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**C**ONTEMPORARY IMAGES of the relationships between Italy and Philadelphia are popularly associated with Italian Americans who settled in the city during the mass European immigration between 1880 and 1920 in response to expanding industrialization. This volume demonstrates that there has been a much longer and deeper relationship between Italy and Philadelphia from colonial times, that the Italian American experience is much more complex than commonly imagined, and that cultural ties continue to develop today in new ways.

We look at Philadelphia's Italian legacy through the flow of ideas, people, objects, and cultural practices between Italy and the United States and follow particular examples of how Italian styles and motifs become inscribed in material forms, such as architectural designs and structures in the civic center and in local neighborhood landscapes, and in nonmaterial forms, such as major civic institutions as well as social relationships and patterns of everyday activities that shape life and identity in the city. We aim to bring together lesser-known examples of the presence of Italy in this city, as well as the more recognized Italian markings of space, icons, and institutions. Our goal is to highlight gems heretofore overlooked in the built environment and the arts institutions of the city while also exploring the legacy through neighborhood landscapes and "made in America" art and cultural practices that have been infused in everyday experiences and popular enjoyments throughout the city. Understanding Philadelphia's unique and ever-changing urban context is central to this task.

In Philadelphia, this legacy begins with the aesthetic and social ideals brought to the United States by Italian elites and adopted by those creating the political philosophies and built environment of the new republic. In this era, the ideas and

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aesthetics of classical civilization, revitalized during the Renaissance and Enlightenment, used aesthetic forms to convey and connect beauty and morality. Moral values such as democracy, justice, patriotism, and productivity were linked to certain symbols and styles. Acquiring the “civilizing” knowledge and values of classical and Enlightenment societies was important in and of itself.

Wealthy Philadelphians traveled frequently to Italy during the expanding industrial period of the nineteenth century and brought back vast numbers of art and artifacts that focused on the significance of neoclassical and Renaissance aesthetic and moral values. As wealth inequality grew, collecting such cultural forms also helped demonstrate family status and create social hierarchy and exclusivity among industrial and financial elites. Italian artifacts with their associations with early civilization were especially significant.

As more Italians settled and formed communities in the city from the 1850s onward, another piece of the Italian legacy originated in the contributions of immigrants who established permanent communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Italian craftsmen and merchants began arriving in Philadelphia first in the 1850s–60s and then as part of the massive 1880–1920 immigrant waves from southern and eastern Europe. We explore the formation of localized Italian American communities during this time and the stories of families and individuals as they are absorbed into the social fabric of the city, thereby creating new forms of art and culture from their Italian and U.S. experiences.

Some forms and skills of this “made in America” culture were brought from Italy, while others were developed through education and training as the descendants of immigrants became Italian Americans and were educated in U.S. institutions. Early Italian American art was often used to decorate elite homes and institutions. Other forms were produced locally during everyday life in relatively bounded ethnic communities in the decades of urban change through the depression, World War II, and its aftermath. After the war, many of these forms became part of mainstream culture.

Finally, we explore the impact of Italian forms on the contemporary development of a cosmopolitan, multicultural city eager to become an important node in the global economy, as cheaper travel and new forms of communication create new possibilities for links between Philadelphia and Italy. This all takes place in an era of frequent shifts and reactions in arts movements as well as the increased valuation of and respect for popular and folk art forms aided by new electronic technologies and the advent of broadcast and social media.

The essays come from a variety of disciplines and methods. They vary in style and substance. Some of the essays take a long historical view of change within institutions. Others examine in-depth interpretations of lives and careers, as well as particular spaces, projects, and objects in architecture, art, music, and cuisine.

There is no attempt to find an “essential” Italian-ness; rather, this volume attempts to find encounters and relationships between Italy and the United States

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in terms of a perceived spirit of Italy or aesthetic style (Italianate), homages to particular Italian gardens and buildings, and specific contributions made in America by those of Italian heritage. Being “Italian” is not fixed in meaning but varies in time, in place, and in the life experience and social networks of people, institutions, and groups. Some essays look at the very processes through which core ideas, motifs, and symbols get reworked in different epochs of city history and aesthetic movements.

To understand the legacy, impact, and influence of Italian arts and culture on the city of Philadelphia since independence requires an understanding of how cities are dynamic, especially in terms of their built environments and diverse populations. We look at Philadelphia during four periods in which the city changed its position in the nation and the world. Such turning points reshaped the spatial contours of the city and its social composition. Central to the framework of the volume are the ways in which political and economic shifts shaped structures of power, social class, and ethnic division and how this related to new forms and values in arts and culture.

The Italian nation was equally dynamic, experiencing major changes during the mid-nineteenth-century period of national unification and twentieth-century conflicts and political movements. The encounters between both peoples and institutions, as well as the relationships between both states, shape the contacts and processes of Italian influence as illuminated in the Prologue to this volume.

The colonial city of Philadelphia was the largest in the North American colony and the site of the founding of the republic and the capital in the early federal period. As it lost its political and economic centrality, it became a major industrial metropolis, a center of manufacturing and wealth accumulation with an enlarged territory. The mass eastern and southern European immigration wave that flowed to new industry (1880–1920) was met by growing anti-immigrant reaction, and a legal cessation of immigration in the early 1920s. By that time, multigenerational ethnic groups were crafting their new hyphenated cultural practices in a depression context. Participation in the war effort played a major role in the acceptance of white ethnic communities as Americans and expanded ties between the ethnic groups themselves and the native born.

After the war, from 1945 to the 1970s, there was a period of postwar optimism and affluence. Through GI Bill–supported higher education and FHA mortgage loans, many children of immigrants moved into the middle classes and left the city for the suburbs as U.S. policies underwrote suburbanization and urban blight. Soon after, in the 1960s, deindustrialization further impoverished the city’s residents and infrastructure. By the 1970s, urban policies in Philadelphia, as in other rust-belt cities, undertook a new kind of restructuring of the city hoping to make it more competitive as a node in the global economy.

Philadelphia’s economy is today dependent on “eds and meds,” a nickname for higher education in general and academic medical training and health care. New

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“creative knowledge workers” who work in these and related industries have generated consumption styles and markets favoring cosmopolitanism. Exploding new forms of popular arts and entertainment have emerged in the modern consumerist era. What effects have these changes had on the Italian legacy?

To answer this question, we look at Philadelphia’s Italian legacy in four sections, each framed by a key transformation in the city’s political, economic, and social structures. The introduction to each section provides more specific context for the essays that follow. The four sections are briefly described below in terms of the structure of the city and the mode of Italian influence.

**Independence and Early Republic.** The city was key in the British colonial economy and as a center for debate, for the drafting of documents declaring independence, and for governing the new democratic republic. Philadelphia was the largest city in the new nation. Italian ideas and architectural designs were brought in through key Renaissance and Enlightenment texts and the presence of largely transient highly educated elites such as diplomats, artists, large-scale traders, and members of religious orders.

**The Expanding Industrial Metropolis: New Wealth, New Elites, and New Institutions of Knowledge, Arts, and Culture.** As the nineteenth century progressed, Philadelphia lost its central political and economic roles to New York and Washington, DC, but it developed as an industrial powerhouse and railroad transportation center for the nation as it expanded in territory. During this period, the scions of the new wealthy class traveled to Italy to experience a grand tour of European high culture and brought back Italian ideas, designs, and objects such as antiquities and aesthetic wonders, which formed the core of a burgeoning new City Beautiful—a landscape of arts and culture institutions that expressed the city’s importance. Italian motifs and objects contributed heavily to this project.

**Made in America: Immigration, Community Formation, and Varieties of Creative Italian American Experience.** The decades from 1880 to 1920 saw massive immigration from eastern and southern Europe to the industrial cities and regions of the United States. A most direct Italian legacy and continuous engagement between Italy and the United States occurred through these decades and continues in new forms today. Many in this immigrant wave were drawn to South Philadelphia by an incipient structure of Italian institutions—parishes, boardinghouses, and provisioning enterprises that catered to food and other specific needs and also served the needs of dispersed Italian American settlements. Contacts with Italy diminished after immigration was restricted legislatively and by the Depression and Second World War. Over time, generations of Italian Americans contributed to a made-in-America array of Italian-derived arts and cultural practices based

on multiple aesthetic movements and played a significant role in leadership in the city.

**Contemporary Philadelphia: Experiencing the Italian Legacy in the Branded Global City.** A new set of relationships between Philadelphia and Italy developed through the restructuring of global economic and political systems. Independence from colonial rule, new global financial and trade institutions, widely accessible and cheaper transportation, and mass and new social media enabled increased flows of capital, people, ideas, and goods across national borders. By the 1970s, the concept of globalization was widely used to describe these changes. In Philadelphia this was first experienced as deindustrialization as plants relocated to find cheaper labor. New immigrants also arrived as a result of new laws. Urban planning responses involved public and private partnerships investing in restructuring the economy from industry to one based on highly educated workers, referred to as creative, professional, or knowledge workers, by building on the large base of institutions of “eds and meds.” Strategies for attracting knowledge workers and university students as residents as well as national and global tourists included branding the city as diverse and cosmopolitan. These processes increased the flow of people and ideas across the Atlantic and set a new value on Italian design, styles, food, and people who could easily travel back and forth.

These sections refer to processual changes that cannot be clearly bracketed by dates. They consider the world relationships that restructure specific local political economies and produce new social structures and cultural ideas. For example, the formation of a wealthy consuming class and the era of mass immigration overlap in time and are interrelated, since new workers were needed for the expanding U.S. economy with labor actively recruited in southern and eastern Europe. But the ways in which this affected the Italian legacy in Philadelphia were very different. In one case, U.S. elites traveled to bring the cultural capital of elite European arts and culture back to burnish and refine the city’s standing; in the other, new populations with specific artisan skills arrived to reproduce traditional arts and ultimately to create new cultural forms.