

NYFOODSTORY

The Journal of the Culinary Historians of New York

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Eating the Big Apple: Foodways and metropolitan growth in 19th-century New York City

By Cindy R. Lobel

"EVERYTHING IS DONE DIFFERENTLY IN NEW YORK FROM ANYWHERE ELSE — but in eating the difference is more striking than in any other branch of human economy," opined New York journalist George Foster.¹ This assessment could easily apply to New York City today, with its rich and diverse culture of food and eating. And yet Foster wrote not in 2012, but in 1849, when New York was just developing its image as a food city. Gotham's role as a gastronomic capital has become a truism, so much so that it is easy to imagine that New York was born with a *Zagat* guide and a greengrocer on every corner. Yet New York's food culture has a history just as its growth into a metropolis has a history. In fact, the two developments are inextricably linked; New York

became a food city when it became a metropolis.

Indeed, foodways played an important role in shaping metropolitan growth in

the 19th century. This interplay occurred in several areas; this article will examine three of them. First, as the city grew geographically and demographically in the first half of the century, it became a commuter city. A new institution — the restaurant — helped make commuting more feasible and contributed to the continued pace of the workday in

Gotham's commercial districts. Second, ethnic groceries, restaurants and other food businesses played a central role in immigrant neighborhoods and the shaping of the ethnic city, as New York solidified its role as an immigrant entrepot. Moreover, immigrant food shops and restaurants both contributed to and signified Gotham's growing cosmopolitanism as it became not only the largest but the most diverse and global city in the United States. Finally, New York's emergence as the nation's commercial, financial

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"Oyster stands in Fulton Market," a wood engraving by A. R. Waud that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in October 1870.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

Prohibition in the liquor center of America

By Andrew F. Smith

IT WAS SNOWING IN NEW YORK ON JANUARY 16, 1920, but a large crowd congregated outside Gold's liquor store on Broadway and 42nd Street. It stocked the best brandies, vintage wines and spirits in Manhattan — some said the best in the world. Gold had removed all of his inventory and placed it in wicker baskets on the street — all bottles were sold for \$1 apiece.¹ All over the city New Yorkers were drinking, and the city's bars and saloons were filled to capacity. At midnight, toasts were raised as the provisions of the Volstead Act went into effect; the manufacture, sale and importation of alcoholic beverages became illegal throughout the United States.

Few New Yorkers ever thought Prohi-

bition would become the law of the land, but the movement to abolish alcohol in America had been gaining support throughout the nation since the late 19th century. Five states had adopted prohibition legislation before 1900, as had many counties and cities. In 1907, Georgia became the first state to enact complete prohibition, and five other states did likewise during the following two years. Cities and counties in upstate New York supported prohibition, but New York City was strongly opposed. Liquor was an important business in the city; an 1897 survey of Manhattan found a ratio of one liquor distributor to every 208 residents.² Saloons were also an important base of support for Tammany Hall's political machine that had controlled city government from 1854. continued on page twelve ►

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Culinary Historians of New York (CHNY) was founded in 1985 to stimulate and share knowledge of the ways food has affected humans (and humans, food) since earliest times.

Members of CHNY include chefs, cooking teachers, historians, anthropologists, food writers, food editors, food stylists, researchers, librarians, caterers, collectors, nutritionists and individuals who enjoy learning about cooking and eating good food.

SUBMISSIONS

NYFoodStory accepts proposals for articles on the culinary history of New York. Send proposals of no more than 100 words to Editor-in-Chief Joy Santlofer at joy.santlofer@gmail.com by November 15, 2012.

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A letter from the CHNY Chair

Cathy Kaufman

Welcome to the inaugural issue of *NYFoodStory, The Journal of the Culinary Historians of New York*. Under the marvelous guidance of Editor-in-Chief Joy Santlofer and Managing Editor Karen Berman, *NYFoodStory* will be published annually and will investigate issues in culinary culture especially relevant to New York.

The goal of *NYFoodStory* (pronounced to rhyme with the second syllable in "history") is to make a unique, focused and significant contribution to culinary history and food studies, with New York as its template. New York overflows with thoughtful scholars, both independent and with institutional affiliations, some of the country's leading culinary schools, two extraordinary culinary collections at major libraries, as well as the country's, if not the world's, liveliest restaurant and market scene. A New York-centric publication is long overdue and, we anticipate, will be welcomed by all folks who think deeply about food, its history and culture.

Although the annual *NYFoodStory* now replaces the semiannual *CHNY Newsletter*, I warmly thank Helen Brody, its indefatigable editor, for years of diligent service and for laying the foundation for the level of scholarship that CHNY members have come expect in our publications. I will miss the pleasure of working with Helen, whose judgment and discerning eye made every newsletter a substantive and visual delight, but we are in excellent hands with Joy and Karen. For those of you who will miss the semiannual Newsletter, including its woefully but unavoidably dated Member News section, please take advantage of our monthly Member News E-blasts. There you can learn about a broad range of activities, events and general goings-on, in close to real time, and toot your own horn! Please share your news, whether it be a speaking engagement, publication, blog launch, award, trip, or personal milestone such as a birth, marriage, graduation or anything else, to nurture a vibrant, connected CHNY community.

Enough about the future and on to CHNY's accomplishments of the past year: CHNY was honored by the Julia Child Foundation for Gastronomy and the Culinary Arts with an extraordinarily generous award in support of the CHNY Scholar's Grant, allowing us to award a total of \$5,000 in research funds. We had a record 23 applica-

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A letter from the Editor

Joy Santlofer

The CHNY publication has sharpened its focus. Beginning with this premier issue, *NYFoodStory, The Journal of the Culinary Historians of New York*, will deal exclusively with the history of food in New York City – and what a rich and fascinating subject it is. While people in every town, region, or country think their food is special – and New Yorkers are no exception – our city has a long, plentiful and varied culinary past. It has been evolving for hundreds of years with shifting trends in restaurants, changing dining etiquette, cutting-edge shops and innovative foods, not to mention its multitude of ever-changing ethnic markets.

In this issue, Cindy Lobel's fascinating article touches on several of those points as she explores how changing 19th-century foodways contributed New York's rise as the world's commercial center and an "empire of gastronomy." New Yorkers have continually adapted their eating patterns to accommodate their changing lifestyles, and she beautifully illustrates how the city's geographic growth affected the way people shopped for food, created new eating places so that "commuters" in the larger city could work harder and longer and the ways diverse new communities added variety to this mix, all setting the stage for the cosmopolitan restaurant scene we now take for granted.

New Yorkers have often had unique ways of dealing with challenging situations and Andrew Smith's absorbing piece describes how the city's drinkers changed their habits during Prohibition. This metropolis has long been filled with people who have written about food, and Anne Mendelson offers a charming profile of Thomas F. De Voe, a remarkable 19th-century character who wrote an account of the history of the city's markets. Of the myriad unusual places to eat, Betty Fussell lovingly reminisces about one

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To market, to market: A profile of Thomas F. De Voe

By Anne Mendelson

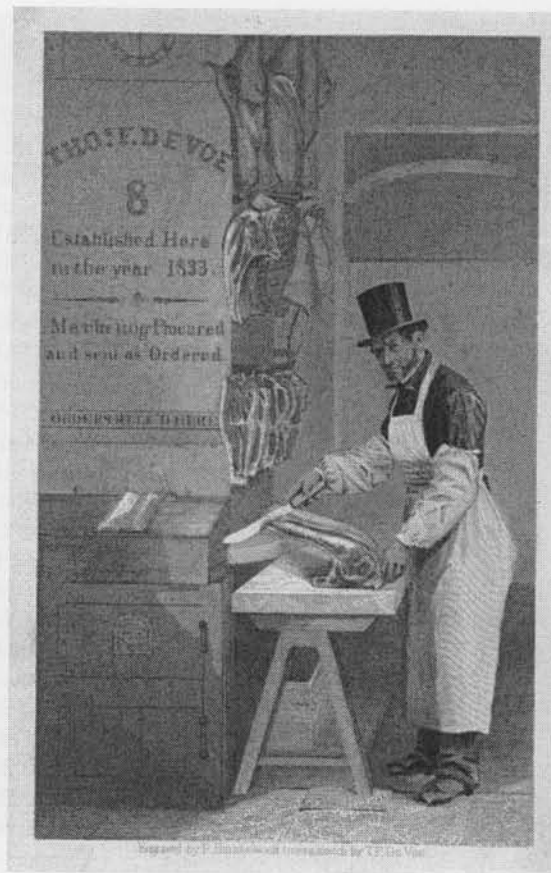
IN MID-19TH-CENTURY GREENWICH VILLAGE, better known then as the Ninth Ward of Manhattan, there lived a born schmoozer. His name was Thomas Farrington De Voe, and he knew half the town through his work as a master butcher at the Jefferson Market and most of the rest through his second calling as a colonel of the state militia. At some point in middle age, during the early 1850s, he was seized by an urge "to improve, or at least to inform myself, even at this late date." The place he chose to start doing it was the New-York Historical Society at Washington Square.

De Voe (1811–1892) had never gotten beyond the three R's, and to the end of his life navigated English grammar by hope rather than dead reckoning. He cut a notable figure in Ninth Ward circles and militia affairs, but was keenly aware of "the faults, or rather the neglect, of education." Instead of laughing in his face, the librarian of the Society, George H. Moore, steered him to stashes of old newspapers and Common Council records. The forty-something colonel's initial idea was to investigate some military subject. But with Moore's encouragement he found his way to the story of what he really knew best: the New York markets and the foods they sold. His first work, *The Market Book* (1862), chronicles more than 40 Manhattan markets from early Colonial times to the eve of the Civil War. The second, *The Market Assistant* (1867), is a buyer's guide to anything purchasable at the markets, from kohlrabi to Christmas greens.

Both books were written with the unspoken assumption, perfectly intelligible to De Voe's readers, that the public markets were the lifeblood of the community. Already there were signs of another order to come. But in the 1860s the markets were still dominant. Physically, they were big lots, usually roofed

over like vast, labyrinthine sheds, in which vendors at individual stalls sold food (generally perishable) and some other articles directly to the public. Most food-sellers were small independent farmers or self-employed artisans; many came to Manhattan by ferry from Long Island or New Jersey. Wholesale jobbers and "fore-stallers" (those who cornered a vendor's whole stock and sold it at a markup outside the normal market machinery) were gaining ground. But many city-dwellers had never bought perishable food at a retail store – even a butcher shop – occupying fixed private premises. Their idea of food-buying was to sally out to the noisy, hectic live theaters that were the markets and sniff, eyeball and question what they found at the stall of Mrs. X or Mr. Y. Fixed-premise retail establishments called "groceries" did exist, but they chiefly sold nonperishable items like coffee, sugar and spices, though some stores also dealt in semi-illicit liquor-by-the-glass sales under cover of the "grocery" name.

De Voe had been part of the market scene since boyhood and thrived on the freewheeling, often useful companionships it engendered. (Newspaper accounts describe his Ninth Ward neighbor General Winfield Scott, who as a perfectionist epicure, did his own marketing, daily parking his mighty bulk on a stool reserved for his use at Jefferson Market, to talk politics and military doings with the "erect and stalwart" colonel at Stall No. 8.) Not unreasonably, he considered butchers the crowning glory of the system. They were a somewhat different case than the other vendors, for their stock had to arrive on its own four feet, either off-loaded from cattle ferries or herded by drovers southward through the Manhattan streets from King's Bridge at Spuyten Duyvil. Butchers like De Voe had their own slaughterhouses, for stock procured from particular farmers. These "Old Burgher Butchers," as a blurb for one of his books called them, were artisans who



A portrait of Thomas De Voe, from an engraving by Robert Hinshelwood that appeared as the frontispiece of De Voe's *The Market Assistant*, containing a brief description of every human food sold in the public markets of the cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn (1867).

literally understood meat on the hoof and proudly vouched for the quality of their offerings from farm to market-stall counter. They stood at the top of the market pecking order, their peculiar dignity being denoted by the black top hats that they wore at work.

For obvious hygienic reasons they were also the most stringently regulated of the New York market-sellers – which meant that they were the most regularly shaken down by a large and crooked bureaucracy. In De Voe's day, the markets (usually numbering 10 to 15) were a major source of municipal revenue and private boodle. The actual buildings were owned by the city, which sold individual leases to the vendors and supervised them under a system that De Voe later described as riddled with "black-mailing abuse" and "plundering rascality."

Both *The Market Book* and *The Market Assistant* vigorously convey the perspective of the 1860s market vendors. For all their frustrations with graft artistry, they were proud of their untidy confraternity and its glorious mission. They knew that

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Anne Mendelson is a culinary historian and author of *Stand Facing the Stove: The Story of the Women who Gave America the Joy of Cooking and Milk: The Surprising Story of Milk through the Ages.*

Marion Nestle on why Hippocrates was right

By Susan Yager



MARION NESTLE'S BOOK, *Why Calories Count: From Science to Politics*, has a simple message. She and co-author Malden Nesheim say that when it comes to weight gain or loss, calories do indeed count, and they count in other ways as well.

Unfortunately, the concept of the calorie – a measure of the energy derived from food – can be both abstract and confusing. Calories are, after all, odorless, tasteless and invisible. In 1944, a Gallup poll revealed that 84 percent of Americans didn't know the difference between a calorie and a vitamin, and it is doubtful many could give an adequate definition today. However, we were a reasonably slim population in 1944, and we remained so until about 30 years ago, when the obesity epidemic began to escalate.

Dr. Nestle, who is the Paulette Goddard Professor of Nutrition, Food Studies, and Public Health at New York University's Steinhardt School of Culture, Education and Human Development, which she chaired from 1988 through 2003, has written five other best-selling books on food and nutrition. In *Why Calories Count*, she examines calories not just from the point of view of a nutritionist, but from that of a food historian. It offers a fascinat-

Susan Yager is the author of The Hundred Year Diet. America's Voracious Appetite for Losing Weight.

ing look at the evolution of nutrition science over the centuries.

I discussed the mystery – and the history – of the calorie recently with Dr. Nestle, and also asked her about how to make better food choices in what has become a “toxic,” “eat more” environment. (By the way, a calorie is the amount of energy required to raise the temperature of one gram of water one degree Celsius).

SY: Why, as scientists, did you and Malden Nesheim decide to write a book devoted to calories?

MN: When my then-editor at University of California Press suggested the idea, I knew right away that I wanted to do it. The most important worldwide problems in public health nutrition result from habitual eating of too few or too many calories. A billion or so people in the world are overweight and another billion don't have enough to eat to meet daily needs. Everybody you know is trying to cut calories. The diet industry is an enormous business. Calorie balance is hugely important from the standpoint of economics and public health. As I like to put it, eating less is bad for business.

I knew from teaching and giving public lectures that the concept of calories is hard for people to grasp. Morgan Spurlock proved that in [the 2004 documentary film] *Super Size Me!* when he asked random people on the street to define calories. Nobody could come close and even I had a hard time remembering the precise definition. Even the word “calories” causes trouble. The calories on food labels aren't really calories. They are kilocalories, an amount 1000 times larger. So the way the word sounds means one thing and another thing 1000 times bigger. I knew that explaining all this would not be easy so I asked my partner Mal Nesheim, chairman of the nutrition science division at Cornell for many years, to join me in this project.

SY: Your book begins with Hippocrates (~460 – 370 B.C.) and his ideas about food energy, and you say some of his observations are still “right on target.” Can you give an example or two?

MN: This was the first time I had ever looked at the writings of Hippocrates in any great detail. Fortunately, the NYU library has all the Loeb Classics and it was great fun to browse through them. “Hippocrates” really needs to go in quotation marks because the writings were done by multiple contemporaries and followers and translated, retranslated and mistranslated through the ages. But what survived is still fascinating. The ancients were just as worried about dieting as we are.

To me, Hippocrates reads like any one of today's self-proclaimed diet gurus. He informs you that he has all the answers and if you just do what he says, you won't have any problem with any aspect of health. Most of his advice sounds just like ours – balance diet with exercise. Hippocrates did not have a name for calories, as the word only came into use in the 18th century. But he was very interested in heat, which is what calories measure. In the book, we quote one of his most famous aphorisms: “Growing creatures have most innate heat, and it is for this reason that they need most food, deprived of which their body pines away.” He could see what happened when people didn't have enough food. They got sick and died. He also could see that food and activity had opposite effects, but you needed both to be healthy. And what he wrote about the food needs of people of different ages – growing bodies need more – also holds up. These astute observations explain why he is considered the progenitor of medical science.

SY: What beliefs of his did not hold up well?

MN: Hippocrates had some funny ideas about the relative nutritional value of different foods and these sometimes seem hit or miss. Here he is on cheese, for example: “Cheese is strong, heating, nourishing, and binding ... it is nourishing because the fleshy part of the milk remains in it; it is heating because it is fat.” Not bad. But then he viewed turnips as indigestible (Okay, I know lots of people who would agree with that).

But his most egregious error had to do with how to feed people when they got sick. He advised withholding food and “emptying the veins.” Galen, five hundred or so years later, says this means you should starve the sick, which we now understand to be something that will make them worse. Physicians of the time took the statement literally and used bloodletting as routine medical practice. For the next thousand years, the ideas of Hippocrates and Galen went unchallenged and bloodletting continued to be practiced well into the 19th century. For most people, bloodletting was a death sentence from infection as well as nutritional depletion. I can't think of anything worse to do to someone who is ill.

SY: Hippocrates' views, along with those of his translator and disciple Galen (~A.D. 130 – 200) dominated until the 18th century, which is fascinating. What allowed new ideas to finally be embraced, and what were they?

MN: For more than a thousand years, science and medicine came to a virtual

standstill for reasons of religious dogma, wars, poverty and pestilence. With the Renaissance, cities grew, food supplies increased and the accomplishments of antiquity were rediscovered. Sanctiorius of Padua (1561 – 1636) gets credit for recording the first measurements of food intake and weight. You have to love the guy. He weighed everything he ate and drank and excreted in urine and feces and his body and did this every day for about 30 years.

The French aristocrat Lavoisier (1743 – 1794) was the first modern calorie scientist. He used a calorimeter to prove that the amount of heat released by the burning of food in that device is the same as the amount released by food in the body. He would have done a lot more but he was guillotined during the French Revolution. Even so, by the end of the late 19th century, just about everything we now know about calories had been discovered.

SY: Why did you dedicate your book to Wilbur Olin Atwater?

MN: Atwater [1844 – 1907] did so much of the discovering. He measured the calories in thousands of foods and alcohol, the number consumed by men and women of different ages and activity levels, the amounts lost in digestion and excretion, the amounts used at rest and during activities of varying intensity and the total number required on a daily basis. He was a meticulous scientist, a prodigious researcher, careful about interpretation and prolific in publication. We were stunned by the quality and quantity of his work and how well so much of it holds up a century later. Despite many attempts to revise his work, you still see Atwater values – 4 calories per gram for protein and carbohydrate and 9 per gram for fat – on food labels.

SY: Atwater's calorie charts made the energy value of foods readily quantifiable, theoretically enabling gustatory pleasure and the new science of nutrition to combine. What was the result?

MN: Atwater was totally focused on science and measurement and genuinely curious about calories in food and in the body. How food tasted was not part of his scientific investigations. He was mainly interested in quantity, although he noted the poor quality of diets consumed by the poor. Although he was the most famous scientist in America at the time, his work had no immediate practical application and I doubt it had much effect on food

choices at the time. It is still unclear whether dietary advice has much impact on individuals.

SY: Wasn't an unintended consequence of the Atwater charts the beginnings of the diet industry, as physicians like John Harvey Kellogg instructed the wealthy, and Lulu Hunt Peters the middle class, on how to count their calories in order to eat fewer of them?

MN: It was, but that doesn't mean anyone listened much. Kellogg ran the spa at Battle Creek and pushed whole grains and fiber. In 1918, Lulu Peters, a doctor in California, wrote an adorable book illustrated by her 12-year-old nephew, *Diet and Health with Key to the Calories*, whose title clearly derives from Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Science bible, *Science and Health*

with Key to the Scriptures. Peters' book was a phenomenal best seller at the time and I can easily understand why. She was an entertaining writer, sympathetic to people who had trouble managing weight and eminently sensible. Also, she told people they could eat anything they liked as long as they counted calories (shades of Weight Watchers).

SY: In the late 19th century, Dr. Atwater noted that Americans consumed too

much sugar and fat-laden meats and didn't get enough exercise. However, we were really doing quite well balancing our energy intake and expenditure until the early 1980s, when we headed toward becoming what we are now – the fattest country in the developed world. Why?

MN: We eat more now, for sure. It's less certain whether we are moving less. Atwater knew about proteins, fats, carbohydrates and mineral matter in food. (Vitamins were not identified until after his death.) He was concerned about the lack of dietary balance because people didn't have a huge surplus or variety of food. Deficiencies of vitamins and minerals were common up through the Second World War. After that, the transportation system improved and allowed better distribution of foods across the country.

But the big changes came in with deregulation – of agriculture in the 1970s and Wall Street and food marketing in the early 1980s. Shifts in farm policy encouraged greater food production, leading to large food surpluses. Wall Street gave up on blue chip stocks and insisted on higher immediate profits and quarterly growth. This was tough on food companies. They had to grow profits in an environment that

already provided a large surplus of food. To do this, they changed society to make it socially acceptable to eat everywhere, at any time of day or night, and in huge amounts.

Before the 1980s, food portions were much smaller. People didn't have to count calories because they were not eating so much. Our book reproduces a poster from the National Archives of a chart produced by USDA home economists in 1930. It illustrates 100-calorie portions of commonly consumed foods on what must have been 5-inch plates. Portions have gotten so much bigger that a poster like this today would have to show fractions of food portions: one-third of a small hamburger, one-fifth of a bagel, or just two Oreo cookies.

SY: You refer to calories from alcohol as "secret calories." What did you mean by that?

MN: Nobody ever thinks that beer, wine and hard liquor have calories but they do – seven per gram – almost as many as fat. And those calories work just like any other calories in the body unless you have liver disease. But how would you know? Alcoholic beverages do not have Nutrition Facts labels. I think they should.

SY: On a recommendation in *Why Calories Count* I went to a website and measured my basal metabolic rate. (<http://www.bmi-calculator.net/bmr-calculator/>) I need only about 1,100 calories a day to support my basic metabolic functions. I wish it were more. Is there anything I can do?

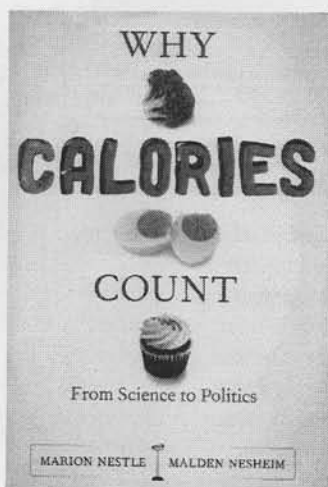
MN: The biggest dirty trick of getting older is that your metabolism slows down and you can't eat as much without gaining weight. All you can do is work it off in physical activity. But that's not so easy. I like to use the example of a 20-ounce soda. It takes three miles of walking to work that off.

SY: You have written a good deal about the politics of the food industry and how an "eat more" environment has been created that is difficult for many people to resist. If you could change just one thing tomorrow, what would it be?

MN: Smaller portions! If I could convey one concept to everybody, it's that larger portions have more calories. I know that sounds ridiculous but researchers have proven that it's not intuitively obvious. Everybody confronted with large portions eats more and underestimates how much they are eating. I wish restaurants would make it easier and cheaper for us to eat less.

SY: What's the take-home conclusion of your book?

MN: We have a mantra of sorts: Get organized. Eat less. Eat better. Move more. Get political. It's not enough to eat smaller portions. Healthy diets mean eating better as well. And unless we change the food environment to make it easier to make healthful choices, obesity will remain a problem. ☺



MEMBER SPOTLIGHT

Behind the scenes at the Waldorf, the Plaza and other famous kitchens, as told by the chef who was in charge

By Karen Berman

WHEN ARNO SCHMIDT ARRIVED IN NEW YORK IN 1959, he never dreamed that he would eventually head the kitchens of not one, but several of the city's most renowned hotels; when he stepped off the Greyhound bus from Toronto, he just wanted a job.



Chef Arno Schmidt in the kitchen of the Waldorf Astoria.

His resume already included stints in hotel kitchens in his native Austria, in Sweden, Switzerland and the Netherlands, at the Shannon Airport in Ireland, at a catering company in Bogotá, Colombia and finally, in Toronto. Once in the city, he headed to the Vatel Club, the French chef's association, where he was directed to a job at the St. Regis Hotel. Over the next 10 years, he would move on to executive chef positions at the Sheraton Motor Inn and the Regency Hotel and head culinary instruction at the Culinary Institute of America during its infancy in New Haven. Then, in 1969, Schmidt was recruited to head the kitchens at the Waldorf Astoria, which he did to great acclaim for 10 years. Executive chef jobs at the Harley and the

Plaza followed, after which he opened his own consulting company.

Schmidt chronicles all of this in his memoir, *Peeking Behind the Wallpaper: The Life of a Chef: Forty Years of Kitchen Lore and Quirky Stories from Three Continents*. Schmidt is the author of 11 previous books, including *Notes from a Chef's Kitchen*, about his Waldorf days. For this book, as he explained to me when we met recently, he decided to do the whole thing himself; he wrote, edited, designed and published the book on his own. Writing in a homespun style that often echoes the cadences of his native German, Schmidt has produced a book that is part memoir, part restaurant management manual, part kitchen text and part meditation on the evolution of food and culture over the past sixty years. In it, he touches on everything from how to pluck a chicken to the tensions between the accounting office and the kitchen; from the many ways to garnish an omelet to the rise of women chefs; from the misuse of the word "smorgasbord" to the staff hierarchies and territorial imperatives in a large hotel kitchen.

The book is full of stories that will make the reader chuckle. One example: Schmidt recalls the days when *terrapi* – turtle – was a popular menu item in elegant restaurants, and tells the story of one particularly plucky individual: "The poor creatures were purchased live and delivered in bushel baskets. The baskets had to be tightly closed because the creatures would climb out and waddle silently under tables and refrigerators. One terrapin found its way from the basement kitchen to the 19th floor in the freight elevator and was spotted in a guest corridor, terribly frightening one guest and two maids. Security was called to hold the beast at bay with a broom until my assistant, Rosario, arrived, grabbed it, and wrapped it

Peeking Behind the Wallpaper

The gilded age of hotel dining
The life of a chef
40 years of kitchen lore and quirky stories
from three continents



Irreplaceable menus from 1947 to 1984
Including Bicentennial The Waldorf-Astoria
Menus
Plaza Hotel historic menus and Photographs
by
Arno Schmidt

in his apron."

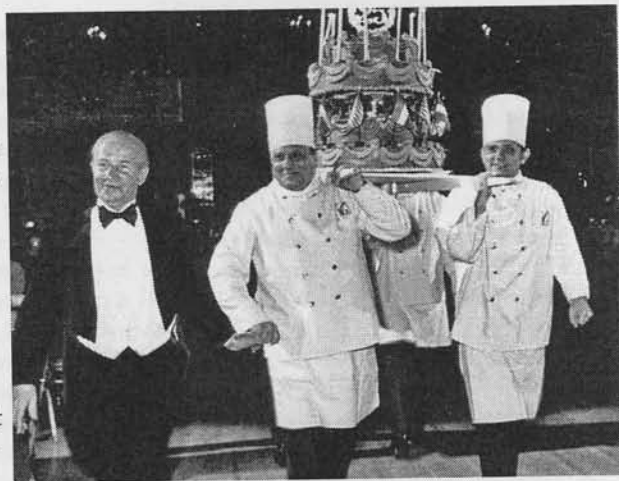
In his kitchen office "behind the wallpaper," Schmidt had an unmatched seat from which to witness the onward march of food and manners.

When he was at the St. Regis in the early '60s, he writes, many hotels including his maintained "Russian kitchens," that served up borscht and blini and other Russian favorites to members of the aristocracy-in-exile who navigated the city hoping to make a match with a prosper-

ous American dazzled by a title.

At that time, he told me, "the American palate was not yet exposed to the huge ethnic market available today." But that changed soon enough.

Succeeding decades brought seismic changes to American gastronomy. Nouvelle cuisine and the rebellion against traditional

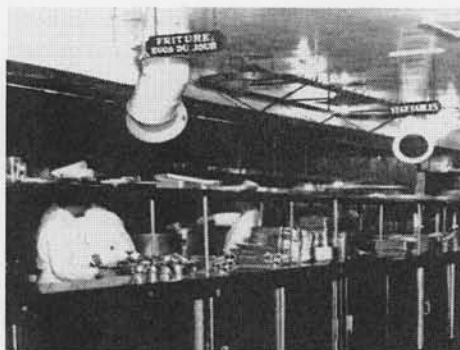


Waiters at the Waldorf had to be nimble.

haute cookery was one; the influx of previously unheard of cuisines was another. "Some had to do with our wars," said Schmidt, noting that American GIs came home with a taste for Vietnamese food. Eating salad – not just as starter, but as a main course – was yet another innovation that came with the general awareness of healthful eating.

"Today," said Schmidt, we have a better educated clientele and better educated culinarians."

Karen Berman is a writer and editor who specializes in food. She is the author of five books, including *North American Indian Traditions and Ceremonies* and most recently, *Easy-Peasy Recipes: Snacks and Treats to Make and Eat*.



The Waldorf kitchen

Peeking Behind the Wallpaper is generously larded with photographs, menus and other ephemera that Schmidt collected during his career – a trove for students of New York's food history. When I asked him how he was able to keep all of these mementos, especially in his early years when he moved from job to job and country to country so often, he answered simply: "In a suitcase." But that answer is only a partial one: even as he was working 12-hour days, the amateur his-



The cover of a menu for a luncheon with the queen at the Waldorf.

torian in him was working, too. As he said just minutes into our first meeting, "I'm steeped in history. I grew up in Salzburg, Austria. The building I grew up in was an historic building. I grew up in the new wing, which was built in 1630."

Perhaps it was this background that rendered Schmidt unflappable as history sat down to eat into the dining rooms he managed. "Just about every king, queen, president, prime minister and movie star had dinner at the Waldorf," he told me matter-of-factly over tea in a midtown café. "In my time," he said, "the hotel employees were dedicated. They were completely apolitical. Whether they cooked chicken for the queen or the president, they didn't care. We did our jobs."

Schmidt did more than that; he observed it all, filed it away and now, he has shared it with us. ☺

A letter from the Chair continued from page two

tions, with proposals coming in from as far away as Israel and China, with a wonderful mix of academics and independent scholars. Applicants ranged from students to well-established authors. It was truly an embarrassment of riches. The five-person scholarship reviewing committee selected India Mandelkern, a PhD candidate in Late Modern European History at UC Berkeley, for her proposal investigating mid-

Although the annual *NYFoodStory* now replaces the semiannual *CHNY Newsletter*, I warmly thank Helen Brody, its indefatigable editor, for years of diligent service and for laying the foundation for the level of scholarship that *CHNY* members have come expect in our publications.

18th-century English culinary identity as manifested through the untapped archives of an eating society, *The Thursday Club call'd the Royal Philosophers*, for a \$3,500 stipend. A subsidiary award of \$1,500 was made to Professor Larry H. Spruill of Morehouse College in Atlanta for his work on the life and recipes of Rebecca Turner, an emancipated slave who cooked at Guion Tavern in Eastchester, New York, in the 19th century. We cannot thank the Julia Child Foundation enough for its generous support, which was key to the dramatic growth of the scholarship program this year.

CHNY's other major accomplishment was of the recording (of most – we had a few technical glitches) of our programs for podcasting. The programs will soon be available via iTunes on your Apple devices or PC; for those who wish to listen on Android devices, there are apps that can sync up iTunes with the Android software, available through a Google search. Creating an archive of our wonderful programs, to be shared with those who cannot attend meetings for various reasons, is vital to fulfilling *CHNY's* mission to educate, in serious yet entertaining ways, about the culture of food and drink. ☺

A letter from the Editor continued from page two

of her favorites, the *Frying Pan*. Additionally, our members' books have always added to the city's culinary riches. This issue includes interviews with two of our authors, by two of our members: Marion Nestle, with Susan Yager, and former Waldorf Astoria chef Arno Schmidt, with Karen Berman – as they share their thoughts and discuss their new work.

The articles in this issue are just the tip of the iceberg. Each year the journal will delve into unexamined corners of New York's culinary past, as much of our city's food history has yet to be written, and *NYFoodStory* intends to be the place where this wealth of information can be published. *CHNY* members receive the journal as a benefit of membership, but as the only publication specializing in New York culinary history, it will be of value to a broader audience, anyone interested in the culture of food.

I would like to thank the authors who contributed these wonderful articles to this inaugural issue. They took a leap of faith with me that we could fill the journal with articles about New York – and could we ever! My sincere appreciation goes to the Board of Directors of *CHNY*; they stood behind the journal as costs rose and allowed us to print the articles as written. And finally, a heartfelt "thank you" to Managing Editor Karen Berman; this endeavor would never have seen the light of day without her steady hand guiding me in our joint venture to create this first issue.

For submissions for next year's issue, which will be published in September 2013, please send a proposal of no more than 100 words to joy.santlofer@gmail.com by November 15, 2012. ☺

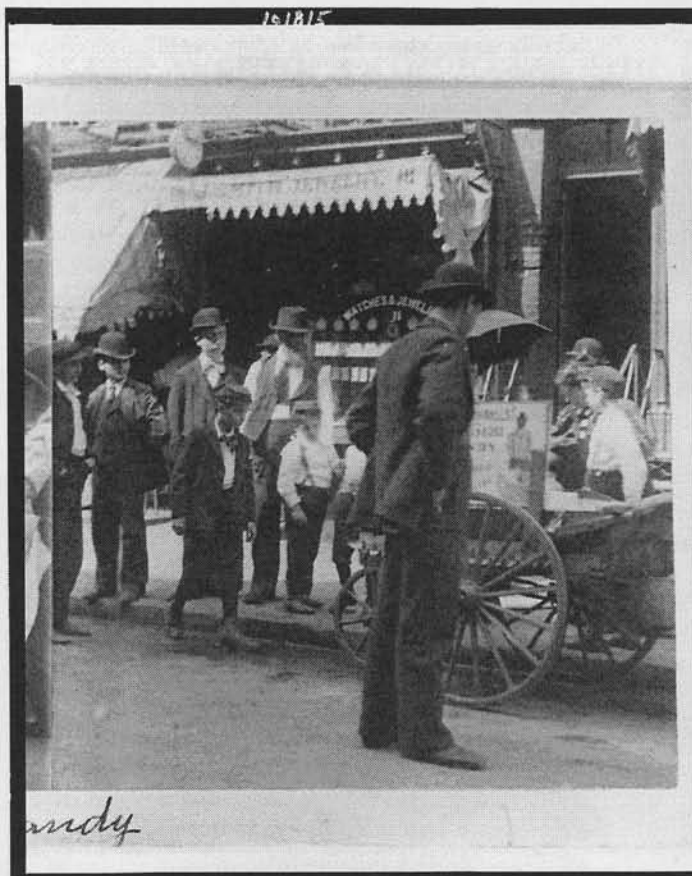
Each year the journal will delve into unexamined corners of New York's culinary past, as much of our city's food history has yet to be written, and *NYFoodStory* intends to be the place where this wealth of information can be published.

and industrial center involved not only stocks, bonds and shirtwaists, but also an important food manufacturing, processing and wholesaling sector.

Food thus serves not just as an important lens on but also as a contributor to many of the developments that attended the city's rise in the 19th century, from its geographic spread to Gotham's position as the nation's commercial center and the most cosmopolitan city in the world. Studying changing foodways in New York then, contextualizes the growth of the metropolis itself.

Over the course of the 19th century, New York City transformed from a small seaport to a major metropolis. Its population doubled every decade, growing from just over 60,000 in 1800 to more than 1.5 million in 1890. Thanks to new forms of transportation, New York also expanded geographically. From a walking city clustered within a mile of Manhattan's southern tip, it developed into a commuter city that stretched above 125th Street and drew the surrounding region into its orbit. As it grew larger, the city grew more physically stratified, separated into industrial, commercial and residential neighborhoods, which were strongly segmented by social class.

With the growth and stratification of the city, a new urban figure was born: the commuter who lived an omnibus, trolley or ferry ride away from his work. In the 19th century, most of these commuters had white-collar jobs, working in merchants' counting houses, lawyers' offices, insurance and shipping companies and other concerns related to the commercial city. Unlike today's Manhattanites, most 19th-century New Yorkers did not want to live near the commercial



Alfred S. Campbell's stereograph of a pushcart selling candy on Hester Street in New York, circa 1896.

action of the city, but rather, in leafy districts on its edges. The emergence of the commuting city occurred as early as the 1830s, with the development of omnibuses. These horse-drawn carriages, with seats for 12 passengers plus standing room, allowed New Yorkers of means (who could afford the eight- to twelve-and-a-half cent fare) to live uptown and work downtown. Steam ferries and street railroads (pulled by horses below 27th street) followed close behind. By the 1870s, with the advent of the elevated train system, most New Yorkers could live in one part of the city and work in another.

These developments spurred significant changes to many New Yorkers' food procurement habits. For example, by mid-century, uptown New Yorkers were far less likely to shop in the public markets than their parents or even their downtown counterparts. Instead, they frequented new retail groceries and meat shops in their own neighborhoods. These private food shops came to replace the retail functions of the public market network, which had directly provisioned New Yorkers with fresh food since the

17th century.² Thus, the roots of the system that supplies today's New Yorkers emerged in the 19th century.

Equally dramatic was the impact of commuting and urban growth on New York's public dining sector. When New York became a commuting city it became a restaurant city. Prior to the 1820s, no freestanding eating houses (separate from taverns) existed in New York or any other city in the United States for that matter. Even in Paris, the birthplace of the modern restaurant, freestanding restaurants were new to the mid-18th century.³ Simply put, in New York, these businesses were not necessary because New Yorkers ate their meals at home.

But with the rise of commuting, the need for restaurants emerged. Savvy businessmen stepped quickly into the breach to offer midday meal service to hungry clerks, mer-

chants and laborers who now found themselves too far from home to return for the midday meal. The most famous of these businessmen were the Delmonico brothers, who turned their William Street pastry shop into a full-service restaurant in 1830 to cater to downtown businessmen, journalists and other professionals. From these modest beginnings emerged the pinnacle of New York and American fine dining.

Delmonico's fame reflected, in part, its uniqueness. By the mid-19th century, New York housed thousands of eating houses but only a very rarified few offered the dining experience of Delmonico's. More common, especially for downtown workers, were short-order houses that offered a (very!) quick meal to businessmen and clerks on the run. Among the most well known were Sweeney's and Crook & Pettit's. Unlike Delmonico's, which distinguished itself by its fine French food, subdued atmosphere and excellent service, the short-order houses were known for their frenzied pace, barebones atmosphere, disinterested waiters and substandard food. According to various observers'

Cindy R. Lobel is an Assistant Professor of History at Lehman College, CUNY. She is currently completing a book titled, The Appetite of the Metropolis: Food and Culture in Nineteenth-Century New York City.

accounts, the noise level was deafening, thanks to the "amazing clatter" of knives and forks and the waiters who "bawled out in a loud voice, to give notice of what fare was wanted." The pace involved an "extraordinary bustle," with "every one ... eating as fast as he could." Patrons swallowed their food "with a strange, savage earnestness, and in silence." One visitor described the rapid turnover: "We were not in the house above twenty minutes, but we sat out two sets of company at least."⁴

The food at the short-order restaurants was secondary to other factors – speed, convenience and cheapness. In fact, the cuisine was universally derided. George Foster found the "disgusting masses of stringy meat and tepid vegetables" inedible and *Harper's Weekly* described a short-order steak as a "black, elastic substance," and the accompanying potatoes as "a specie of vegetable putty."⁵ But these restaurants offered an important service to New Yorkers on the go. For sixpence, one could get a hearty if not entirely appetizing meal, eat it quickly and return to work in less than a half an hour.

For many downtown workers, eating out became a daily occurrence. In 1849, lawyer George Templeton Strong wistfully recalled the "fashion of former times," when one returned home to dine. Strong complained of "this ruinous business of lunching at Brown's and dining at Delmonico's and trespassing on my viscera in all sorts of ways." By the 1860s, the *Tribune* estimated that one-quarter of the 800 patrons at one Chatham Street eating house were "regular customers."⁶

These kinds of restaurants became important features of 19th-century New York. George Foster went so far as to credit the eating houses with "that continuous rush of commercial activity around her great business centres." And New York memoirist Abram Dayton opined: "Eating-houses ... may be alluded to collectively as one of the stepping-stones, which cropped out as, by degrees, primitive Gotham gave way to metropolitan New York."⁷

While most of the earliest restaurants catered to commuters, it did not take long for entrepreneurs to see other markets for New York restaurants. By the late 19th century, Gotham housed thousands of free-standing eating establish-

ments. They included short-order houses that continued to serve businessmen's lunches, as well as English chophouses, oyster cellars, first-class restaurants like Delmonico's, restaurants designed particularly to attract the ladies' trade, family restaurants that served a *table d'hôte* or prix fixe menu to middle-class indi-

Ethnic food shops and restaurants served multiple purposes in the lives of individual immigrants, the ethnic neighborhood and the larger city. To their proprietors they offered commercial opportunities, providing an entrepreneurial wedge into the economy of New York. ... As for their customers, ethnic groceries and restaurants offered provisions and a taste of home, and catered to their emotional, social and economic needs.

viduals and families seeking to dine out and a growing number of ethnic restaurants that catered both to foreign- and native-born New Yorkers.

In fact, this last group – New York's ethnic restaurants, along with immigrant food shops and other food-related businesses – played a role both in shaping and reflecting the city's growing cosmopolitanism in the second half of the 19th century. From its founding as New Amsterdam in the 17th century, New York had always distinguished itself as a polyglot city. But New York's diversity would explode in the 19th century as immigrants flooded to Manhattan from all over Europe and parts of Asia. At the beginning of the 19th century, about 10 percent of New Yorkers were born outside of the United States. By contrast, by the 1890s, about 80 percent of the city's population was composed of immigrants and their children.

Immigrants contributed to the food culture of New York in a variety of ways including food production, marketing and sales, as well as diversifying the restaurant offerings of Gotham. Immigrant groups also created a manufactur-

ing subsector that catered to the diverse population of the city and immigrant pockets throughout the United States. For example, as New York became the center of American Jewish life, its manufacturers founded the matzoh business in the United States. As early as 1859, nine New York Jewish bakeries were preparing matzoh for Passover and shipping it to Jewish communities around the country. Matzoh-making became a corporate concern when Hungarian-born Jacob Horowitz founded Horowitz Brothers and Margaretten in 1883. Competitors such as Strumpf soon followed. Most immigrant food businesses, though, were considerably more local. Engaging in what today we would call small-batch production, immigrant women turned part of their kitchens into tiny factories creating domestic versions of imported foods like pasta. In some cases, immigrant women operated rudimentary catering services in their homes, selling meals, baked goods and other specialties from their tenement kitchens.⁸

Some immigrant entrepreneurs took these activities a step farther, opening restaurants, cafes and other food businesses in their neighborhoods. In the second half of the 19th century, immigrant-owned food businesses were linchpins in the city's many ethnic neighborhoods. At midcentury, German immigrants dominated many of New York's food trades including butchering, dairying, groceries and bakeries. *Klein-deutschland*, or Little Germany, located on the East Side between Houston and 14th Streets, housed a high concentration of food businesses, including, on some of its most crowded blocks, a bakery in every third cellar. Likewise, in the 1890s, the Jewish Lower East Side alone had hundreds of food businesses catering to local customers, including 140 groceries, 131 kosher butchers, 36 bakeries and 10 delicatessens. Immigrant groceries and food shops offered local produce and goods, as well as foods from home like German brown bread and sausages, Italian macaroni and bologna and Chinese teas, herbs and shark's fin soup.⁹

Some immigrant food businesses were considerably more mobile than the brick-and-mortar groceries, bakeries and delicatessens around the city. Thanks to

continued on page fifteen ►

LUNCH: New York Style

The New York Public Library looks back on the city's midday meals

By Irene Sax

LUNCH IS FAST; IT'S CHEAP; IT'S OFTEN PORTABLE AND USUALLY EATEN AROUND NOON. I thought that said it all until I visited "Lunch Hour NYC," the fascinating and deeply informative exhibit at the Stephen A. Schwartzman Building – the 42nd Street branch – of the New York Public Library.

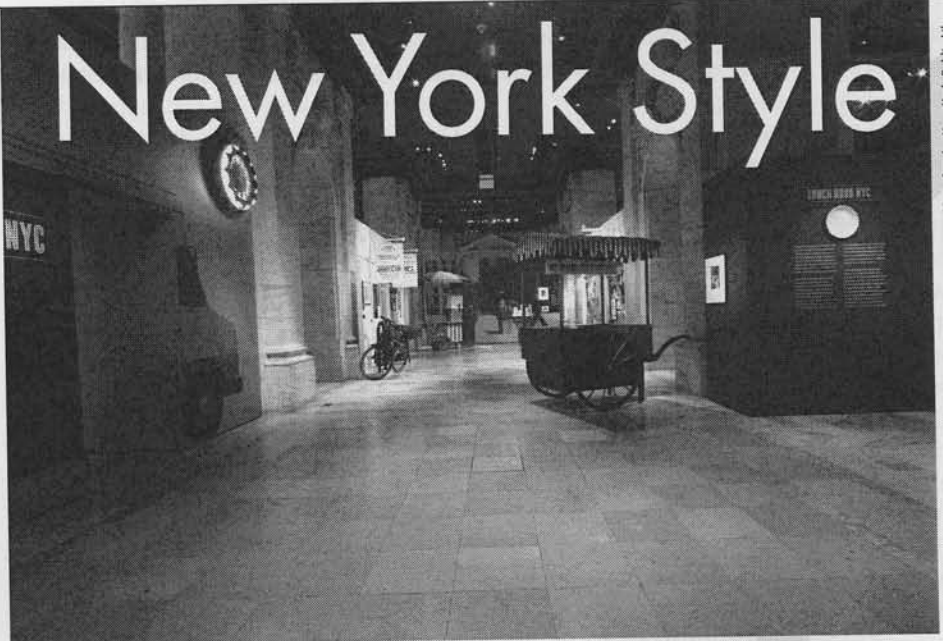


The menu from the famed Delmonico's, 1899.

Curated by culinary historian and CHNY member Laura Shapiro and Rebecca Federman, NYPL's culinary-collections librarian, the free show runs until February 17, 2013, and I hope it will travel after that, because it's just too smart and too lively to disappear.

Smart in its assertion that lunch is the ultimate New York meal, one that used the city's obsession with speed and com-

After many years of writing about food in New York newspapers, Irene Sax now teaches "Food Writing" at New York University.



The entry hall that greets visitors to "Lunch Hour NYC," the New York Public Library's examination of the history of the midday meal. The show was curated by CHNY member Laura Shapiro and Rebecca Federman, culinary collections librarian, and is housed at the library's Stephen A. Schwartzman Building (the 42nd Street branch). The free exhibit will run through February 17, 2013.

merce to turn what was a traditional mid-day dinner into a brisk half-hour feed. And smart in its awareness that this diverse city enjoys not only quick lunches from carts, cafeterias, pizzerias and delis, but charity lunches (school meals began in Hell's Kitchen in 1908), power lunches from the Algonquin to the Four Seasons and salad-and-cottage cheese lunches for women obeying a magazine article headlined, "Nice People Don't Eat."

It's lively with things to look at – from a wall of cartoon-bright lunchboxes to a reconstructed Automat wall – and to laugh at, such as The Pizza Principle, which claims that since 1960 the cost of a slice and a subway ride have been nearly the same, or the derivation of "hot dog" from "hot" for popular and "dog" for the animals that urban legend said were ground up in them.

But for me, the most intriguing part of the show was a computer screen near the door. The library is in the process of digitizing its roughly 45,000 restaurant menus, and wants us to help. All it takes is a home computer and as much time as you feel like giving. Start by calling up menus.nypl.org. Then follow the instructions to access one of the historic menus. Click on a dish, and type in the name and the price that you see. It's easy. It's almost mindless, although you may be surprised, for example, that in 1898 caviar cost 40¢. It's also addictive, in the way of crossword puzzles and Sudoku. But who cares? You're helping to advance scholarship, one 40¢ serving of caviar at a time.

I left the show after an hour, stimulated, refreshed and thinking about – what else? – lunch. ☺



A group of boys eating at P.S. 40. Photo by Jessie Tarbox Beals. Silver gelatin print, 1919.



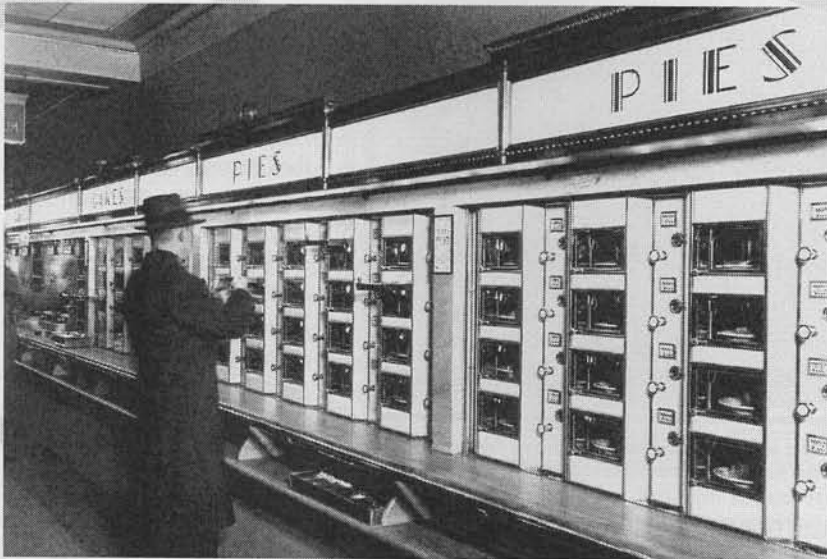
New York Public Library, the Miriam and Ira D. Wollach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs.

A hot dog stand at West Street and North Moore, Manhattan. Photo by Berenice Abbott. Gelatin silver print, 1936.



New York Public Library, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division.

A lunch venue with a deli counter. Silver gelatin print, 1942.



New York Public Library, the Miriam and Ira D. Wollach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs.

An automat on Eighth Avenue, Manhattan. Photo by Berenice Abbott taken at 977 Eighth Avenue. Gelatin silver print, 1936.



New York Public Library, Picture Collection.

A clam peddler on Mulberry Bend. Reproduction of a ca. 1904 photograph.

Haim's
Quick Lunch Restaurant,
358 BOWERY. NEW YORK.
31 Dec. 1906

BILL OF FARE.

EGGS, OMELETS, ETC.	
Two Fried Eggs with Coffee or Tea.....10	Plain Omelet with Coffee or Tea.....10
Two Boiled Eggs with Coffee or Tea.....10	Ham Omelet with Coffee or Tea.....18
Two Scrambled Eggs with Coffee or Tea.....10	
DAIRY DISHES.	
Eggs, Butter and Coffee...5	Crackers and Milk...5
Oatmeal and Milk.....5	Milk Toast.....10
Porridge, Malt Vine or Power.....5	
SANDWICHES.	
Ham, Malt Vine or Power.....5	Salmon Roll.....5
GRIDDLE CAKES AND TOAST.	
Whent Cakes with Maple Syrup.....5	
" " Coffee.....5	
DESSERT.	
Home Made Pie of all kinds.....5 cents.	
Rice Pudding.....5	Tapioca Bread Pudding...5
COFFEE, TEA, ETC.	
Coffee or Tea.....5	Ice Cold Glass of Milk...2 & 5
Cocoa.....8	

NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR PERSONAL PROPERTY UNLESS CHECKED BY THE MANAGER.

The menu from Haim's Quick-Lunch Restaurant, 1906.

New York Public Library, Rare Book Division.

With strong support from upstate lawmakers, the New York State Legislature had tried to restrict drinking. In 1896, it passed the Raines Law, which banned the sale of liquor on Sunday. The law did have a loophole — alcohol could be sold with a meal in a hotel with more than 10 rooms. Within months, hundreds of “Raines” hotels were in operation. Other drinking establishments also opened on Sunday and the authorities usually ignored them, provided they were circumspect. A survey of Manhattan and Bronx saloons in 1908 found that 5,000 of the 5,820 legal saloons illegally served alcohol on Sunday.³ This should have given prohibition advocates some advance warning of problems to come, but little attention was paid to enforcement issues.

The Anti-Saloon League, the main national lobbying group for prohibition, considered New York City to be the “liquor center of America.” It frequently cited statistics that every week New Yorkers consumed 75,000 quarts of gin, 76,000 quarts of brandy, 100,000 quarts of Champagne and wine, 498,000 quarts of whiskey, 33 million quarts of domestic beer and ale, and 300,000 quarts of assorted other alcoholic beverages.⁴ As the city had only 4.7 million residents, it was clear that New Yorkers were selling and consuming a great deal of alcohol.

When Prohibition went into effect, alcohol consumption sharply decreased. Saloons disappeared for good. Public drunkenness sharply declined, and hospitals dealt with many fewer medical problems associated with the consumption of alcohol. Yet New Yorkers still could acquire alcohol throughout Prohibition. The main alcohol distributor became the

illegal speakeasy, which was usually located in dark and poorly ventilated basements or back rooms. Customers achieved admittance only after proper scrutiny by guards posted at the doors with peepholes. Speakeasies catered mainly to the middle class. The liquor served at speakeasies cost more than before, and it was notoriously bad.⁵

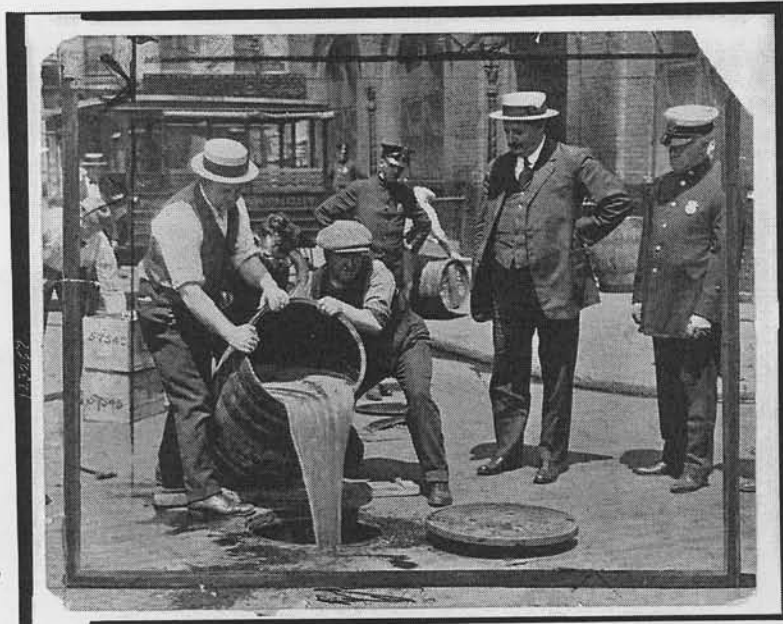
Prior to Prohibition, saloons, bars and other drinking establishments served beverages purchased from commercial breweries, distilleries and vint-

Amendment had given concurrent enforcement power to the federal and state governments, but the federal government hired only 1,500 enforcement agents nationally, and of these, only 129 were assigned to New York City.⁷ Local and state law enforcement officials were not always supportive of Prohibition, and many agencies lacked the trained manpower to enforce it or to deal with the organized crime culture that emerged.

New York law enforcement officials were particularly lax in carrying out the provisions of the Volstead Act. To support the federal agents, the New York State Legislature passed the Mullan-Gage Act on April 5, 1921, which made violations of the Volstead Act also violations of state law. It required state and local police to enforce the federal law. According to Samuel Hopkins Adams, a writer for *Collier's*, “Restaurants, private houses, blind tigers, and the hip pocket of the casual wayfarer were raided with a disconcerting impartiality. A baby carriage, even, was held up and found to harbor a bottle which did not contain milk.” During the first two months after the law went

into effect, 4,000 New Yorkers were arrested for violating the law; however, fewer than 500 were indicted and only six were convicted and none received jail terms.⁸ The failure of the Mullan-Gage Act encouraged the rise of speakeasies. By 1922, there were an estimated 5,000 speakeasies in New York City alone. When Al Smith, an ardent opponent of Prohibition, became governor in 1923, the bill was repealed. From that time on, city police generally declined to arrest anyone, provided liquor distributors and drinkers did not flaunt their activities.

Wealthier New Yorkers never felt that the Volstead Act was intended for them anyway, and members of the upper class did not have a problem securing whatever beverages they wanted throughout Prohibition. Over time, the urban middle class also gained access to



New York City Deputy Police Commissioner John A. Leach watches as agents pour liquor into the sewer, the results of a raid during Prohibition. (Photo circa 1921).

ners whose practices were regulated by the federal Food and Drug Administration and similar state and local agencies. The alcohol served in speakeasies, however, was usually made by amateurs; it occasionally contained poisons and usually tasted terrible. Imported alcohol was available, but only at extremely high prices, and a lot of what was sold as imports was actually domestic bootleg liquor poured into fancy bottles with fake labels. Customers never knew where their drinks came from or what they contained. In one year alone, the deaths of 625 New Yorkers were directly attributable to ingesting poisoned alcohol and another 1,295 died from alcohol-related causes.⁶

The major flaw in Prohibition was enforcement. Only \$4.75 million was allocated for Prohibition enforcement by the federal government. The 18th

Andrew F. Smith teaches culinary and beverage history at the New School. He is the author or editor of 23 books, including Drinking History, scheduled for publication by Columbia University Press in the fall.

alcohol through speakeasies and other channels. It was only the working class that suffered the most during Prohibition. Their main drink was inexpensive beer and it was almost unobtainable during Prohibition; it was too difficult to brew, transport and sell. Distilled spirits were more readily available in most cities, and the business was more lucrative, but these alcoholic beverages were much more costly than pre-Prohibition prices and unaffordable for the working class.

By contrast, demand for distilled liquor was high among the middle class, and production went into high gear as tens of thousands of illegal stills began manufacturing hard liquor for anyone who wanted it. Small distributors frequently expanded their production to supply the needs of nearby cities.⁹ This is when organized crime stepped in to centralize the manufacture, distribution and retail sale of liquor. Wealth and power flowed to the crime syndicates. As federal agents were paid \$1,800 per year, and New York policemen even less, they could make a small fortune by accepting bribes, and many did. Liquor manufacturers and distributors also bribed judges and other city leaders and corruption was rampant.¹⁰

Newspapers, magazines, radio programs and newsreels in movie theaters kept Americans abreast of the latest murders, violence, arrests and corruption associated with illegal alcohol. Prohibition lost support nationally, especially among America's elite. Industrialists who had once supported Prohibition now opposed it, as did many political leaders.

In 1929 the New York City police commissioner estimated that the city had 32,000 speakeasies, twice the number of legal and illegal establishments that served alcohol prior to Prohibition.¹¹ Others said that the commissioner's estimate was actually way too low – that there were at least 100,000 speakeasies in the city. Mabel Willebrandt, the U.S. assistant attorney general responsible for prosecuting violations of the Volstead Act, commented on the lawlessness in New York's speakeasies: "It cannot truthfully be said that prohibition enforcement has failed in New York. It has not yet been attempted."¹²

As enforcement efforts failed across the nation, Congress stepped in and passed the Jones Act, which greatly

Despite growing opposition to the Volstead Act, the widespread disregard for its provisions and the associated violent crime and corruption, the 18th Amendment might not have been repealed had it not been for the Great Depression.

increased the penalties for violating the Volstead Act. The first conviction was now deemed a felony, and increased the maximum penalty to five years imprisonment and a fine of \$10,000. Even with harsh provisions, enforcement did not work. It was estimated in 1930 that alcohol consumption in America was about the same as before Prohibition. In 1931, the Wichersham Commission told Congress that enforcement had broken down.

The Jones Act alienated many prominent Americans, and opposition to Prohibition strengthened even further. In 1929 Pauline Sabin, a wealthy and politically well-connected New York socialite who occasionally offered and drank cocktails, formed the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform. In less than a year, it had more than 100,000 members; by 1931, its membership reached 300,000; by November 1932, it was more than 1.1 million.¹³

Despite growing opposition to the Volstead Act, the widespread disregard for its provisions and the associated violent crime and corruption, the 18th Amendment might not have been repealed had it not been for the Great Depression. Republicans had strongly associated themselves with Prohibition, while many Democrats, especially those who were Irish, Italian, Jewish, Catholic and German, strongly opposed it. When the stock market crashed in 1929 and the economic system collapsed, the Republicans, who had controlled Congress since 1919 and the presidency since 1921, were blamed. In November 1932, President Herbert Hoover lost his reelection bid and the Democrats swept

into power with large majorities in both houses of Congress. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, formerly the governor of New York, pledged to get the economy moving again.

At the time, federal coffers were empty. With almost 25 percent of the American workforce unemployed, income tax revenue was down. Roosevelt and his allies presented repeal as a means of generating revenue. Reinstating the excise tax on the sale of liquor was thus one argument for ending Prohibition. Others argued that repeal would re-launch industries that had once employed hundreds of thousands of Americans. Still others believed that repeal would help put an end to the burgeoning crime generated by the illegal production and sale of alcohol. On February 20, 1933, the U.S. Congress proposed and approved the 21st Amendment to the Constitution, which repealed Prohibition. The amendment was ratified by the last of the required number of states on December 5, 1933. The "noble experiment," as it was called, was over. Throughout the country, countless toasts were raised to repeal.

¹ Harry Golden, *The Right Time: an Autobiography* (Putnam, 1969), 125.

² Luc Sante, *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1991), 105.

³ Michael A. Lerner, *Dry Manhattan: Prohibition in New York City* (Harvard University Press, 2007), 25.

⁴ Ernest Hurst Cherrington, comp., *The Anti-saloon League Year Book: an Encyclopedia of Facts and Figures Dealing with the Liquor Traffic and the Temperance Reform* (The League, 1913), 174.

⁵ Samuel Hopkins Adams, "On Sale Everywhere," *Collier's* July 16, 1921, 8; Courtenay C. Weeks, "Alcoholism and Prohibition in New York," *The British Medical Journal* July 11, 1936, 100.

⁶ Lerner, 260.

⁷ Lerner, 65.

⁸ Adams, 23.

⁹ David W. Maurer, *Kentucky Moonshine* (University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 85.

¹⁰ Richard J. Hooker, *A History of Food and Drink in America* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1981), 342; Edward Behr, *Prohibition: Thirteen Years That Changed America* (Arcade Pub., 1996), 87, 147.

¹¹ Andrew Sinclair, *Era of Excess: A Social History of the Prohibition Movement* (Harper & Row, 1964), 230.

¹² John Kobler, *Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (Da Capo Press, 1993), 224; Edward Behr, *Prohibition: Thirteen Years That Changed America* (Arcade Pub., 1996), 87; Mabel Walker Willebrandt, *The Inside of Prohibition* (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1929), 170.

¹³ David E. Kyvig, "Women Against Prohibition," *American Quarterly* Autumn 1976, 465-482. ☞

they were contributing something irreplaceable to the Whitmanesque democracy of New York street life, something not to be even feebly imitated by the retail shopkeepers whom they saw starting to encroach on the perishable-food trades. For De Voe and his fellows, these people with their "meat-shops" and other non-market outlets represented a threat to the fabric of the city.

Of his two tributes to the institution, *The Market Book* probably is the more laborious reading. De Voe's method as a historian was to go to the Historical Society, cover literally thousands of pages with energetic, angular longhand notes on "curious and remarkable incidents," and disgorge them into print with innocent enthusiasm. In the first book he piled together excerpts from municipal ordinances and commission reports, list after list of accredited market butchers, petitions to the Board of Aldermen, American and English newspaper articles on anything remotely food-oriented and even the occasional family shaggy-dog story. (The famous "sawing-off Manhattan" hoax, a purported effort to keep the heavily populated island from sinking by strategic amputations and transplants of overbuilt and emptier parts, is related at length as the brainchild of a De Voe uncle in the butchering line at the Centre Market on Grand Street.)

It must be said that all this was an organizer's nightmare and that De Voe was no organizer. But he certainly had the gift of the gab and a love of his fellow citizens. *The Market Book* was roughly mapped out as a dual history of Manhattan and of its markets from New Amsterdam to the present, arranged market by market in the chronological order of their founding. It irrepressibly communicated De Voe's sense of the markets as a crystallization of New York humanity, good and bad.

His nose led him to such Old New York moments as marketplace floggings, or Cornelius Peterson's 1638 affirmation that he had bought a hog from Ann Jackson for "so much of purpled cloath as was sufficient for a petticoat." He related touching stories of well-known market characters — his old master from apprentice days asking young Thomas to help care for a stricken friend in one of the city's terrible cholera epidemics; the

elderly Mary Simpson (said to have been a freed slave of George Washington's) getting market-butchers' leavings to feed both people and abandoned cats during other such disasters. He told of the ferry mishaps that sellers risked in getting to and from market; the turf wars between stall-holders; the impromptu dance contests that slaves from New Jersey and Long Island used to get up at the Catharine Market; the luckily temporary loss of a customer one

It must be said that
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frozen winter when the Spring Street market men were encamped in tents on river ice thinner than they thought ("Jerry, there is a man gone down your cellar!" someone announced at the door of Jeremiah Butman's tent).

De Voe had meant to follow up *The Market Book* with a companion volume on the markets of Boston, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn (then an independent city in Kings County). For some reason he turned instead to an account of the actual foods sold at the New York markets, and produced the one truly illuminating book on the raw materials of American cooking in his lifetime.

The Market Assistant is as unpredictable in its course as *The Market Book*. The main sections are devoted to the usual butchers' meats of the day (with illustrations of cuts), four-footed game, poultry, wild waterfowl and other feathered game, and fish (meaning anything from smelts to snapping turtles); there are briefer accounts of vegetables and herbs, fruits and anything else that might have been left out. (Articles then left to the grocery trade, such as tea and flour, are not included.) Once more De Voe strewed the path of description with whatever incidents and anecdotes caught his eye, from whopper fish stories and reports of record-sized pumpkins to newspaper and other accounts of

odd experiences with the hunttable or eatable (e.g., an Arctic traveler trying to eat whale sinews).

Because the contents are well indexed and provided with boldface headings, the book is a little easier to find one's way around in than its predecessor. But it's probably most rewarding just to follow the flow of De Voe's unedited fancy. He had the knack of making a reader want to go looking for adventure via shopping basket, and he cared passionately (not to say indignantly) about anything that frustrated the pursuit of happiness at market. Turning over the household marketing to servant-cooks was in his opinion an invitation to be taken advantage of. *The Market Assistant* was at least partly meant to help purchasers hold their own against sellers who "bespatter their articles with a dozen falsehoods" ("Elegant!" — "Beautiful!" — "Splendid!" — "Can't be beat!"). The main principle was to get first-hand practice at noting "the looks, smell, feeling, and many signs that are almost indescribable" in food displayed for sale.

De Voe did not try to provide a written substitute for such experience, though here and there he pointed out signs of quality. But he clearly brought to his descriptions a wealth of knowledge that a modern observer can only blink at. He not only had eaten game like raccoon or wild pigeon, but had gotten laryngitis on a cold, interminable comedy-of-errors hunt for the former "away from the United States, in the dominions of New Jersey," and had shot the latter by the well-known method of tying a "stool pigeon" to a small concealed platform, from which its hapless flappings attracted passing flocks.

He could relate how the landlord of a Pearl Street porterhouse (beer-tavern), just out of beefsteaks for broiling, had had the bright idea of cutting steaks from a roasting-joint that he happened to have on hand. He gave a brief account of kosher butchering principles. He knew that the first sweet corn started reaching the New York markets from Charleston around June 1, and that the quality of almonds was finest when the new crop came in at the beginning of winter. He reported that bear meat for roasts and steaks was "found in our large markets in the late fall or winter months,

and in some years in great plenty."

He described eggs in oatmeal packing being shipped to New York "by thousands of barrels, containing almost a thousand in each," from the Midwest. He pointed out how the growth of the city had pushed the suppliers of once-cheap produce out into the hinterlands, "which increased the distances from the general marts, whilst greater facilities to bring these products of the earth to market became paramount" and drove up prices. He even threw in a couple of recipes – one for fish chowder (the classic layered kind with potatoes and pilot crackers) and another for a Jersey Dutch dish called "rolliches" or "rolletjes," consisting of square pieces of beef tripe rolled jelly-roll style around strips of sirloin, poached, and preserved in a vinegared broth.

De Voe might have gone on to write other books about American food in general and meat in particular. But at least two works on which he had compiled more than enough notes for books (Volume II of *The Market Book* and a history of livestock breeds in America) were sidetracked by other priorities. After 1870 he gave up his butchering business (perhaps because new Board of Health zoning restrictions had closed down his slaughterhouse at Sixth Avenue and 19th Street) and agreed to serve as Superintendent of Markets (1871 – 1876) under a comptroller who shared his view that the city had done a very bad job of regulating them. He resumed the same position (combined with that of chief collector of revenues) in 1881 and left it in 1884, when he was 73 and apparently not in the best of health. After that he turned his energies to a genealogy of the diversely spelled "De Veaux" family and busied himself at the New-York Historical Society, of which he was now a pillar.

At his death in 1892, the *New-York Daily Tribune*, describing him as "essentially a Ninth Warder of the old American type," presciently remarked that the library of research material he had collected (now at the Historical Society) "will be a valuable gold mine for the future historian." This would also prove to be true of the two market books. They distill a lifetime's experience of people, food and New York into remarkably useful and compact form, and they are the next best thing to walking into Stall No. 8 at the Jefferson Market and being treated by a top-hatted butcher to a lesson in the gentle art of ear-bending. ☺

Foodways and metropolitan growth in 19th-century New York

continued from page nine



Washington Market, New York – Thanksgiving time. Wood engraving, circa 1872.

immigrant peddlers, pushcarts – which had offered foodstuffs and other consumer items to New Yorkers since the 17th century – became particular symbols of immigrant life in the late 19th century. Huge pushcart markets formed in immigrant neighborhoods like Hell's Kitchen and the Lower East Side. Colorful, vibrant and cheap, pushcarts and peddlers ensured that New York's Lower East Side could provide its residents with the cheapest groceries in the city and even the country. And they offered foods from home both to newly arrived and long-settled immigrants and ethnic New Yorkers. Itinerant immigrant vendors also traveled door-to-door in ethnic enclaves, offering specialized services to their neighbors. The *krauthobler*, for example, visited the homes of Kleindeutschland, shaving cabbage for the German housewives who turned it into sauerkraut.¹⁰

Ethnic food shops and restaurants served multiple purposes in the lives of individual immigrants, the ethnic neighborhood and the larger city. To their proprietors they offered commercial opportunities, providing an entrepreneurial wedge into the economy of New York. For certain immigrant shop owners, these businesses were some of the only entrepreneurial options available. For example, Chinese immigrants, who began to settle in New York in small numbers in the 1860s, found most job categories closed to them as a result of discriminatory hiring policies. Among the few exceptions were laundries, restaurants and groceries.¹¹

As for their customers, ethnic groceries and restaurants offered provisions and a taste of home, and catered to their emotional, social and economic needs. For example, Chinatown's groceries and Little Italy's cafes served as assimilation points for new arrivals, post offices, information centers and banks (loaning money to immigrants who couldn't borrow

from American banks). Immigrant food businesses also acted as regional aid societies, each grocery representing a particular county or region of the home country and serving the needs of immigrants from that region.¹²

Ethnic offerings also changed the character of New York's restaurant sector, creating a diverse dining culture that set New York apart and still characterizes the city today. "Every nationality that helps to make up the cosmopolitan character of New York has its own eating and drinking places," a New York City guidebook remarked in 1890. They included several Chinese restaurants, numerous "Hebrew restaurants ... on the East Side," along with "several Russian restaurants," some Polish, Spanish and Italian offerings and even "one cheap Japanese restaurant."¹³ At first, ethnic restaurants catered mainly to the immediate population in immigrant neighborhoods. With some exceptions, "foreign" restaurants were still too exotic in the late 19th century and native-born diners too culturally arrogant to cross "the boundaries of taste," as historian Donna Gabbaccia puts it, to truly opening their palates to foreign foods and preparations.¹⁴

Nonetheless, New York's restaurant culture *was* undeniably ethnicized in the second half of the 19th century, albeit in a hybridized fashion. As historian Andrew Haley describes it, late 19th-century middle-class diners "colonized" the foreign restaurant and foreign cuisine,

continued on next page ►

demanding and receiving hybrid dishes that were modified for native-born tastes. Describing uptown Italian restaurants in 1885, the *New York Times* remarked: "It is a curious fact that, as the quality of the guests and food improves, the national dishes disappear, and the Italian cook shows a stronger inclination to a hybrid cuisine than to the unadulterated and savory dishes of his mother land." Thus, some of the most popularly frequented restaurants in Gilded Age Gotham had foreign names and proprietors and served Americanized versions of German, French, Hungarian and Italian cuisine. These restaurants offered a *table d'hôte* format – a multicourse menu at a fixed price of between thirty cents and \$1.25 in the 1880s (\$7 to \$30 in today's money). The number of foreign tables d'hôte restaurants grew from about five establishments in the 1860s to more than two dozen in the 1880s. Among the best-known were Morello's, Martinelli's, Donovan's, Jacque's, Marinetti's and Moretti's," whose \$1 table d'hôte included "wine and capital macaroni."¹⁵

Then as now, journalists and New York boosters bragged that Manhattanites did not need to travel to foreign countries to experience the exotic and foreign. Rather, it was a walk or elevated train ride away. "Without leaving the city," noted journalist L. J. Vance, the Manhattanite could "breakfast in London, lunch in Berlin, dine in Paris and sup in Vienna." In Gotham, one "could dine differently four times a day for a week, and have each repast composed of foreign dishes, served by foreign waiters, and eat with foreign-born men and women as his convives."¹⁶

New York's cosmopolitanism transcended its restaurant offerings. And it went beyond its diverse population and immigrants' considerable contributions to its culinary culture. As it grew into a metropolis, New York became the distribution and wholesale food center for the nation and parts of the world. By the mid-19th century, Washington Market on Manhattan's lower West Side served as the city's central wholesale market, gathering food from the four corners of the globe and distributing it throughout the United States and abroad. Hundreds of ships and rail cars unloaded their cargo on the docks near the market,

bringing "meats raw and cured, cured fish, poultry and game, vegetables and fruit, both native and imported" to be sold at the market and neighboring wholesalers' warehouses. Wholesale food concerns concentrated elsewhere along lower Manhattan's waterfront. For example, by the 1880s, New York's famous oyster trade was conducted north of Washington Market, where 30 oyster barges parked permanently and received thousands of bushels of oysters daily. Meanwhile, Fulton Market on Manhattan's East Side handled the bulk of the city's wholesale fish trade, processing and selling fish from local waters, as well as from up and down the East Coast and the Great Lakes.¹⁷

New York's food processors and wholesalers also converged around Washington Market. Austin, Nichols, & Co., one of the most successful, operated out of a 10-story purpose-built building on Hudson and Jay Streets from 1879 forward. Its main competitor, Frances H. Leggett & Co., had a similar operation on nearby Murray Street. According to one account, Austin, Nichols' building was "one of the busiest sites in the commercial metropolis." In addition to carrying "the fullest line of fancy and staple goods," such as sugars, oils, coffees, teas, olives, extracts, syrups and spices, these large grocer wholesalers also processed and wholesaled food under their own private label. Wholesale concerns like Austin, Nichols made the lower West Side (today's Tribeca) a produce district. Many of the buildings that housed them still exist today, their factory and processing floors converted into luxury loft apartments, restaurants and boutiques.

By the end of the 19th century then, New York's food culture reflected and refracted many of the changes that city had gone through in the act of becoming the nation's metropolis. The foodways of New York highlighted the growth of the city from a small seaport to an international nexus, arguably the most cosmopolitan city in the world. From small beginnings in the early 1800s, New York had become the empire of gastronomy by the 1890s. New York gathered, processed and sold more foodstuffs and had more restaurants and a greater diversity of them than any other place in the country. The city's central position in the produc-

tion and distribution of food placed it at the center of the country's gastronomic culture, a position it holds to this day.

¹ George Foster, *New York in Slices; by an Experienced Carver, being the Original Slices Published in the New York Tribune* (W.F. Burgess, 1849), 67.

² The decline of the retail functions of the public markets and the rise of private, retail food shops was associated with much stronger connections among class, geography and quality of food supply than in the early national and Colonial periods. As New Yorkers relied on local shops rather than regulated public markets for their provisions, they found significant differences in terms of the quality of the shops and the food sold therein. In general, grocers and food retailers in wealthier neighborhoods offered higher-quality food in more sanitary settings than the tenement grocers whose main trade came from liquor sales and who sold notoriously substandard food.

³ On the Parisian restaurant, see Rebecca Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Harvard University Press, 2000).

⁴ "Of Dinners and Dining Places," *Harper's Weekly Magazine* (7 March 1857), 147; "Culinary Reform," *Memphis Daily Appeal*, 18 November 1865; Captain Basil Hall, *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh: Cadell and Co., 1829), 32-4. See also: "Our Restaurants," *New-York Tribune* 6 July 1868, 3.

⁵ Foster, *New York in Slices*, 67; "Of Dinners and Dining Places," *Harper's*, 147; "Culinary Reform," *Memphis Daily Appeal*; "Humanizing Influence of the Central Park," *New York Herald*, 2 October 1859, 4. Abram Dayton makes a similar assessment of the short-order houses in *Last Days of Knickerbocker Life in New York* (G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), 121.

⁶ Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1952) Vol. 1: 364; "The Eating-Saloons of New-York," *New-York Tribune*, 10 November 1866, 2.

⁷ Foster, 70-1; Dayton, 120-121.

⁸ Donna Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Harvard University Press, 2000), 68, 70; Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (1949. Reprint, Ira J. Friedman, Inc. 1965), 88.

⁹ Gabaccia, 64; Jane Ziegelman, 97 *Orchard: An Edible History of Five Immigrant Families in One Tenement* (Harper, 2011), 28.

¹⁰ Gabaccia, 74; Ziegelman, 25.

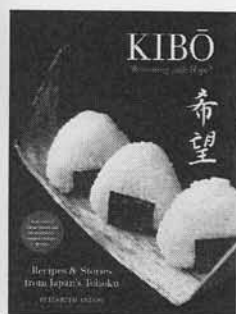
¹¹ Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The 19th-Century New York City Neighborhood that Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum* (The Free Press, 2001), 400-404; Wong Chin Foo, "The Chinese in New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 5:4 (June 1888), 300-303.

¹² On Chinese groceries see Foo, 300-303.

¹³ Moses King, *King's Handbook of New York City: An Outline History and Description of The American Metropolis* (Moses King, 1892), 213, 214-15; "Our Restaurants," *New-York Tribune*, 6 July 1868, 3;

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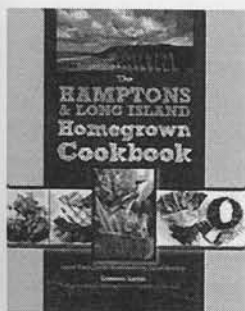
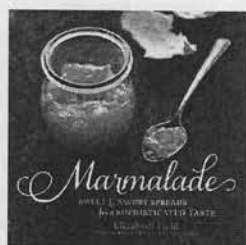
BOOKS BY CHNY MEMBERS, PUBLISHED IN 2012



KIBO (Brimming with Hope): Recipes & Stories from Japan's Tohoku (Ten Speed Press) by Elizabeth Andoh, is an e-original that is the author's culinary tribute to the Tohoku, the region devastated by earthquake, tsunami and nuclear accident in 2010. Tokyo-based Andoh defines KIBO as hope fused with determination and says the goal of her book is to celebrate, preserve and share with the world the food culture of

the region. A portion of the proceeds will be donated to Japan's recovery effort.

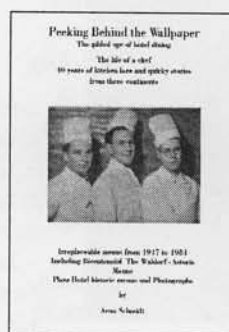
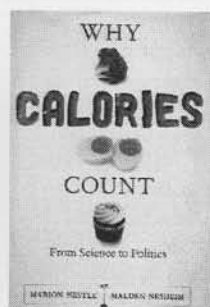
Marmalade: Sweet and Savory Spreads for a Sophisticated Taste, (Running Press) by Elizabeth Field. A compendium of recipes for homemade marmalades, as well as recipes for dishes that include marmalade as an ingredient, and for various breads that go well with marmalade. Field notes that the book represents 10 years of research in the U.S. and Britain, and it formed the basis of her dissertation for a master's degree in gastronomy from the University of Adelaide in Australia.



The Hamptons and Long Island Homegrown Cookbook (Voyageur Press) by Leeann Lavin tells the good-food stories of farmers who rise before the roosters to bring fresh produce, meats, and cheeses, honey and seafood to these local chefs and area farmers' markets. She profiles 27 pasture-to-plate chefs who kick off the day with an early trip to the markets and local growers and

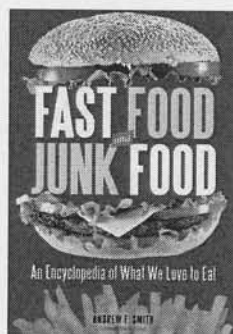
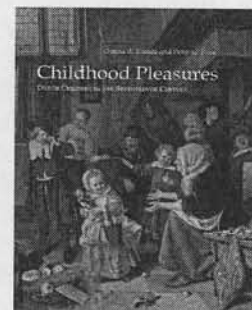
wrap it up in the wee hours of the night, after feeding appreciative diners. The food stories are lovingly told, exploring the work and passion of the chefs and the local food artisans, farmers and fisherman who together are dedicated to connecting to the land to produce menus that boast delicious homegrown flavors. The book offers a rare and intimate tour of the kitchens and gardens create local, seasonal food. The book is organized by region and presents more than 80 delicious recipes and stunning photographs of the iconic dishes, authentic and sustainable ingredients and the majestic land and seascapes that are the hallmarks of the area's food culture.

Why Calories Count: From Science to Politics (University of California Press) by Marion Nestle and Malden Nesheim was published in April. For a detailed account of the book's look at calories through history, see Susan Yager's interview with Nestle on page 4.



Peeking Behind the Wallpaper: The Life of a Chef: 40 Years of Kitchen Lore and Quirky Stories from Three Continents, by Arno Schmidt, is a memoir of the author's life as a chef. A profile of the book and its author appears on page 6.

Childhood Pleasures: Dutch Children in the Seventeenth Century (Syracuse University Press) by Peter G. Rose and Donna R. Barnes examines 17th-century Netherlands. The enormous legacy of this period of the Dutch republic, which artists, writers and poets celebrated as its Golden Age, has enriched all our lives. As historians search for a fuller understanding of its unique character, they continually return to the central role of the family. Children are an essential part of the story: how they were raised and taught, how they played and what they ate and drank offer fundamental insights. Through words and (almost 60) images, we learn that while some pleasures enjoyed by Dutch youngsters 400 years ago have changed, some have remained the same and are sources of fun and excitement for children today. A recipe chapter provides inspiration for adult/child cooking projects, preparing a taste of the past.



Fast Food and Junk Food: An Encyclopedia of the Food We Love to Eat (Greenwood/ABC-CLIO) by Andrew F. Smith. In the last half century, junk food and fast food have come to play an important role in American economic, historical, cultural and social life. Today, they have a major influence on what Americans eat – and how healthy we are (or aren't). *Fast Food and Junk Food*

tells the intriguing, fun and incredible stories behind the successes of these commercial food products, and documents the numerous health-related, environmental, cultural and politico-economic issues associated with them. With more than 700 alphabetically arranged entries, this two-volume encyclopedia contains enough listings to allow readers to research a wide range of fascinating topics. The author treats the massive amount of subject material within this reference title in a fair and balanced manner. A secondary focus of this encyclopedia is to chart the spread of some American fast food chains and commercially produced junk foods internationally.

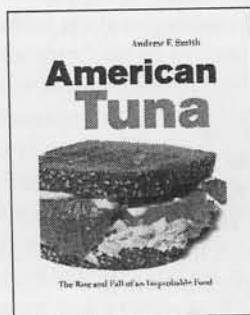
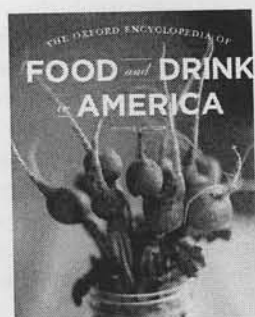
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Drinking History: Fifteen Turning Points in the Making of American Beverages (Columbia University Press), by Andrew F. Smith. The companion to Smith's *Eating History: Thirty Turning Points in the Making of American Cuisine* will be published in November. In it Smith recounts the individuals, ingredients, corporations, controversies and myriad events responsible for America's diverse and complex beverage

scene. He revisits the country's major historical moments: colonization, the American Revolution, the Whiskey Rebellion, the temperance movement, Prohibition and repeal, and he tracks the growth of the American beverage industry throughout the world. The result is an intoxicating encounter with an often overlooked aspect of American culture and global influence.

The Oxford Encyclopedia of Food and Drink in America, Second Edition (Oxford University Press), edited by Andrew F. Smith. The follow-up to the first (2004) edition will also be published in November. It covers the significant events, inventions and social movements that have shaped the way Americans view, prepare and consume food and drink. Entries range across historical periods and the trends that characterize them. This thoroughly updated new edition captures the shifting American perspective on food.

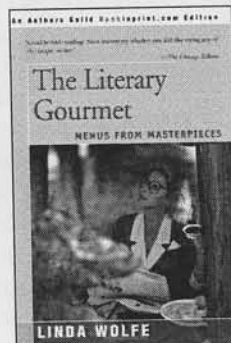


American Tuna: The Rise and Fall of an Improbable Food (Los Angeles: University of California Press) by Andrew F. Smith. In a lively account of the American tuna industry's fortunes and misfortunes over the past century, the food writer and scholar relates how tuna went from being sold primarily as a fertilizer to becoming the most commonly consumed fish in the

country. In *American Tuna*, the so-called "chicken of the sea" is both the subject and the backdrop for other facets of American history: U.S. foreign policy, immigration and environmental

politics and American dietary trends. Smith recounts how tuna became a popular low-cost high-protein food beginning in 1903, when the first can rolled off the assembly line. By 1918, skyrocketing sales made it one of America's most popular seafoods. In the decades that followed, the American tuna industry employed thousands, yet at mid-century production started to fade. Concerns about toxic levels of methylmercury, by-catch issues and over-harvesting all contributed to the demise of the industry today, when only three major canned tuna brands exist in the United States, all foreign owned. A remarkable cast of characters – fishermen, advertisers, immigrants, epicures and environmentalists, among many others – populate this fascinating chronicle of American tastes and the forces that influence them.

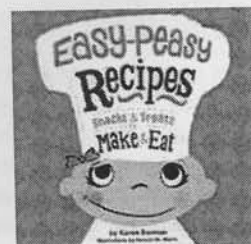
The Literary Gourmet (IUniverse), by Linda Wolfe. This classic work on food and literature by the former restaurant critic for *New York Magazine* has been brought back into print. First published in 1962, the book was singled out as a Notable Book of the Year by the *Herald Tribune* when it appeared, was lauded



by critics and reprinted numerous times in numerous editions until the 1990s, when it went out of print. A collection of literary scenes by some of the world's greatest authors who used food to reveal character or social conditions, *The Literary Gourmet* also provides recipes for recreating the dishes in these scenes that were derived from cookbooks contemporaneous with the authors, as well as commentary about the chefs whose cookbooks are discussed. The recipes were

tested in the kitchens of the acclaimed Four Seasons Restaurant, under the direction of food writer Mimi Sheraton.

Easy-Peasy Recipes: Snacks and Treats to Make and Eat (Running Press) by Karen Berman. This picturebook/cookbook features recipes that young children can manage with only minimal supervision – no sharp knives, no stoves and no ovens necessary. With charming illustrations by Doreen Marts. 🍌



Foodways and metropolitan growth in 19th-century New York continued from page sixteen

"The Restaurant System: Choice Cuisine at a Reasonable Price," *NY Times*, 24 May 1885, 3.

¹⁴Gabaccia, 97-121.

¹⁵Andrew Haley, *Turning the Tables: Restaurants and the Rise of the American Middle Class, 1880-1920* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 106-7; "Restaurant System," *Times*, 3; Appleton & Co., *Appleton's Dictionary of New York and its Vicinity*, 6th ed. (D. Appleton and Company, 1880), 181.

On Moretti's, see: "A Modern Boniface," *New-York Tribune*, 4 January 1880, 5.

¹⁶Vance, "NY Restaurant Life," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* January 1893, 102.

¹⁷Appleton, 236; G.T. Ferris, "How a Great City is Fed," *Harper's Weekly* 3:22 (March 22, 1890), 229-232; King, 70; City Intelligence, "New York Herald," 2 December 1848, 2; "Shell Fish, &c., from the North," *Daily Picayune*, 28 October 1854, 7; "The City's Oyster Market," *NY Times*, 10 September 1883, 2; Mark

Kurlansky, *The Big Oyster: History on the Half Shell* (Ballantine Books, 2006), 172-5, 178; "New York Harbor Traffic," *Harper's Weekly* September 1, 1894, 832; "How the City is Fed," *Christian Union* 42:14 (2 October 1890), 428; "Oyster Culture," *Lippincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 1 May 1881, 481; "Oysters Now in Season," *New York Times*, 1 September 1883, 8.

¹⁸Appleton, 236; King, 837. 🍌

Where the river meets the rock, or meditations on a Frying Pan

By Betty Fussell

NOT THE ONE HANGING IN MY KITCHEN, mind you, that cast-iron battered reminder of my Grandma Harper as she handed it to me over 60 years ago. But the Lightship Frying Pan, as she is now, permanently docked near West 26th Street at Pier 66 Maritime on the Hudson River in the city of New York.

Once she warned ships of the shoals off Cape Fear, until her retirement half a century ago. Elderly and abandoned, she sank, appropriately for her name, at the dock of an old oyster cannery in Chesapeake Bay. After three years, she arose and ascended into heaven as a bar and party ship.

"Meetcha at the Frying Pan?" I ask a friend when spring comes 'round and the weather is good. I walk the High Line from my place in the Village near 14th Street to 23rd, then past Chelsea Piers to Hudson River Park as it greens the riverside all the way from Battery Park to Riverside Park.

The mighty Hudson, what a river it is, with its tidal rush upstream and down, officially connecting Lake Tear in the Clouds in the Adirondacks to the Atlantic Ocean, but actually connecting so much more. At Pier 66, I cross onto a float bridge attached to a long barge that once carried freight across the river for the Delaware, Lakawanna and Western Railroad. I think of the High Line, when Manhattan was Slaughterhouse City and cattle were brought by ferry and then railroad across the river to the giant markets of the city ruled once by butchers' guilds.

Even tethered, the barge I'm on sways slightly to the rhythm of the river. I walk past an installed railroad caboose and am reassured by the sight of my old pal the Frying Pan on my left. It's docked opposite an open-sided counter of bar and grill, ready for customers. I

pause to buy a glass of beer and head toward the end of the barge. I look to see if my friend is sitting at one of the many tables and chairs scattered across the deck and under the awning for protection from excess sun or rain. No, not here. So I climb the iron stairs to the upper deck, *en plein air*, where the full glory of the Hudson heaves into view.

Below me, on my left, the Fireboat John J. Harvey keeps the Frying Pan company. But the fireboat can move,

We are both picnickers.
Each of us discovered
this place separately
long ago, but now we meet
to share food
as well as the view....

while the lightship cannot. On my right, Manhattan Kayak spews out racers and novice paddlers and even a few kayak-polo players. Further upriver a helicopter rises straight up with a whirl of black blades and a blast of sound from the 30th Street Heliport. I spot my friend sitting at a table at the deck's tip. She waves and smiles.

We are both picnickers. Each of us discovered this place separately long ago, but now we meet to share food as well as the view. This time I bring hard-boiled eggs, already peeled, with salt and pepper in a plastic twist. I bring green and black olives, cherry tomatoes. She brings two pieces of fried chicken and a container of guacamole and chips. She brings real knives and forks and cloth napkins. I bring two large pieces of black chocolate.

I dip my chocolate into the pepper and think of Henry Hudson nosing into the mouth of the river 400 years ago, searching in vain for the Pepper Trail he'd been hired to find by bosses of the



Photo courtesy of the Frying Pan.

Lightship Frying Pan, in her berth.

Dutch East India Company. Instead Henry found only oysters and maize and beans and squash and enough blackbirds for four thousand and twenty pies.

I think of how food brings the river and the rock together; the one is named for an Englishman hunting spice, the other for native Lenape hunters and planters at their campsite Manahatta. I think of all those thousands who came to plant apples and pears and grapes, raise sheep and pigs and cows, brew cider and beer and wine, make cheese and sausage and cookies. I think of how food is at the center of all commerce, for farmer and merchant, rich and poor.

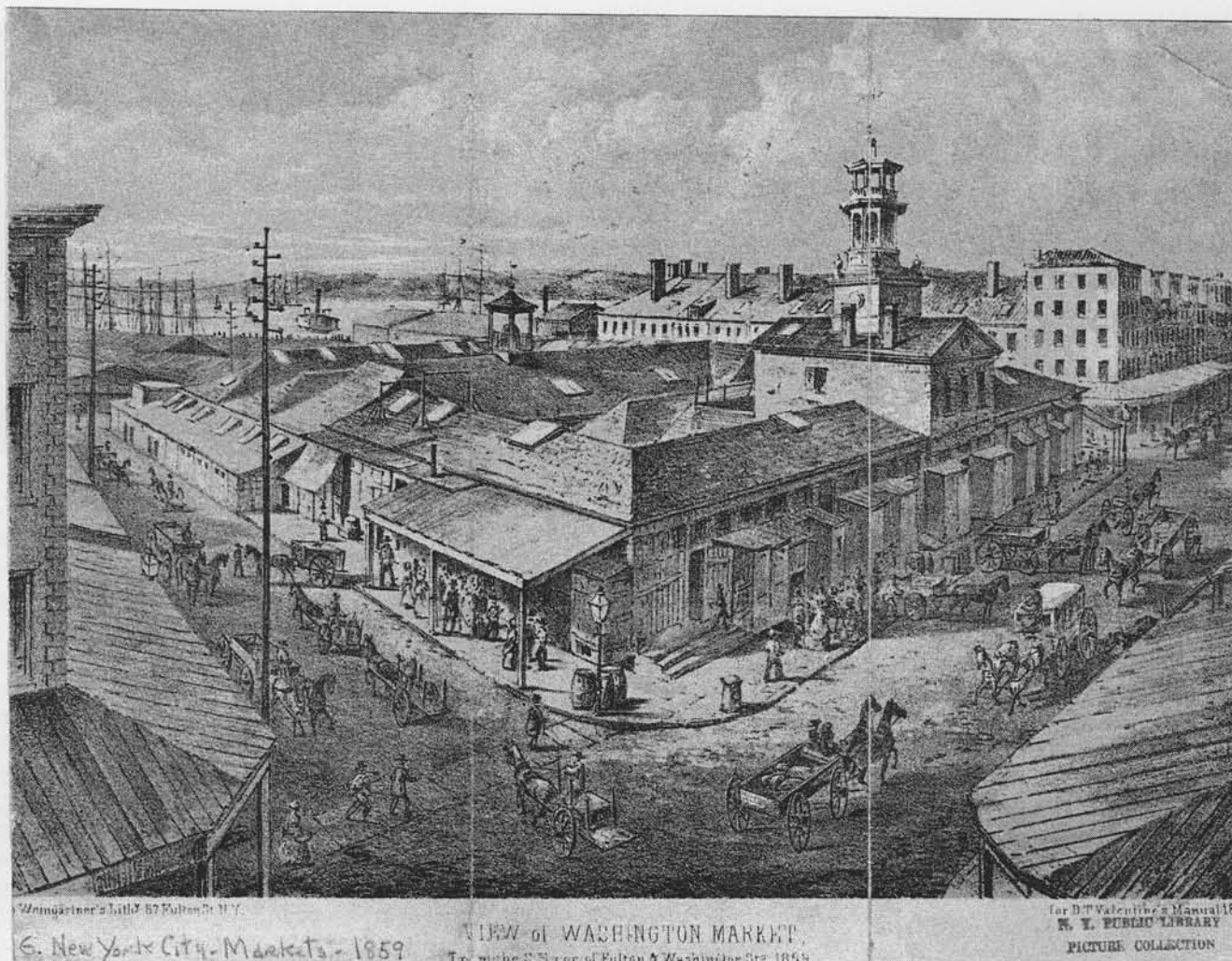
My friend and I savor every bite at the end of the pier, at the end of the day, as the sun goes down, outlining to the west the skylines of Hoboken and Weehauken in New Jersey, baring their history in their names. To the east, the sun's last rays glint off the steel and glass verticals that were once flat sheds when Dutch merchants jammed the Port of New Amsterdam with boats.

Right in front of us, a speedboat buzzes like a hornet alongside the slow barge creeping upriver. Behind the barge a cruise ship looms like a sci-fi monster and blocks out the sun, silhouetting tiny stick figures that line the rail on the topmost deck. The ship's horn booms like a tuba. Was the captain greeting the Frying Pan?

We follow the ship's descent to the tip of the island where it passes, on the left, the dark shroud that is rising where once the Twin Towers were. We see the river opening into the sea, where our Lady with the Torch stands still to say "Welcome," or "Hail and farewell."

We know we are eating history in every bite as we savor the meeting of river, rock, and sea. Hardboiled eggs, with a sprinkle of salt and pepper, never tasted so good. ☺

Betty Fussell is the author of 12 books including *The Story of Corn* and *My Kitchen Wars: A Memoir*. Her most recent is *Raising Steaks*. She is currently working on a new book to be titled *How to Cook a Coyote*.



A lithographic view of Washington Market, from the corner of Fulton and Washington Streets in New York. Markets played a leading role in the city's vibrant and changing food culture during the 19th century, as scholar Cindy Lobel writes in "Eating the Big Apple: Foodways and Metropolitan Growth in 19th-century New York City," on page one.

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