# Urban History Review Revue d'histoire urbaine



Diner, Hasia R. Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001. Pp xvii, 292. Black and white illustrations, index. U.S. \$39.95

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Volume 31, Number 2, Spring 2003

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1015762ar DOI: https://doi.org/10.7202/1015762ar

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Publisher(s)

Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine

**ISSN** 

0703-0428 (print) 1918-5138 (digital)

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#### Cite this review

Elvins, S. (2003). Review of [Diner, Hasia R. Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001. Pp xvii, 292. Black and white illustrations, index. U.S. \$39.95]. Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine, 31(2), 40–41. https://doi.org/10.7202/1015762ar

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#### **Book Reviews**

dauds et des touristes, sans révéler le sens de cette ville à la fois patrimoniale, bourgeoise et populaire et qui reste une capitale provinciale.

En somme, l'ouvrage est de qualité, magnifiquement illustré, exhaustif, tout en laissant des interprétations en plan. Pour notre part, nous aurions souhaité que l'ouvrage s'attache davantage aux espaces vécus, aux lieux fréquentés, aux parcours des citadins. Dans cette veine, il faut lire le chapitre sur la baignade, loisir populaire s'il en est un, qui met en scène ces lieux de rassemblement populaire à Sainte-Pétronille, à l'Anse-au-Foulon, à Lauzon, où comme l'attestent les photographies, se pressaient en grand nombre les estivants. Ces quelques échappées sur la vie ordinaire des gens apportent une dimension plus sociale. La multiplication de ces portraits de lieu ou d'activité aurait peut-être alourdi un recueil déjà riche et volumineux. En somme, le sujet n'est pas complètement épuisé.

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Diner, Hasia R. *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001. Pp xvii, 292. Black and white illustrations, index. U.S. \$39.95.

In reviewing a book about food, particularly one by an author aptly named Diner, there is a temptation to use culinary metaphors to describe the work: to compare the author to a chef, blending disparate ingredients into a tasty combination, or some similar trope. That being said, Hasia Diner's *Hungering for America* is a treat not only because it backs up many of our assumptions about how in many ways immigrants "are what they eat," but shows how the particular experiences of different groups could result in profoundly different attitudes towards food and ethnicity. The work's strength is in its ability to retain the distinct "flavours" of the communities involved.

Diner compares three very different groups in order to explore the connections between immigrant culture and food. Italian immigrants brought with them a fierce pride in their culinary traditions. Food was central to Italian celebrations and family life. It also became a symbol of Italian immigrants' success in the New World. This success could often be viewed in concrete terms: Diner describes the evolution of companies which initially imported olive oil, sauces, and cheeses to America, and eventually built plants in the U. S. to manufacture macaroni and other essentials to supply the growing and increasingly prosperous Italian-American community.

While food formed a central part of Italian newcomers' sense of identity, in contrast, Irish immigrants had no such sentimental or symbolic attachment. Diner traces the history of Ireland, pointing not only to the nineteenth-century potato famine but the fraught relationship between Protestant landholders and the poor Catholic majority, to explain why hunger, and not food, became central to the Irish identity. Even the potato, stereotypically associated with the Irish diet by immigrants and native-born

Americans alike, was more a reminder of British colonial rule and privation than a source of nostalgia. Once in America, Irish immigrants forged a rich culture and celebrated their heritage – but rarely attempted to replicate the dishes they had eaten (or seen their social superiors eat) "back home." Food simply did not become a part of their ethnic identity, in a way that made them a group distinct from almost all others. Instead, Diner notes, food was a "palpable absence in their articulation of Irishness, an absence they brought with them to America." (112)

Jewish immigrants provide a good counterpoint to the other two groups, for food was not only central to the Jewish sense of community but also imbued with a spiritual significance that could be a source of both unity and division. Diner demonstrates how Jewish immigrants at times clashed over the requirements of their faith's dietary laws, or boycotted suppliers of kosher food who charged prices that were deemed too high. Yet even as food could be a flashpoint for conflict, it offered opportunities for Jewish employment in delis, bakeries, butchers and grocery stands. These institutions became fundamental to Jewish enclaves in American cities.

In juggling the stories of three different groups and their relationship with food, Diner has taken on an ambitious project. She pays careful attention to how class, region, gender, and generation shaped each individual immigrant's experience with food, in the old world and the new. As much as possible, Diner allows her subjects to speak for themselves: while she includes observations by settlement house workers or others who interacted with immigrants in various capacities, she draws extensively from oral histories, fiction, drama, photos, diaries, newspapers, travel accounts, and letters produced by Italian, Irish, and Jewish immigrants. Not surprisingly, much of Diner's evidence reflects the experiences of those who came to reside in big cities, particularly Chicago and New York, although she also includes examples of the experiences of those living in smaller communities across the nation.

Particularly fascinating is Diner's exploration of how immigrant food cultures evolved in North America. While the memory of food "at home" might be sacred, the actual diet of immigrants improved in America. Meat was no longer a special treat on the Sabbath for Jewish immigrants, but enjoyed during the week. Italians who could only rarely afford to drink coffee or eat cheese began to treat these former luxuries as necessities. White bread replaced the coarser rye or other darker loaves on immigrant tables. Regional differences in cuisine were often muted or transformed in the new country. For example, in Cleveland Italian men with different points of origin and different culinary traditions joined together in "pizza and sausage clubs", which celebrated a singular Italian cuisine, and thus a unified Italian identity. (70) Diner observes an "intra-Jewish food exchange" in New York. Eastern European Jews began to enjoy cold cuts sold by German Jewish delis and deemed these foods, which they had not enjoyed pre-migration, "traditionally Jewish." (201)

This is a book not necessarily about food itself, but the memory and meaning of food. On occasion the reader loses a sense of the chronology of the developments documented. Diner's "age of migration" spans a century, and in the space of two pages

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describing Italian food preparation she roams backwards and forwards in time, from 1917 to the 1890s, then to the 1940s and the 1930s. (78-79) This quality may be more suggestive of the continuities in ethnic food practices and the nature of Diner's sources (reminiscences about the food one enjoyed in childhood, for example, might be imprecise in terms of time) than any fault of the author. Overall, this rich treatment of immigrant foodways will be of value to scholars in immigration history in particular, and more casual readers interested in American culture and urban life during this period will find much to digest.

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Solomonson, Katherine. *The Chicago Tribune Tower Competition: Skyscraper Design and Cultural Change in the 1920*s. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Pp. xiii, 370. Illustrations, bibliography, index.

In June 1922, the Chicago Tribune co-opted the closing convention banquet of the American Institute of Architects with news of its own: the announcement of an international competition for the design of the "world's most beautiful office building" for the headquarters of the Tribune, the self-proclaimed "World's Greatest Newspaper." \$100,000 in prizes were at stake for a building intended to combine "artistic nobility and business effectiveness." Two hundred and sixty-three architects from around the world entered the competition, including ten well-known American firms invited by the Tribune, which also paid for their submissions. The *Tribune* milked the project for news throughout the competition period and up to the completion of the winning design by Americans John Mead Howells and Raymond Hood. Critics and historians would go on to debate the results for generations beyond the close of entries, and the competition would become one of the best-known mileposts of the history of modern architecture. Katherine Solomonson's book is the first monograph on the Tribune competition, offering both a complete recounting of the story of the architectural competition and a full biography of the resulting building.

The competition began in a circulation war with William Randolph Hearst's *Herald and Examiner*. The *Tribune* co-editors (and co-publishers) were Robert McCormick and James Patterson, first cousins and members of the paper's controlling family. Both were educated at Yale, shared a Progressive-era sense of noblesse oblige, and both returned to Chicago to become active in city and state politics. The *Tribune* imagined its readership as equally noble-minded and aspiring; its architectural competition broke with a cycle of lotteries and giveaways by the competing papers to create a circulation gimmick that appealed not to greed but rather to the reader's sense of civic pride and cultural ambition. In support, the *Tribune* ran an extensive series of features during the competition to give its readers a crash course in architectural history.

Solomonson establishes the situation of the competition in terms of the civic, cultural and commercial thought and motivations of its period. In the aftermath of the World War I, the Tribune and others saw the infusion of "high culture" aspirations as a means to create cultural unity among workers and immigrants and to counter the threat of socialism. This effort encompassed the Chicago Plan, an offshoot of the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition and the City Beautiful movement. The Plan's supporters saw it as a kind of "architectural eugenics," a parallel of efforts to assimilate and improve immigrants through the "100-percent Americanism" of the melting pot. The Tribune also brought popular culture to bear on high culture, seeking suggestions from readers on the appearance of its new building. "The Tribune thus developed a variety of strategies to produce an image of its role in an imagined community whose ideals the new building would represent."

Solomonson's archival work changes our understanding of the historic record. While the competition was open and international, and entries from Germany were particularly encouraged, we learn the work of the competition jury was all but finished before most of the foreign entries arrived in Chicago. Of the twelve entries set aside as finalists in the first cut, all were American and six were from invited competitors. Drama came just three days prior to the announcement of the winners, when "an eleventhhour entry from Europe caused a sensation." This was the entry of Eliel Saarinen of Finland, the eventual second-place design and the only non-American prizewinner. The chair of the jury, architect Alfred Granger, assessed the outcome: "One gratifying result of this world competition has been to establish the superiority of American design." Solomonson shows that this outcome was a result not of design merit, but of the timing of the jury process.

The mainstream of American architecture expressed satisfaction with the results, viewing Howells and Hood's Gothic tower with its lantern and flying buttress crown as an expression of the best aspirations of American business and building culture. The Tribune Tower design aligned itself with the tradition of the 1893 World's Fair and the riotous styles of New York skyscrapers, while offering a new clarity of vertically oriented expression that would give rise to a modest crop of Gothic skyscrapers.

Louis Sullivan, godfather of Chicago-School architecture, led the minority dissent, seeing in the Gothic tower a decadent feudal style inappropriate to democracy. He characterized Howells and Hood as men "governed by ideas", while championing Saarinen as a "master of ideas" whose design confronted the reality of the tall office building. In a notable example of quotation out of context, when the Tribune published an album of competition entries, carefully placed ellipses allowed Sullivan's diatribe to stand in apparent praise of the results. Chicago architect Irving K. Pond saw the American entries as "gripped in the stranglehold of conventional forms," asking, "Is there no American as American in his feelings as the man from Finland appears to be?" Saarinen's design was to be more influential in later years than was the winner's. The stepped shaft leading to its integral crown, expressed with neither cornice nor surface decoration to detract from the vertical thrust, became an archetypal skyscra-