss, “Food: Chili Peppers; Belief That Bright Red Color Indicates Good Flavor is Called a Misconception”, *New York Times*, March 15, 1958. <
<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1958/03/15/82677957.html?pageNumber=14>>

⁷ Here I use the term Tejana because this is the term used by “Chili Queen” descendants to describe themselves and their ancestors. The term Tejana representing those of either Mexican or mixed Mexican heritage living in Texas.

Chili con carne was and still is a tasty dish, or as *The San Antonio Express-News* put it in 2015, "... one of America's most popular comfort foods..."⁸

In examining chili con carne and other Mexican foods, I argue that the changing and often contradictory desire for Mexican cuisine in the US, reflected Anglo-American's contradictory perception of Mexican racial and ethnic identities.⁹ The early twentieth century was rife with material demonstrating that while Anglo-Americans enjoyed Mexican food, they often did not want to interact with Mexican cooks. Mexican cooks – and other ethnic cooks – at best served as props of authenticity and at worst indicators of potential disease and contamination. Yet current historical scholarship has either focused on the earliest years of colonial food interaction or on the 1960s and 1970s when corporate ethnic food companies and fast-food franchises such as Taco Bell were either already in full-swing or established but there is little focus on Mexican food between 1900-1950.¹⁰

To understand the story that Mexican food reveals however, it is necessary to have some understanding of the immigration patterns that unfolded during this period.

⁸ Greg Morago, Houston Chronicle, "The Polarizing and incendiary politics of chili", in Food; Cooking and Recipes, *San Antonio Express-News*, Updated Oct. 2, 2015. <https://www.expressnews.com/food/recipes-cooking/article/The-polarizing-and-incendiary-politics-of-chili-6535629.php>

⁹ There were several Mexican food companies founded in Texas during the 20th century, notable ones include Pace picante salsa, Don Pablo, and Ruiz foods. *The Houston Chronicle* also attributes foods such as "stadium nachos" and Breakfast tacos, to be both staple and original Texas foods much like the Texas Cookbook claims chile con carne to be solely a Texan dish. Timothy Fanning, "You thank Texas for inventing these foods and drinks", Houston Chronicle; Food & Culture, Oct. 18, 2021. <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/food-culture/article/texas-food-drink-inventions-16542242.php>

¹⁰ Nicolas P. Maffei, "Surveying the Borders: 'Authenticity' in Mexican-American Food Packaging, Imagery and Architecture." in *Designing Worlds: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization*, edited by Fallan Kjetil and Lees-Maffei Grace, (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2016): 211-25.

Between 1900-1910 the Department of Commerce and Labor broke down the rate of incoming immigrants to the US as being, 65% from southern and eastern Europe, 23% from northern and western and with 11% additional immigration from China, Japan, and other unnamed countries.¹¹ Mexican immigration was counted amongst these other countries but it's lack of specificity indicates that at the time of this documents publication they were not yet at significant or noticeable enough numbers for the Department of Labor to distinguish them. Of course, this was also due in part to the fact that Mexican immigration was much harder to pin down because the actual process of immigration involved people who travelled over a ubiquitous border space as opposed to through the ports of Ellis Island. It was not until the later establishment of a border control in 1924, do we see significant immigrant numbers recorded from 1910-1930s. In one such document, Mexican immigration was recorded as having increased from 6, 737 people in 1911 to 23, 913 people in 1921.¹² The increase in immigration garnered great interest amongst newspapers who referred to Mexican immigration as the "Mexican Problem".¹³ There were those, such as western federal officials, the American Federation of Labor, and some social scientists and economists, who wanted to limit the tide of immigration seeing them as stealing work from Anglo-Americans, as well as vagrants or

¹¹ United States, Department of Commerce and Labor, *Reports of the Department of Commerce And Labor 1904-1912: Report of the Secretary of Commerce And Labor And Reports of Bureaus*, (Washington: Govt. print. Office, 1904-1912), 60-65.

¹² United States. Congress, House; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Hearings Before the Committee On Immigration And Naturalization, House of Representatives, Sixty-eighth Congress, First Session: On H.R. 5, H.R. 101, And H.R. 561* (Washington: Government printing office, 1924), 34.

¹³ Ibid, 858.

future public charges.¹⁴ Others such as agribusinesses or the Farm Bureau Federation in the southwest who wanted to pay cheap wages, justified the preference for Mexican workers by employing racist pseudoscience that labelled Mexican workers as “docile”.¹⁵ It should also be noted that there was further dissension regarding Mexican immigration amongst the Mexican American community which manifested as community separation between those who had resided in the US for generations and immigrants fresh from Mexico.

The different composition of incoming immigrant throughout the twentieth century as well as the growing cultural differences between those established in the US versus those who had just arrived or had no intention of staying cultivated various strategies of differentiation. Food was amongst many visible differences that communities used to construct boundaries between each other. Food writers and cookbooks all operated in the background to situate the consumption of ethnic food into identity politics that developed in twentieth century America. On this topic food historian Margot Finn advises that,

“People’s tastes are based partially on their deliberate attempts to perform a particular status or gain some competitive advantage and partially on the spontaneous, visceral attraction and revulsion they develop based on their upbringing and education.”¹⁶

¹⁴ United States, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, (Washington: G.P.O., 1918), 243-244.

¹⁵ Ibid, 117-125.

¹⁶ Margot Finn, "Can “Taste” Be Separated from Social Class?" in *Food Fights: How History Matters to Contemporary Food Debates*, edited by Ludington Charles C. and Booker Matthew Morse (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 88.

This type of “visceral attraction and revulsion” aptly describes how Americanization manuals, cookbooks, food articles and advertisements allow for us to map how ethnic food expressed racial and ethnic, and moral qualities onto consumers and cooks. Americanization documents offer an insight on how standards of cleanliness and morality surrounding ethnic food policed who were and were not considered American. These standards whether explicitly or implicitly laid out were used by Americanizers and other writers of the time to help define what was “American” and *not* American in the national kitchen. While intellectuals and Americanizers believed that changing the everyday cuisine of immigrant families they would not only better assimilate them into American culture but that they would be scientifically and morally healthier, they simultaneously had a slow-growing acceptance of and desire for ethnic food.¹⁷

This contradiction was emphasized in newspapers such as *the New York Times*, *the New-York Tribune*, and *The Evening Star*, as well as corporate cookbooks and regional cookbooks. A writer for the for the Tribune wrote that the ability to consume ethnic food was, “not that strange...in a cosmopolitan country like America...”.¹⁸ Other

¹⁷ David Torres-Ruof, “Becoming Mexican: Segregated Schools and Social Scientists in Southern California, 1913-1946”, *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 94, no. 1 (2012), 110-112. See also, Olneck, Michael R. "Americanization and the Education of Immigrants, 1900-1925: An Analysis of Symbolic Action.", *American Journal of Education*, vol. 97, no. 4 (1989): 398-423; McGinnis, W. C. "Organization for Immigrant Education.", *The Journal of Education*, 100, no. 15 (1924): 409-11; Somava Pande, Jolanta A. Drzewiecka, “Racial incorporation through alignment with whiteness”, *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* vol. 10, no. 2 (2017), 115-134; Magdalena L. Barrera, “Doing the Impossible”, *California History*, vol. 93, no. 4 (Winter 2016), 20-41.

¹⁸ “Odd Chinese Dishes.: An Appetizing Description of the Way in Which They are Made.”, *New-York tribune*, Page 2, Image 30 (New York [N.Y.]), 30 Aug. 1903. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1903-08-30/ed-1/seq-30/>

journalists positioned Anglo-Americans who could access and make ethnic food dishes as well-travelled or cultured.¹⁹ A short opinion piece written by J.C. Hurley a cook, in 1902 entitled “An Eclectic School of Cooking” emphasized this connection. Hurley questions why culinary schools do not instruct their students in the art of “eclectic” cooking – a term he used to describe ethnic food as a type of cooking—that Hurley found to be both nutritionally and gastronomically tasty. He claimed that culinary schools instructed their students in “...methods...[that] are exclusively American.”, and that one who consumes solely “American” foods... is one who is “...liable after a time to tire of a limited assortment of viands, and occasionally long for an unpretentious variation...”. Eating the same food repeatedly, was in Hurley’s opinion boring. As such he proposed that an eclectic school of cooking that employs “cosmopolitan” requirements would not only be tasty but healthy for the average Anglo-American. Hurley further purposed that this school would make ethnic food accessible, and that when one has the craving for “winsome hot tamale without any tangible way of gratifying it”, that this school would train Anglo-American cooks to be able to fill that niche and satisfy the cravings for ethnic

¹⁹ Marion Harland, “Marion Harland’s Helping Hand: Chile Con Carne”, Magazine Section, Image 30, *The Washington herald*, (Washington, D.C.), 10 Nov. 1912. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1912-11-10/ed-1/seq-30/>;

Mrs. E. L. H. (Arlington) submitted “Mexican Recipes” in Readers’ Clearing House conducted by Betsy Caswell, Page B-4, Image 25, *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), 22 Aug. 1950. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1950-08-22/ed-1/seq-25/>; “Mexican Tamales” in City Briefs, Page 3, Image 3, *Brownsville herald*, (Brownsville, Tex.), 22 Nov. 1925. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063730/1925-11-22/ed-1/seq-3/>; “Gebhardt’s Eagle Chili Powder: Chili Con Carne Advertisement”, in the American Weekly, Image 78, *Detroit evening times*, (Detroit, Mich), 04 Feb. 1945. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88063294/1945-02-04/ed-1/seq-78/>

food. Hurley ends the piece by reminding readers of the hygienic value of these foods. It seemed a given that when non-whites cooked ethnic food dishes, these were unclean, primitive, or lacking acculturation to American norms. In contrast, the school would teach Anglo-Americans to make “hygienic” ethnic food.²⁰

Varying racialized depictions of Mexicans as found in newspaper and later oral histories showed how these presentations of ethnic food also reinforced race and class hierarchies during the early to mid-twentieth century. Remember earlier “The Texas Cookbooks” author’s insistence that chili con carne was not derived from Mexican or Indigenous cuisine but was American in origin. Mexican food was tasty to Anglo-Americans, but Anglo-American consumers adamantly tried to separate Mexicans from Mexican food, either through sanitizing the food itself or rebranding it as American.²¹ In states where Americanization programs were more prevalent such as California, or where ethnic cuisine blended into US regional cuisine in places like Texas, the relationship to ethnic cuisine was complex. The Gebhardt Eagle Chili Powder company and Richfield Oil company both published cookbooks that used artistic renditions of light skinned

²⁰ Kellogg, J. Harvey., and the International Health and Temperance Association, *The medical missionary*, (Battle Creek, Mich.: International Health and Temperance Association, 1894); Pearl Idelia Ellis, *Americanization through Homemaking*, Los Angeles, Calif., (Wetzel publishing co., 1929), from Prosperity and Thrift: The Coolidge Era and the Consumer Economy, 1921-1929 collection, Library of Congress.

²¹ David Torres-Ruoff, “Becoming Mexican: Segregated Schools and Social Scientists in Southern California, 1913-1946”, *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 94, no. 1, 97; For more on food history see also, Camille Bégin, “An American Culinary Heritage? Mexican Food in the Southwest” in *Taste of the Nation: The New Deal Search for America’s Food*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2016); Teresa M. Mares, “Tracing immigrant identity through the plate and the palate” *Latino Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3, 340-354; Lidia Marte “Foodmaps: Tracing Boundaries of ‘Home’ Through Food Relations” *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, 261-289; Kendall Park, “Ethnic Foodscapes: Foreign Cuisines in the United States”, *Food Culture & Society: An International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, vol. 20, no. 3, 365-393.

Spanish styled Mexicans to peddle their cookbooks, and in the case of Gebhardt their line of canned foods and spices, to Anglo-Americans.²² Cookbooks appealed to Anglo-Americans wanting to engage with “exotic” ethnic food but not the Mexican cooks.²³ They included recipes that simultaneously proclaimed the food “authentic” while it also boasted a sanitized image of that same food.²⁴

Now, advertisements, cookbooks, and articles written about ethnic food all included some type of verification that this food was “authentic.” In fact, throughout this thesis, one can find that the term “authentic” was deployed frequently by both consumers and cooks. For the sake of clarity, when referring to “authentic”, I refer to a tenuous label on which both Anglo-Americans and Mexicans projected their own shifting concepts of racial and ethnic identity. What was “authentic” was neither a universal nor static concept. Rather the concept was so flexible, that food writers and Anglo-American consumers obsession with having the most authentic ethnic food experience seemed to result in a concurrent trend desire and distrust towards ethnic cooks.²⁵

To be more precise, if the food item in question appeared “Mexican” then that ambiguous designation of “Mexican” was clearly indicative of its authenticity. If a food

²² In this instance, gendered caricatures refer to the sexualization of non-white women. These women often fluctuate between being described as brown-skinned and sexually available to light-skinned women whose dress invoked a romantic Spanish past. In the case that brown-skinned Mexican women are depicted as being graceful or attractive to readers, brown-skinned Mexican men are referred to as being repulsive or lazy.

²³ Audrey Russek, “Appetites without Prejudice: U.S. Foreign Restaurants and the Globalization of American Food Between the Wars” in *Local Foods Meet Global Foodways: Tasting History*, edited by Benjamin N. Lawrance, and Carolyn de la Peña, (London: Routledge, 2012), 39-52.

²⁴ Gebhardt Chili published several cookbooks and provided recipes on the products that they sold in grocery stores. All of these recipes emphasized that the food was authentic Mexican food, the *California cook book* however describes these recipes as being Spanish.

²⁵ Dylan Gottlieb, “Dirty, Authentic...Delicious”, *Gastronomica*, vol 15. No. 2 (Summer 2015), 46.

item, however, was too “Mexican” then the quality or cleanliness of the food was then in question. Yet at the same time, if the food item does not retain at least a hint of exoticism, then it was just merely an American food item and not of real interest to consumers. This was because while Mexican food could be tasty to Anglo-Americans, Mexicans were a bundle of fluctuating contradictions in the minds of the Anglo-Americans. Mexicans were simultaneously “treacherous” yet docile, lazy yet industrious when agribusiness required their labor, and politically passive yet simultaneously politically radical and detrimental to the community.²⁶ These contradictory stereotypes of Mexicans also made it difficult for government officials, scholars, and other Anglo-Americans, to decide whether Mexicans could or should be Americanized. This discourse was then even further muddled by the inability of these Americanization programs to accurately pin down what “Americanization” was.

²⁶ Maria-Isabel Lorenzo, “Race, Gender, and Mexican Americanization: How Mainstream Anglo Assumptions Inspired Mexican Americanization in California, 1914-1939” Master Thesis, California State University: Fresno (2012), 12.

Chapter 1

Americanization: You Are What You Eat 1900-1940s

Mexican immigration during the early twentieth century underwent various phases due to extreme social, economic, and political shifts on both sides of the US-Mexico border. Of these pivotal shifts, the Mexican Revolution, and subsequent uprisings (1911-1929) led to significant refugee migration to the United States. The Mexican Revolution was not a sudden revolution but one which had deep roots in 19th century Mexican issues concerning President Porfirio Díaz, who at that time had served seven terms from 1876-1911. Díaz's reign had the backing of Mexican political elites and foreign business interests that prioritized development, and the resulting dispossession of land and resources from the country's middle and lower classes. Over the years Díaz's political power began to wane as the Anti-Porfirian movement gained increased traction amongst Mexico's middle class and rural population.²⁷ This decentralized movement had many regional factions yet all focused-on sovereignty and the betterment of Mexico through land reform, social reform, jobs, and reigning in the power and influence of the Catholic church, with some pushing for women's rights, and universal public schooling. Mexico after 1900 was a country of increasingly frustrated citizens who wanted material socioeconomic and political changes.

²⁷ Mark C. Anderson, "What's to Be Done with 'Em?" Images of Mexican Cultural Backwardness, Racial Limitations, and Moral Decrepitude in the United States Press, 1913-1915.", *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, vol 14., no.1 (Winter, 1998), 24-29.

This political instability soon erupted into Revolution and became the focus of intense American scrutiny. US Businessmen working or with investments in Mexico, regional politicians, and local border officials all had interests in the conflict. Díaz's presidency had supported of foreign direct investment, and American capital flowed into the country. The Anti-Porfirian movements wanted foreign business power in Mexico limited or thrown out the country altogether. As the Revolution progressed, there was a consistent stream of complaints regarding the infringement of American rights or concessions in newspapers such as *the New York Times*, *Los Angeles Herald* and *San Francisco Call*.²⁸ These complaints as well as political cartoons all served as what Mark C. Anderson calls, a “barometer of popular thinking” in relation to “ethnocentric constructions, racialist reconstructions, and racist deconstruction.”²⁹ Thus to understand the condition—as well as the extent to which popular media influenced the US public's

²⁸ “Americans Fleeing from North Mexico: Tell of Terrible Torture Inflicted upon Californian with Villa's Army; El Paso in Fear of Riots; Federals Desert Borer Posts to Concentrate at Saltillo to Repel Invasion”, *The New York Times*, (New York, New York), April 23, 1914.
<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1914/04/23/100674948.html?pageNumber=1>;
 “The Mexican Perplexity”, *The New York Times*, May 13, 1916.
<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1916/05/13/104675054.html?pageNumber=8>;
 “The Mexican Protocol”, *The New York Times*, November 26, 1916.
<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1916/11/26/104695527.html?pageNumber=53> ; “The Mexican Problem.”, *The New York Times*, July 11, 1919.
<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1919/07/11/98288159.html?pageNumber=8>; C.D. Hagerty, “Viva Mexico”, *Goodwin's weekly: a thinking paper for thinking people* (Salt Lake City, Utah), page 19, Image 19, Dec. 20, 1913. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress.
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/2010218519/1913-12-20/ed-1/seq-19/>; “Mexicans Hate All Americans in their Land: For Two Years Yankees Have Been Subjected to All Sorts of Maltreatment”, *The San Francisco call* (San Francisco [Calif.]), Page 3, Image 3, 14 Feb. 1913. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress.
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1913-02-14/ed-1/seq-3/>

²⁹ Mark C. Anderson, “What's to Be Done with 'Em?’ Images of Mexican Cultural Backwardness, Racial Limitations, and Moral Decrepitude in the United States Press, 1913-1915” *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, vol. 14 no. 1, 25-26.

understanding of Mexicans and Mexican Americans – the Mexican Revolution was the starting point. The national coverage of the Mexican Revolution in turn generated national coverage about Mexicans and Mexican American’s living in the US as well as those fleeing the instability of their homeland. There was no singular stereotype that the press utilized when describing those of Mexican descent but rather they utilized what Anderson saw as three main themes – “backwardness”, “racial limitations” and “moral decrepitude”.³⁰ These themes emphasized and ascribed traits such as “laziness”, “hedonism”, “stupidity”, a “violent” demeanor, a follower or a “childlike” mindset onto Mexicans. All traits that insidiously emphasized “characteristics” that defined those of Mexican descent as being incapable of self-sufficiency and thus requiring the US – or Anglo-Americans – to guide them. Even further the press framed all of these traits as either culturally or biologically inherent and thus something that people of Mexican descent could never overcome. These traits despite being flexible when it suited writers or cartoonists, achieved their purpose in framing negative traits as being hereditary. We can see the influence of these depictions especially amongst southwestern locals – particularly those in Los Angeles – who were contending with what they saw as an infringement on their foreign business investments in Mexico.

American investments in land and natural resources had increased exponentially prior to the revolution, and for many Mexicans, foreign but particularly American interests became increasingly linked with other social problems such as land divestment,

³⁰ Ibid, pg. 26, 33-34, 38-40; See also “Mexicans Ranked as Negroes.”, *The New York Times*, April 12, 1904. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1904/04/12/120267180.html?pageNumber=1>

suppression of labor organization and declining wages. Mexican revolutionists targeted American property and business interests in both revolutionary writings leading up to the Revolution as well as the exodus of foreigners during the Revolution. This targeting of property and business interests pushed Americans to collude with Diaz supporters, petition the US government for intervention, and later file lawsuits against the Mexican government for damages.³¹ The combination of angry and panicked American businessmen along with an increase in immigration both labor-driven and those fleeing the violence of the Revolution, contributed to a rise in violence and social discontent along the US-Mexico border. There were reports during the early years of this unrest (1900-1910) that local and federal officials were arresting “anarchists” or “plotters” who they saw as “fomenting a revolution”.³² Amidst these fears of potential revolutionists, however, was this underlying note of caution that Mexicans in the US were not true

³¹ Kim notes that three years into the Revolution, there were talks of sending US troops into Mexico to, “protect the interests of America investors and the \$2 billion they had invested south of the border.” Jessica M. Kim, “Revolution around the Corner and across the Border”, in *Imperial Metropolis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 81-86. See also in the same book, Chapter 5 “Against Capital”, 142-175.

³² “Mexican Plotters Caught.: United States Marshals Arrest Four Revolutionists in Texas: United States Marshals Arrest Four Revolutionists in Texas”, *The New York Times*, October 17, 1906. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1906/10/17/101849035.html?pageNumber=7>; See also “Mexico Complains of Texan Hostility: Foreign Minister Declares That Our Government Will be Asked to Act; Would Punish Officials; Washington Hears That the Rebellion has been Crushed – Fugitives are Captured in Texas”, *The New York Times*, July 3, 1908 <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1908/07/03/104736777.html?pageNumber=4>; “Watch Mexicans Closely.: Rumors of New Revolution Keep Government Agents Alert in Texas.”, *The New York Times*, October 7, 1911. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1911/10/07/104878050.html?pageNumber=3>

citizens, that due to this violence they must “prove their loyalty” to Texas and the US in that order.³³

This declaration for Mexicans to prove their loyalty was interesting, considering that this same period 1910-1929, also marked a dramatic shift in how the US was managing its immigration policy. Early immigration policies such as the Chinese Exclusion Act 1882, were primarily concerned with restricting Chinese labor. This act required that Chinese non laborers receive paperwork from the Chinese government that they were qualified to immigrate to the US on the basis that they were not “skilled or unskilled laborers”. The restrictions of who qualified as non laborers were made to be as difficult as possible to meet, thus resulting in a decline of Chinese immigration. Congress renewed the Chinese ban in 1892, then again in 1902 indefinitely before it was repealed in 1943.³⁴ Then in 1924, the Johnson-Reed Act restricted immigration from eastern and southern Europe, further cutting off the flow of immigrant workers to the United States.³⁵ During this gap, as it were, Mexican immigration grew exponentially. Between 1900-1930, an estimated 1,000,000+/- Mexicans migrated into the US and settled in the

³³ “Mexicans in Texas Warned by Governor: Must Obey the Laws and Refrain from Plotting and They Will be Protected”, *The New York Times*, June 20, 1916.

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1916/06/20/100213988.html?pageNumber=3>

³⁴ Although it wasn't until the immigration and nationality act in 1952, that the US saw rising Chinese immigration numbers.

³⁵ Mae M. Ngai, "One. The Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 and the Reconstruction of Race in Immigration Law" in *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, Revised Edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 15-55. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400850235-007>; See also “The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act)” in Milestones in the History of U.S. Foreign Relations, Office of the Historian, Foreign Service Institute, United States Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>

southwest and midwest.³⁶ Vicki Ruiz refers to this period of immigration as resulting in the “generational layering” of US Mexican communities.³⁷ In layman’s terms this means that families could be formed of individuals that had resided in a singular area for generations, or were first, second or third generation immigrants and new to the area or ones of mixed heritage. This generational layering is important to recognize as it affected both the conception of racialization within local Mexican communities as well as intragenerational socialization outside of the communities. Established Mexican families in either California or Texas categorized themselves as distinct from migrant Mexican laborers or immigrant Mexicans. This was an important distinction to note, as Americanization programs targeted migrant Mexican workers or lower-class Mexican immigrants, as opposed to established and middle or upper-class Mexicans.³⁸

All these new Spanish-speaking, and culturally distinct migrants moving into the United States occurred in an era when many social reformers in the United States were focused on Americanization efforts. The Americanization movement sought to reorganize the cultural and social fabric of immigrant communities around the ambiguous concept of American loyalty, the ability to read and write English, and the shedding of their previous

³⁶ Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6. See also Magdalena L. Barrera, “Doing the Impossible”: Teaching Mexican Women’s Experience in Americanization Manuals, 1915-1920, *California History*, vol. 93, no. 4, (2016), 22-25.

³⁷ This “generational layering” as Ruiz terms it, assists in understanding the rapid shifts a racial and identity ethnic identification that that was happening within the Mexican/Chicano community; See also Paul Schuster Taylor, *Mexican labor in the United States. vol. I--[III, no. 1-10]*, (Berkeley: University of California press, 1928-1934), 15-18.

³⁸ It should also be noted that street food vendors were comprised of lower-class Mexicans looking to supplement their families’ incomes. The racialization of these street vendors, as explored in Chapter 2., was distinct to that of upper-class Mexicans.

national identity except where useful.³⁹ Now, I do want to clarify that when referencing immigrant communities, I am referring to communities perceived to be non-white or marginally white and engaging in cultural traditions and lifestyles that Americanizers and educators saw as anathema to American lifestyles.⁴⁰ These programs gained significant traction after World War I, with the then president of the US Chamber of Congress John H. Fahey announcing that immigration was “...Our Big Problem after the War.” Fahey like many other Americans was concerned primarily with how European immigrants could be assimilated and molded into proper American citizens.⁴¹ Early Americanization documents though lamented the lack of financial support, training, and public interest in assimilating immigrants.⁴² Post-WWI however there was a shift that prioritized the assimilation of first western Europeans, and then, after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia incited fears of communism within the US, there was a shift to assimilate eastern

³⁹ Many early Americanization articles claimed that immigrants – in this case European immigrants – did not have to wholly shed their ethnic and national identities. Rather their identities were commodified, brought out when they were meant to support the claim that the US was a “melting-pot” beyond that however they were meant to be put away as they were Americans.

⁴⁰ I use the term “perceived non-white” here because while there were communities were viewed as racially different from Anglo-Americans such as southern, eastern, and central Europeans (particularly Jewish, Catholic, and Orthodox Christians), as well as Mexican, Chinese, Japanese and Filipino communities. There were other communities such as Irish, Italian, and Polish to name a few, that underwent processes that transformed them from being considered non-white to white. Early Americanization programs often focused on these latter communities for assimilation whereas the prior communities were more often seen as incapable of completely assimilating into American society. They were distinctly other and often geographically separated (i.e., Barrios, Chinatown etc.) for various reasons even beyond the periods of attempted Americanization.

⁴¹ See also “Americanization”, *The New York Times*, April 20, 1919, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1919/04/20/118146745.html?pageNumber=95>; V.C, “Americanization.”, *The New York Times* August 19, 1923, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1923/08/19/105108289.html?pageNumber=136>

⁴² John J. Mahoney, *First Steps in Americanization; a handbook for teachers*, (Boston, New York [etc.]: Houghton Mifflin company, 1918), 10-11.

European immigrants.⁴³ Chinese, Japanese and Mexican immigrants however occupied a more contentious position within the larger scheme of Americanization due to their proximity of whiteness. European immigrants were marginally white and could be assimilated and molded into whiteness, but Americanizers were of mixed opinion on whether non-white immigrants could even become proper citizens.⁴⁴

As Mexican immigrants moved to the United States and created Spanish-speaking communities from Indiana to Kansas to California, some “native” Americans saw Mexicans as an unmanageable and unassimilable population.⁴⁵ This reform impulse was a continuation of fear and agitation over the mass migration of eastern and southern Europeans. Out of this impulse emerged the phrase “The Mexican Problem” which was a

⁴³ A. C. Ratshesky, “Americanization is Cure for Bolshevism”, *The New York Times*, November 24, 1918, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1918/11/24/97046100.html?pageNumber=45>; See also John H. Fahey, “Immigrants to be Our Big Problem After the War: Employers must Aid the Unskilled Laborer from Other Countries to Become Americanized, Sys President of the United States Chamber of Commerce”, January 16, 1916, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1916/01/16/104236019.html?pageNumber=67>; “Real Americanization.”, *The New York Times*, July 20, 1920 <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1920/07/20/103462576.html?pageNumber=6>; Stella E. Asling-Riis, “Americanization Zeal.”, Letter to the Editor of the New York Times, *The New York Times*, June 20, 1920 <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1920/06/20/118330546.html?pageNumber=31>

The July article discusses Americanization classes sponsored by the Service Citizens of Delaware and aimed at local Ukrainian’s. Whereas the June article talks more broadly about European and Japanese immigrants coming into the US as well as the Americanization tactics that should be employed.

⁴⁴ Sheridan, Clare. “Contested Citizenship: National Identity and the Mexican Immigration Debates of the 1920s.” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21, no. 3 (2002):12-18. See also, Mark C. Anderson, “What’s to Be Done with ‘Em?’ Images of Mexican Cultural Backwardness, Racial Limitations, and Moral Decrepitude in the United States Press, 1913-1915.”, *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, vol 14., no.1 (Winter, 1998), 69.

⁴⁵ Dickerson, Roy E. “Some Suggestive Problems in the Americanization of Mexicans.” *Pedagogical Seminary* 26, (1919): 288. <http://stats.lib.pdx.edu/proxy.php?url=http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.pdx.edu/scholarly-journals/some-suggestive-problems-americanization-mexicans/docview/1297130264/se-2?accountid=13265>.

catch all description of the “threat to both culture and public health” posed by Mexicans. Yet it also included worries of increased burden on the government, and an increase in vagrants, “lazy” immigrants, and potential “public charges”.⁴⁶ To counteract this “problem”, Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants became homogenized as a singular group of “Mexicans” in the early Americanization discourse with little attention paid to individuals actual formal citizenship status.

Mexican American and Mexican immigrants posed an interesting problem for Americanizers who had worked with southern and eastern European immigrants in the eastern and midwestern United States. Americanizers had limited experience working with the community and some reformers even wondered if Mexicans were “capable” of citizenship and thus even properly Americanized.⁴⁷ Adding to Americanizers doubts were also the concurrent discourse taking place within the Mexican/Mexican American community regarding both identity and citizenship. The generational layering in Mexican/Mexican American communities left a divide on several issues. Foremost amongst them was, what to call themselves. Some described themselves as Mexican and not as Mexican American, others in California or Texas used the terms Californios or Tejanos to describe themselves whilst there were also others who used terms such as

⁴⁶ Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 75-80.

⁴⁷ Mark Overmyer-Velazquez, "Good neighbors and white Mexicans: constructing race and nation on the Mexico-U.S. border." *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 33, no. 1, fall 2013, pp. 5+. Gale Academic OneFile, link.gale.com/apps/doc/A345460171/AONE?u=s1185784&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=91ff163; “Mexicans Ranked as Negroes.: Italians also so Classed Politically by Texas Democrats.”, *The New York Times*, April 12, 1904. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1904/04/12/120267180.html?pageNumber=1>

Hispanic and mestizaje. This divide on labels was even further deepened by the politization of American citizenship. Both Mexican citizens and government officials could depict Mexican Americans as embodying either a rejection of their cultural identity as Mexicans or as aligning themselves with the ideals of US imperialism.⁴⁸ This resulted in Americanization programs having to become ideologically flexible depending on their targeted community.

While Americanization manuals and booklets published throughout this period primarily targeted eastern and southern European communities, the manuals that did target Mexican communities derived their methodologies from these European centered manuals.⁴⁹ In order to condense the many contradicting sources on Americanization, I have chosen to examine documents published by federal and state departments as well as the works of then leading sociologists. One such sociologist, Emory S. Bogardus, later referred to as an “institution builder” by his peers, was well-respected within Americanization literature. Bogardus founded the sociology department at the University of Southern California in 1915 and would later serve as the President for the American Sociological Society in 1931. Bogardus also wrote over 275 academic papers on a wide range of topics with 52 of those papers being on race and ethnicity. Bogardus interest in

⁴⁸Another opinion to be considered, were that some Mexicans did not want to lose the benefits or resources that Mexican citizenship provided them in the US. Flores, “Mexican Immigrant Understandings of Empire, Race, and Gender” in *The Mexican Revolution in Chicago* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 74, 80-82. See also, George Sanchez, “The “New Nationalism,” Mexican Style” in *Becoming Mexican American, Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*, (New York: Oxford Press, 1993).

⁴⁹ Magdalena L. Barrera, “Doing the Impossible”, 24-25.

race/ethnic relations had a focus in the West Coast, and how studying race relations was an “excellent case stud[y] of public opinion.”⁵⁰ Bogardus’ work had an incredible impact on race relation research happening on the west coast as well as the sociological community during the height of the Americanization period.

Bogardus’ definition of Americanization in his book *Essentials of Americanization*, was that it “... is a process... of building as perfect a society as it is possible to do on earth.”⁵¹ He regarded figures such as Thomas Edison, Benjamin Franklin, and Theodore Roosevelt as premier examples of American citizenship and culture.⁵² The perfect blend of ruggedness, initiative, and self-expression that finds manifestation in public service.⁵³ The emphasis on public service, loyalty, and democracy, one should also note, were all focused on quelling possible social unrest and nonconformity amongst growing immigrant communities.

To Bogardus’ credit, he was sincere in promoting the social benefits of Americanization. Theoretically and idealistically, Americanization for many, was a means to uplift and aid new and struggling immigrant communities. Yet there was a

⁵⁰ ⁵⁰David Torres-Ruof, “Becoming Mexican: Segregated Schools and Social Scientists in Southern California, 1913-1946, 112. See also Bogardus, E. Stephen, “Public opinion as a Social Force: Race Reactions” *Social Forces*, vol 8, no 1 (Sept. 1929), 102.

⁵¹ Bogardus, E. Stephen, *Essentials of Americanization*. 3d rev. ed., (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1923), 13.

⁵² Ibid, 64.

⁵³ Ibid, 58-59. Bogardus comments further that “Initiative – this has been the American’s rugged characteristic. Behind an overemphasis upon commercialism there is not a sodden nature so much as a self-initiative run wild. Behind ugly lynching practices there is not wanton brutality so much as the rash attempt to render justice oneself, without waiting for the slower procedure of law. The strength of the United States has been found in her emphasis upon liberty and initiative; her weakness has frown out of the fact that she has thought of liberty and intuitive too frequently in terms of the individual self and not sufficiently in terms of the public self.”

disconnect between those creating and maintaining these programs and the stated needs and desires of the communities they were serving. A majority of this disconnect derived from the paternalistic attitude assumed by Bogardus and other Americanizers who were both theorizing about Americanization and teaching immigrant communities. While Bogardus was not afraid to criticize what he saw as “unworthy American traditions” of Anglo-Americans, such as the obsession with materials goods and wealth. He also centered his own theorization of Americanization around his own projection of what made a “perfect society”. To define what made a “perfect society” however he also needed to outline what made the current society “imperfect” and it became clear that a major imperfection was in immigrant communities that held onto their homelands, language, cultures, and cuisines.⁵⁴ Bogardus when speaking on Mexican immigrants referred to them as, “...unskilled laborer[s], works irregularly and seasonably, lives in unhealthy and un-American ways.” He then continues this statement with the explanation that Mexican immigrants – while yes in possession of all the terrible qualities espoused in popular media—are merely victims of their “centuries of oppression”.

Ironically despite the bias evident in his own language, Bogardus also urged that Americanizers not take a “snobbish attitude toward or look down upon foreigners.”⁵⁵ If, however, Americanizers were to devote their attention to Mexican immigrants then they would see “his best qualities are hidden” and that “He is patient, submissive, and when

⁵⁴ Ibid, 136. Bogardus has the latter half of his book split into sections where he goes into details about the various immigrant communities’ -“strengths” and “weaknesses”.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 113.

his confidence is secured, is very loyal.”⁵⁶ Bogardus approaches the topic of Mexican Americanization through two different tactics. The first was to fall back on the accepted method of calling for literacy classes and English language classes. The second was to appeal through a child-based guilt system. In this guilt method, he appealed to both the Mexican parents and the American reader to understand that there were Mexican children, “...who will grow up to be American citizens...reared in shacks without adequate home care... without protection from habitations which are infected with tubercle bacilli, without proper nutrition...”, and thus that was why Americanization was vital.⁵⁷

Other proponents of Americanization, such as Alonzo G. Grace who was an educator working at the University of Minnesota and later became the Director of the Division of Education and Cultural Relations in the U.S. Office of Military Government in Germany post-WWII.⁵⁸ Like many educators during this period he had a personal stake in the current and future state of US immigration. Grace was aware of the influential role that both he and his peers played in the larger Americanization movement of the time. In 1921, he published a pamphlet entitled *Immigration and community Americanization*

⁵⁶ Ibid, 267-268.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 269. See also George Sanchez, “Family Life and the Search for Stability”, *Becoming Mexican American, Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*, (New York: Oxford Press, 1993), 129-150.

⁵⁸ Alonzo G. Grace Papers, University of Special Collections Digital Finding Aids.

<https://apps.library.und.edu/archon/?p=collections/findingaid&id=794&q=>

While there he would write extensively and advocate to restructure the German public education system, one could argue that his work in Americanization, much like Bogardus', Grace would go on to occupy a position of significant authority in shaping the future generation of educators, more specifically he become Chair of the Department of Education at the University of Chicago.

where he broke Americanization into tangible and understandable terms for educators. This pamphlet offered step-by step aid in designing classes, advertising classes to the community and he also laid out descriptive and realistic goals for educators to reach in relation to the communities they were targeting. He, like Bogardus, prioritized loyalty and civic education but practically noted that English language classes were on the forefront of the syllabus.⁵⁹ While “good” citizenship was of major interest to those seeking to teach Americanization, language was the primary barrier in the way of understanding what “good citizenship” was and how to achieve it. Americanizers saw immigrant communities as closed off due to the language barrier as well as work-imposed isolation.⁶⁰ They argued that public schools should expand resources on teaching immigrant men and then later children better English to assist in both their cultural assimilation but also their workplace assimilation.

Grace however went beyond just arguing for greater resources for Americanization. He believed that while, “America has been called the melting pot of the

⁵⁹ *Training Teachers for Americanization*, 13-14. See also “Compel Americanization”, *The New York Times*, July 4, 1920. < <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1920/07/04/102864616.html?pageNumber=9>>; “To Americanize Foreign-Born Who Live Here: Prominent Men and Women Form Committee to Secure Facilities for Immigrants to Become Assimilated Into Our Life and Imbued with Patriotism”, *The New York Times*, October 24, 1915, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1915/10/24/104017424.html?pageNumber=66>; “Adopt New Program in Americanization: Community Councils will Develop Athletic and Educational Training; Will Give Up Old Methods; Neighborhood Interests to be Directed to Public and Social Work”, *The New York Times*, July 13, 1919 < <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1919/07/13/112642695.html?pageNumber=3>>.

⁶⁰ John J. Mahoney, *Training Teachers for Americanization: A Course of Study for Normal Schools and Teachers’ Institutes*, Department of the Interior; Bureau of Education, (Washington: Government Print Office, 1920), 9-12. See also, Rosina Lozano, “A Political Language” in *An American Language: The History of Spanish in the United States*. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 140-144; Lozano, “Choosing Language”, *An American Language*, 79.

world...we have come more to resemble an international dumping ground”, and that Americanization could open an avenue to not just reeducate and assimilate immigrants but also provide a template to understanding who made “good” immigrants.⁶¹ Similar to Bogardus, Grace categorizes immigrant communities into racial categories but largely seems concerned with the assimilation of western and eastern European immigrant communities despite listing Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican immigrants into his categorization system.⁶² This omission was purposeful - Grace criticized the current immigration patterns, certain that there was a way immigration could be streamlined to benefit the US. He argued that immigration as it was, was “...without segregation or selection.”, and that it was the “duty” of the American people to keep the nation strong.⁶³ To achieve that strength Americanization efforts should be focused on Dutch, Danish and German immigrants whom he categorized as “High intelligent groups” and not so much on Mexican immigrants described as “Low intelligence. Social life unorganized.”.⁶⁴ Despite previously defining a multitude of non-white immigrant communities, this

⁶¹ Grace, *Immigrant and Community Americanization*, 79. See also “Immigration and Americanization.”, Robert D[?] C. Ward, letter to the Editor of the New York Times, *The New York Times*, June 11, 1919, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1919/06/11/97096446.html?pageNumber=14> This letter also expresses a similar opinion of restricting immigration to allow for proper assimilation of current immigrant communities.

⁶² Grace, *Immigrant and Community Americanization*, 31-32. Unlike Bogardus’ who categorizes Mexican immigrants as a different racial category, Grace here lists Mexican immigrants as Caucasian under the sub-category “Italic” which includes “French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian” immigrants. Also, interesting to note is that both Bogardus and Grace include Indigenous communities in these Americanization manuals but Grace lumps them into the category of people who specifically immigrate to the US.

⁶³ Ibid, 83.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 49. This is derived from a section where categorizes immigrant communities into “community types” The communities in relation to this quote were “Cotton Raising Community.” To define African American, and Mexican immigrants, and “Stock Raising and Dairy communities.”, to define the European immigrants mentioned above.

particular social categorization however made no mention of Chinese, Japanese or any other previously non-white immigrant community. Grace going forward omitted them from the manual as they were not target communities for Americanization. It was clear then that Grace's vision of who could assimilate and achieve citizenship was formed from a small part of the current immigration demographic. Of that smaller part, Grace insisted that immigrants who enrolled in Americanization schools,

“... should be led to prize the things which are his own which make for good in America. On the other hand, he should get clearly a realization that his practices and characteristics which are weaknesses in American should be done away with as quickly and as completely as possible.”⁶⁵

This comment made by Grace illustrates a key point about Americanization that I believe carries over into how Anglo-Americans discuss and partake in ethnic food. All Americanizers had clear ideas of what aspects of immigrant culture should be carried over into mainstream American culture. The issue, and in fact a larger issue of the Americanization movement, was the inability to concretely describe what American culture was. There were attributes that were considered American, such as “loyalty”, “democracy” and “freedom” which were the ones consistently talked about by scholars and the public. Beyond that however what was American was unclear, some aspects of culture and food such as Italian food or German sausages were eventually accepted by Anglo-Americans but other cuisines like Chinese and Mexican were enjoyed but never considered American. These foods much like their creators were seen by most Anglo-

⁶⁵ Ibid, 81.

Americans as foreign regardless of nativity. Opinion articles submitted to the *New York Times* indicate that Anglo-Americans saw the ability to vote and embody “loyalty” or “democracy” as inherent to citizenship. Those who were not citizens could be taught, hence the Americanization programs, but for many to be a citizen was to be preferably white. Yet for many immigrants’ whiteness was not an attainable status.⁶⁶

Whiteness, food, and pseudo-science

In fact, whiteness was a not even a fixed concept within the US, and Ruoff has argued that in – illegally – creating Americanization programs and other segregated schools for Mexican ancestry students, Americanizers laid the basis for racializing and othering Mexican Americans in the US.⁶⁷ Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants occupied this tenuous space of being neither white nor black, neither insider, nor fully an outsider. While similar, the treatment of Mexican immigrants had key differences especially with their tenuous status as legally “white”, when compared to Chinese or Japanese immigrants who Anglo-Americans described as being a “menace”.⁶⁸ Their position in the ever-shifting US racial hierarchy means that Americanization manuals and

⁶⁶Carlos K. Blanton, “George I. Sanchez, Ideology, and Whiteness in the Making of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement, 1930-1960”, *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 72, no. 3 (2006), 582-586. Blanton’s research provides excellent detail in understanding how whiteness became entwined with citizenship and how that affected the Mexican Civil Rights Movement. This connection between whiteness and citizenship was further emphasized by the many Americanization bills that were being passed between 1910-1930. See also “Mexicans Ranked as Negroes.”, *The New York Times*, April 12, 1904. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1904/04/12/120267180.html?pageNumber=1>

⁶⁷ Ruoff, “Becoming Mexican”, 126-127.

⁶⁸ Barrera, “Doing the Impossible”, 25. See also Mae Ngai, “The Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 and the Reconstruction of Race in Immigration Law”, *Impossible Subjects*, 21-55.

media portrayals were inconsistent in how they referred to Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants. Magdalena Barrera points out that because of their, "...mestizo heritage [which] made them not quite Spanish, and yet not quite Indian.", and their increasing immigration rates, Americanizing Mexican American and Mexican immigrants became a real focus in the US west and southwest.⁶⁹ Federal Americanization agencies such as the National Security Leagues and the National Americanization Committee, were publishing materials relating to the "Mexican Problem." California established an extensive program to Americanize Mexican American and Mexican immigrant families. Proponents of Americanization – both official and unofficial— also increasingly began to focus on the education of women within immigrant families. This shift to focusing on women was not unique to Mexican ancestry residents but a common strategy used in combination with school-based and community programs.

Americanization teachers believed that by educating women and young girls, they were laying the groundwork for Americanization of the whole family.⁷⁰ While there was still a focus on language, Americanization programs well into the 1920s were shifting to programs aimed at reforming the reproductive labor of immigrant women to fit middle-class Anglo-American standards. Domestic work such as cooking, cleaning, sewing, reproduction, and care of children, as well as the care of extended family were all

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ruoff, "Becoming Mexican", 108-109; See also, L. R. Hunter, "Americanize the Women: How Immigrants May be Taught by individual Attention.", letter to the Editor of the New York Times, *The New York Times*, February 19, 1916.

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1916/02/19/100192823.html?pageNumber=10>

It should be noted that this op-ed refers particularly to European Immigrant women and that Mexican women are not mentioned at all by the writer.

included in lesson plans aimed at Mexican girls and women. The understanding being that these students would either become full time housewives or, given that these type of domestic science programs were also implemented in public high schools and later universities, that they would go on to fulfill these duties for Anglo-American households as either maids, nannies, or cooks.⁷¹

The *Americanization Through Homemaking* manual created by Idelia P. Ellis in 1928, was a prime example of this shift as it engaged with a mixture of then-legitimate dietary science and pseudo-science that assigned morality to certain foods. In this manual, Ellis wrote of how the ideological intent of the text was to impart structure and aid in completely assimilating Mexican immigrants. Ellis aimed her teaching programs at young children, with the hopes of molding them into adulthood as women who had, “... a greater respect for the school and for our civilization”.⁷² It would be expected that these girls trained by Americanizers would “...marry early a young man in her own station of life.”⁷³ Every aspect of their life, from infancy to adulthood was to be regimented and micromanaged according to the standards that this manual outlined. By following these standards, they would embody American ideals but never stray from their expected “station” in life.

⁷¹ Marc Rodriguez, “Inclusion and Mexican Americanism: High School Acculturation and Ethnic Politics in Crystal City”, *The Tejano Diaspora* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 45-46.

⁷² Ellis, *Americanization through Homemaking*, 13.

⁷³ Ibid, 14.

Ellis believed that it was imperative these programs target the young girls of the family since they were the future “mothers and homemakers” who controlled the “destinies of their future families”.⁷⁴ In order to shape these future Americans however, Ellis in a similar fashion to Grace, maintained that immigrants needed to first free themselves from unacceptable cultural and cuisine practices. She was quite blatant in her manual about the many deficiencies that both Mexican culture and Mexican cuisine had and why there were to blame for the bad habits and reputation that Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants had. Americanizers positioned women as the morally upright citizens whose habits shaped how they and their family expressed the identity. To embody Americanism, they urged immigrant women to become proper consumers of American products and foodways. Ellis tied morality and consumer habits together and encouraged other Americanizers to stress the importance of “American” purchasing patterns to combat their “inherent” criminality, and that by also limiting the consumption of foreign food, Americanizers would make headway into preventing the continuation of their “culture of criminality”.⁷⁵

Educational programs were available to immigrant women in local community centers and Americanizers performed home visits to offer resources to these immigrant women, usually in the form of food, professional training, or medical aid. Initially,

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ These programs as well as other missionary organizations during the 1920s modelled their lessons after the concept of Republican Motherhood. Their methods specifically targeted low-income women, who they identified as the carriers of cultural traditions and the gateway to Americanizing the entire immigrant family, as well as vulnerable individuals most likely to want to access the resources they offered to draw them to their programs.

Americanizers targeted older immigrant women however these women, Americanizers noted, were difficult to work with or assimilate to the desired degree. There were multiple instances in which older women would use the service or resource offered to them but did not fully commit to the program.⁷⁶ As a result, reformers began to shift their attention from older women to younger women and girls who they felt were more receptive to their programs and the ideology of Americanization. This was clear in Ellis' manual, where she exclusively refers to young women and girls as being the intended recipients of the teaching programs.

Building on that, Americanizers also considered immigrant women ignorant of cleaning practices and basic nutrition, and that they needed to be taught young on how to maintain a clean household. This was important to understand because the connection between food and health did not appear suddenly. In fact, Anglo-Americans frequently used standards of cleanliness and health to differentiate race and class in the US.⁷⁷ Thus it was not unusual to see that a common complaint by Americanizers and health officials in the southwest, was that the homes of Mexican workers were dirty and unsanitary which stoked fears of disease spreading from Mexican communities into white communities.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Stephanie Lewthwaite, *Race, Place and Reform in Mexican Los Angeles: A Transnational Perspective, 1890-1940* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2009), 114.

⁷⁷ Katherine Massoth, "Mexican Cookery That Belongs to the United States": Evolving Boundaries of Whiteness in New Mexican Kitchens" in *Food Across Borders* edited by Matt Garcia, E. Maline DuPuis, and Don Mitchell (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2017), 49.

⁷⁸ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens?*, See also Barrera, "Doing the Impossible", 23-25; *Americanization : California's answer / issued by the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California*, June 1, 1920.

An early example of Americanizers making a connection between poor health and food can be found in a medical missionary record published by the International Health and Temperance Association (IHTA) in 1894. This journal reported that:

Frijoles, or black beans, are a very common article of diet; they are, in fact, the principal food of the lower class and are largely used by all classes. These are made hot with pepper and cooked with any kind of grease the cook can get hold of. If it is so strong as to be patent to the nostrils a long way off, it doesn't hurt the flavor for the low-class consumer. In one locality the railway employees had to guard the grease they used for their car wheels so strong was the temptation to the predatory *leperos* who coveted it as a seasoning for their bean stews.⁷⁹

The Medical Missionary first identified that their point of contention was in the food, *frijoles*, that Mexicans cooked and consumed. *Frijoles*, as pointed out by *the Medical Missionary*, was a food not just consumed by lower-class Mexicans but by *all* Mexicans. A distinction that indicated to the reader that the author was directing their comments to refer to Mexicans as a whole. Amongst the complaints levied against *frijoles*, the smell, the spice, and the “grease” used to cook the beans are all listed. However, railroad grease was an industrial lubricant that, even in 1894, was not safe for human consumption. The likelihood that Mexican workers (or *leperos*) were stealing this lubricant to cook their beans with was unlikely. The “stealing” of the lubricant instead

(San Francisco: Commission of Immigration and Housing of California, 1920). While the sources used here are primarily located in Southern California, they need to be considered for the effects that they would have throughout the SW. California's health surveys and Americanization programs operated as a “laboratory” for academics to test what did and did not work in terms of Americanization. The results from these “laboratories” would be published and canonized in larger national discourse surrounding immigrant communities.

⁷⁹ John Harvey Kellogg and International Health and Temperance Association, *The Medical Missionary*, (Battle Creek, Mich.: International Health and Temperance Association, 1852-1943), 106-107.

was a stereotype employed by the writers to emphasize the diseased and “criminal nature” of Mexican workers. This story positioned the unnamed Mexican workers as both criminals and diseased individuals with the accusation of railroad grease used to cook beans deriving from a larger pattern of stereotyping used against Mexicans and other nonwhite immigrants. These stereotypes targeted ethnic food to indicate that the food and their cooks fell short of the expected standards of cleanliness that they expected of American citizens. By failing to meet “American” standards they were also failing to meet other standards of citizenship and morality, as seen when they refer to these Mexican workers as “predatory leperos” with little other nuance.

Anglo-Americans viewed racial differences in the early twentieth century as the result of biology, so it was not strange to find that conversations about “health” easily segued into conversations about biological purity and class. Historian Natalia Molina found that in LA when officials were compiling data on infant mortality rates (IMR) that, “...the role these rates played in reinforcing racial stereotypes and regional hierarchies... further legitimize[d] the existing regional racial order.”⁸⁰ By focusing on the high IMR rates amongst Mexican infants, Mexican mothers were painted as, “bad mothers” while, “White women, on the other hand, emerged as especially good mothers...”⁸¹ By focusing public health efforts on making Mexican women “good mothers”, health campaigns were about producing “better babies” instead of focusing on potentially extensive health and housing reforms to assist with the structural issues actually

⁸⁰ Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?*, 77.

⁸¹ Ibid.

contributing to high IMR. The focus on IMR also, as Molina points out, allowed for officials to ignore far more pressing health needs such as tuberculosis and typhoid both of which were widespread due to poor housing. Ellis on this point also observed that,

“as compared with native [Anglo American] people it [tuberculosis] is heavier in Mexican communities, probably on account of fewer precautionary measures being taken, also poor sanitation, overcrowded living quarters, and lack of nourishing food.”⁸²

Americanization programs were structured to “teach” Mexican girls skills to improve their homes and family life, but they were not expected to be socially mobile. The lessons wanted to impart morals and habits that would improve their material life within their attainable means.⁸³ These young women were both beholden to and to blame for their own social and economic circumstances. As Ellis would also caution other Americanizers that, “sanitary, hygienic and dietic measures are not easily learned by the Mexican. His philosophy of life flows along lines of least resistance and it requires far less exertion to remain dirty than to clean up.”⁸⁴ Ellis’ insistence that Mexicans were resistant or reluctant to learn “proper” hygiene and diet shifted attention away from structural issues contributing to the public health crises in Mexican communities and instead blamed it solely on the people themselves. This language implied that they had the capability to “improve” and actively chose not to, so they must be taught or saved from their own ignorance and mistakes by Americanizers. The narrative constructed by Ellis as well as the same rhetoric was not unique to California, in fact the same can be

⁸² Ellis, *Americanization through Homemaking*, 44.

⁸³ Rodriguez, “Inclusion and Mexican Americanism”, 39.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 64.

seen in documents from Texas, where private and or religious organizations primarily tackled the Americanization of Mexican immigrant communities.

The Women's Home Missionary's 1915 report *Home Missions on the Border* was a short piece that compared Juarez, Mexico in relation to the impoverished Mexican barrio in El Paso, Texas. It focused heavily on the poor living conditions and the unfortunate condition of the young Mexican girls who were, "...such a little way removed from superstition and ignorance." The pamphlet, at only a few pages, spends its entirety talking around the condition of Mexican women and children without the author interacting with the individuals they were "observing".⁸⁵ The mission workers described in this pamphlet worked at the Rose Gregory Houchen Settlement House (RGH) in El Paso. The RGH Settlement House was a Methodist Church run organization founded in 1912, directly serving the Mexican neighborhood Segundo Barrio. This settlement provided health services, citizenship classes, cooking classes, English-language classes, Bible study and conversion, as well as a bilingual kindergarten and preschool. Much like other Americanization programs, Mexican families utilized the services provided but rarely converted to the consternation of the volunteers.⁸⁶ While the Settlement house provided an array of classes and resources, there was a dissonance between how the Mexican community perceived the house versus how settlement workers perceived their own role in the local communities. Most Mexican participants chose to utilize the parts of

⁸⁵ Alice, Guernsey, *Home Missions on the border [electronic resource]* / Alice M. Guernsey., (New York: Woman's Home Missionary Society, 1915?), 3.

⁸⁶ Vicki L. Ruiz, and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, "Houchen Settlement, El Paso (1912-)" in *Latinas in the United States, set: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 329-331.

the program that best helped them and their needs. Meanwhile, Settlement staff saw the program as playing a part in the grand scheme of America's great "Melting Pot" by assimilating only the "best" parts of Mexican culture into mainstream culture and Americanizing away the unsatisfactory bits.⁸⁷ RGH like Ellis, also expressed concern on both the sanitary conditions of the immigrants as well as the patronizing tone regarding the abilities or lack thereof of future mothering abilities attributed to Mexican women.⁸⁸ Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants were to blame for their deplorable living conditions, through either deliberate laziness or naïve cultural habits. Americanizers viewed themselves as the only ones who cared enough to teach and uplift these communities into clean and modern Americans.⁸⁹ It was easy for Americanizers to focus on domestic labor activities and the moral failings of the communities they were engaging with as opposed to examining how structural problems played a larger role in disease rates. Although public concerns about the health of Mexican immigrants would not reach the same level of public resentment that was reserved for Japanese or Chinese immigrants, it still had noticeable impact on the perception of ethnic foodways. Food writers and Americanizers cautioned other Anglo-Americans of not just the squalor of Mexican homes but of the unhealthy qualities of Mexican food, as it lacked the nutritional balance that "American" food embodied.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Ibid, 330.

⁸⁸ There was some discourse about the retention of traditional culture. Some claimed that immigrants had to fully assimilate whilst others argued for only partial assimilation.

⁸⁹ Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?*, 80.

⁹⁰ Bertha M. Wood, *Foods of the foreign-born in relation to health* (Boston, Mass.: Whitcomb & Barrows, 1922), in the Feeding America: The Historic American Cookbook Project, Michigan State University, 9-10.

Dietician Bertha M. Wood conducted a 1921-1922 health and Americanization study on immigrants in the US entitled *Foods of the foreign-born in relation to health*. Woods noted that, “Almost their [immigrants] first thought on landing is of something to eat, and this fact places food in the first rank of importance in our plans for Americanization.”⁹¹ Although the US did not have an established national cuisine, Americanizers turned to dietary science to coach immigrant families on American cuisine. Of the many recipes provided and tailored to different immigrant communities (Mexican, Portuguese, Italian, Hungarian, Slavic etc.), Woods consistently advised that they eat a balance of vegetables and protein, consume more milk, and eat less spices.⁹² To Woods credit, she acknowledged that often times immigrant families could not afford the ideal recommended raw foods, yet she still insisted that when they had the income and the choice, they were still making unhealthy choices. This then forces the reader to question what was it about immigrant food that made it so unhealthy?

In talking about Mexican cuisine for example, Woods asserts that the high infant mortality rate was due to Mexican mothers,

⁹¹ Wood, *Foods of the foreign-born*, 17. Woods unlike other Americanization novels, takes the time to provide geographical, cultural, and religious context as to why certain communities consume certain foods for those looking to change their diets.

⁹² Ibid, 16-17, 20; see also Andrea S. Wiley, “Milk for “Growth”: Global and Local Meanings of Milk Consumption in China, India, and the United States” in *Local Foods Meet Global Foodways: Tasting History*, (New York: Routledge, 2012) edited by Benjamin N. Lawrance and Carolyn de la Peña, 15-37. Wiley attributes to the rise of Milk in the twentieth century to a few factors, the first being the US’ expanding dairy industry, widespread pasteurization, refrigerated transportation and storage, and finally the association with milk to economic growth, modernity, and health. You were considered modern and healthy if you are children consumed milk every day, a message that the middle-class especially internalized.

“...feeding the children heavier foods...Very small infants are taught to eat frijoles or beans, (sic), and when the melons begin to ripen the babies are stuffed with cantaloupes and watermelons.”

In addition to feeding children these “heavier foods” the low milk and meat consumption in combination with a high fat and spice combination was also to blame for the “undernourished” and “malnourished” Mexican children. This work however was performed in a vacuum as Wood completely dismisses structural issues that would have contributed to high rates of infant mortality. She instead asserted that “... it is doubtful if the housing conditions have much to do with their ill health.”, and thus the problem lied entirely on their poor diet.⁹³ Now Wood like Elis stressed that Mexican families were in fact not lacking in available food, but that Mexican cuisine itself was to blame for them being “mal-nourished” because it trained them to not consume “...the right varieties of food...”.⁹⁴ It was this emphasis on immigrants cooking with the right type of foods, contributed to ethnic food becoming an avenue of focus for intellectualists and Americanizers for its perceived unsanitary and unhealthy qualities.

To Woods credit, she understood that immigrant communities, particularly Mexican, Italian, and Polish/Slavic communities were very often unwilling to upend their familiar cultural cuisine. Instead, Wood proposed the introduction of foods that were heavy in the missing nutritional components of that cuisine in combination with familiar foods. Suggested Italians meals were for example, Zuppa alla Provinciale (Potato Soup), Spinagi, Polenta, and Gnocchi di Semolina; all of which were heavy in milk and

⁹³ Ellis, *Americanization through homemaking*, 7.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 17.

vegetable ingredients but still familiar to the consumers.⁹⁵ For Mexican cuisine, Wood suggested Baked Chicken and Rice, Hot Milk Soup, Stuffed Peppers, Chili con Carne and Tamales; once again demonstrating a slow introduction of “nutritionally healthy” food in addition to familiar food recipes.⁹⁶ This approach contrasted with Ellis who advocated for immigrant women to completely shift away from their more familiar cuisine to a cuisine that better accommodated the contemporary nutritional standards. Ellis however was more direct in communicating that meal plans were expected to adhere to the following food groups:

- I. Body Regulators – water and Mineral matter
- II. Body regulators and builders- water, fruits, vegetables, cereals, eggs, and milk (all contain mineral matter)
- III. Boddy regulators and energy-givers
 - a. Carbohydrates – sugar, cereals, root vegetables, starchy foods
 - b. Fats – cream, milk, butter, oil from meats
 - c. Proteins – eggs, milk, cheese, beef, legumes, fish⁹⁷

The continual suggestion of increased sugar, fats, and milk intake was in line with contemporary dietary recommendations found in guides such as the United States Department of Agriculture’s *Food for Young Children* by Caroline Hunt (1916) or *How to Select Foods* by C.L. Hunt and H.W. Atwater (1917). Dietary guidelines were new at this point in the US, with the first federal dietary guide published in 1894, these suggestions were often foods were supposed to improve the constitution and energy

⁹⁵ Wood, *Foods of the foreign-born*, 25-28.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 10-12.

⁹⁷ Ellis also believed that newborns only had, “enough iron in its body for a year only.”, and that child should eat iron rich foods (Spinach eggs, and other green vegetables) in their second year as opposed to traditional foods that immigrant families would normally prepare. Ellis, *Americanization Through Homemaking*, 19.

levels of children, as well as prevent notable ailments such as rickets.⁹⁸ These early guidelines were basic and did not account for instances where the communities they were advising had high rates of lactose intolerance.⁹⁹ Instead of working with immigrant culinary cultures, Ellis suggested a complete rejection of fried food as it was “indigestible” and recommended instead that the “healthiest” foods cooked in a stove, as opposed to fried or cooked on stovetop.¹⁰⁰ Ellis suggested that Mexican immigrants instead eat meals such as Corn Soup, Oyster soup, Peanut Butter soup, cheese or lettuce sandwiches, salads such as spinach cooked and garnished with mayonnaise, shredded cabbage with French dressing or potato salad (boiled potatoes, boiled egg, olives, onion, and mayonnaise). Ellis completely rejects the notion of familiar tortillas, chiles, beans or even chili con carne as meal. The meals she suggests for her Mexican students were instead completely American.

Ellis categorized tortillas, chiles, and beans, all familiar foods to her students as the “accelerators of criminal tendencies.”, (see Figure 1 in Appendix) and ones that should be replaced with good old fashioned American food.¹⁰¹ These foods were

⁹⁸ Andrea S. Wiley, “Milk for “Growth”, 25-28.

⁹⁹ Yet many of the early guidelines failed to account that lactose intolerance was common amongst African Americans, Indigenous communities, Asian Americans, and Hispanics/Latinos. They were also instances of European American communities experiencing lactose intolerance because they did not come from a culture that regularly consumed dairy products. “Dietary Recommendations and How They Have Changed Over Time” in *America's Eating Habits: Changes and Consequences*, United States Department of Agriculture, May 1999. See also, “Definition & Facts for Lactose Intolerance”, National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Diseases, National Institute of Health, <https://www.niddk.nih.gov/health-information/digestive-diseases/lactose-intolerance/definition-facts>.

¹⁰⁰ There was little mention as to what kind of frying medium was used and why it was considered unhealthy. Merely that the method of deep frying, infused the food with oil and fats, whereas American food was merely topped with oil and fats.

¹⁰¹ Ellis, *Americanization Through Homemaking*, 21-31 & 43.

described as being both unhealthy and unfulfilling for the appetite of Mexican children, leading them to steal the lunches of other children. Echoing the earlier stereotypes employed by *The Medical Missionary*, hunger from unhealthy ethnic food was positioned by Americanizers as a driving force for childhood criminality. The text poses an unsaid question of, if these children were hungry and willing to steal to satiate that hunger then, what would stop these children from continuing to steal in the future? Hunger then, according to Ellis, was the first step towards a growing generation of new criminals. To combat this looming future, Ellis along with other Americanizers believed that by teaching young women and girls how to cook and shop American that they would change the food habits of not just their children but the men within the family who were already subjected to wider stereotypes that labelled them as “biologically lazy” or “moral decrepitude”. Guernsey in fact boldly claimed that this was in effect already happening, “...in the cooking class, where merry girls made pies quite “good enough to eat” – a fact proved by the growing demand of the men in these homes for “American cooking.””¹⁰²

The reality of this however was overstated as while American foods, and in particular canned foods, were readily becoming more available many borderland immigrant communities were still patronizing local foodways.¹⁰³ Not only were local communities resistant to changing their own cuisine because it provided a cultural

¹⁰² Guernsey, *Home Missions on the Border*, 4.

¹⁰³ For further information on immigrant foodways away from the borderlands see, Teresa M. Mares, Naomi Wolcott-MacCausland, and Jessie Mazar, “Eating Far from Home: Latino/a Workers and Food Sovereignty in Rural Vermont” in *Food Across Borders* edited by Matt Garcia, E. Maline DuPuis, and Don Mitchell (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2017), 181-200.

familiarity and sense of identity, but Mexicans residing in both California and Texas still retained access to their native foods. For many getting pantry essentials only necessitated a short trip across the border. Elias Bonilla, a Tejano, noted that there existed a fairly common practice of Mexican's crossing back and forth over the border in El Paso, TX to trade and buy food goods that they would bring back into the US. His father, while living in Tornillo, TX would take firewood through to Mexico and sell it or trade it to bakeries and store owners for a week's worth of groceries every Saturday. Bonilla heavily implied these intra-community food trade practices were not unusual and that it was common for immigrants to take part in these foodways.¹⁰⁴ Eloisa Carvalho another El Paso resident whose father was a jeweler, also recalled her father trading work for food goods across the border. He would often make small saint figurines and travel to Zaragosa, Coahuila to sell or trade for wheat, biscuits, beans, chiles and other goods.¹⁰⁵ Not only was it difficult to restrict or monitor immigrant foodways due to the proximity of the border, but it also ignored the reality of the increasing presence of Mexican goods in grocery stores not just in places such as Texas and California but in other parts of the US.

¹⁰⁴ While working at the bracero commissary, Bonilla noted a shift from fresh goods to prepared canned goods. This was due part to both the lack of refrigeration available to braceros and the ease of pre-prepared food. On this note, Bonilla who worked in a bracero commissary during 1949 in Texas commented about gendered cooking practices noted that, "They [Braceros] liked to buy the prepared food—the cooked beans. Because they didn't really know how to cook beans properly and it took forever. They didn't want to [sic] — to be stirring, and so there is no—I guess there is a cultural bias against men cooking in Mexico. Some have to of course..."

Interview with Elias Bonilla by Richard Baquera, 2003, "Interview no. 1553," Institute of Oral History, University of Texas at El Paso

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Eloisa Carvalho by Sarah E. John, 1978, "Interview no. 728," Institute of Oral History, University of Texas at El Paso.

Americanization programs despite their efforts did not eliminate or fully assimilate Mexican cuisine. The documents from this period (1900-1930) provide insight into understanding how food was a medium through which ideologies of health and cleanliness were understood and expressed.¹⁰⁶ Ethnic food was unhealthy and unclean, and by association so were the immigrants who cooked the food. An opinion not limited to Americanizers, as 20 years before Ellis published her *Americanization through Homemaking*, *The New York Times* published a letter in their “Food section” talking about the unhealthy effects of Mexican food on Americans. Mexican food according to this author was “greasy food” that was “not conducive to American Energy”. The anonymous writer recounts that after thirteen years of eating “the wrong food” in Mexico that they were having “nervous break-down[s] with pain in the heart.”¹⁰⁷ By looking to food, it became clear that intellectuals and Americanizers were singling out a visible cultural feature to define who was not “American” and in turn who was not white. While Mexicans were legally “white”, Americanization programs along with more tangible health policies and housing segregation served to reshape boundaries of whiteness.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Lorenzo, Maria-Isabel. "Race, Gender, and Mexican Americanization: How Mainstream Anglo Assumptions Inspired Mexican Americanization in California, 1914-1939", Order No. 1531238, California State University, Fresno, 2012.

<http://stats.lib.pdx.edu/proxy.php?url=http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.pdx.edu/dissertations-theses/race-gender-mexican-americanization-how/docview/1268755141/se-2?accountid=13265>.

¹⁰⁷ “Mexican Diet: Not Conducive to American Energy”, *The New York Times*, October 6, 1908. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1908/10/06/105013112.html?pageNumber=20>

¹⁰⁸ The term legally “white” refers to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that both ended the Mexican American War in 1848 and gave citizenship to Mexicans living in newly acquired US territory. Scholars examining this period refer to this new citizenship as bestowing a legally “white” status onto Mexicans because only white Americans could hold citizenship. Of course, while Mexicans could claim legal

Using visible characteristics such as skin tone, language, health, and food to define who was white was why Americanization documents demonstrated a revulsion for ethnic cuisine. This revulsion however did not mean that Americanizers completely dismissed ethnic cuisine. Ethnic cuisine paradoxically was considered one of the “best” features of immigrant culture. This was because those who acquired the taste for ethnic food found that it was an easy feature for Anglo-Americans to dissect from their native culture because as Bertha Woods noted, “When not too highly seasoned, Mexican dishes are very tasty.... only lack of variety and the use of hot flavors keep their food from being superior to that of most Americans.”¹⁰⁹ Sentiments that were similarly echoed decades later in the case of Consuelo Lerma, who worked as an Americanizer in Las Cruces New Mexico during the 1950s. Lerma worked outreach with “bracero wives” and other migrant women in the area. Officially Lerma received her check from a church sponsored program Home Education Livelihood Program (HELP). HELP in collaboration with the Singer Sewing Company who would, “loan them.... Machines” and the “government [who] would furnish the material for the dresses...”. Lerma worked out of a small schoolhouse teaching migrant woman how to use the sewing machines, but she would often visit their homes to encourage them to come to the center for lessons or to

whiteness that did not mean that they were either considered white nor where they treated to the same rights and opportunities as white Americans. John Flores, “Mexican Immigrant Understandings of Empire, Race, and Gender”, 74. See also Lozano, “A Language of Citizenship” in *An American Language: The History of Spanish in the United States* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2018), 89-110. Massoth, “Mexican Cookery”, 47-51.

¹⁰⁹ Gerardo Torres, “Constructing Citizenship: Americanization Efforts in the Southwest U.S. (1910-1931)”, (2018), thesis dissertation, ETD Collection for University of Texas, El Paso, 22; Woods, *Foods of the foreign-born*, 9.

provide lessons on cooking for the women. When going out to the farm provided housing to see these women, she distinctly recalled that they were always cooking. Homemade tortillas, tamales, roasted chiles, sopa de arroz, pork chops, chile con carne, and other foods were prepared throughout the day.

Lerma formed a comradery with these women in the classroom and over the kitchen table. She was invited to sit down and eat with them and when the holidays came, they began exchanging recipes with each other. Lerma, of Mexican descent herself, was astonished that these, “ladies did not know how to stuff a turkey.” and taught them to also bake lemon pie and pecan pie. In turn the women taught her how to sweet tamales with sugar, raisins, and canned pineapple. Lerma recalled that the food these women made, “smelled so good” but she discovered that HELP had a policy that forbade its employees from eating the food cooked by students. Upon discovering this, Lerma protested by reiterating that the food and the cooks were both “clean”. However, her supervisor simply remarked that, “I know this taste good, but it’s the policy, you don’t eat food in their house.”. What this interaction, between Lerma and her supervisor revealed was that the food they cooked, despite being tasty, was unhealthy because Mexicans cooked it. Ethnic food was as desirable as it was derided, but Americanizers and other Anglo-Americans had to figure out a way to assimilate the food without crossing the boundaries of whiteness that it represented. As a result, the process of absorbing ethnic cuisine into mainstream American culture cannot be found within Americanization foodways documents but in cookbooks and other food articles published between 1900-1950.

Chapter 2

I want that “Authentic Mexican” 1900-1960

While this thesis centers its conversation on Mexican cuisine, the treatment of other immigrant cuisines such as Chinese cuisine require short examination.¹¹⁰ Chinese food, much like Mexican food, had to be either extremely “clean” – a flexible definition depending on who was cooking the food – or it had to represent an exotic adventure. If Chinese food was neither clean nor a safe, an adventure, then food writers described it as an acquired taste with ingredients of dubious origin.¹¹¹ Anglo-Americans dominated early discussions about the desirability and safety of Chinese food. Chinese restaurants were described as either, “dingy chop suey joints...with their bastardized dishes...”, or as “exotic” delights which Anglo-Americans actively sought out for, “The thrill of forbidden surroundings and the taste of strange food combined to make an experience... talked of as... real adventures...”.¹¹²

Audrey Russek has argued that Anglo-American consumption of ethnic food tied into the reaffirmation of their American identity. That American cuisine distinguished

¹¹⁰ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens?*, 51.

¹¹¹ Jeanette Young Norton, “Peculiarities of Chinese Cooking”, *The Ogden standard*, (Ogden City, Utah), Nov. 9, 1918, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85058396/1918-11-09/ed-1/seq-13/>

¹¹² Madeline Y. Hsu, “From Chop Suey to Mandarin Cuisine: Fine Dining and the Refashioning of Chinese Ethnicity during the Cold War Era.” *In Chinese Americans and the Politics of Race and Culture* edited by Sucheng Chan and Madeline Y. Hsu (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 173; Arthur Chapman, “Why all the Chinese Restaurants?: There was Once a Time When Chinese Food Was Confined to Chinatown, But No More”, *New-York tribune*, (New York [N.Y.]), 25 Dec. 1921. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1921-12-25/ed-1/seq-50/>

itself as “American” by not being ethnic food yet at the same time having the ability to eat ethnic food was a sign of cosmopolitanism. In Washington D.C. for example, Anglo-Americans who could access Chinese food were framed as being adventurous or wealthy elites because these were foods that were readily available for those who lived in “the international capital of the world”.¹¹³ Vernon Galster, author of *Chinese cookbook: In Plain English*, reinforced this point when in his introduction, he rhetorically asked readers “Is this Book for you?”. He declared that this book was for “the cosmopolitan man” and wife looking to surprise her husband, who were unfortunately, “... a thousand miles from a Chinese Restaurant.” Galster’s further wrote that the ability to cook or have Chinese food was a “...matter of pride ... in the art of an unknown science ...”.¹¹⁴ Yet despite this association with cosmopolitanism, there was a distinguishment made between Chinese food made by Anglo-Americans and those made by Chinese immigrants or Chinese Americans. In the case of the *Chinese cookbook*, Galster, an Anglo-American presents himself here as an authority in “authentic” Chinese cuisine seeking to make it accessible to other Anglo-Americans. He was not alone in this endeavor.

¹¹³ Meredith S. Buel, “You Can Tour Globe and Stay at Home!” in *Teen: For and about young People, Evening star*. (Washington, D.C.), July 21, 1957. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1957-07-21/ed-1/seq-89/>

¹¹⁴ This cookbook is very interesting because while it does serve to provide “authentic” and Americanized versions of Chinese cuisine to the reader (see page 3 for Chinese and American Chop Suey recipes). It is also a personal advertisement for the publisher’s own business, including even a price sheet for the ingredients listed in the cookbook. He explicitly states that he sells imported Chinese foods and sauces to “...make it possible for to cook these foods in the ONLY GENUINE WAY.”. Vernon Glaster, *Chinese cook book*, Sloan Foundation, Library of Congress, 1917, 1. <https://archive.org/details/chinesecookbook00gals/page/n3/mode/2up>

Jeno Paulucci an Italian American, in 1950 established his own Americanized Chinese food company Chun King which sold frozen and canned “Oriental-American” meals.¹¹⁵ First sold to grocers in Minnesota, Paulucci would soon expand to the national market and become a leading figure in the US-based Chinese food industry.¹¹⁶ Although a 2nd generation Italian American, Paulucci like Galster occupied a position of authority regarding Americanized Chinese food which he advertised as “Oriental-American” meals that were “glamorous” and brought a “...exciting new mood in food....” to the kitchen tables of Anglo-Americans¹¹⁷ Galster and Paulucci both partook in a process that decided what was “authentic” Chinese cooking for other Anglo-Americans with the implicit understanding that their food was exotic but still safe to consume.

¹¹⁵ Laresh Jayasanker, *Sameness in Diversity: Food and Globalization in Modern America*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020): 47-48. See also, Chun King: The Royalty of American-Oriental Foods, “New Hit for Busy Holiday Time...Chun King Frozen Cantonese Dinner: A Complete Oriental Meal all ready to Pop in the Oven”, *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), Nov. 24, 1957. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1957-11-24/ed-1/seq-126/>; “Chun King Nights: A Regular Event in Many Homes”, *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), April 14, 1957. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1957-04-14/ed-1/seq-137/>; “Capture New Mood in Food; Takes 15 Minutes: Chun King gives you delicious chow mein in unique Divider-Pak”, *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), Jan. 20, 1957. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1957-01-20/ed-1/seq-79/>; “Meals Go Oriental for New Mood in Food: With new Chun King Flavor-Guard Divider-Pak* you can create glamorous Cantonese meals in 15 minutes”, *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), Oct. 21, 1956. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1956-10-21/ed-1/seq-178/>;

¹¹⁶ Jayasanker, *Sameness in Diversity*, 48.

¹¹⁷ “Meals Go Oriental for New Mood in Food: With new Chun King Flavor-Guard Divider-Pak* you can create glamorous Cantonese meals in 15 minutes”, *Evening star*; See also, “Chun King Chow Mein: The quality you’d fix at home – the glamour of eating out!”, *Evening star* (Washington, D.C.), Sept. 12, 1954. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1954-09-12/ed-1/seq-197/>; Meredith S. Buel, “As American as Hot Dogs: Washington’s Chinese”, *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), 12 Feb. 1956, Page 6, Image 148, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1956-02-12/ed-1/seq-148/>

Ethnic food made by Chinese cooks however was a novelty adventure, that despite its desirability was dubiously “clean.” While early restaurateurs capitalized on this contradiction to sell their food to Anglo-American consumers later restaurateurs chose a decidedly different method of selling their food. During the 1950s, Chinese American restauranters chose to repackage their food as “authentic” Chinese cuisine instead of the previous Americanized Chinese cuisine found in chop suey restaurants or sold by Anglo-Americans. This was partly due to shifts in America’s Chinese foreign policy aims which along with the end of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943, resulted in what Madeline Hsu calls an evolution from racialization to ethnicization for Chinese Americans.¹¹⁸ The shift from racialization came about because of World War II propagandists pushed the idea that the US was a racially diverse and welcoming nation, i.e., a melting pot. They attributed differences to ethnicity as opposed to racial designation, resulting in a contradictory public existence as a model example of the US’s diversity and a possible political enemy as the nation entered the Cold War Era.¹¹⁹ During the 1940s through the 1960s, Chinese Americans utilized this shift from racialization to ethnicization, to alter public perception of Chinese restaurants and cuisine. They shifted away from chop suey restaurants and rebranded Chinese restaurants as fine dining establishments that served only authentic Chinese food. These new fine dining restaurants communicated authenticity itself via racialized motifs, furniture, and aa non-English

¹¹⁸ Madeline Y. Hsu, “From Chop Suey to Mandarin Cuisine: Fine Dining and the Refashioning of Chinese Ethnicity During the Cold War Era” in *Chinese Americans and the Politics of Race and Culture* edited by Sucheng Chan and Madeline Y. Hsu, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008): 174,178-179.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

speaking wait staff.¹²⁰ A Mrs. Dorothy Lee a chef from the China Institute in New York during 1958 advised Anglo-Americans,

“Don’t try to decode the menu, go to a reputable restaurant and leave the choice of dishes to your waiters. Chances are you won’t wind up with chow mein, egg roll and won ton soup, the dishes most familiar to Americans.”¹²¹

The authentication of Chinese cuisine via non-English speaking waitstaff established, a “safe” exotic atmosphere within the restaurant while also creating a division between the wait staff and the owners. While the wait staff supplied an authentic foreign experience the owners, middle-class Chinese Americans, fashioned themselves as Americans. *The Evening Star*, on this topic referred to Chinese restauraters as “...good exemplars of educated, upper-middle-class Chinese, thoroughly Americanized, and yet loyal to the best of their native inheritance.”¹²² This same sentiment echoed earlier Americanizers sentiments that the US should only inherit the “best” of immigrant’s cultural practices.

It was not difficult then to see that food writers along with Americanizers between 1900-1960 were undertaking a “food fight” within public cookbooks and food articles published in both small local papers such as *the Brownsville Herald* or *the Detroit*

¹²⁰ Audrey Russek, “Appetites without Prejudice: US Foreign Restaurants and the Globalization of American Food between the Wars” in *Local Foodways Meet Global Foodways*, 44-47; See also, “Across the Continent: XI. – After-Thoughts of the Trip.”, “Across the Continent: XI. – After-Thoughts of the Trip.”, *The progressive farmer and the cotton plant*, (Raleigh, N.C.), Aug. 01, 1905, Page 9, Image 9, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn92073050/1905-08-01/ed-1/seq-9/>

¹²¹ Craig Claiborne, “Food: Chinese Cuisine; Fourteen Course Dinner is Climax of Graduation from China Institute”, *The New York Times*, Jun 14, 1958. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1958/06/14/79455558.html?pageNumber=25>

¹²² Grace Turner, “Chinese Cooking Captures America”, *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), Oct. 22, 1939. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1939-10-22/ed-1/seq-104/>

Evening Times, to much more prominent newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *the Evening Star*.¹²³ As established in the previous chapter, immigrant communities used food along with other characteristics such as clothing, and language, to differentiate themselves from surrounding racial and ethnic groups hence why these characteristics were targeted by Americanizers.¹²⁴ Ethnic cuisine in the US, as evident by the refashioning of Chinese cuisine, was both the lived practice of the cuisine and public performance of it by both native and non-native cooks.¹²⁵ It was in this space of public performance that newspapers and food writers fought over whether Mexican food was tasty, healthy, or in the case of chili con carne whether it was American.

¹²³ The process of creating a cookbook can be personal or secretive. Some cookbooks are straightforward and contain only the bare minimum of information regarding the recipes. Simple lines of ingredients on lined paper, sometimes with cooking directions and other times omitted completely implying a kitchen tradition shared outside the bounds of written record. Yet there are other cookbooks that act as scrapbooks, manuals of both life lessons or even more institutional cookbooks. It is the latter cookbooks that reveal, the existing racial stereotypes that I am looking at. Margot Finn, "Can 'Taste' Be Separated", 83-88; See also "Make Real Chili con Carne with that delicious Gebhardt Flavor", *Detroit evening times*. (Detroit, Mich), Oct. 07, 1945. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

¹²⁴ New York serves as a wonderful example of how food changes from arrival to settlement. Italian immigrants first arrived they had to contend with a radically different food market that changed the types of cuisine they could produce. Common vegetables, cheeses, and herbs were either inaccessible or too pricy for new and established immigrants to afford daily. Meanwhile foods such as meat, which were expensive in Italy were suddenly affordable to impoverished immigrants. Italian food was also one of the first cuisines to resist intense Americanization efforts and become assimilated into the larger American diet. While Italian Americans refused to abandon their food culture, it did undergo changes because of limited and new access to different types of food products. In addition, certain meals, such as spaghetti, pizza or lasagna underwent not a process of elimination as early Americanizers intended but an evolution that made it palatable for a broader Anglo-American palate. By 1950, it was common to see spaghetti or pizza in the everyday Americans kitchen or in restaurants but unlike other ethnic food cultures the Americanized versions of their food did not inspire revulsion in their native cooks. Other foods such as Chop Suey, Americanized Chinese food that was popular amongst Anglo-Americans, inspired disgust amongst its cooks.

For more information on these examples see also, Massoth, "Mexican Cookery", 46; Harvey Levenstein, "The American Response to Italian Food, 1880-1930" in *Food in the USA* edited by Carole Counihan (New York: Routledge, 2013): 76-78.

¹²⁵ Lidia Marte, "Foodmaps: Tracing Boundaries of 'Home' Through Food Relations, Food & Food Ways: Explorations in *the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, vol. 15, no 3-4 (2007), 261-263.

As early as 1910, newspapers were publishing either requests from American housewives seeking authentic ethnic recipes or articles about the general public's fascination with ethnic recipes. See Figures 2-4 in Appendix. *The Washington Evening Star* Washington D.C.'s biggest papers of the early twentieth century, published numerous articles, requests and recipes on ethnic food. *The Evening Star* was one of several newspapers, such as *The New York Times* and *Brownsville Herald*, receiving readers' requests and contributions for recipes. *The Evening Star* had a section entitled "Readers' Clearing House", where readers could send in request and contributions to the newspapers concerning food, household interests and other topics. The names of the requesters abbreviated by the editors for privacy but an overview of the column between 1910-1950 demonstrated that this was a spot where mostly housewives would chat and exchange advice. Amongst the many topics discussed here, these readers would reach out to other readers asking for Mexican recipes, as seen in Figure 2 in the Appendix.

An examination of these requests revealed popular foods such as tortillas, tamales, Mexican sandwiches (tacos) and chili con carne. These three food items were the "typical food" found in either Mexico or cities with a large ethnic Mexican population, and thus the most requested for Anglo-Americans looking to recreate the authentic experience. When publishing recipes of ethnic food, there was a common theme of including stories to justify that authenticity. These little stories all claimed that they knew the authentic version of these recipes and would not accept any other kind but the

“authentic” one.¹²⁶ To assuage worries, anonymous contributors would then include some type of description to prove the validity of their authenticity. This validation process involved assuring the readers that they had either recently visited Mexico or lived in an area where Mexican cuisine was prevalent, usually Texas, California, New Mexico or even Colorado. The authenticity of this food was continuously being redefined and renegotiated.

One of the ways in which the authenticity of food was negotiated was through taste as certain tastes and foods became increasingly associated with class and health. Mexican food was for example, depicted as a cuisine that was expected to be only spicy and greasy. Tourist writings both in favor and against, often extolled both features. In addition to the feature of these taste profiles, literature on Mexican food also latched onto describing foods such as “hot tamales” as a low-class snack. The *Wheeling Intelligencer* published an op-ed piece in 1916 by William Montague, the 9th Duke of Manchester that

¹²⁶ Mrs. M. A. Wilson, “Good Mexican Recipes Given by Mrs. Wilson: Tortillas Made of Ground Cornmeal Are National Food. Appetizing Dishes of Foreign Extraction – A Joqueso Made of Peppers and Onions.”, *Evening public ledger*, (Philadelphia [Pa.]), May 21, 1919. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045211/1919-05-21/ed-1/seq-16/>; F.T. Millis, “Mexican Tortillas”, *Burlington weekly free press*, (Burlington, Vt.), April 18, 1912. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86072143/1912-04-18/ed-1/seq-10/>; “Dry Milk Found Good in Tortillas, Breads”, *The Farmville herald and farmer-leader*, (Farmville, Va.), Oct. 16, 1953. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn98068377/1953-10-16/ed-1/seq-18/>; “Mrs. Ginger, Lecturer on Domestic Science: Authority Throughout United States.; Entertained Women Members of Legislature in West – Author of Cook Book.”, *The Chattanooga news*, (Chattanooga, Tenn.), Jan. 17, 1919. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038531/1919-01-17/ed-1/seq-6/>; I.C.U., “Tortilla Substitute for Bread”, *The Birmingham age-herald*, (Birmingham, Ala.), Feb. 03, 1913. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038485/1913-02-03/ed-1/seq-7/>.

spoke briefly about this categorization of tamales not just as a Mexican food, but a uniquely *poor American* food that could be indulged along with hamburgers and hotdogs.¹²⁷ While unlike chile con carne, which was fiercely defended by the Texas Cookbook as being “American”, tamales were not uniformly considered American. Pilcher classifies Tamales as an example of the “successive cycles of conquest, travel and transculturation that have shaped modern Mexican cuisine.”¹²⁸ Tamales which started out as simple steamed maize cakes with filling was made and consumed by the Nahu and the Maya in Central Mexico and the Yucatán Peninsula.¹²⁹ Post-Spanish colonization and the introduction of pigs led to the introduction of lard in the masa and pork as a filling. While most modern consumers are familiar with the use of lard – some even swearing that it was not a *real* tamale unless the masa had lard in it – the introduction of this ingredient added a new flavor to the dish and softened the texture of the masa. Even modern vegan reproductions of tamales use shortening to maintain the now familiar texture of the dish.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ William Montagu, “The Duke of Manchester Explains Why the Poor are the Happiest”, *The Wheeling intelligencer*, (Wheeling, W. Va.), April 29, 1916. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86092536/1916-04-29/ed-1/seq-19/> This instance of referring to tamales as an American food item, can be explained away by virtue of Montague being from England and not familiar with the dynamics of what Americans considered American food.

¹²⁸ Jeffrey Pilcher, “Old Stock” Tamales and Migrant Tacos”, *Social Research: Food and Immigrant Life*, vol 81, no 2 (Summer 2014), 444.

¹²⁹ Ibid. The fillings of early Tamal resembled that of the early chile con carne. Fowls and seafood were prominent in savory tamales, whereas nuts and fruit was used for sweet tamales.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 444-446. See also Luz Calvo and Catriona Rueda Esquibel, “Butternut Squash & Roasted Green Chile Tamalitos” in *Decolonize your Diet*, (Vancouver, BC Canada: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2018), 143.

One of the more notorious mentions of Anglo-American fascination with tamales, comes from the story of the Chili Queens of San Antonio. Mention of these Chili Queens appear in 1877, in a generic traveler's story first published in the *San Antonio Express* and then reprinted continuously for the next year or so throughout the US. It described a visit to the city from the point of a northern tourist, who declares that no trip to the historic Alamo was complete without eating the unique food found in the various plazas of San Antonio. See Figure 2 in the Appendix. The "Chili Queens" that sold food in the plazas were Mexican women who had immigrated to the city in the 1870s and Pilcher observed that the claiming of public space by these Mexican women put them at odds with not only old genteel Mexicans and Anglo-Americans.

Street food vending in Mexico was a criminalized profession because its vendors often operated without permits in the street and incited public health concerns over their food's hygiene. Despite the technical criminality of street vending, destitute and jobless Mexicans nonetheless persisted in selling their wares, albeit with aid from those willing to look the other way.¹³¹ These women who immigrated into Texas and would become known as the "Chili Queens", would have had some familiarity if not prior experience in the treatment of street vending. This would have given them a preexisting knowledge of

¹³¹ Ramona Lee Perez & Meredith E. Abarca, "Cocinas Publicas: Food and Border Consciousness in Greater Mexico", *Food and Food ways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, vol. 15, no.3-4, 143-144.

how they would best to work around and utilize stereotypes to sell their wares and bring in a supplementary income.¹³²

Tourists described these chili queens as “beautiful, dark eyed señoritas... of the genuine Mexican variety”, who were the “most noted attraction” of the plaza. In contrast the male cooks that accompanied them were “slimy” and “old”, barely meriting more than a one-line description in comparison to the paragraphs dedicated to describing the physical attributes of the chili queens.¹³³ Jeffrey Pilcher, one of the few scholars who have written about these women, notes that they were like many other lower-class women of the time working to gain a supplemental income in a city hostile to their public presence.¹³⁴ These chili queens in San Antonio helped to bolster the public presence of Mexican food in not just the city itself but more broadly the general American public.

The food and even the vendors themselves represented an unknown but safe and accessible type of exoticism that tantalized visiting Americans. This allowed for

¹³² Pascale Joassart-Marcelli, “How food became the perfect beachhead for gentrification”, *The Conversation*, October 13, 2021. <https://theconversation.com/how-food-became-the-perfect-beachhead-for-gentrification-167761>

¹³³ “The Chili Queens.: Their Thrones Were in San Antonio’s Historic Alamo.; Their Reign is Ended, but They Ruled Royally For a Long Time – They Were Especially Gracious to the Tourist From the North and Made It Pay.”, *New Ulm review*, (New Ulm, Brown County, Minn.), Sept. 29, 1897. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn89081128/1897-09-29/ed-1/seq-7/>

The traveler’s story does not even attribute a name to the woman in question, instead referring to her as Chiquita. It was unclear whether Chiquita is an actual person or the imagined romantic persona of the chili queens that San Antonio was pushing to generate food tourism for their city.

¹³⁴ Jeffrey Pilcher, “Who Chased out the “Chili Queens”? Gender, Race, and Urban Reform in San Antonio, Texas 1880-1943”, *Food and Foodways* vol. 16, no 3 (2008), 173-200; Heather Trigg, “Food Choice and Social Identity in Early Colonial New Mexico”, *Journal of the Southwest* (Summer 2004), vol 46 no 2, 223-252; Camille Bégin, “An American Culinary Heritage?”, 100-128; Anibal Capoano, and Adán Medrano, dir., *Truly Texas Mexican*, Henderson; Luz Calvo, and Catriona Rueda Esquibel, *Decolonize your Diet*.

Americans who were looking to engage with foreign cuisine to not have to travel outside of the US to access it. In fact, if one were to believe the *San Antonio Express*, all they had to do was simply head down to San Antonio where it was safely self-contained in a singular plaza.¹³⁵ This early discussion of tamales focuses more heavily on the racialization's of both the vendor and the food. The tourist who narrates this story admits that they did not find the tamales particularly "tasty", but they were there for the experience of the Chili Queens. This observation however was inaccurate, since the city was not welcoming of the "Chili Queens" due to their role as public workers in close relation to less reputable parts of town resulted in Anglo-Americans speculating on their sexuality and how the tamales were representative of their loose morals. Even further city officials fearing "pollution" from these street vendors restricted them to plazas near the red-light district of San Antonio.¹³⁶ A common complaint being that Mexican food was too spicy and caused Anglo-Americans to become ill.¹³⁷ It also fueled later city efforts to "relocate" or criminalize the "Chili Queens" under the guise of health campaigns and urban renewal projects during the 1930s.

¹³⁵ Chili stands, Haymarket Plaza, San Antonio, Texas, 1933, San Antonio Light Photograph Collection, MS 359, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections, University of Texas at San Antonio. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p9020coll2/id/1909/rec/1>

¹³⁶ While the "Chili Queens" mentioned here refer to Mexican women, it bears mentioning that there were also black street vendors who sold tamales in not just San Antonio but throughout Texas and in Mississippi. Jeffrey Pilcher, "Who Chased out the "Chili Queens"?", 175-180.

¹³⁷ "How a Favorite Mexican Article of Food is Made.", *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), Nov. 02, 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1895-11-02/ed-1/seq-15/>; See also, "Across the Continent: XI. – After-Thoughts of the Trip.", *The progressive farmer and the cotton plant*, (Raleigh, N.C.), Aug. 01, 1905. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn92073050/1905-08-01/ed-1/seq-9/>

In addition to claiming that the spices of tamales made Anglo-Americans sick there was also a commonly held belief that tamales, made by ethnic Mexicans included dog meat. One local in El Paso remarked,

“We didn't pay much attention to hygiene and public health measures then. There used to be a lot of tamale vendors on the street and I'm sure there was no control over the, what they used for meat, till sometime later a rumor got out that they were using dog meat. Well, that ended that, of course--nobody bought tamales from them anymore”.¹³⁸

These accusations of the tamales made from dog meat implied that the food and by association the Mexican cooks were dirty. The stigmatization of food consumed by the poor, especially nonwhite poor, was a result of deepening racial stereotypes of uncleanliness on the part of missionaries and middle-class Americanizers as noted in the prior chapter. The perceived cleanliness of ethnic food shifted depending on how Anglo-Americans interpreted the racial identity of the cook. I refer the reader to examine Figure 6 in the Appendix which depicts an advertisement for a restaurant named The Vogue, published by the *Woman's Enterprise* in 1922.¹³⁹ This advertisement commiserates with the reader, who loves *real* Mexican tamales and chiles but “...don't care to buy from the street peddler...” and want clean Mexican food. The Vogue stresses that their tamales and chiles were made in a “clean kitchen” and made from the “best materials”. When eating at the Vogue, Anglo-Americans need not worry and simply enjoy the experience.

¹³⁸ Rheinheimer was a physician working in El Paso during the 1920s. See Figure 6 in List of Figures for another example of the common phrasing used. Interview with E. W. Rheinheimer by Robert H. Novak, 1974, "Interview no. 124," Institute of Oral History, University of Texas at El Paso.

¹³⁹ “The Vogue”, *Woman's enterprise*, (Baton Rouge, La.), Oct. 01, 1922. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn89059303/1922-10-01/ed-1/seq-8/>

The Vogue cements that people craved and enjoyed tamales, they just did not enjoy or trust the food when served by Mexican street vendors.

The Arizona Republican reported in 1903, a raid conducted in the Mexican quarters of El Paso, Texas. This short piece was succinct and precise in its prose as it reported that a popular Mexican vendor, who supplied its tamales to several notable but unnamed business in El Paso was shut down due to having been discovered using dog meat. *The Arizona Republican* was a well-read paper that often erred towards sensationalism, so perhaps it was not surprising that there was no follow up or verification of this account.¹⁴⁰ Tamales were already at this point considered a common and desirable street food yet simultaneously plagued with the suspicion that it was made from dog meat.¹⁴¹

Despite these concerns, the same *Arizona Republican* had only positive sentiments for local food vendor Samuel Barrett aka “Tamale Sam”, whom they described as a “gentle voiced vendor” and a well-liked man within Phoenix. Conversely newspapers criminalized and often left Mexican tamale vendors unnamed in articles. Despite their clear visibility on the streets, Mexican vendors food and spaces were

¹⁴⁰ “Hot Dog Tamales.”, *Arizona republican*, (Phoenix, Ariz.), May 19, 1903. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020558/1903-05-19/ed-1/seq-1/>; “The Increase of Crime: A Phoenix Man Answers a Census Bureau Question.”, *Arizona republican*, (Phoenix, Ariz.), April 19, 1904. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020558/1904-04-19/ed-1/seq-10/>; “A Tamale Thanksgiving”, *Arizona republican*, (Phoenix, Ariz.), Dec. 01, 1905. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020558/1905-12-01/ed-1/seq-6/>.

¹⁴¹The debate on whether Mexican tamale vendors used dog meat in the making of tamales should not overshadow the reality that the claim of dog meat tamales indicated that the accusation of using dog meat was meant to convey that the food and cooks were unhealthy and unclean by Anglo-Americans.

unclean until thoroughly proven otherwise. *The Arizona Republican* treated “Tamale Sam” differently, as they did not criminalize his presence and his food was not plagued by questions of whether it was “clean”. This was interesting given that “Tamale Sam” had a history of alcoholism and theft, two moral failings that had he been a Mexican food vendor would have had Americanizers such as Ellis lauding it as proof of the connection between food and criminality. In fact, at one point *The Arizona Republican* even reported on his apparent imprisonment for fighting yet did not deride the man and supported local efforts to get him released.¹⁴² Now, while Barrett’s last name does not give indication as to whether he was either Anglo American or even Mexican American.¹⁴³ Barrett’s acceptance by *The Arizona Republican* however suggests that he can be identified as Anglo American, and by extension his perceived whiteness imbued his tamales with acceptability and cleanliness. Barrett’s example emphasizes a prevailing theme in the consumption and sale of ethnic food in the US. It was not that ethnic food was not tasty to Anglo-Americans’ but rather that cleanliness and health issues arose when the food was prepared and sold by Mexicans. Barrett’s success as a tamale vendor was due to his utilization of his whiteness to signal to other Anglo-American consumers that his food was safe to eat.

¹⁴² Efforts that were successful given that he was later released by the, then Governor Joseph Kibbey, *because of his local popularity*. ““Tamale Sam” Barrett Will Be Free Again: Governor Kibbey Yesterday Granted Him A Parole.; He Has Become a Capitalist During His Residence at Yuma.”, *Arizona republican*, (Phoenix, Ariz.), Nov. 20, 1908. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020558/1908-11-20/ed-1/seq-8/>

¹⁴³ Miscegenation in the Southwest was on a case-by-case basis, and there was sufficient evidence of Mexican/Anglo-American’s intermarriage to not immediately assume that individuals with perceived Anglo-American last names were white.

Ethnic food was “clean” and “healthy” when not made by non-white cooks, and the reverse applied to non-white cooks making American food. For example, a Mexican travel report written by a Jack Kelsey published in *The New York Times*. Kelsey commented that travel guides encouraged Americans travelling to Mexico to, “... stay away from Mexican food for a while.” Kelsey goes on to complain that while he understands the reasoning behind this recommendation, being that Mexican food was unsafe for American travelers, it was difficult to survive the first week of travelling solely on black coffee. That even when retiring in a “good” hotel, “... they serve “American” food (grown in Mexico, cooked by a Mexican cook).”¹⁴⁴ Even familiar American food, when cooked by Mexicans, was unsafe and unhealthy for Anglo-Americans to consume. The careful delineation between Anglo-American and Mexican cooks was an important factor when considering the cleanliness of food, regardless of whether that food was ethnic or American cuisine in Mexico.

As with Chinese food, the implied cleanliness of Anglo-American made ethnic food allowed for ethnic food companies and cookbooks to thrive by selling safe and accessible ethnic food.¹⁴⁵ While the Chili Queens were successful to an extent in selling their tamales to not just locals but out of state tourists, they were not able to break into the national food marketplace. Rather, it was Anglo-Americans, who had access and

¹⁴⁴ Jack Kelsey, “Some finer Points about Travel in Mexico”, *The New York Times*, April 8, 1956. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1956/04/08/306050912.html?pageNumber=372>

¹⁴⁵ Authors and creators of Mexican or Chinese food companies/cookbooks might not have identified as Anglo-Americans but in truth that did not matter. Rather it was the perception of these authors as white that validated both their authority and the foods cleanliness.

funds to set up commercial food companies that sold ethnic food, particularly chili sauces and powders, outside of the Southwest. The earliest examples of chili sauce in the national marketplace were the Montezuma Sauce sold by D.C. Pendery in the 1870s-1890s and then later the presence of a “San Antonio chili stand” at the 1893 Chicago Colombian Exposition. While there were tourists who came to San Antonio to see the “Chili Queens” tamales, it was these two products that popularized chili sauce amongst Anglo-Americans outside of the Southwest. Essentially paving the way for Gebhardt Eagle Chili Powder Company, to launch itself into prominence in both cookbooks and in grocery store aisles.¹⁴⁶

Gebhardt Eagle Chili Powder Company was originally a Mexican spice company that was founded by a German immigrant named William Gebhardt. Gebhardt had settled with his family in New Braunfels, Texas in 1883 where he opened a small café. Not long after moving to Texas, Gebhardt soon became a frequent consumer and admirer of the food sold by the “Chili Queens” in San Antonio. Gebhardt was so enamored with the food that he began to develop and sell his own version of chili powder at his café in New Braunfels.¹⁴⁷ He imported Ancho chili peppers from Mexico and ground them himself in 1894. While it might seem unusual to see a German immigrant selling chili in a mostly

¹⁴⁶ Pilcher notes that because of the Columbian Exposition, Chicago meatpackers earnestly began selling their own form of canned chili and tamales as a ploy to sell substandard meat scraps from their slaughterhouses. The spice of the food masking any unpleasant tastes, and the canned format allowing the food to be shipped from the Midwest to the east coast. Pilcher, “Who Chased out the “Chili Queens?”, 180.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, Gebhardt originally called the powder mixture “Tampico Dust” but later changed it to “Gebhardt’s Eagle Brand Chili Powder” when selling it nationally. All the included cookbooks and advertisements refer to the powder under this name.

German Texas town, Gebhardt received overwhelmingly positive feedback regarding his chili powder from local patrons. Those early years found him selling around, “.... five cases of chili powder from a wagon every week. ”.¹⁴⁸ Once the business took off in 1896, Gebhardt invested in commercial machinery and opened his first factory in San Antonio.¹⁴⁹ Most of the employees that he hired were Mexican Americans from the local area to work in his factory.¹⁵⁰

Gebhardt asserted that Mexican food was not accessible until he made it accessible to the average American. A 1980s commercial for Gebhardt Chili, set against the backdrop of a rattle and an acoustic guitar, boldly claimed, “Gebhardt’s has made more Mexican foods, of more kinds, for a longer period of time, than anyone else in the

¹⁴⁸ Richard Varr, “German Chili Powder: Chili Powder Finds its Way into American Homes Thanks to a “Dash” of German Ingenuity”, *German Life; La Vale*, vol 8 no 1, (2001), 38; See also Gebhardt's Eagle Brand Chili Powder, undated, Box 3, Folder 10, [Gebhardt's Eagle Brand Chili Powder], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

<https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3172/rec/101>

¹⁴⁹ [Making Masa, undated], Box [03], Folder [11], [Making Masa], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3039/rec/320> ; [Bean Washing Machine, undated], Box [03], Folder [11], [Identification of item], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections, <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3038/rec/319>; [Fresh ground chili pepper, undated], Box [03], Folder [11], [Identification of item], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3036/rec/317>; [Gebhardt employee loading ground meat into a vat of chili con carne, undated], Box [03], Folder [11], [Identification of item], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3028/rec/309>

¹⁵⁰ Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. Gebhardt: Mexican Foods Company Collection, UTSA Libraries <http://web.lib.utsa.edu/gebhardt/>.

world.”¹⁵¹ Gebhardt sold not just chili spice powder but after the first expansion of his company in 1910 which prompted him to open another factory, Gebhardt applied for a butchers license the next year and began to commercially sell canned Mexican foods in supermarkets all across the US. Gebhardt was soon producing canned chili con carne & tamales. While the “Chili Queens” would continue to sell in San Antonio well into the 1930s, Gebhardt was the first to successfully break into the national commercial food market. The company while making its name on serving “authentic Mexican cuisine”, did not limit itself only to Mexican cuisine. Gebhardt sold barbeque sauce, hot dog sauce, canned spaghetti, sloppy joes, beans, deviled sandwiches as well as frozen tacos.¹⁵² Gebhardt trademarked the brand as being the “Mexican food” company selling not just

¹⁵¹ There are several photos in the UTSA special collections which depict these workers undergoing a fingernail inspection to demonstrate how clean they were. Daniel Redd, “Gebhardt’s Commercial, no. 1”, 1980, Texas Archive of the Moving Image, (Austin TX: publishing date unknown) https://texasarchive.org/2010_01142.

¹⁵² Gebhardt's Chili Flavored Barbecue Sauce, undated, Box 2, Folder 3, [Identification of item], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3298/rec/115>; Gebhardt’s Buttered Barbeque Sauce, undated, Box 02, Folder 03, [Identification of item], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3299/rec/116>; Gebhardt's Barbecue Sauce and Beef for Sloppy Joes, undated, Box 2, Folder 3, [Identification of item], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3301/rec/118>; Gebhardt's Barbecue Sauce and Beef for Sloppy Joes, undated, Box 2, Folder 3, [Identification of item], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3301/rec/118>; Gebhardt's Spiced Mexican Style Chili Beans, undated, Box 2, Folder 3, [Identification of item], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3303/rec/120>;

“authentic” meals but the “genuine Mexican Chili flavor” that they encouraged Anglo-Americans to use in all their dishes.¹⁵³ See Figure 10 in Appendix.

To encourage Anglo-Americans to use the chili powder for more than just special occasion meals, Gebhardt published *Mexican Cooking: that real Mexican Tang* (1908). This cookbook declared to its readers that it was the first ever nationally distributed Mexican Cookbook.¹⁵⁴ While the claim that this was the first *nationally* distributed cookbook cannot be disputed, it should be noted that this was not the only Mexican cookbook published in the US for Anglo-American consumption.¹⁵⁵ Another short cookbook, *One hundred and One Mexican Dishes* compiled by May E. Southworth was published just two years before Gebhardt’s own cookbook. This 1906 California cookbook had no introduction of the numerous recipes featured, however an examination of the included recipes revealed that little of the dishes underwent an Americanization process. The tamale recipe for example called for the use of a *molcajete* and *lejolate* (mortar and pestle) to make the masa from scratch whereas Gebhardt’s cookbook advised readers to buy pre-ground masa and then simply add broth and lard.

¹⁵³ Gebhardt's Chili Powder, undated, Box 2, Folder 3, [Identification of item], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/3350/rec/87>

¹⁵⁴ Gebhardt Chili Powder Company, *Mexican Cooking: the Flavor of the 20th Century: That Real Mexican Tang*, (Oakdale, Calif.: Gebhardt Chili Powder Co., 1911): 1.

¹⁵⁵ I identify this cookbook as aimed at Anglo-Americans because while the recipes do retain the Spanish titles the instructions are completely in English instructions. May E. Southworth, *One Hundred & One Mexican Dishes*, (San Francisco and New York: P. Elder and Company, 1906), Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/onehundredonemex00soutiala/page/36/mode/2up>

Mexican Cooking: that real Mexican Tang assured the reader that the recipes enclosed were “authentic” because they were “...those used by some of the most famous chefs of Old Mexico...”¹⁵⁶ Ads published in *The Detroit Evening Times* provide the best example of how Gebhardt used the concept of “authenticity” to engage Anglo American consumers. Featured in the “Household Almanac” section, the ads were composed of a short introduction of the company and a recipe for readers to try in hopes they would either order the spice mixture or one of the companies’ cookbooks. One of the ads featured a chili con carne recipe, meanwhile the second ad featured *Chicken Croquettes Mexican Style*, see Figures 11 and 12 in the Appendix for reference. Chili con carne featured prominently in these ads because, as noted before, it was a recognizably *Mexican* recipe. Chili con carne was what Gebhardt built his business on as evident by the descriptor, “The Famous Gebhardt Chili con Carne Recipe”.¹⁵⁷ Even the trucks transporting his food products declared that they were “real chili con carne” to onlookers.¹⁵⁸ See Figure 15 in Appendix. In addition to chili con carne, Gebhardt also

¹⁵⁶ Gebhardt Chili Powder Company, *Mexican Cooking: the Flavor of the 20th Century: That Real Mexican Tang*, (Oakdale, Calif.: Gebhardt Chili Powder Co., 1911).

¹⁵⁷ In 1942 Gebhardt would publish another cookbook entitled “Mexican Cooking for American Homes” also distributed by the newspaper. “Chicken Croquettes: Mexican Style”, *Detroit evening times*, (Detroit, Mich), Nov. 05, 1944. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88063294/1944-11-05/ed-1/seq-95/>; “Make Delicious: Chili Con Carne; This Famous Gebhardt Way”, *Detroit evening times*, (Detroit, Mich), Feb. 04, 1945. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88063294/1945-02-04/ed-1/seq-78/>; Home-made Chili con Carne at its Best with this Gebhardt Recipe”, *Detroit evening times*, (Detroit, Mich), April 01, 1945. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88063294/1945-04-01/ed-1/seq-85/>.

¹⁵⁸ Gebhardt however was not the only company selling canned chili con carne, in fact Hormel during this time also advertised and sold their own chili con carne which they advertised as a man’s meal. Instead of

included other recipes that Anglo-Americans saw as quintessentially Mexican such as tamales, and enchiladas.

Yet while utilizing these classic “Mexican” recipes, he also proclaimed that the cookbook had recipes that were made the “Famous Gebhardt way”. The “Famous Gebhardt Way” obviously implied the use of the company’s chili powder, but it also indicated that the recipes underwent a unique transformation. This was evident when one looks at the “Tamale” section of his cookbook, where he features not just a basic tamale recipe other recipe such as Tamales de Caserola or Tamales de Caseul (Corn Meal Pot Pie) which was a pot pie made with cornmeal dough and spiced with Gebhardt’s Eagle Chili Powder.

This was not an “authentic” Mexican recipe but a transformation of a Mexican dish. The transformation of this dish represented a steppingstone, for readers who wanted that “Mexican Tang” but were not quite ready to commit to “authentic” Mexican food. It still used ingredients that Gebhardt and Texans would consider “Mexican” but here we see that transforming tamales into a pot pie made the food, and by association the chili powder, both comfortable and accessible to the average American cook. Gebhardt sold to its readers, that a dash of chili powder was all one needed to make their meal Mexican.

claiming authenticity, as Gebhardt did, Hormel gendered the food product as a masculine dish. They called it a “Stag” supper whilst simultaneously advertising to American housewives. The decision to advertise Hormel chili con carne as a masculine food came about likely because Hormel was founded in Minnesota as opposed to Texas. Gebhardt's Chili Powder Truck, undated photograph. Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, UTSA Special Collections.
<https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/2940/rec/149>.

Gebhardt's authority on the authenticity of "Mexican" food was established enough that the *California cook book; an unusual collection of Spanish dishes and typical California foods; for luncheons and dinners which may be quickly and easily prepared* which was compiled by Frances P. Belle in 1925 also featured Gebhardt's recipes. Belle intended for this cookbook to represent "recipes, characteristic of California, that have not been printed elsewhere", where "The "native sons and daughters" have adapted the Old Spanish Recipes brought to California in the early days...." as recollected from "pioneer residents".¹⁵⁹ This cookbook sells the reader on the fantasy that these are classic home cooked recipes but many of the recipes featured in this cookbook have been plucked from the Gebhardt cookbook or utilize ingredients sold by California food companies that contributed to the cookbook such as Sun-Maid Raisin Growers Association, California Fruit Growers Exchange, and the California Prune and Apricot Association.¹⁶⁰ Even further *The California Cook Book*, homogenized Spanish and Mexican in an effort to push a reimagined version of "historic" California recipes. The cookbook in their "pork chops, salsa con chili" recipe advised the reader that, "The rich, delicious gravy, mildly flavored with chili powder, gives a real Mexican tang to an otherwise plain meal." Not only was chili powder used in recipes titled as being "Spanish" or "Mexican", indicating that consumers saw little distinction between the

¹⁵⁹ Frances P. Belle, *California cookbook; an unusual collection of Spanish dishes and typical California foods for luncheons and dinners which may be quickly and easily prepared*, (Chicago, Regan Publishing Corp., 1925), 3.

¹⁶⁰ This cookbook not only features the same Tamales de Caserola (called Tamale Pot Pie no. 1-2) but it also calls for chili powder to be used in nearly every savory recipe – including mayonnaise! There is very little indication in this cookbook as to what constitutes Spanish or Mexican style cuisine. In fact, they appear as the same, right down again to the use of chili powder. Ibid, 3 & 7-14.

cuisine, but the tagline “Mexican Tang” was lifted verbatim from Gebhardt’s own cookbook. The use of the tagline demonstrates that this was not Mexican cuisine as told from the perspective of Mexican cooks living in California but Gebhardt’s interpretation of Mexican cuisine in Texas.¹⁶¹

Another example of this rewriting of Mexican cuisine, can be found in the *Mexican Dishes: dishes of the Dons /recipes tested by Marian Manners, director of the Home Service Bureau of the Los Angeles Times* cookbook published by the Richfield Oil Company in 1933.¹⁶² This cookbook was one of several cookbooks published as “souvenir” booklets and given out at car dealerships as advertisements for the oil company during the 1930s when the company was undergoing financial hardship as a result of the Great Depression.¹⁶³ *Dishes of the Don* like the *California Cook Book*, launched immediately into a description of “The lure of things Mexican” that Californians intrinsically have. They described Mexican food as, “romantic” and “historic” citing the ancient history of the foods presented. When elaborating on this ancient history the Richfield booklet weaved a story of Mexican food being the inheritor of all the best characteristics of both the Spanish and Indigenous progenitors. These

¹⁶¹ The California Cookbook was not the only cookbook to lift recipes from Gebhardt, Camille Begin noticed that a Texas Federal Writer Projects fieldworker Carrie Hodges plagiarized recipes from Gebhardt’s 1908 cookbook in her essay on New Mexican cuisine. Anglo-Americans generalized Mexican cuisine as a monolithic cuisine, erasing regional variations contributed by Mexicans coming from different regions of Mexico as well as the regional cuisine differences that would develop amongst communities in California, New Mexico, or Texas. Camille Begin, “An American Culinary Heritage? Mexican Food in the Southwest.” In *Taste of the Nation: The New Deal Search for America’s Food* (LOCATION: University of Illinois Press, DATE): 125-126.

¹⁶² Richfield Oil Corporation, *Mexican dishes: dishes of the Dons /recipes tested by Marian Manners, director of the Home Service Bureau of the Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles: Richfield Oil Co., 1933).

¹⁶³ Richfield Oil Co., *dishes of the Dons*, I & 25.

“heirlooms” combined the “...*artistry* of the Spaniard and the native Indians’ *love of adventure*” to sell a fantastical version of ethnic cuisine. This retelling divorced it from contemporary Mexican cuisine by first relocating its creation and use to a fantasized past and secondly obscuring the violence that occupied these periods of transformation.

Dishes of the Don then continued to assure the reader that their Mexican food was “...savory, healthful, and inexpensive...”, drawing once more the distinction that past Mexicans were acceptable but present-day Mexicans were unclean.¹⁶⁴

All these cookbooks were in some way explicitly detailing to their readers what was “good” Mexican food, and they were not limiting themselves to just written description. Both *Mexican Cooking: That Real Mexican Tang* and *Mexican Dishes: Dishes of the Dons* used alternating stereotypical imagery to emphasize to the reader that these recipes were *Mexican*. Both cookbooks began with an illustration that depicted their intended consumers as lighter-skinned and with Anglo American features, see Figure 8 in Appendix. Gebhardt’s illustration showed an aproned Anglo-American woman cheerfully holding a covered dish. Meanwhile *Dishes of the Don* illustrated cover depicted an Anglo-American couple, the man wearing a three-piece suit and the woman wearing a ruffled wrap dress. These two were gazing happily at a platter of tamales, olives, and lettuce with the background colored to represent the Mexican flag and chili peppers hang in two corners of the cover. *Dishes of the Don* and *Mexican Cooking: That Mexican Tang*, both depicted Mexican men wearing *sombreros*, *sarapes*, and *charro* suits along

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, i.

with stereotypical mustaches to signify that they were Mexican. See Figure 12 in Appendix. The depiction of Mexican women in these cookbooks veered more towards ambiguous as when they were depicted in a shawl head covering, long sleeved blouses and skirts, or more noticeably “Spanish” as in the case of *Dishes of the Don* which depicted a woman in a sevillana or Flamenco dress.¹⁶⁵ None of these “Mexican” individuals were wearing contemporary clothing, they were dressed in formal wear or either stereotypical peasant clothing. This clothing places the Mexican figures in an unspecified past, furthering the claims that these are “historical” and “mythical” Mexican recipes. In doing so, once again there was a separation of Mexicans in the past and Mexicans in the present-day. In the case of *Dishes of the Don*, food aided in reconstructing California’s Spanish colonial history as one of consenting cultural merge, erasing both past and present violence under the guise of the recipes as a “heritage” passed down from “local pioneers” instead of lifted wholesale from corporate cookbooks.

While Gebhardt does engage in the same language which situates the origins of Mexican food as being relics from a romantic past, his cookbook actively erases the contribution of still-living Mexican women. Gebhardt talked frequently of how his company was inspired by and launched into prominence in part because of San Antonio’s “Chili Queens” yet the women depicted in his cookbooks were either Anglo-American or Spanish “Mexican” women. Gebhardt has erased the “Chili Queens” from his company’s history to the point where they do not even merit a mention in the introduction, and

¹⁶⁵ Gebhardt Chili Powder Company, *That Real Mexican Tang*, 6, 26, 30; Richfield Oil Co., *dishes of the Dons*, 8, 11, 22.

instead replaced them with safer depictions of ethnic women. The advertisements that do depict darker-skinned Mexicans depicted them in laboring positions such as in Figure 14 in the Appendix. This figure, “Mexican Dinner Package”, depicted an illustration of darker skinned Mexicans wearing plain clothing harvesting the chili peppers that were used in the making of Gebhardt’s chili powder.¹⁶⁶ These advertisements communicated to Anglo-Americans the levels of acceptability and authenticity of the ethnic food sold by not just by Gebhardt, but other cookbooks and even Mexican restaurants manned by both Anglo-Americans and Mexican Americans.¹⁶⁷

One such restaurant was spotlighted in 1956 by food writer Clementine Paddleford who published an article entitled “Arizona: From the “West’s Most Western Town,” a new and different sandwich and other Mexican-flavored recipes.”, in a section entitled *How America eats* of *The Evening Star*. In this article Paddleford wrote of her recent visit to Scottsdale Arizona’s first “Mexican sandwich stand” Tico Taco, established in 1950, or as Paddleford put it “...when wealth and sophistication set in.”. She jokingly noted to her readers that the owners, Waldo, and Emma Contreras had “plenty of nerve” to establish the Tico Taco Café.¹⁶⁸ The Tico Taco however was

¹⁶⁶ Gebhardt's Original Mexican Dinner Package, undated, Box 3, Folder 1, [Identification of item], Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. <https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll9/id/2941/rec/150>

¹⁶⁷ “I really feel like I am South of the Border, said Pat dreamily looking at the bull fighting pictures decorating the restaurant and listening to the piped-in rhythmic Latin American music”. *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), 21 July 1957, Page 5, Image 93, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1957-07-21/ed-1/seq-93/>

¹⁶⁸Buel, “You Can Tour Globe and Stay at Home!”, *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), Oct. 07, 1956, Page 5, Image 93, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1956-10-07/ed-1/seq-232/>

described as a “humble place” that while only having eight tables, served 200 guests daily. Paddleford gushed to her audience that these were not just “authentic” Mexican sandwiches but that these sandwiches were extremely popular amongst Anglo-Americans.

Anglo-Americans trusted Paddleford’s opinion regarding ethnic food because she was an experienced and well-traveled food writer of the period, the results of Paddleford’s employment by *This Week Magazine* in 1948, as a roving food editor to compile a cookbook that embodied American cuisine. To properly capture the spirit of America through food, Paddleford travelled throughout the entire country over the next decade speaking to local restaurateurs like Tico Taco as well as average housewives about their food.¹⁶⁹ What was interesting about Paddleford’s cookbook was that she celebrated ethnic cuisine and positioned the consumption of ethnic food, not as an indicator of cosmopolitanism but as an expectation. A departure from earlier cookbooks, articles from the 1950s-1960s assumed that of course Americans in 1956 would be eating ethnic food.

While ethnic food was now an expected cuisine for Anglo-Americans to partake this did not mean that questions concerning authenticity ceased, instead authenticity continued to shape how Anglo-Americans interacted with ethnic cuisine. While previous cookbooks answered the question of authenticity with conflated Spanish and Mexican

¹⁶⁹ Not at all a novel concept, as a decade earlier the federal government funded a Federal Writer’s Project that sought to document the US’s regional cuisine.

cuisine or attributed their recipes to a fictionalized “Old Mexico”, authors like Paddleford used strategies that were more like earlier reader requests submitted to *the Evening Star*. Authenticity required verification by either the cook or restaurant owner being an inheritor of the food tradition, or the translator of certified inherited recipes. This distinction meant that readers wanted less of the ambiguous fantasy of “Old Mexico” and more concrete connections to people and places to certify the “authenticity” of the food or recipes presented to them. When certifying Tico Taco, Paddleford pointed out that the Café featured recipes from Waldo’s Mexican mother, establishing that he was an inheritor of the food culture. A point further reinforced by the subtle descriptions of Emma being “dark-eyed” and dressed in “...Mexican blouse and full flowered skirt...”, indicating to readers that Emma was also ethnically Mexican¹⁷⁰. These physical descriptions served to assure the readers that these were “real” Mexicans serving *real* Mexican food. Paddleford draws her readers in with stories of not just the recipes but of the individuals she learned it from. These anecdotes reveal a wealth of information regarding the reception, transformation, and dissemination of ethnic food amongst Anglo-Americans.

It was however telling that while she considered the Tico Taco “authentic” Mexican food made by real Mexicans, it was not her favorite Mexican restaurant. Rather, she tells her readers that one of the “best Mexican meals” she had was at a “cubbyhole”

¹⁷⁰Clementine Paddleford, “Arizona: From the “West’s Most Western Town,” a new and different sandwich and other Mexican-flavored recipes”, *How America Eats, Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), Oct. 07, 1956, Page 48, Image 232Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1956-10-07/ed-1/seq-232/>

restaurant Pancho's Patio run by one Mrs. Elma van Zandt. According to Paddleford Van Zandt had learned her "below-the-border cooking" years ago from a Mexican woman named Pauline Ramirez who was then employed as a caretaker for her young children. Ramirez was the "authentic" teacher, whose narrative in this cookbook was limited to authenticating the food that van Zandt's served to consumers but much like when the "Chili Queens" influenced Gebhardt they remained a footnote and no more.

While both Gebhardt and van Zandt both succeeded to varying extents to commercialize ethnic food, they were both careful on how they authenticated the origins of their ethnic food. In examining the strategies that they utilize to authenticate this food what was revealed was that food has never been a neutral resource. Access to food and how one prepares said food was either an intensely personal or a highly commodified process that communicated social and political positions to others. In this case "authentic" Mexican food was becoming homogenized and associated with just lower-class Mexicans. Paddleford for example, certified the authenticity of Tico Taco's food through her description of Waldo as a humble but gutsy man who was continuing with the traditions passed on by his Mexican mother. Note once more the description Paddleford used for Emma Contreras, which invoked stereotypical imagery of romanticism regarding both Emma's Mexican heritage and working-class origins. These descriptions serve to reinforce the quaint but authentic imagery of both Tico Taco and its owners. It is not an altogether departure from the previous romantic imagery of Old Mexico, but it was a process that was ignoring the reality that Mexican food in Mexico

was extremely regionalized itself and the meals served differed in regard to socioeconomic status.

Yet if Mexican food was becoming increasingly homogenized then this word, authenticity, becomes difficult to understand because the term could often mean contradictory things within a single source. Paddleford while associating authenticity with recipes gleaned with an inheritor, also made efforts to make the authentic accessible and easy to recreate for the average Anglo-American reader.

At the end of her article on the Tico Taco, Paddleford told her readers that she “...found these authentic Mexican foods and borrowed the recipes for making at home.”

¹⁷¹ She advised that readers, “Mix 1 cup prepared biscuit mix and ¼ cup of water.”¹⁷²

Meanwhile previous cookbooks such as *One-Hindered and One Mexican Recipes*, *Mexican Cooking: That Real Mexican Tang*, and *Mexican Dishes: Dishes of the Dons* however all called for Nixtamal or cornmeal when making tortillas.¹⁷³ Clearly biscuit mixture was something that Anglo-Americans could both access and understand, but they weren’t “authentic” tortilla ingredients. Rather “authentic” tortilla ingredients as they were presented in cookbooks were meant to be accessed by Anglo-Americans who lived in areas with large Mexican populations and had some rudimentary understanding of

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid, Page 50, Image 234. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1956-10-07/ed-1/seq-234/>

¹⁷³ May E. Southworth, *One Hundred & One Mexican Dishes*, (San Francisco and New York: P. Elder and Company, 1906), 55, Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/onehundredonemex00soutiala/page/36/mode/2up>; Richfield Oil Co., *dishes of the Dons*, 5 & 41; Gebhardt Chili Powder, *That Real Mexican Tang*, 6, 26, 30.

what a tortilla was supposed to look like and taste like. Paddleford however, published this recipe in a newspaper that distributed its editions to Anglo-Americans outside of the southwest.¹⁷⁴

It was telling that while touting “authentic” Mexican food, that was heavily Americanized Mexican food, Paddleford also saw it fit to include curry in the southwestern section of *How America Eats*. Amidst recipes such as Zuccarini, Torcetti, and Russian tea cookies, there were also surprisingly recipes for Pineapple Chutney and Indian Chicken Curry. The inclusion of Italian and Russian dishes could speak to the immigrant origins of Anglo-American who settled in the southwest, but the inclusion of Indian recipes spoke to an entirely different process. These recipes contributed by a Mrs. Harold Holcomb, the wife of a retired Navy Rear Admiral, who claimed to have “...kept house in ten countries.”, were the pride of Mrs. Holcomb who felt accomplished with her ability to access an array of foreign cuisine.

The conversation that followed was contradictory, as Mrs. Holcomb saw herself as a trusted source on ethnic cuisine, admitting that she cooked a better Indian curry than she did lamb shanks. Yet she also talked of how, “...Americans over season their dishes...[and] She leaned towards the French-style of cooking.”, yet her family preferred her curry.¹⁷⁵ Holcomb saw herself as a cosmopolitan woman, with a refined palette that

¹⁷⁴ Paddleford, “Dishes for Dudes” in *How America Eats* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), 275-286.

¹⁷⁵ The reader should note that Mrs. Holcomb was from Buffalo, New York and she was in fact an American herself.

could cook ethnic cuisine but far preferred European cuisine as it represented to her elegance and class. Her authority about Indian curry rather than French cuisine demonstrated however that while French cuisine was different to American cuisine it was not as exciting or exotic as Indian curry. Curry clearly had nothing to do with southwestern food culture but its inclusion, I argue, instead resonated with other dishes such as chili con carne and chop suey. All of these were dishes that had their "... meaning ...continuously changed and affected by the community which consumes it.”¹⁷⁶ For the unaware reader, curry's origins lied directly with the Englishmen of the East India Company during the 19th century. These Englishmen were homesick for familiar food and often unable to regularly afford the exorbitant shipping prices of canned English foods, so they turned to Indian foods to compensate. The food, produced often by Indian cooks, were called curry and soon became synonymous with nostalgic recollections of their excursions in India.

In truth though, divining an original curry recipe was near impossible as most Englishmen referred to every Indian dish as “curry and rice”, much in the same fashion as Anglo-Americans distilled Mexican food to a set number of dishes. Curry's origins shifted depending on the advertiser's intent much like chili con carne which also teetered between being American or Mexican.¹⁷⁷ Food articles classified curry as an “ancient East Indian custom”, a designation which completely erases the colonial history of the

¹⁷⁶ Stephanie R. Maroney “To Make a Curry the India Way”, *Food and Foodways*, Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment vol. 19, (2011): 122-134.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 125-126.

dish.¹⁷⁸ They reframed curry to be an exotic “orient” dish that came from “India, home of curries, [where] every family has its own private formula,” mystifying India much in the same way that Mexican cookbooks mystified Mexico and Spanish colonial history.¹⁷⁹ Yet simultaneously they sold curry blends and offered both “authentic” as well as Anglicized and Americanized recipes of curry.¹⁸⁰ The claim of authenticity acted as an allure to Anglo-American consumers, and for many writers, this contradiction of authenticity and “translation” were not incompatible. In fact, English and American cooks greatly benefitted from the shifting definition of “authentic” which allowed them to adjust the food to fit the consumers’ comfort level with ethnic cuisine and simultaneously feed them with overt racial stereotypes to communicate what made ethnic cooks different from white consumers. Recall for example, the earlier case of Van Zandt, a white woman, serving Mexican food at her restaurant called Pancho’s Patio. Van Zandt was praised not only for her successful business but also for in keeping to the “authentic” “below-the border cooking” that she learned from an ethnic Mexican woman who was in many ways a prop to assert the foods “authenticity” much like the restaurant’s name. Thus, it was no surprise that prior to 1950, it was rare to see recipes published by Mexican cooks in the US, instead what was available were recipes offered by writers such as Gebhardt or Paddleford who translated the food to be palatable to Anglo-Americans.

¹⁷⁸ Jane Nickerson, “Curry’s Fiery Flavor”, *The New York Times*, August 23, 1953.
<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1953/08/23/84046764.html?pageNumber=216>

¹⁷⁹ Betty Wason, “A Vogue for Curries”, *The New York Times*, October 1, 1939.
<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1939/10/01/94713165.html?pageNumber=124>

¹⁸⁰ Nickerson, “Curry’s Fiery Flavor”, *The New York Times*.

In fact, it was not until 1960, when *Fiesta foods: California dishes in the Mexican tradition* /compiled by the Southern California Gas Company; co-sponsored by the East Los Angeles Junior Chamber of Commerce; additional foods suggested by Estella Sanchez, was published that we begin to see Mexican American cooks enter the “food fight” taking place in public cookbooks. This book was edited – or as the cookbook describes it authenticated – by Estella Sanchez, the co-owner of La Imperial Tortilleria in East Los Angeles. Sanchez, Mexican American herself, was the considered the foremost expert of Mexican cuisine in California.¹⁸¹ The positioning of a Mexican American cook as the authority instead of an Anglo-American cook indicates a shift from previous cookbooks such as *One Hundred and One Mexican Recipes* or *the California cook book* which both had recipes authenticated by Anglo-Americans.

Before examining this cookbook, however, recall that in the earlier chapter I established that between 1920-1950, Mexican Americans were divided generationally on how to approach the discrimination, poverty and segregated housing and schooling that they experienced. There were those who emphasizing their *Mexicanos* identity, those like League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) who argued that Mexicans were legally “white” and as such fought it out in the court system to attain legal system the same rights as Anglo-Americans while separating themselves from the concept that they

¹⁸¹ Estella Sanchez, *Fiesta foods : California dishes in the Mexican tradition* / compiled by the Southern California Gas Company ; co-sponsored by the East Los Angeles Junior Chamber of Commerce ; additional foods suggested by Estella Sanchez (Los Angeles: Southern California Gas Company, 1960?), 17.

were even ethnic.¹⁸² Adding to this generational layering, the 1960s saw a shift in identity formation with Mexican-Americans beginning to emphasize their ethnic identity and how that set them apart from other Anglo-Americans as well as their parents.¹⁸³

It was amidst this atmosphere that *Fiesta foods* proudly proclaimed that it was a Mexican cookbook organized by a Mexican cook. The language used in the introduction of this cookbook claimed that Mexican cuisine was Indigenous (Toltec and Aztec) cuisine merged with Spanish and French recipes. An interesting change as previously the specifics of Indigenous cuisine were left vague, and French influences on Mexican cuisine were wholly ignored by Anglo-American food writers.¹⁸⁴ Perhaps the most notable addition to this cookbook however were the connections made by Sanchez to present day Mexicans and Mexican Americans. The introduction informs readers that Mexican cuisine remains, "... strong to this day...because of the large Mexican-American population within the state" and that "Mexican food is as firmly part of California living as the beaches...".¹⁸⁵ *Fiesta foods* emphasized present Mexican American influence in not just the kitchen, but it established their presence as irrefutable to California itself. This shift in narrative from earlier cookbooks was, as Jeffrey Pilcher

¹⁸² A decision that would result in not only the early distancing between African American civil rights groups but also in Mexican Americans who positioned themselves as both white and patriotic Americans to distinguish and even deride incoming Mexican immigrants. Lorena Oropeza, *Raza Si! ¡Guerra No!: Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam War Era*, (Berkley: University of California, 2005): 19.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 44-45; Nicolas P. Maffei, "Surveying the Borders: 'Authenticity' in Mexican-American Food Packaging, Imagery and Architecture" in *Designing Worlds: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization* edited by Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016): 215-217.

¹⁸⁴ Maffei, "Surveying Borders", 4.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

points out, common in Mexican American cookbooks and restaurateurs of the mid-twentieth century. Mexican Americans, particularly those in the Southwest, sought to refashion the public face of Mexican cuisine by seeking out a middle ground between how their parents' cooked food and the increasingly accessible modernized American food goods.¹⁸⁶ Sanchez had a personal investment in curating a more "authentic" Mexican cuisine because of her restaurant La Imperial Tortilleria.

Traditional Mexican food, however, one might define it, was a time-consuming process that took from sunup till sundown in many cases. Anglo-Americans, in prior cookbooks would boast that they made Mexican recipes "economical" and easy for homemakers to make in an hour. In this same fashion, *Fiesta foods* when discussing tortillas states that,

"The actual process is a folk art acquired by years of individual practice and centuries of tradition. Nowadays, of course, tortillas may be made by machine, are inexpensive and are packaged handily in uniform sizes."

The patenting of machines, both corporate and personal, changed how Mexican food was made, authenticated and desired by both Anglo-Americans and Mexican Americans.

The time-consuming nature of traditional Mexican food helped to contributed to an increased desire for American food amongst Mexicans and Mexican Americans. To attribute time as the sole reason for why some Mexican and Mexican Americans chose to

¹⁸⁶ Jeffrey Pilcher, *Plant Taco: A Global History of Mexican Food* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 133.

only consume American food however would be doing the complex intertwining of identity and food a disservice. Historian Yolanda Chavez Leyva who in an interview, recounted the complexities of food during her early childhood noted that there was a contrasting generational relationship with food. A contrast that was due in part to both a desire for an Americanized palette as well as new access to modern kitchen appliances and food goods.

Leyva recalled that her mother, who had immigrated to the US in the 1920s, was enamored with the advertisements of modern cooking utensils and food. She preferred to cook American food because it imbued her with a sense of modernity. Leyva's mother did not shun Mexican food, but she instead preferred to cook with processed foods such as, "canned peaches, and canned cherries". Much like the generational layering that resulted in varying identities amongst communities and individual families, cooking too was stratified generationally. Leyva's *Tia*, her mother's elder sister, preferred to cook Mexican cuisine and as Leyva recalled could be found in the kitchen making tortillas every day.¹⁸⁷ Even further while Leyva enjoyed American food, she had a growing desire to learn how to cook Mexican cuisine. She wanted to make "traditional" foods, but her mother would instead comment that she would always have time later to learn. Yet Leyva instead went out her way to learn how to make food from her *Tia*. In the interview Leyva made direct connections between her personal identity and how that was expressed by the act of learning to cook. For individuals such as Sanchez and Leyva, food constituted a

¹⁸⁷ Yolanda Chavez Leyva, "Interview no. 1677" (2019). Private Kitchens. 1.
https://scholarworks.utep.edu/ep_private/1

reaffirmation of not just identity but of the continuance of family memories, that there was knowledge passed down and accessible only in the kitchen.

Conclusion

In 2020, the University of Texas at San Antonio, home to the largest Mexican Cookbook Collection in the US released a three-part series entitled “Recetas: Cooking in the Time of Coronavirus”. This collection of recipes drew from the university’s Spanish language Mexican cookbooks which date back to the late 1700s and published the hand-picked recipes in both their original Spanish as well as a translated version for English-speaking cooks. These recipes were assembled for those “looking to explore Mexican cuisine.... all while calling on the spirit of Mexican chefs who left their inspirational marks.”¹⁸⁸ The desire for Mexican food and how that desire is framed here drew my mind back to the cookbooks presented in this thesis. Yet unlike the cookbooks I have examined, this collection does not offer ingredient substitutions. The ingredients listed are the original, due in part to retain the historical and “authentic” nature of the food presented.

Yet more implicitly it is because the globalization of the American food industry has made it significantly easier to access ethnic food ingredients either in local grocery stores or online. Scholars such as Jeffrey Pilcher and Laresh Jayasanker have both done extensive research tracking Mexican food’s mid-twentieth century rise in popularity because of a combination of factors such as globalization of the American food industry, the rise of ethnic food companies like Gebhardt’s Chili Powder Company, local Mexican

¹⁸⁸ UTSA Libraries Special Collections, *Recetas vol. 1 Desserts: Saving the Best for First* from Cooking in the Time of Coronavirus: Recipes from the Mexican Cookbook Collection, 4.
<https://lib.utsa.edu/about/giving/recetas-cooking-in-the-time-of-coronavirus>

restaurants, and food franchises between the 1960s-1970s such as Taco Bell.¹⁸⁹ When Gebhardt died in 1956, his company was bought out three years later by the Beatrice Food company. The firm combined other ethnic food companies such as Rosarita Mexican Food Company and La Chou Food Products, indicating a sustained desire for ethnic food well into the mid to late-twentieth century. While Gebhardt Chili retained its name, the buy-out by Beatrice Foods marked an increase in national advertising such as radio and TV commercials. Gebhardt began to sell newer Americanized Mexican dishes such as salsa, and nachos, all while invoking the spirit of “Old Mexico”.¹⁹⁰

As this thesis has demonstrated however, ethnic food while desired, nonetheless occupied this tenuous space of needing to be “authentic” but not too “authentic”. An ambiguous place where “authenticity” was not a static concept but one that was continuously negotiated and renegotiated by not just Anglo-Americans but Mexican Americans as well. As I have explored the public discussion, desire, and revulsion of Mexican food, it has become clear that instead of searching for a concrete definition of “authenticity”, it was better to understand the concept as something that was and still is performative.

Tracking what was considered “authentic” was too contentious of a process to undertake because often times the label of “authentic” ignored contesting regional versions of

¹⁸⁹ Jayasanker, *Sameness in Diversity*, 66.

¹⁹⁰ Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. Gebhardt: Mexicanated Foods Company Collection, UTSA Libraries <http://web.lib.utsa.edu/gebhardt/>.

different foods. Versions which, depending on the consumer or cook, could be labelled as either “authentic” or “inauthentic”. Moreover, it also ignored the historical processes – immigration, war, and Americanization – that influenced the negotiation and renegotiation of “authenticity”. Gebhardt Chili for example performed “authenticity” in a way that made their products desirable and understandable to Anglo-American consumers. They utilized stereotypes of Mexicans dressed in sarapes, peasant dress, and other ambiguous, sometimes Spanish clothing, set against desert backdrops, cacti with the occasional donkey. These were all stereotypes that communicated to the consumers that the food advertised here was “authentic”. It was a safe type of “authenticity” however that had to toe the line of being ethnic enough to be considered adventurous and cosmopolitan, but never too ethnic. A sentiment more accurately put by chefs Sohla and Ham El-Waylly of the short-lived American restaurant, Hail Mary, “...customers expect a certain amount of “ethnic-ness” from chefs of color—no matter what kind of food they are cooking...If the food is too white or too brown, it will not sell. It has to be just the right level of “ethnic.””¹⁹¹ The line of being too ethnic was one that had to skirted carefully, especially when “authenticity” was negotiated with regards to the cook themselves.

Yet this desire for the “right level of ethnic” was not a desire that spontaneously formed during the early twentieth century but rather, as I have found it derived from a

¹⁹¹ Sohla identified as a Bengali-American, and Ham as half-Bolivian and half-Egyptian. They were also both chefs trained professionally in French cooking techniques. Shah, Khu Shbu, “What Happens When a Brown Chef Cooks White Food?”, *GQ*, April 25, 2017. <https://www.gq.com/story/what-happens-when-a-brown-chef-cooks-white-food>.

complicated relationship between food and the public meaning it conveyed to consumers. Mexican food, in the early twentieth century needed to be “authentic” but also sanitary. Anglo-American consumers could be assured that Anglo-American cooks were employing sanitary food practices, yet they did not have that same trust in Mexican cooks. This distrust drew in part from campaigns by Americanizers that perceived ethnic food as unclean and unhealthy. Americanization programs and other food writers during this period helped to define what was American cuisine by framing immigrant foods and cooking techniques as being other. Food was connected with health and perceived moral problems in immigrant communities. There was small but significant discourse that claimed if they changed their eating habits then they could not only be healthier but also that they could better assimilate. Americanizers, such as Idelia Pearl Ellis and Bertha Wood were both aware that immigrants settling in the US were consistently being confronted with unfamiliar places and people, and that for many the few things they had control over were their food. So while they might not have had access to the same ingredients that they were used to, many immigrants chose to retain their native food cultures as they provided a sense of comfort and an affirmation of their own personal identity. Comments made in both of their manuals demonstrate that they were aware of the connection immigrant food cultures had in reaffirming their own ethnic and racial identities. This acknowledgement contributed to the conclusion that to become American they had to eat as Americans.

Conversely for Anglo-Americans their identity was never in danger when they were consuming Mexican food, as newspapers, advertisements, and other materials such

as cookbooks, instead celebrated Mexican cuisine. Mexican food was hailed as delicious and an accessible exotic food. Cookbooks and companies like Gebhardt all took part in constructing an “authentic” experience that increasingly allowed for Mexican food to divorce itself from present day Mexican Americans, and thus material issues such as immigration, discrimination, poverty, and housing equality. People could enjoy these constructions of “authenticity” because ethnic food in America was an accessible form of culinary tourism that allowed Americans to experience ethnic food without having to leave the country. Mexican food outside of the southwest also often allowed for Anglo-Americans to enjoy the cuisine without having to encounter Mexican Americans. When Anglo-Americans did interact with Mexican Americans, they placed an emphasis on how “safe” and “clean” the restaurants were. This same behavior was echoed with Chinese cuisine which like Mexican cuisine was tasty but very clearly not “American” in the way that Italian food culture had become Americanized. Given that Anglo-Americans were the primary consumers of these ethnic food articles, cookbooks, and companies, it was not surprising to find that they wanted to experience “exotic” ethnic food but in a safe and contained environment. This was partly why the “Chili Queens” of San Antonio garnered such popularity outside of Texas. While these were women who were merely trying to obtain a supplemental income, their profession as street vendors placed them in a visible space that had city officials, travelers, and locals all determined to label them as either “exotic” and sexualized *senoritas* or carriers of disease and moral failings meant to be edged out of public perception. Tourists who came to try their food, described it as undigestible but went on for paragraphs about the vendors, imposing their own racialized perspectives of the sexuality of the female vendors and the disgust the male vendors

inspired. The food was exciting, but its cooks were subject to lewd comments and disgust from the Anglo-Americans tourists. They were not yet seen as the now familiar Tex-Mex cuisine but something foreign.

In fact, this sentiment was further demonstrated in Gebhardt's *Mexican cooking: that real Mexican Tang* (1908) which defined its food clearly as "Mexican cookery" but told its readers that chili con carne and tamales were, "...as common traditional beefsteak."¹⁹², in the average American kitchen. Sure, these foods were popular, but they could never be an American meal and still identifiably Mexican cuisine. Chili con carne especially, occupied a nebulous position where, according to *the Texas Cookbooks*, it was an American meal because Americans cooked it. The Texas Cookbook confirms that this food could only become American by completely divorcing itself from its Mexican history and cooks.

While, yes, taste was subjective, the opinion that choices made regarding food go deeper beyond taste. By examining food's historians can attain a deeper understanding of the boundaries of whiteness and citizenship were negotiated over the dinner table.¹⁹³ In 2016 during the Donald J. Trump's presidential campaign, Marco Gutierrez the founder of the Latinos for Trump group exclaimed in an interview on MSNBC that,

¹⁹² Gebhardt Chili Powder, *That Real Mexican Tang*, 2.

¹⁹³ Margot Finn, "Can "Taste" be Separated from Social Class?", 84.

“My culture is a very dominant culture, and it’s imposing and it’s causing problems. If you don’t do something about it, you’re going to have taco trucks on every corner.”¹⁹⁴

This comment, along with modern day questing to connect with “Authentic” foods, was part of what originally prompted this investigation into the connection between food, race, and ethnicity. Here “taco trucks” were political, Gutierrez did not consider them merely as a simple cuisine, but an indicator of a foreboding cultural invasion. Not at all dissimilar to the fears expressed by Americanizers who argued fiercely that immigrants needed to abandon their cultural food practices because they were unhealthy and foreign.

The personal and imprecise nature of food is a new but steadily growing field of study. Although this thesis might not accurately cover all avenues of research, it was made with the hopes that other historians will examine Mexican cuisine not just in the context of the mid-twentieth century as most currently do, but the early twentieth century as well.

¹⁹⁴ Nirak Chokshi, “‘Taco Trucks on Every Corner’: Trump Supporter’s Anti-Immigration Warning”, *The New York Times*, September 2, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/03/us/politics/taco-trucks-on-every-corner-trump-supporters-anti-immigration-warning.html>

Figures

THE SCHOOL LUNCH

The noon lunch of the Mexican child quite often consists of a folded tortilla with no filling. There is no milk or fruit to whet the appetite. Such a lunch is not conducive to learning. The child becomes lazy. His hunger unappeased, he watches for an opportunity to take food from the lunch boxes of more fortunate children. Thus the initial step in a life of thieving is taken. Note the child in the picture opposite page 24.

He has a good lunch, is happy and well kept. He ranks well in his lessons.

[26]

Figure 1. Excerpt from Idelia Pearl Ellis', *Americanization through Homemaking*, page 25. Courtesy of the Library of Congress

made for recipe index file cards. Can some reader tell me where I can find these?

* * * *

Tortilla Recipe

*Mrs. E. F. G., Alexandria
To Mrs. D. B. B., Waldorf*

I have a wonderful recipe for a whole Mexican dinner and make my own tortillas and enchiladas.

To make the tortillas, mix 1 cup corn meal, $\frac{1}{4}$ cup flour, 2 beaten eggs, 3 cups water and $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon salt.

This will be very watery. Spoon about three table spoons into a gresed six-inch iron frying pan. Cook slowly until it drys out and edges curl. Turn oven to dry. Stack and use as tortillas or fill with meat and cheese to use as enchiladas. Makes about 18.

Figure 2. Excerpt taken from *Evening star*, 10 June 1959. Courtesy of Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Library of

* * * *

TORTILLAS?
(From P. H., Alexandria.)
**I would very much appreciate a
 recipe for tortillas, a Mexican food.**

Figure 3. Excerpt taken from *The Evening Star*, November 28, 1945. Courtesy of Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Library of Congress.

**Down in Dallas a man claimed
 to have found a dog tooth in his hot
 tamale. He shouldn't kick—these are
 dog days.**

Figure 4. This “blurb” type writing originally published in *The Arizona Republican*, was one of the most common formats espousing the idea that tamales were made from dogs. *The Arizona Republican*, May 19, 1903. Courtesy of Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Library of Congress.



Figure 5. San Antonio, Texas. Chili Stands. 1907-1908. Courtesy of the George W. Cook Dallas/Texas image collection, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University. <https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/gcd/id/1568>

WE REALIZE

that lots of people like Mexican Hot Tamales and Chile, but don't care to buy from the street peddler, and since we are here to serve the people the very best we can, we have begun the preparation of these dishes in our up-to-date, clean kitchen and we employ experts in this line. They're clean and made of the very best materials. In short and concise terms they are made *The Vogue Way.*

Hot Tamales
Real Chile

SERVICE
The Vogue
QUALITY

Hot Dog Sandwiches
Hot Roast Beef Sandwiches

Figure 6. The Vogue Advertisement. Woman's Enterprise, October 01, 1922. Courtesy of Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

Figure 7 Note the language regarding cleanliness. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

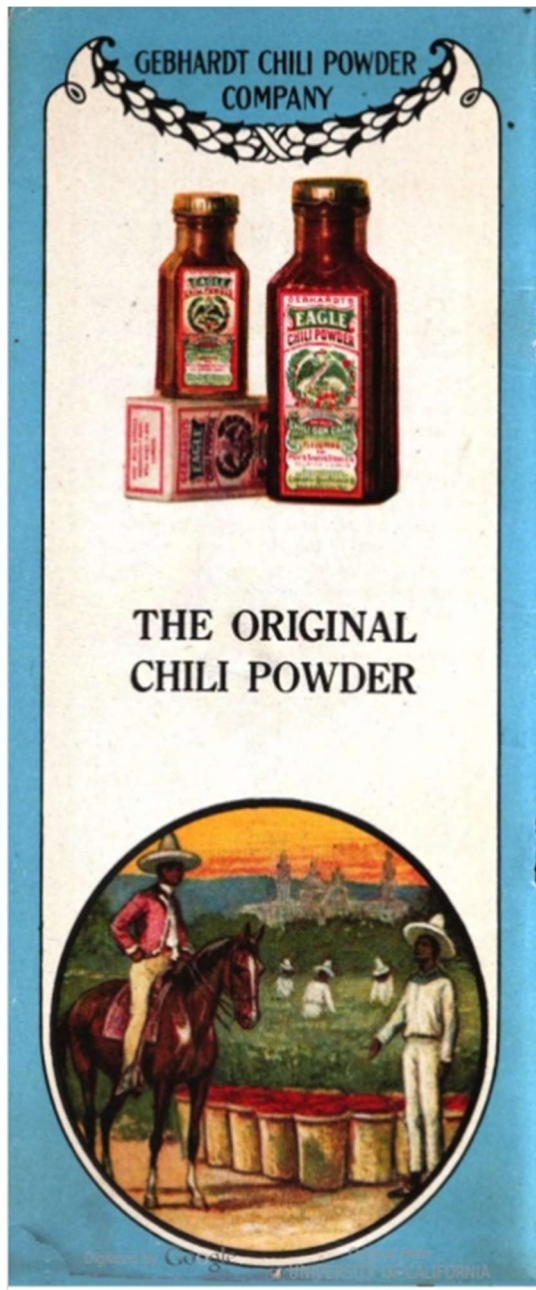


Figure 7. Ad taken from *Mexican cooking: That Real Mexican Tang*, and Hathi Trust Digital Library. Note the complexion of the Mexican figures in the ad. They are darker skinned to promote an “Old Mexico” romanticism.

*To the American
Housekeeper*

A CHANGE of Menu is one of the constantly recurring and vexing problems of the day. "What shall I have for dinner?" is a source of never-ending worry.

In presenting to the American housekeeper the first MEXICAN COOK BOOK ever printed, we have spared neither labor nor expense in our efforts to give dishes that are pleasing, novel and easily prepared.

While of the most simple nature, these recipes are those used by some of the most famous chefs of Old Mexico, and a careful reading of the following pages will enable you to surprise and please your friends and family with dishes that have graced the table of President Diaz and have made Mexican cooks as famous as those of France.



Figure 8. Excerpt taken from Gebhardt Chili's *Mexican cooking: That Real Mexican Tang*. Courtesy of University of California and Hathi Trust Digital Library.



Figure 9 Gebhardt's Chili Powder, undated. Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries, Box 02, Folder 03. Courtesy of University of Texas at San Antonio, Special Collections.

Make real
CHILI
CON CARNE
with that delicious
GEBHARDT FLAVOR



GET THIS
Free
RECIPE
BOOK

Send for Gebhardt's FREE recipe book and see how easy it is to make real Chili con Carne and excitingly different Mexican Dishes with Gebhardt's Chili Powder ... an authentic seasoning prepared and blended by the exclusive Gebhardt process from imported Mexican ancho chili peppers and other rare spices. Complete ready-to-use.

Just send front of Gebhardt's Chili Powder carton for your free book. Or, if your dealer has not yet stocked this famous seasoning, send 15c in coin or stamps for a full size bottle and free recipe book.

While TODAY!
GEBHARDT
CHILI POWDER CO.
 124 S. FIDELITY STREET
 SAN ANTONIO 1, TEXAS

Gebhardt's
CHILI POWDER

Figure 10 Advertisement of Gebhardt chili con carne from *Detroit evening times*, (Detroit, Mich), 07 Oct. 1945. Courtesy of Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

Chicken


CROQUETTES

Mexican Style

**HERE'S THE EASY-TO-MAKE
★ RECIPE**

- 3 Tablespoons Butter
- 2 Tablespoons Flour
- $\frac{1}{2}$ Teaspoon Salt
- 1 Teaspoon Gebhardt's
Chili Powder
- 1 Cup Milk, scalded
- 1 Cup diced Chicken
- 4 Tablespoons minced
Parsley
- 1 Egg, beaten
- Crumbs

Melt butter; add flour, seasonings; gradually add scalded milk, stirring until smooth. Cook until thick and smooth. Add diced chicken, minced parsley. Cool. Shapes dip in beaten egg; roll in finely sifted bread or cracker crumbs. Fry in deep fat (350°F.) until well browned. Drain on absorbent paper. Serve hot with creamed peas.



★ This is just one of the many famous recipes from Gebhardt's new 48-page recipe book: "Mexican Cooking for American Homes." It's FREE! You must purchase 1 lb. Gebhardt's Chili Powder Co., 104 S. First St., San Antonio 1, Texas, for your copy of this recipe book.

Gebhardt's

CHILI POWDER

Figure 11 Advertisement of Gebhardt Chili Powder from Detroit evening times. (Detroit, Mich), 05 Nov. 1944, Courtesy of Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

**Chili Con Carne, ó Azado Al Estilo Mexicano—
Real Mexican Chili Con Carne; also called Azado**

Take two pounds of meat, cut in small pieces and put in a frying-pan where three tablespoonsful of lard have been heated, cooking until slightly brown. Have ready two buttons of chopped garlic, salt and pepper to taste, a medium-sized onion cut into small pieces, a ripe tomato cut in small slices (or six to ten mashed green tomatoes well mixed with a little water.)



First add garlic and onion to the meat, let cook for twenty or thirty minutes and add tomatoes, salt and pepper and two tablespoonsful of *Gebhardt's Eagle Chili Powder*, mixing thoroughly with one-half cupful of hot water, let boil until meat is very tender; add additional hot water as needed.

This chili should be made with considerable gravy, especially where

6

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Figure 12 Excerpt taken from Gebhardt Chili's *Mexican cooking: That Real Mexican Tang*. Courtesy of University of California and Hathi Trust Digital Library. Note the depiction of Mexican figures here in comparison to Figure 6. They are depicted in more modern and Spanish styled clothing; in addition, they also have lighter skinned features.

TERESA WRIGHT
Starring in "SOMETHING TO LIVE FOR"
A Paramount Picture ... agrees

**"Men really like
Hormel Chili Con Carne!"**

HOLLYWOOD "STAG". SUPPER


Starring frequently at Hollywood stag parties, is Hormel Chili Con Carne. Menfolks enjoy its luscious blend of beef and beans in savory sauce. Try it on your man.

*Hormel Chili Con Carne • Crackers
Onion, Green Pepper, Lettuce Salad
Buttered Pumpkinseed Bread
Warm Boysenberry Pie with Cheese
Coffee

*SIMPLY HEAT AND SERVE Remember you get more good lean beef in Hormel Chili ... along with plump red beans, all in a rich 'n' zesty sauce.



**MORE PEOPLE BUY
HORMEL CHILI CON CARNE**
Not too hot...not too mild...just right!


HORMEL
GOOD FOOD

Hear MUSIC WITH THE HORMEL GIRLS • Saturday, CBS • Sunday, NBC
Geo. A. Hormel & Co., Austin, Minn.

SPAM™ CHICKEN BAKE
Quick casserole magic! Tender egg noodles and juicy morsels of SPAM bake in a rich chicken-cream sauce.

Cook one 6-oz. pkg. egg noodles.
Stir into hot noodles, 1 can condensed Cream of Chicken Soup, 1/2 c. milk, 1 can pure-pork SPAM cut in cubes, 2 tbsp. chopped green pepper, 1 tbsp. chopped onion, 1/2 tsp. salt. Top with additional SPAM slices.
Bake in greased 1 1/2 qt. casserole 30 min. in med. oven.

**COLD OR HOT
SPAM
HITS THE SPOT!**




SPAM is a registered trademark for a pure pork product, packed only in 12-oz. cans by Geo. A. Hormel & Co., Austin, Minnesota

Figure 13. Excerpt of Hormel Advertisement. *The Evening Star*, (Washington, D.C.), March 18, 1951. Courtesy of Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library

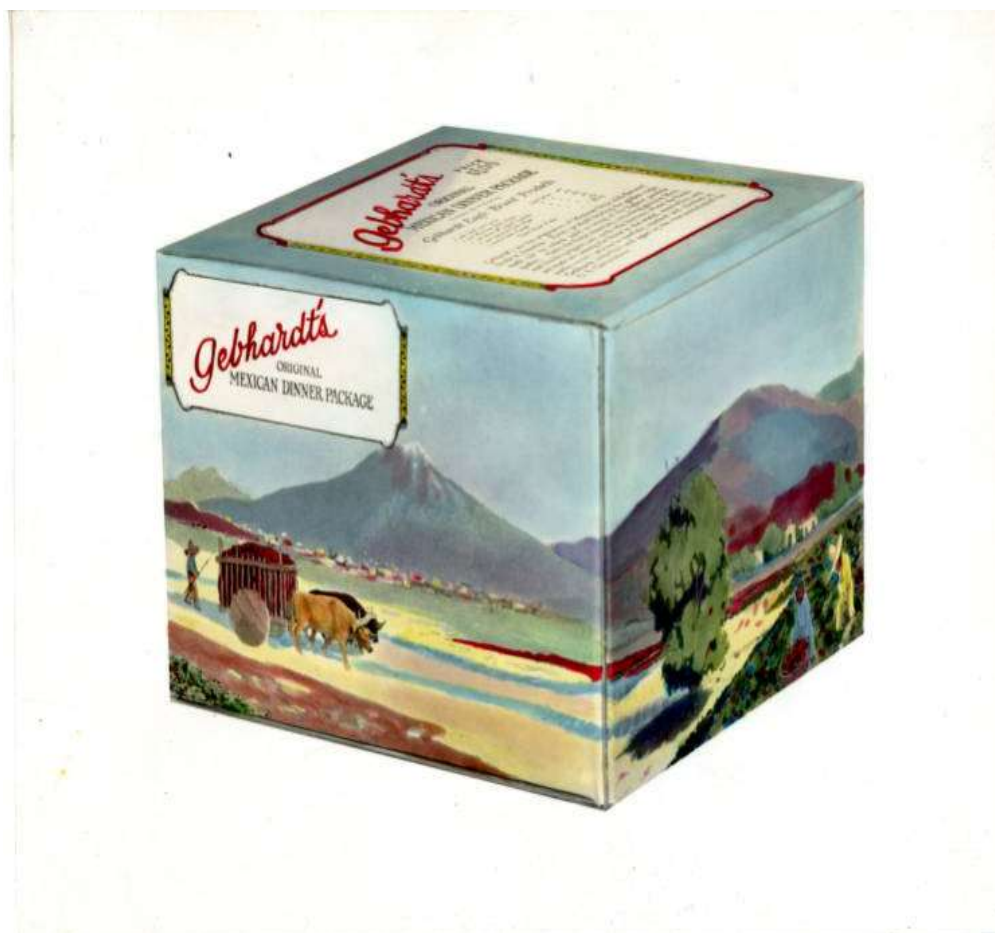


Figure 14 Gebhardt's Original Mexican Dinner Package, undated. Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries, Box 03, Folder 1. Courtesy of University of Texas at San Antonio Special Collections.



Figure 15. Gebhardt's Chili Powder Truck, undated. Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries, Box 03, Folder. Courtesy of University of Texas at San Antonio, Special Collections



Figure 16. Display of Gebhardt products with a poster advertising vacations in Mexico, undated. Gebhardt Mexican Foods Company Records, MS 44, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries, Box 03, Folder 04. Courtesy of University of Texas at San Antonio, Special Collections.

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