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Urban Appetites

Food and Culture in Nineteenth-Century New York

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INTRODUCTION

"New York City is the food capital of the world," trumpets the food policy page of New York City's government website.[1] A hundred and fifty years ago, commentators were similarly impressed by New York's food offerings. In 1869, New York journalist Junius Henri Browne proclaimed: "To a stranger, New York must seem to be perpetually engaged in eating," leading him to wonder: "Is the appetite of the metropolis ever appeased?"[2] This image of New York as a center of gastronomy is a long-held truism. It has become so naturalized that it is easy to suppose that it has always been this way, as if New York were born with a *Zagat* guide and a greengrocery on every corner. But that would be akin to believing that New York has always been a concrete-covered metropolis, inhabited by millions of people. In fact, these two iterations of New York occurred together in the nineteenth century. New York became a food city when it became a metropolis. *Urban Appetites: Food and Culture in Nineteenth-Century New York* explores this dual transformation.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the city itself and its food system underwent remarkable change. In 1800, New York was a seaport town with a mere sixty thousand residents. Its population was diverse in origins but mainly native born, and the city was a walking city with industry, residences, and commercial concerns located on the same blocks, sometimes even in the same structures. While they did not socialize together and inequities were significant, individuals of different social classes interacted on the streets and in public spaces, including the public markets which were popularly viewed as democratic realms where all New Yorkers gathered together. At this point, New Yorkers' food came from nearby farms, waters, and forests. Farmers, fishermen, and hunters brought their goods to the city's six public markets, which were part of a highly regulated system,

overseen by the municipal government. Little food processing existed with the notable exceptions of sugar, wheat, and other cereals. Public, commercial dining was a rare occurrence, reserved mainly for visitors to the city. New Yorkers ate their meals at home.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the picture was completely different. In 1890, the magazine *The Christian Union* described "the work of supplying New York['s]" food needs as "an elaborate industry" involving "an army of men with millions of capital." These included the dairymen and truck farmers of Long Island, New Jersey, and Westchester; the ranchers of the West; the granary owners of upstate New York; and the proprietors of orchards and fruit fields in the southern states, the Caribbean, and the Mediterranean. Within Gotham, various middlemen—wholesalers, commission merchants, country brokers, small retailers, operators of market stands, hucksters, peddlers, and grocers—distributed these goods to shops, restaurants, and households throughout the city. And on the consumer side, New Yorkers could dine in thousands of restaurants "vary[ing] in character," as the *Christian Union* explained, "from Delmonico's to the curbstone coffee-stand."[3]

In sum, by the 1890s, Gotham boasted more restaurants and a greater diversity of them, had a greater abundance and variety of food options in its markets and food shops, and processed more food from more parts of the world than any other place in the United States. The city also had a more divided population, a more corrupt government, and more inequities in access to foodstuffs and standards of living. These developments evolved simultaneously; in many ways they still describe New York City today. The most cosmopolitan, diverse, and sophisticated city in the nation by the late nineteenth century, New York also served as an index to the potentials, contrasts, and inequities of the United States as the city developed into a world power and the seat of industrial capitalism.

This book traces these transformations, showing how geography, culture, economics, and politics interacted to bring about change in New Yorkers' foodways and patterns of daily life.

This study covers the nineteenth century, the period of the greatest growth in New York's history. The book begins in 1790, when the city emerged from the American Revolution, an event that also paved the way for important regional, industrial, and technological changes. The endpoint is 1890 when new forms of industrialization and nationalization transformed the food supply yet again and the changes in New York became national in scope. During these years, New Yorkers saw a shift in the main source of their food supply, from public markets to private food shops. They wit-

nessed the emergence and development of a restaurant sector that would become inseparable from the consumer culture with which Gotham was increasingly becoming identified. The dining room emerged as a requisite space in the middle-class home, and the food spaces of the domestic realm became important loci of consumer culture. And the city's food culture grew increasingly international both in derivation and reach. The chapters of this book explore these transformations, demonstrating the very explicit links between urban growth and changing foodways and the linked forces that brought about these changes.

Urban Appetites visits the dairies, public markets, and private food shops of the city; taking a seat in the dining rooms and kitchens of Gotham's middle-class homes and tenements; and delving into the basement restaurants that served spaghetti, shark's fin soup, and Hungarian goulash to immigrant diners seeking a taste of home. The book examines the hierarchy of New York restaurants from the lowly cake-and-coffee shop to the heights of Delmonico's, and explores the horizontally and vertically integrated commission firms that gathered, distributed, and processed teas, jellies, oils, and other provisions to American homes. Along the way the strong links among food, economics, culture, and society emerge, shaping and illuminating both the appetite and the metropolis and the connections between the two.

The constellation of new food procurement and eating patterns makes up New York's "food culture." This category includes various areas of the food system—supply, distribution, consumption, regulation. Food culture also incorporates expected behaviors around food and eating: the setting in which the food is eaten and the meanings applied to the setting; as well as the use and role of food in articulating status and reinforcing distinctions of class, race, and gender. The food culture of nineteenth-century Gotham was distinct from the foodways that characterized the colonial food procurement system, in which most food traveled a direct route from farm to market to table. In this earlier system far fewer middlemen or agents were involved, no restaurant culture existed, and no home-dining-space culture dominated.

New York's nineteenth-century food culture was both national and international, extending far beyond New York in terms of connections and influence. New York's hinterlands reached well above the northern tip of Manhattan Island, across the Atlantic, all the way to the West Coast and beyond. New York gathered and distributed food—from oysters to spices to tropical fruits—from all around the world. The city's food processing and manufacturing plants dotted the metropolitan region. New York's furniture

and housewares manufactories and wholesalers shipped household goods far and wide. Manhattan's restaurateurs and cuisines hailed from the four corners of the globe. And Gotham's gastronomic influence and renown was felt across the United States as New York oysters were shucked in New Orleans oyster houses, restaurants opened on the New York model in towns and cities around the country, Midwestern householders tried to replicate recipes that they had tried in New York restaurants, and decorating and furnishing advice and goods arrived in American homes in catalogs, magazines, and crates bearing a New York postmark.

Looking at the simultaneous rise of New York as metropolis and food capital opens a unique window into the intersection of the cultural, social, political, and economic transformations of the nineteenth century. For example, the rise of restaurants and behaviors practiced in them addresses far more than the act of eating in public. Public dining highlights gender mores and conventions as well as the articulation of social class based on behavior and income rather than occupation. Studying restaurant culture also touches on new areas of entrepreneurship and social integration for native-born and immigrant New Yorkers. Likewise, looking at the changing regulatory structure of the city's food market system expands our view of nineteenth-century urban politics. The shift from public food markets to private food shops highlights the transition from the patrician government of the early national period to the laissez-faire machine politics of the mid- and late nineteenth century. And the increasing symbolic importance and attention to the middle-class dining room highlights the strong connections between the public and private spheres, complicating our understanding of how domesticity and commerce interacted in the Victorian era.

New York's role as a food city is well known. Yet scholarly studies of its development into one are scarce. Studies of the city's growth into a metropolis have explored a variety of areas from economics to politics to culture but have paid little attention to food and eating.[4] Meanwhile, scholars who have explored the interplay between food and social, cultural, economic, and political developments have done so on a national level, not a local one, and few of them have looked at the particularly urban characteristics of these transitions. They thus have missed important precedents to the story they tell, locating the rise of restaurant culture or the industrialization of the food supply at the turn of the twentieth century.[5] This study shows that these developments occurred earlier in New York City, which served as a vanguard of national change.

Likewise, most of the impressive literature on American consumer culture focuses either on the eighteenth-century consumer revolution or on

the turn-of-the-twentieth-century rise of mass consumption and slights the important developments of the early and mid-nineteenth century.[6] The earlier works overstate the complexity of eighteenth-century consumer culture. The later studies date the beginnings of American consumer culture at too late a point. Those that do address the mid-nineteenth century tend to focus more on department stores and other loci of consumerism and entertainment rather than looking at restaurants and food markets as part of this process.[7]

But while covering new ground, this book draws on the significant scholarship in food history, urban history, and cultural history of the last several decades. The book tries to emulate the best food histories, those that look at food and foodways not as antiquarian artifacts but as a locus of and lens into economic processes, political culture, cultural change, and power relationships in general.[8] Likewise for cultural history. This study presents culture not in a descriptive way but as a dynamic process. It highlights the way cultural behaviors and attitudes—dining out, for example, or shopping for food in an interior rather than an exterior setting, or designing one's home as a space both of comfort and display—reflect and shape economic relationships, changing social mores, and the structures of power. As an urban history, this book explores the intersection of urban development and urban culture, including the relationship between urban politics and foodways; between food patterns and economic structures; and the rise of the metropolis writ large both as an economic and political entity and a cultural one or, more accurately, one that incorporates many subcultures.

Finally, this study uses food to illuminate nineteenth-century New York's public culture in formation. The restaurants, food shops, and food-connected commercial centers of the nineteenth-century city were part of an evolving public culture that was simultaneously inclusive and exclusive. Virtually all New Yorkers participated in the new food culture of the city. Restaurants emerged to serve almost everyone on the social spectrum. Likewise, everyone felt the effects of the shift from public markets to private food shops, of the growing industrialization of food, and the increasing distance between producer and consumer. And yet, these new institutions—restaurants, groceries, middle-class dining rooms—also served to segment New Yorkers, through expense, proximity, and behavior, along economic, racial, and gender lines. This simultaneous inclusion and segmentation itself characterized the public culture of urbanizing New York City, and food spaces and foodways played a central role in shaping it.[9]

New Yorkers' food patterns also became consumer patterns over the course of the nineteenth century. Food did not *become* a commercial item

in this period; from the seventeenth century forward, most New Yorkers obtained the bulk of their food from the market rather than growing it themselves. And consumerism had characterized urban life in the eighteenth century as large numbers of colonial New Yorkers (and Americans in general) participated in the Atlantic market by buying and drinking tea, using Wedgwood and other ceramics, and purchasing household furnishings. But the consumerism of the nineteenth century was qualitatively different from that of the eighteenth. The early industrialization of food, government deregulation of markets, and growing distance between producer and consumer made food transactions more impersonal and required more discernment and care on the part of the consumer to ensure a quality product at a fair price. And restaurant dining made eating a form of entertainment and an object of conspicuous consumption as well as sustenance. The relationship of status to food consumerism became far more pronounced for New Yorkers during this time.

Indeed, New York's food culture incorporated conspicuous consumption in a variety of ways.[10] As the city grew and became more stratified by class, where one lived increasingly became linked to economic status. When the municipal government began to deregulate the public markets in 1843, much of the city's retail food provisioning fell to local retail shops located in the city's neighborhoods. The wealthier the neighborhood, the finer the food shops. Status also became associated with *how* one shopped as the nineteenth century progressed. In the eighteenth century, all New Yorkers made their food purchases outdoors at the public markets (or in the semi-outdoor market structures). But as the markets were deregulated and shifted mainly to a wholesale function, grocery stores opened throughout the city. In wealthier neighborhoods, these shops were well appointed and clean and worked very hard to distinguish themselves from the unsanitary tenement groceries where most poorer New Yorkers procured their daily necessities.

Space thus became more important in spelling out the status of the food shop. Proprietors paid more attention to cleanliness, arrangement of goods, and attractive decors. Furthermore, purchasing food on carts in the open air came to be associated largely with the poor; wealthy people made their purchases inside. This distinction related not just to food but to all manner of consumer goods from housewares to clothing. Peddlers' baskets and pushcarts came to be associated exclusively with working-class and poorer neighborhoods, a shift from the eighteenth century when all New Yorkers had bought from these itinerant vendors.

Environment was important in delineating status in the public and private dining rooms of the city as well. In restaurants, decor and behaviors

played a crucial role in determining a restaurant's respectability. Here, class and gender interacted to create codes of conduct and rituals, which regulated interactions among strangers. These codes created safe spaces, especially for middle-class women concerned about their reputations. The same process occurred in other semipublic areas in the industrializing city and beyond, including department stores, hotels, steamships, and railroad cars.[11] The codes of polite society included manners and behaviors around the table and within the walls of the restaurant. But the physical environment of the restaurant was important. Restaurant designers used lavish furnishings and opulent interiors in order to replicate the domestic parlor and thus create female-friendly niches in the public sphere of the commercial city. As New York's restaurant sector grew more complex, first-class restaurants also served as stages to articulate power and status. To see and be seen at Delmonico's was a mark of prestige in the metropolis. Hence, the new food culture involved an important element of conspicuous consumption beyond the food itself.

These rituals and practices were carried over into the private home as well. As the dining room became a more requisite space in middle-class New York homes, public consumer culture was put to service in creating an idealized domestic setting. A host of consumer items—dining furniture, flatware sets, silver service, cookstoves, refrigerators, and household gadgets—became necessary to keeping up a middle-class home in the nineteenth century. Household advisers and homemakers put commerce at the service of domesticity. Historians have often presented these two in opposition, but in fact, commerce and domesticity worked together to create the ideal middle-class dining room during a time of important ideological formation.[12]

New York was the center of manufacturing for household furnishings and housewares, and its manufacturers, advertisers, and retailers helped to shape the contours of the ideal dining room. They relied on a host of consumer products to best support the homemaker's task of creating a comfortable and nurturing space for her family. They also urged middle-class homemakers to see certain rooms of their homes, particularly the parlor and dining room, as an extension of the public sphere and to model behaviors for their children around the dining table that they would display in the public, commercial, and mercantile spaces of the city. Table manners served to mark individuals as middle-class, both within the home and outside of it, adding another element of conspicuous consumption—and its counterpart, conspicuous leisure—to New York's food culture.

The growth and articulation of New York's food culture related to other forms of consumer culture in the nineteenth century. Restaurants, theaters,

public lectures, dime museums, amusement parks, and daguerreotype studios all formed part of a larger entertainment sector that emerged in New York in the antebellum period and expanded in subsequent years. In terms of consumer culture, private food shops and fancy grocers emerged at the same time that department stores and high-end dry goods vendors changed shopping and the relationship of the consumer to the goods he or she purchased.[13] In the early nineteenth century, Lower Broadway and the Bowery became central shopping and entertainment districts—the former for middle- and upper-class New Yorkers and the latter for the working classes. In both cases, consumer venues that served food were located alongside other kinds of shops including dry goods, clothing, and department stores.[14]

Ladies' Mile, which moved from the city hall area around Chambers Street up to Astor Place, eventually creeping up Sixth Avenue toward Herald Square, included all manner of shops that sold housewares, clothing, and sundry other items. It also included restaurants that catered to the ladies' trade, purposefully situated to take advantage of the interconnections in New York's consumer culture. For example, Taylor's Restaurant, the foremost ladies' restaurant in the mid-nineteenth century, was located across the street from A. T. Stewart's Marble Palace, the first department store in New York City. Eventually, the department stores incorporated restaurants, as Macy's did in 1879, explicitly recognizing the interdependence of the various consumer sites in the city.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, New York was not only a food city and a metropolis but also the most cosmopolitan city in the world, incorporating the most diverse population and a business sector with tentacles that reached around the globe. New York's public culture incorporated this cosmopolitanism but did so in a paradoxical way. On the one hand, immigrant food shops and restaurants offered entrepreneurial opportunities to foreign-born New Yorkers. These businesses also served important functions in Gotham's ethnic communities. In addition to offering a taste of home, restaurants, cafes, and groceries served as impromptu banks, post offices, and social centers in Kleindeutschland, Little Italy, Chinatown, the Jewish Lower East Side, and other immigrant enclaves. At the same time, New York's cosmopolitan food culture reflected New York's role as an empire of gastronomy, replete with the social Darwinism, exoticism, and assumptions of racial hierarchy that attend concepts of empire.[15] Native-born New Yorkers celebrated the range of foods and cuisines available in the restaurants and food shops of Manhattan. But they simultaneously approached foreign cuisines with some skepticism and a good deal of derision. In important ways, native-born New Yorkers' experimentation with

ethnic cuisines, especially Chinese food, served to confirm their own cultural superiority. In this way, cosmopolitan cuisine served a similar role to other forms of popular culture in the nineteenth century from minstrelsy to the midway exhibits of the world's fairs that showcased the "exotic" peoples of the non-Western world.

Studying these various and linked developments is important not only for what it tells us about the past but what it reveals about the present. Food-related buzzwords of today—sustainability, organic, locavore—would have had little meaning to New Yorkers of the nineteenth century. But the concepts would ring familiar. At the nineteenth century's beginning, their food supply system was face-to-face and personal. And at the century's end, it was far less so. Food came from farther afield, the gap between producer and consumer was ever widening, and food production and distribution had begun to undergo industrial processes.

Unquestionably the food culture of nineteenth-century New York was qualitatively different from today. But similarities exist between the two eras, and the developments of the nineteenth century fostered roots of the food landscape that we eventually inherited. Many of the developments that this book addresses will look surprisingly familiar to modern readers. The strong connections that we see in the early twenty-first century between geography, income, and food quality—characterized most dramatically in "food deserts," or a lack of fresh, healthy foods in poor neighborhoods and regions—parallel similar issues in nineteenth-century New York. The increasing distance between producer and consumer of foodstuffs is not, as popular belief assumes, a late twentieth-century development related to agribusiness but instead a concern shared by our great-great-grandparents. So too the rise of industrial processes in food manufacturing and distribution. And the frequent scandals of tainted and adulterated food and demands that the government take action to address them, as well as the complicity of the government in bringing them about, can be seen in nineteenth-century New York. Likewise, the simultaneous attraction and revulsion toward new foods and ethnic cuisines and the provincial smugness of "foodies" in trying the latest new thing. One might easily assume that these developments are new to the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. But in fact, these changes are rooted in the nineteenth century with the rapid urbanization of New York City and the profound shifts to its food system that accompanied it. *Urban Appetites* takes us back to that moment, reopening a window on New York in the process of becoming a metropolis, a commercial powerhouse, and the food capital of the world.

These changes both stemmed from and reflected a significantly enlarged food economy in antebellum New York City. Thanks to transportation and technological change, the city's markets had grown in just a few decades from local suppliers into food wholesalers to the nation, drawing and centralizing foodstuffs from around the country and even the world. These developments in turn affected where New Yorkers got their food, both in wholesale and retail terms, as well as the lives and livelihoods of those who produced it. New York's food revolution was under way.

THREE

"Monuments of Municipal Malfeasance": The Flip Side of Dietary Abundance, 1825–1865

In the middle of the nineteenth century, *Harper's Weekly* magazine proclaimed New York City's food markets the best in the world. "From its metropolitan situation," the article explained, "New York City . . . has greater facilities for obtaining every kind of provision, and in quantities that surfeit the demand." Everything, in short, "that can appeal to and gratify the epicurean sense," was made available in New York's markets by the technological marvels of the early nineteenth century.[1] And yet, while the public markets were overflowing with beautiful and abundant foodstuffs, the setting for that produce was abominable. The *Harper's* reporter who marveled at the superiority of New York's market offerings called the market buildings "a disgrace to the city." And journalist Junius Browne offered a similar assessment: "The domestic markets of New-York are the best, and the market-houses the worst, in the country," he wrote. "They remind one of delicate and delicious viands served on broken and unwashed dishes and soiled table-cloths."[2] By the 1840s, this kind of criticism of the markets was uniform and overwhelming.

Thus, New York City's nineteenth-century food supply embodied a paradox. Thanks to technological and industrial developments, New Yorkers had access to a more abundant, varied, and reliable food supply than ever before. By midcentury, New York was the wholesale food center of the nation; its residents reaped the benefits of this development. The wealthiest New Yorkers enjoyed the most varied diet but the new abundance touched all but the very poorest. And yet, these benefits were unevenly spread. More than a generation before Mark Twain coined the phrase "the Gilded Age," New York had developed into a city of marked contrasts. These contrasts were part and parcel of the city's growth into a metropolis and

related to how and where people lived and worked, and what and how they ate.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, New York City experienced the greatest period of demographic growth in its history. The city's population doubled every decade, mainly due to immigration, especially from Ireland and Germany. The commercial and industrial sectors exploded, and Gotham's economy suffered the boom-bust vagaries of early industrial capitalism. The city's social structure reflected capitalism's extremes as well. The middle class and the wealthy saw a rising standard of living and access to conveniences unknown to their parents and grandparents. But the disparities between the haves and have-nots grew evermore stark in antebellum New York, and the food supply reflected the imbalance.

Demographic growth, along with transportation improvements like the omnibus and street railroad, contributed to the geographic spread of the city as well. Middle-class and working-class neighborhoods emerged in northern neighborhoods like Greenwich Village, Gramercy Park, and Chelsea. And the old walking city ceded to a spatially stratified metropolis. The stratification of neighborhoods according to class and function occurred simultaneous with and coincidental to the deregulation of the public markets and the privatization of food retailing. Class and geography thus worked together to determine the quality of the food supply to which an individual New Yorker had access. By the 1840s, gross disparities existed in terms of the environment and inventory of private food shops. Wealthy and middle-class New Yorkers could frequent fine grocery stores in their uptown neighborhoods and, if they had the means, could access an unprecedented variety and abundance of foodstuffs. But poor and working-class New Yorkers, whose ranks were ever growing in the second half of the nineteenth century, had far fewer options. Tenement groceries were often glorified liquor stores. The food they did sell was notoriously adulterated, tainted, and rotted, as was the merchandise of many street peddlers, scavenged from the markets and streets and sold in the poorer wards of the city.

The public markets, once celebrated as civic treasures, became symbols of municipal corruption in the mid-nineteenth century. They offered the most abundant and diverse array of fresh food in the world. But distribution channels were poor and by the time the food traveled out of the market and onto the tables of New Yorkers, it was often a far inferior article to what it originally had been. Furthermore, as the distance between producer and consumer grew wider, middlemen stepped in, driving up the prices of foodstuffs so that New York offered the most diverse and abundant of options but also the most expensive. Again, those with the means could afford a cornucopia, but those without experienced a declining rather than an improving food supply in the nineteenth century.

Worse than the neglect on the part of the municipal government or individual food vendors was the outright corruption and malfeasance that contributed to the disparities in the food supply. Filthy slaughterhouses in the center of city neighborhoods, incidents of market-cornering that drove up prices of both common and luxury food items, a complete lack of regulation of private food shops, and food scandals that highlighted both corrupt government practices and the shocking disregard of the city's industrial food producers were emblematic of the era and of the unsavory flip side of abundance.

Class and social status had always determined one's access to food, of course. Even in the eighteenth century when the public markets had served all New Yorkers, only the wealthiest could afford the best the markets had to offer. But two things happened in the nineteenth century to make the contrasts starker. First, the middle and upper classes experienced a significantly better standard of living than their parents and grandparents. Comforts and conveniences such as gas lighting, plumbing, heating, and even refrigeration became available to New Yorkers of means over the first half of the nineteenth century. But the poorest New Yorkers were excluded. Their neighborhoods and homes grew increasingly crowded, and the living conditions worsened at the same time that middle-class and wealthy homes and neighborhoods improved.[3]

Second, as the food supply grew more complex, those with access to cash and fine-food suppliers were in a far better position than those with little money and a reliance on tenement grocers and street peddlers. To reiterate, in the eighteenth century, all New Yorkers had shopped at the same public markets. They did not purchase the same items or even shop at the same time; rather the root of the food supply was shared, and it was regulated by the city. But in the nineteenth century, the city abandoned strict regulation of the markets. The result was a free-for-all. When the city intervened in the markets, it was often to line the pockets of the members of the increasingly corrupt municipal government, which took advantage of the market fee structure to enrich itself and Tammany Hall. Aside from government neglect and corruption, the rapid growth of the city contributed to problems with the food supply, including distribution bottlenecks and inadequate market accommodations. Thus, the quality of the food at the source worsened for poorer New Yorkers compared to their wealthier counterparts. As New York developed into a metropolis, its food supply was characterized by limitations as much as possibilities.

By the 1850s, New York City was home to over two thousand groceries. These stores represented a significant range, from the fancy shops of Broadway to the tenement groceries of Five Points, which served more liquor than fresh food. Deregulation, city growth, and government neglect contributed to a real disparity in the quality of New York's food shops and their inventory in the antebellum era. In some respects, these developments adversely affected overall food quality and access even for those of means. For example, deregulation of the butchers led to less oversight of the meat supply in general. Consumers of all stripes thus had to be more zealous in inspecting their own meats for purchase.[4]

But more than ever before, geography and social class were intertwined in the antebellum city. And since residents now purchased food in shops near their homes rather than at the public markets, the geography of food provisioning was class specific as well. As is the case today, poorer wards had insufficient options in terms of food shops compared to middle-class and elite neighborhoods. The Fourth Ward, for example, had one "place where articles of food are sold" for every 164 inhabitants. But the ward housed one liquor store for every eight inhabitants. In 1851, each block of the notorious Five Points slum housed an average of twelve stores that sold liquor. As a point of comparison, the notably salubrious Fifteenth Ward, located in and around Greenwich Village, had half the number of "drinking shops" as the Fourth Ward but several "well kept private markets," according to a report by the Citizens' Association.[5]

Drinking shops, private markets, liquor stores, groggeries, groceries. The terminology became muddled as the nineteenth century progressed. In part, this confusion was linked to the transformation of the image of the grocer as he moved into the center of food retailing in New York City. In the eighteenth century, grocers were neutral figures, selling dry goods, sundries, and preserved foodstuffs from local and foreign sources as well as wines and liquors. But with the nineteenth-century temperance movement and the geographic stratification of the city, the grocer's image changed. Increasingly he was portrayed as a nefarious figure who plied his customers with adulterated liquor and other vices. A distinction arose between "family grocers" and liquor grocers. The first group sold a range of fresh produce, meats, and dairy products as well as grains, coffee, teas, and other dried and preserved foodstuffs. They might still *sell* liquors and wines but, if they wanted to maintain a reputable grocery, they would not *serve* alcoholic beverages on the premises. A few industrious grocers even advertised themselves as "temperance groceries," avoiding liquor sales altogether.[6]

The very terminology applied to the antebellum grocer reflects the class associations drawn around liquor, temperance, and even family at this time. The geographic stratification the city was experiencing was rooted not only in spatial and population growth but also in the formation of particular and distinct working-class and middle-class cultures. While the idealized middle-class culture was organized around family and home, male working-class culture and conviviality often focused around the saloon and grogshop. While it had a working-class component, the temperance movement, like most antebellum reform movements, was dominated by the middle class and promoted bourgeois values such as moderation and self-control.[7] Thus, the terms "family" and "temperance" in the description of certain groceries were not neutral but rather value- and class-laden associations.

Contemporaries understood these associations and shared a mostly unwritten understanding about the distinction between "family groceries" or provisions stores and the corner groceries, which were just another name for grogshops. The *New-York Tribune* made this distinction explicit when it responded to a complaint from a reader that its forthcoming feature on the "liquor groceries" would paint even the reputable among these businesses in a poor light. The *Tribune* responded that it would go forth with its story on the liquor groceries, explaining: "No one will be green enough to confound a regular family grocery or provision store with the liquor grocery. The real family grocer sells no liquor at his counter." In the same paper, an advertisement offering a "family grocery" business for sale stipulated: "Will not be let for a rum-shop."[8] Likewise, in reviewing the sanitary conditions of the notably healthful—and wealthy—Twelfth District in Greenwich Village, sanitary inspector F. A. Burrall, MD, asserted that the corner groceries "exert[ed] the worst influence . . . upon the health of the community." But among the "mostl[y] commodious," and even "some spacious and elegant" stores, he counted "49 groceries of all kinds," assuming his reader instinctively understood the difference between the corner and reputable groceries.[9]

In fact, so common were the family groceries that few contemporary descriptions of them exist, unlike their more seamy corner-grocery cousins. But references to "spacious," "respectable," or "elegant" groceries were frequent in the press. And fine or family grocers advertised themselves as such. For example, in their review of holiday advertisements offering holiday gifts for sale, both the *Times* and the *Tribune* included a section on "Groceries, Confectionary, &c." These establishments offered "Fruit, Teas, Figs, Almonds, Chocolate, Coffee, Cheese &c. wherewith to fix up 'the table,'" and "fresh

fruit from the tropics, the dried substantials of southern Europe, the fancy fabrics of our sugar workers &c. &c." Likewise, among the retail stores on the ground floor of the Fifth Avenue Hotel was William H. Jackson & Co., grocers, "the largest retail grocery in the country." No Five Points rookery, this fine shop "comprises a stock of the choicest articles to be found in the market," including "the many little delicacies so desirable in travelling," an ad extolled. The hotel shop catered to the traveling public while Jackson & Co. had a separate uptown branch on Twenty-First Street and Sixth Avenue for a more local clientele.[10]

Distinct from these respectable groceries were the "liquor groceries" that dotted the poorer wards of New York. These establishments sold drinks by the glass, which patrons imbibed on the premises, and took advantage of loopholes in blue laws that allowed grocers but not saloons to operate on Sundays. At the end of the grocery counter in these establishments would be found the "inevitable bar," one account explained, where each person who entered would indulge in a "consolatory drink."[11] Grocers often served adulterated liquor: straight alcohol colored to look like brandy or cognac or some other libation. Tenement districts abounded with these groceries and, indeed, a surfeit of groceries was one marker of a slum neighborhood, much like a concentration of liquor stores is a marker of poor neighborhoods in today's cities. This situation prevailed even as early as the 1820s, as George Catlin's famous image of the Five Points slum demonstrates. Notice the number of "grocery" signs affixed to the buildings on the famous five-point intersection.[12]

In fact, many corner groceries were essentially bars that sold foodstuffs as well. These shops contained some food and other sundries: "A few maggoty hams and shoulders, half-a-dozen bunches of lard candles melted into one, some strings of dried onions, a barrel No. 3 mackerel, some pipes and tobacco," according to journalist George Foster. But "above all," Foster explained, they offered "two barrels of whisky—one colored red with oak juice and sold for 'first-rate Cognac brandy,' and the other answering with the most limpid assurance to the various demands for gin, Monongahela (whiskey) or schnapps." German immigrant Frederick Bultman described his cousin's Five Points Grocery where he stayed upon his arrival to New York in 1850. "The volume of business on the grocery end of the store was rather small but the other end of it was equal to a little gold mine," he explained.[13]

Evenings at the corner groceries gave up any pretense to food provisioning. After 10:00 p.m., the *New-York Times* noted in its "Walks among the New-York Poor," "the corner groceries are crowded with drunk parties, op-

This famous image of the Five Points intersection by artist George Catlin shows the large number of grocery-groggeries in the area. *Five Points, 1827.* By George Catlin. (Collection of the New-York Historical Society)

erating as makeshift saloons." George Foster indicated that the groceries turned into saloons and all-night gambling dens "as soon as the shutters are closed at night."[14]

Author Frank Beard offered another evening scene at the liquor groceries in his 1866 exposé *The Night Side of New York*, describing the Avenue A grocery of Mike Lynch. Beard's description suggests the permanency of the bar, which "runs the depth of the room . . . its bright slab . . . a solitary, carefully polished oasis in this desert of dirt and rust." A screen separated the bar from the back room, which served as a saloon. The clientele of the grocery consisted of "newly-fledged thieves; hardened rogues; souls that have blood on them; dirt-begrimed menders of the highway. . . . Young roughs, haggard with the furors of dissipations. . . . Old men, silvered with hoary locks . . . grinning with toothless gums." This "motley-dressed band" was gathered for the entertainment of a bloody cockfight. Beard's exposé also points to the strong connections between the groceries and the increasingly rough-and-tumble politics of the city. "Mike Lynch" (a pseudonym) was not only the owner of this particular grocery but also "an ex-city official, a roving politician [and] a foreman of the late fire department." Liquor groceries hosted vices other than drinking, gambling, and blood sports. They also drew in prostitutes, according to George Foster, "who fortify themselves with alcohol for their nightly occupation."[15]

The prostitution, gambling, and drinking that occurred in these shops offended middle-class propriety, and middle-class reformers and observers maligned the tenement groceries. But for the residents of immigrant neighborhoods, especially Irish-born New Yorkers who had fled unrelenting famine, these shops offered unimaginable gustatory plenty, even if the quality of that abundance was low by middle-class standards. In a discussion of Crown's Five Points Grocery that he wrote for the *Tribune*, George Foster described the overcrowded quarters and substandard food of the infamous establishment. But he also suggested abundance in describing the "piles of cabbages, potatoes, squashes, eggplants, tomatoes, turnips, eggs, dried apples, chestnuts and beans [that] rise like miniature mountains round you." "The cross-beams that support the ceiling" Foster continued, "are thickly hung with hams, tongues, sausages, strings of onions and other light and airy articles, and at every step you tumble over a butter-firkin or a meal-bin." And the packed shelves were "filled with an uncatalogueable jumble of candles, allspice, crackers, sugar and tea, pickles, ginger, mustard, and other kitchen necessaries."[16]

Furthermore, the groceries served as important points of social and political contact in the growing immigrant wards of the city. Grocery owners—like their saloon-owning counterparts to whom they were closely aligned—were linchpins of the immigrant working-class community. Owning a grocery along with running a saloon and heading a volunteer fire company were among the routes to power in the nineteenth-century political machine. Mike Lynch, the pseudonymous owner of the Avenue A groggery mentioned above, was one of a number of city officials involved in the grocery trade. When Tammany politicians and ward bosses visited Five Points or the Tenth Ward, they stopped at the groceries to meet their constituents. Fernando Wood, Tammany politician and mayor of New York in the 1850s, and himself a former grocery owner, would go "among his constituents in the lower parts of New York" and "[hold] his levees in beer saloons and Dutch groceries," a guide to New York's sunshine and shadows explained. And while the groceries' entertainments offended the sensibilities of middle-class reformers, they offered an important social outlet to their patrons.[17]

All that said, the food that the corner groceries sold *was* frequently second-rate, spoiled and stale, and of questionable nutritional value. An article in the reform journal, *Harbinger*, complained of the "liquor groceries'" stock: "The butter, eggs, lard, salt fish and meat sold here are . . . generally stale and rancid, unfit to sustain life, and highly conducive to disease, and constantly keeping the neighborhood predisposed to take the first epidemic

that arrives, in its worst and most malignant form." Years later, sanitary inspector Dr. Ezra Pulling reported on the grocery found in the notorious Gotham Court tenement in the Fourth Ward slum. The food for sale included "partially-decayed vegetables, rather suspicious looking solids, bearing respectively the names of butter and cheese, and decidedly suspicious fluid bearing the name of milk," as well as beer and liquor.[18]

Sanitary reformers blamed the tenement groceries for contributing to epidemic rates of disease and mortality in poorer neighborhoods by selling rotted fruits, vegetables, and meats. Reporting on conditions in the overcrowded, poverty-stricken Fourth Ward, located east of city hall, near today's Chatham Square, Dr. Pulling claimed that the food for sale in these establishments was "unfit for human sustenance." Among the items he singled out as particularly problematic were decaying pickled herring, left out in buckets in the open air; rotted vegetables; "sausages not above suspicion"; and "horrible pies, composed of stale and unripe fruits." Pulling and his colleagues blamed the small groceries and their rotting merchandise for epidemic malnutrition and a variety of gastrointestinal disorders.[19]

In addition, reformers and other middle-class observers blamed the liquor groceries for a host of evils found in tenement districts, from violence to gambling to disease. Located at the center of social life in tenement neighborhoods, these establishments contributed to the neighborhood "grow[ing] filthier and filthier, and its inhabitants more besotted and depraved," George Foster wrote. The very fact that the groceries were a center for food purchases and also sold liquor made them problematic. As Foster lamented: "They afford facilities for drunkenness to thousands of husbands, wives, and children, who otherwise might not be tempted." The easy pickings, in other words, encouraged dissipation.[20]

Liquor grocers also came under attack for extorting their poverty-stricken customers since they retailed items by the piece instead of in bulk, driving up the price of an item by as much as three to four times, or more. Patrons were lulled into paying usurious prices because, as George Foster explained, they lived "from hand to mouth," buying food and liquor "not only from day to day, but literally from hour to hour." In addition to the high markups, liquor groceries were renowned for cheating customers at the scale through false weights and sticky measures that held on to a portion of the purchase.[21]

The groceries were not the only institutions that reformers critiqued. The pushcarts and peddlers who sold food largely to the poor were also singled out. Reformers ascribed the high mortality rates in antebellum New York City to these unsanitary food vendors and the rotted, stale, and otherwise

unhealthy food they offered for sale. Reformers blamed the carts for a host of gastrointestinal issues, including cholera, diarrhea, and dysentery.[22]

These reformers were concerned about the food supply of poorer New Yorkers in terms of its quality but also its conditions of sale. In fact, an interesting cultural trope developed during this period whereby the environment in which one made purchases (food or otherwise) served as a class marker. More specifically, purchasing food, clothing, and other goods from peddlers and carts became the province of the working classes and the poor while the middle and upper classes made their purchases indoors. This distinction did not exist in the colonial and early republican periods, especially not for food since the public markets—which were by definition outdoors—serviced the food needs of all New Yorkers, regardless of class. But as food sales became privatized and neighborhood-focused, more privileged New Yorkers were serviced by indoor shops—fine, private grocers and even private indoor markets. Meanwhile, the streets of the poorer neighborhoods were filled with pushcarts and street vendors who sold inferior merchandise at lower prices.

This situation did not only apply to food. The wealthy also purchased clothing, dry goods, and consumer products in private shops and even early department stores such as A. T. Stewart's Marble Palace, where the shopping environment became as important as the merchandise. Their less fortunate counterparts, meanwhile, purchased a variety of goods from the pushcarts and peddlers in their tenement neighborhoods.

This indoor-outdoor class distinction was not lost on contemporaries, who in fact confirmed their own biases in their descriptions of outdoor food options. For example, Junius Browne described the varied merchandise of the ubiquitous street vendors of New York City, who offered "every kind of low-priced article, from a dog-eared volume to a decayed peanut." Browne was careful to locate these vendors geographically on "Park Row and Bowery," declaring "those quarters . . . the best adapted for street-venders, who in Broadway rarely find purchasers except among strangers and the transient class that believe they must buy something when they come to the Babel of Manhattan."[23] In other words, the outside vendors were located geographically and symbolically in the city's working-class quarters. Likewise, the *Times* noted that food purchased outside in the Bowery was cheaper than in Broadway shops but "surer to bring on a cholera morbus."[24]

A second-generation Italian New Yorker recalled that unlike nonimmigrant families, "we had a bread man . . . and a fruit and vegetable man, a watermelon man and a fish man. . . . Americans went to the stores for most of their food—what a waste."[25] This account highlights both the indoor-

These 1872 images from *Appleton's Journal* editorialize about the honesty of market vendors and the poor quality of their foodstuffs. The first depicts a "Stale-Vegetable Dealer," the second a "Stale-Meat Buyer." (Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society)

outdoor class distinction *and* the very different perspective immigrant and working-class shoppers had of their shopping options compared with that of middle-class reformers. Where one group saw opportunity and abundance, the other saw rot and filth. This distinction was not completely cut-and-dried, of course. Itinerant vendors of fresh foods visited the wealthier neighborhoods of the city, as Caroline Dustan's diary attests. Dustan recorded hearing the street peddlers crying "Strawberries!" and "Raspberries!" through her Greenwich Village neighborhood in the 1850s. But Dustan made the vast majority of her food purchases from private indoor shops rather than street vendors. In tenement wards, the situation was reversed.

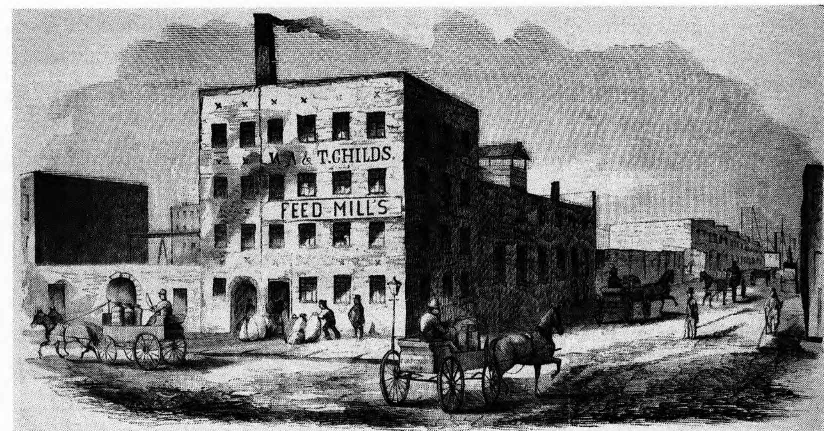
In truth, many middle-class reformers saw rot and filth even in the food supply available to New Yorkers of means. For example, proponents of regulation argued that the city's laissez-faire attitude compromised the quality of the meat supply. Even before the city changed the market laws to allow private meat sales, the Common Council's Market Committee complained that the (still-illegal but clearly sanctioned) private meat shops offered inferior meats. "In several instances," the committee explained, "the carcasses of animals which have died, either from disease or some natural cause, have been cut up and offered for sale at some of the shops."[26] After the licensing changes, the situation worsened as the city failed to inspect even the public-market butchers. According to the superintendent of markets in 1847,

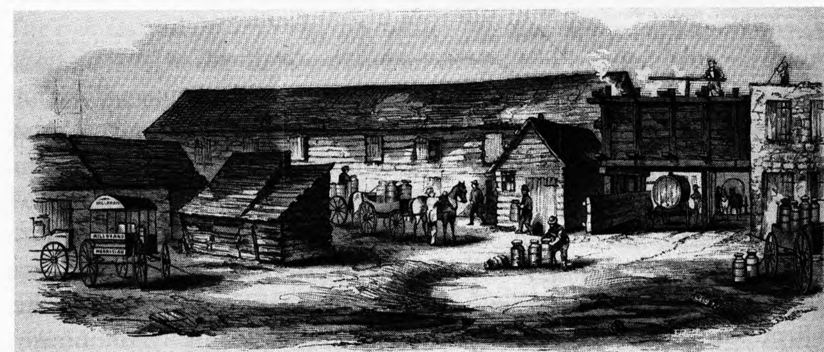
fewer than half of the city's 426 private meat shops paid their fees and kept up their licensing. The situation was exacerbated by the city's decentralized slaughterhouse system, making inspection of meat processing as inefficient as that of finished meats.[27]

While some market butchers sold substandard meats, by far the worst sanitary conditions existed in the tenement groceries and the pushcarts that sold food mainly in tenement districts, where the poorest New Yorkers lived. And the cheapest cuts of meat were also likely to be the lowest quality so the poor suffered disproportionately as a result of price point as well. While no prior golden age of meat quality existed, meat selling and quality control clearly grew more complex after the city altered its market laws in the mid-nineteenth century. This complexity undoubtedly contributed to increasing disparities in the quality of food available to poor New Yorkers and their wealthier counterparts and the need for more discernment in general for the meat shopper concerned about quality.[28]

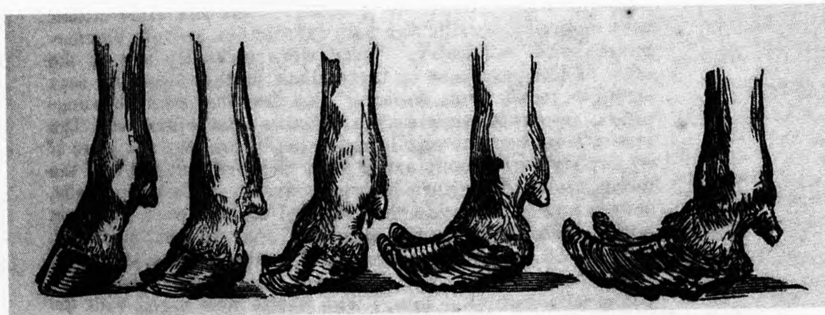
Substandard meat was certainly a problem. The tainted product that evinced the loudest and most sustained concern, however, was milk. By the early nineteenth century, the city was urban enough that backyard cows were a relic of the past and New Yorkers relied upon regional dairies for their milk products. Westchester, Orange, and Ulster Counties were the mainstays for milk production in the early national period and were joined by parts of the Mohawk and Saratoga Counties after the opening of the Erie Canal. But, increasingly in the nineteenth century, dairies within the city limits supplied milk to New York City households. These dairies were usually attached to distilleries, and the cows were fed the cheapest and most convenient food their owners could find: slop that was made up of the mashed grain waste of the distillery, and kitchen scraps culled from the city's garbage. Distillery cows lived in crowded and dirty conditions and received no exercise and limited air. Distillery dairies were found throughout New York City and Brooklyn but by the 1850s, the two largest in New York were Johnson's Distillery and Stables at Sixteenth Street on the Hudson River and Moore's on Thirty-Ninth Street between Tenth and Eleventh Avenues.[29]

Distillery cows were decidedly unhealthy. The bovines suffered from rotten teeth, soft hooves, ulcerated bodies, patchy hides, and crowded conditions. In a very modern twist, the cows received inoculation against a common cattle disease that no doubt was exacerbated by their crowded and unsanitary environment. Cows often developed an infection at the injection site known as "stump tail." According to one report: "The marks of a slop-fed cow are so distinct, that were an inmate of the Sixteenth-street stables to





These woodcuts from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper* illustrated the newspaper's 1858 exposé of the swill-milk dealers. They show the exterior and interior of Moore's distillery stables at Thirty-Ninth Street and Tenth Avenue and the sickly condition of the cows. (Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society)



This illustration from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper* shows the progression of the condition of cows' hooves, from the healthy one on the left to the typical swill cow hoof on the right. (Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society)

escape, she might, like a State-prison convict, be detained and brought back by a stranger without advertisement or description of the fugitive."[30]

New Yorkers with the means and inclination could contract with dairies outside of the city to get their milk. But the majority of the milk came from within the city limits. The railroads, which allowed for the quick carriage of fresh milk to the city from the country, did introduce more "country milk" into the city but the distillery dairies increased even more quickly. Plus they sold a cheaper variety of milk than the country dairies so they were the only option for the city's poorer households. The milk industry notoriously engaged in fraudulent practices. Even some carts that purportedly carried milk produced on upstate farms in fact sold distillery milk, procured within the city limits and falsely labeled. An 1853 report on the milk supply in New York found that New Yorkers consumed almost one hundred million quarts of milk per year. About thirteen million of these quarts were transported by railroad from the upstate counties. The remaining eighty-seven million quarts were supplied by distillery dairies. The report estimated that four thousand cows were stabled in the city of New York for commercial milk production, half in distillery stables and the other half in cheap stables throughout the city. They were universally fed a diet of distillery slop, twenty-five to thirty gallons per day, the report asserted.[31]

If the owners had supplemented the swill with grain and hay, the cows' diet may have been sufficient to offer a decent milk supply. But owners saw little profit and therefore little incentive to offer the cows any food other than the distillery slop. The distillery milk thus was contaminated at the source. Dealers made it worse by doctoring the milk to improve its ap-

pearance, adding water, colorants, chalk, flour, starch, magnesia, molasses, and even eggs. Worse yet, according to one agricultural journal, some city grocers "literally manufacture the milk . . . 'out of the whole cloth,'" using watered-down cornmeal mixed with a drop or two of milk. In many cases, they then loaded it onto carts labeled "Pure Milk" or "Orange County Milk" and delivered it to homes and grocers throughout the city. On occasion, these distilleries even sold milk to dairies in Orange County as well as Long Island and New Jersey. The horrors of swill milk did not stop with the milk itself. Once they dropped dead from their poor diet, harsh treatment, and cramped living conditions, distillery cows were sometimes slaughtered and their meat sold to grocers, meat shops, and even market butchers.[32]

Amazingly, the distillery dairies operated out in the open. The fact that cows fed on a diet of distillery waste was not in and of itself scandalous. The owners and operators of the distillery dairies, along with many city officials, defended the quality of the milk produced in their establishments. But reformers, doctors, and health professionals had expressed concern for decades about the poor quality of the milk sold to New Yorkers. The outcry against tainted milk began in earnest in the late 1830s.[33] In 1841, reformer Robert Hartley, the secretary of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor, wrote a treatise on milk that included a condemnation of the swill-milk industry. Hartley pronounced the acceptance of swill milk as an equal article to the milk produced by grass-fed country cows, "a fatal delusion." Indeed, Hartley suggested that until he exposed the distillery dairies in a series of articles that he had published in 1836 and 1837, the public had never even considered the issue at all. By the 1840s, he argued, "the public has been *beguiled* into the support of the slop-milk business." He continued: "Its mischiefs were not even suspected," for "who could have imagined, that under the disguise of so bland and necessary an article as milk, was lurking disease and death?"[34]

The milk that the distillery cows produced was clearly (to medical professionals and reformers) inferior. The liquid was spiked with alcohol, and so thin and devoid of cream that it could not even be made into butter or cheese. Doctors blamed swill milk for a host of medical issues, including dysentery, diarrhea, and a range of other gastrointestinal disorders as well as compromised immunity in general. Anyone who drank swill milk suffered from its effects. But children paid a disproportionate cost, based on the amounts of milk they drank and their increased susceptibility to illness, given their still-developing immune systems. Doctors decried not only the swill-milk vendors but also the mothers who relied on cows' milk instead

of nursing their children. Reformers and doctors blamed swill milk in part for the extraordinarily high childhood mortality rate in the city—one in five children died in infancy.[35]

The children of the poor were especially vulnerable since middle-class and wealthy families could afford to order weekly deliveries from the farms of Westchester and Orange Counties, sources (usually) of truly pure milk. In a letter to *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* which launched an exposé into the swill-milk industry in 1858, Dr. Edward H. Parker noted that the children in his private practice did not ingest swill milk. But he did treat patients at a public dispensary, including "1500 children of the poorer classes—just those whose parents are most likely to be purchasers of . . . impure milk." In some cases, the families were so poor that even swill milk was out of range except for infants, for whom it was their primary source of "nutrition." Not surprisingly, the meat of distillery cows was also far more likely to land on the tables of the poor rather than middle-class or wealthy New Yorkers who, as a rule, purchased their meats from more reputable sources.[36]

These types of practices—selling tainted and spoiled food, cheating customers, inflating prices—were exactly the justification behind the municipal oversight of the food supply from the seventeenth through the early nineteenth century. But the mid-nineteenth-century city government was far less interested in regulating its markets and food vendors than its predecessors. By the mid-nineteenth century, the traditional, patrician government of the early republic was replaced by a machine-dominated politics, reliant on immigrant voters and other recently enfranchised groups. Tammany Hall—the main Democratic machine—solidified its position with the election of Fernando Wood as mayor in 1854. Other political groups vied with the club for power, sometimes successfully, including the rival Mozart Hall, which Tammany defector Wood helped found in 1857. But Tammany ruled New York City governance—from the mayoralty down to the ward bosses—for the rest of the nineteenth century. Supporting its programs and lining its pockets with money skimmed from municipal coffers, Tammany used public works as fences for its illegal activities. The municipal corruption affected the public markets as it did most public institutions.[37]

Even though the city government moved toward a laissez-faire stance in the nineteenth century in terms of regulating the food supply, it continued to collect fees and issue licenses to vendors (whether in the public markets or private stores). Thus, corrupt city officials stopped overseeing the quality of market products and at the same time used the market fees and licensing structure to enrich themselves and the political machine. Indeed, under Tammany Hall, the very structure of governance led to corruption vis-à-vis the food supply. Patronage politics ensured that those in charge of the markets, of measures, and the public health were not medical professionals or even bureaucrats but instead Tammany men, rewarded with titles like "city inspector," for their loyalty to the machine rather than any particular qualifications. The city inspector, who oversaw the food supply, was paid by market and other fees rather than by a straight salary. So the temptation was great to line his pockets with kickbacks from market vendors.

Furthermore, the municipal structure did not keep pace with the rapidly growing metropolis so this one individual had charge of an unwieldy department which oversaw markets, weights and measures, street cleaning, *and* the public health. An 1853 article in the *Herald* explained that while the market laws were very stringent, in practice, "they are dead letter, for they are seldom or never carried into execution." This task would be impossible, the *Herald* posited, because only two clerks were charged with the "herculean task" of regulating the markets, including collecting rents, preventing monopolies, keeping the markets clean, enforcing all market-related laws and ordinances, and reporting all violations to the district attorney. All this for the princely salary of $500 per year.[38] Even the most organized and least corrupt government might have lost track of one or two of these duties.

Unfortunately, in many cases, market corruption was quite purposeful. Tammany officials sold market stands that did not exist and extorted fees from market vendors. Country produce vendors were especially vulnerable to shakedowns because they paid daily fees for the right to sell their merchandise in or near the market houses. The daily nature of the business made it far easier for corrupt officials to demand bribes from the produce vendors than it would have been to take kickbacks from butchers, for example, who essentially owned their stalls and leased the space on an annual basis.[39]

Furthermore, there was very little paper trail so inspectors and market clerks could easily cook the books. As the city inspector explained: "No record was kept of the occupants of the various stands, and the receipts from the markets were set down in a lump. The clerks of the markets then seemed to have entire control, and gave the use of stands to whom they pleased, at what rents they pleased, and in some cases, perhaps, without any rent at all."[40] The situation was exacerbated by the strong ties between the members of the city council and the markets; many aldermen were themselves market men.

An 1857 case illustrates these practices. At the tail end of that year, market vendor James O'Reilly accused a group of city officials of building thirty to forty stands west of Washington Market and selling them for $250 to

$850. In addition to several aldermen and councilmen, the petition implicated the city inspector George Morton and the clerk of the market, Matthew Greene. The land was set aside for market wagons, but the councilmen sold off lots for country people to erect proper stalls. This might have seemed a fine improvement except that the councilmen pocketed the money, and the country vendors had no official right to build the stands that they paid for. It was akin to selling the Brooklyn Bridge ten years before that span was envisioned.[41]

The investigation into this case exposed what we would see today as a major conflict of interest. The very same aldermen charged with overseeing markets had stands within them. At one point, their colleagues in the city council accused them of hampering the investigation. The accused councilmen defended their actions as business as usual, a form of "honest graft" that machine politicians would defend throughout the nineteenth century. Questioned about repeated charges of fraud and illegal sale of market stands, city inspector Morton acknowledged that individual city officials profited personally from the sale of city property. However, he saw no wrongdoing since the lands in question were "used for refuse" or "a nuisance," and speculators who sold stands there generated revenue for the city and for themselves. The investigating committee agreed with their argument and exonerated the officials of any wrongdoing. This type of market extortion and fraud occurred repeatedly in the ensuing years.[42]

Reformers, editors, and other observers launched vitriol at the markets themselves and at the city officials who were charged with overseeing these important institutions but instead neglected them, or exploited them for kickbacks. In an 1852 editorial celebrating the dissolution of the corrupt Common Council, the *New York Herald* referred to the government's exploitation of the markets. The paper explained that the "late Common Council" had resolved to rebuild Washington Market, "at the frightful expense of $375,000, which, according to past experience, will turn out, before the work is complete, to be $500,000." The *Herald* pointed out the connections between former council members and the contractors to whom they awarded the job. The paper also reprinted a speech from the mayor acknowledging that in recent years, the markets have been a drain on the treasury rather than a boon because of the actions of corrupt officials. An 1860 letter in the *New-York Times* put the situation more succinctly, describing the public-market houses as "filthy monuments of Municipal malfeasance and infamous jobbery."[43]

Market vendors were not alone in paying the cost of corruption. The markets themselves suffered from the combination of neglect and exploitation and so did the quality of the foodstuffs sold within. First, the markets were grossly overcrowded and because the city did not build new structures or oversee old ones, there was not nearly enough room for all of the vendors who came to sell their goods. Carts, barrels, wagons, and their merchandise spilled out onto sidewalks and into the streets. Thoroughfares and pathways were made impassable and retail stores near the markets inaccessible to deliveries and to customers. Vendors and store owners complained about the negative impact of market disorganization on their businesses. For example, in an 1857 case, cartman William Hawks claimed that the market wagons blocked the streets around the market houses, adding hours onto his efforts to reach the main store for which he carted goods. And in February 1858, petitioners testified in front of the committee that the "unsightly sheds and market stands" disrupted business and obstructed the sidewalks for pedestrians and the streets for vehicles.[44]

The owners of these carts, and leasers of these sheds and stands, also argued that the government's disregard of its own regulations led to their exploitation by forestallers—individuals who bought up market produce and resold it at higher prices. There was a fine line between forestaller, huckster, and official agent for far-off suppliers. And as the distance between consumer and producer grew over the course of the nineteenth century, this line became more blurred.[45] During the colonial period, local farmers had often sold their own goods on certain market days. But as their farms became larger and more productive, they came to employ agents. Commission agents were even more important for the distant producers of the South and the Caribbean who clearly were not bringing their own produce daily to sell in the New York markets.

Even though they contributed to the lengthening of seasons and a more reliable food supply than in the preindustrial era, these commission agents and other middlemen drove up the prices of produce and other market goods. An 1852 editorial in the *New-York Daily Times* complained that forestalling (or huckstering, as they called it) had gone national with the recent rise of the railroads. "Orders go out in every direction," the *Times* explained, "to buy, to buy quickly, to buy at an advance of the local demand, to buy anyhow." The odd result was a contradictory combination of abundance and higher prices.[46]

These inflated prices were passed on to the second middleman—the grocer and meat-shop proprietor—who in turn passed them on to his customers. The *Times* noted that wholesale prices of fresh foods were reasonable, but the retail prices "tell a very different story." The disparity, the newspaper explained, stemmed from the surfeit of "middle gentlemen," who were "too

numerous by half." The *Tribune* struck a similar tone, complaining that the middlemen forced a "tax upon every consumer of food of at least twenty-five per cent upon all the purchases of daily marketing."[47]

Just as the grocer was transformed from a neutral to a despicable figure in the early nineteenth century, so too the figure of the huckster evolved. By the mid-nineteenth century, hucksters were often depicted—by other market vendors and by certain editors—not as desperate women and children but as middlemen and speculators who drove up the price of staple foodstuffs. The *New-York Tribune* blamed the "market-huckster" for rising prices in the markets, excoriating these "huckster-gladiators," who "would be glad to shut out all the shopmen," compelling local vendors to offer their inventory to the hucksters, driving prices and profits up even further. Journalist George Foster also lambasted the hucksters in his "New York Slices" piece on the city markets. Conflating them with forestallers, "buying up large quantities of fresh articles, when they are low, and keeping them until a rise, when of course they are stale and unwholesome," Foster declared the hucksters and their practices "the greatest evil connected with our Market System." Thanks to these voracious middlemen, Foster determined, shoppers paid a 15 to 50 percent markup, often for inferior or stale foodstuffs.[48]

As for the country vendors, they resented the forestallers as competition not only for market customers but, more important, for market space. Forestallers did not operate under the same constraints as the farmer-vendors, who had to bring their goods to market daily via ferry and increasingly failed to find space in or near the markets to sell their goods. This situation was exacerbated by the shifting policies of the city government's Markets Committee on whether vendors could bring their carts and wagons to the markets, and where they could stand with them. Since forestallers either lived locally or purchased goods to sell from farmers within the city, they did not face the difficulty of traveling long distances (from Long Island or New Jersey farms, for example) and thus could reach the markets earlier than the legitimate country sellers.[49]

The Markets Committee received repeated petitions and letters outlining these complaints. A petition signed by ninety-five farmers and submitted to the Common Council on May 29, 1843, serves as an example. The petitioners claimed that speculators had completely overtaken the space set aside for their use in Washington Market and designated "the Country Market." "After riding fifteen or twenty, and some of us thirty miles at night, it is in vain that we apply to the Clerk of the Market as he says there is no room. and we must find a place where we can," the petitioners explained. But if they stood their ground inside the country market, they were "in danger

of being assailed and our things upset and in some cases destroyed by the speculators." The legitimate vendors were thus forced out onto the sidewalks where additional dangers lurked, including angry store owners whose businesses they blocked, runaway carts that threatened to run them over, and exposure to the elements. The petitioners begged for a separate country market where they and their merchandise would be safe.[50] These same competing interests had characterized the market economy of the early national period. But in the antebellum era, the city government grew less responsive to vendors' demands for protections of their trade and more supportive of individual enterprise.

The press also reflected the changing attitude. In a sign of how much the tides had shifted since the early national period, the *Times* excoriated the market gardeners who demanded space within the public markets to sell their goods. In a series of petitions, the farmers argued that they suffered at the hands of forestallers and hucksters to whom they now were forced to sell their goods because there was no room in or near the markets to sell them directly. As they had many times before, the farmers asked the city government to set aside land for this purpose. Unlike earlier commentators who argued that the country vendors should have space near the markets to sell their products, the *Times* saw the vegetable vendors and their stands as a "nuisance which ought to be abated." Rather than seeing them as a class worth protecting, the *Times* wondered, in a series of editorials on the matter, why farmer-vendors should be afforded special privileges.[51]

The *Times* also rejected the farmers' claim that they were being squeezed by middlemen, arguing that raising vegetables for the market was a lucrative and reliable trade and "those who engage in it can very well afford to pay for all the accommodations which the nature of their business requires." The newspaper concluded that these market men should stop demanding special privileges and start renting private stores from which to sell their merchandise, like grocers and other food vendors. Such a move would eventually spell the end of the public-market system, which the *Times* recommended since the paper found the private food shops clearly superior to the public markets.[52]

In addition to the people and goods that filled the markets to bursting, garbage, filth, and trash also lined the market stalls, aisles, and streets. As the largest and most important marketplace, Washington Market was often singled out. As early as 1842, for example, the *Herald*'s market reporter proclaimed Washington Market a "disgrace to the city," and "an unfit place."[53]

The *Herald* continued to cry out against market conditions for years, and its rival newspapers weighed in as well. In an 1853 editorial, the *Times*

described Washington Market as a "receptacle for filth, a nest of crime, and in every respect a nuisance to the city." Two years later, the *Times* referred to the market as "a huddle of decaying old sheds, low, rickety, unsightly, tumble-down, overcrowded, filthy and inconvenient." The *Times* cited "the dirt and filth, the dust, the broken street, the utter want of order, the absence of all attempt to preserve a decency of exterior, or even to give to the articles exposed for sale an inviting appearance." And in an 1860 letter to the same paper, demanding market reform, the author described the markets as "inconvenient, badly managed, [and] illy constructed."[54]

Washington Market was not the only market that came under withering attack. By the 1860s, one commentator described the once celebrated Fulton Market as "a disgrace to a civilized community." But these complaints went unheeded and the markets remained in a deplorable state. An 1872 assessment in *Appleton's Journal* rehashes the same complaints about the markets that had been issued for decades, describing Washington Market as "little else than a series of inconvenient labyrinths and rude pens," and declaring it "one of the most unsightly places that can be found in any Christian community."[55]

Reformers and doctors feared the impact of the deteriorating markets on the quality of food supply and on public health. The Citizens' Association singled out the markets as some of the worst public nuisances contributing to the high mortality rate and poor sanitary conditions in the growing metropolis. In 1866, one in thirty-five New Yorkers died annually. As a comparison, in the early twenty-first century, that number is closer to one in 135. Filthy streets piled with waste and garbage, lack of proper sewage removal, livestock and slaughterhouses located in crowded neighborhoods, and nuisance industries such as bone-boiling and fat-melting within the city limits contributed to illness and high mortality rates.[56]

But the public markets and food supply were implicated as well. In 1859, in a sign of primitive medical knowledge as well as concerns about health, the *Herald* worried about the potential for "malaria and contagion" offered by the "impure atmosphere" of Washington Market. And health reform groups like the Council of Hygiene and Public Health were troubled by the market's leaky roof, warped floors, and poor drainage leading to filthy standing water in the gutters surrounding the market houses.[57] Throughout the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s, the Common Council (and its 1852 replacement, the board of supervisors) fielded proposals to rebuild, repair, and remove the city's largest markets—Fulton, Catherine, and Washington, but few of these resolutions ever saw fruition.[58]

Given the corruption and inefficiency of the city government, some reformers called for privatization of the entire food system, eliminating government involvement altogether. These reformers recommended privatizing the public markets and leaving regulation and oversight to the invisible hand of the market.[59] But this solution was never enacted. Privately owned markets did eventually emerge in New York City, such as the Broadway Market on Forty-Fourth Street and the Manhattan Market on Thirty-Fourth Street, opened in 1871 and 1872 respectively. But these markets were failures, owing to a combination of vendor and customer disinterest and intimidation on the part of public-market vendors and the Tammany politicians who wanted to maintain their kickbacks from the public markets.[60]

Like the markets, the problem of the milk supply was exposed, debated, and ultimately left unresolved in the mid-nineteenth century. Newsman Frank Leslie exposed the conditions of the distillery stables to a horrified public in a series of articles in his *Illustrated Newspaper* in May 1858. *Leslie's* coverage strikingly foreshadows exposés of poor practices in the food industry from Upton Sinclair's 1906 *The Jungle* to Michael Pollan's 2006 *Omnivore's Dilemma*. Armed with artists' depictions of the sickly cows, filthy stables, and inhumane conditions, *Leslie's* spent months raking the muck of the city's dairy-distilleries and milk delivery routes. The newspaper reports showed diseased and ulcerated cows living in inhumanely cramped and filthy conditions. At Moore's stables on Thirty-Ninth Street, a *Leslie's* reporter attested, the cows were "literally imbedded in filth and manure" and their hair came off in clumps in his hand. They had ulcerated tails and in several cases no tails at all. Many of the cows were so sickly that they could not even stand up and yet when they died, they were butchered and their meat sold to the city's residents. In addition to the conditions in the stables, *Leslie's* reported on the frauds perpetrated by the distillery dairies who loaded swill milk onto wagons labeled "pure country milk," or "Westchester County milk." A reporter explained: "There was a wagon painted blue and gold, with the words 'F. Willibrand, Morrisania, Westchester county,' inscribed on it. The cans in it had just been filled with the swill milk, all ready to dispense the contents in the city as 'pure country milk.' Upon my asking if that was what they called pure milk one replied, 'Yes, sir,' while the crowd yelled and groaned around us."[61]

Leslie's also marshaled medical evidence and testimony about the poisonous nature of the distillery milk. The paper claimed that one in five of the city's children did not live past infancy and that the swill-milk purveyors were mainly to blame. Dr. Conant Foster attributed a host of medical

problems to distillery milk, including "diarrhoea, dysentery, cholera infantum . . . chronic dyspepsia, and scrofula, and tubercle—perhaps even the seeds planted of hereditary disease." Foster's colleague F. H. Dixon, editor of the medical journal *Scalpel*, concurred and optimistically opined that if the swill-milk stables were obliterated, childhood mortality could be cut in half.[62]

Again, the public knew about the distillery dairies. But they were shocked at both the conditions of the stables and the fact that distillery milk was being passed off as the purer, country variety. After *Leslie's* began its exposé, the public demanded action. The city council appointed a committee of aldermen to investigate the source of the city's milk supply and the conditions of the distillery stables. The investigating committee raided the city's two main swill-milk stables—Johnson's and Moore's—then held hearings, interviewing the milk dealers, medical authorities, and Frank Leslie himself.

Not surprisingly, as was the case with the market investigations, the swill-milk investigation of 1858 was a sham from the beginning. Two of the aldermen leading the investigation, Michael Tuomey and E. Harrison Reed, had strong ties to the swill-milk dealers: Tuomey, known as "Butcher Mike" as a child for selling meats out of a market basket in the Fourteenth Ward, owned a grogshop on Grand and Elizabeth Streets. And Alderman Reed was also a butcher.[63] *Leslie's* labeled Tuomey, in particular, "the most honest, barefaced, shameless rascal of the three, for he showed his swill milk proclivities from the first." *Leslie's* surmised that Tuomey "got himself appointed as the Chairman of the committee, in order to protect his chums and patrons, the distillery owners and swill milk vendors, from the consequence of an honest inquiry." By the time the committee raided the distilleries, the owners had scoured their stables and gotten rid of their most diseased cows. Tuomey was widely believed to have tipped off the swill-milk men. Indeed, *Leslie's* obtained a signed affidavit from a witness who claimed to see Tuomey visiting the homes of some swill-milk dealers the night before the committee visited their stables, presumably warning them to clean up their premises.[64]

The hearings also were less than neutral. In an editorial, *Leslie's* declared them "An Inquiry into the best Method for whitewashing Iniquity and perpetuating Poison." The editorial accused the aldermen of glad-handing the distillery men, allowing them to defend their product (the superintendent of the Sixteenth Street stables claimed he raised four children on swill milk). Typically, the swill-milk dealers argued that their milk was in fact a healthier article of food than the milk produced by grass-fed cows in the city's rural hinterlands. One dealer stated that he had worked in Orange County dairies for a time but left because it was hard to sell quality milk from those areas. They were so far away, he argued, that the milk spoiled before it reached its customers in the city. The city stables, he claimed, thus offered a healthier source of milk for local customers.[65]

The transcripts published by the board of investigation show the aldermen's bias in favor of the milk dealers and their antagonism toward Frank Leslie and the medical professionals who exposed the evils of swill milk. Indeed, in many cases the committee struck a tone that suggested they were *representing* rather than *interrogating* the swill-milk dealers. Hardly adversarial, they led the witnesses to defend and support the safety of swill milk and the health of the cows who produced it. A telling example occurred when Alderman Tuomey was questioning a carpenter who worked in Johnson's dairy. "You didn't ever see any ulcerated cows there, did you?" asked Tuomey. "*Did* you ever see any ulcerated cows there?" Alderman Reed corrected his colleague.[66]

Meanwhile, the aldermen grilled the doctors who testified about the ill effects of swill milk, such as Dr. John W. Francis, who argued that "it is impossible that either the milk or the flesh of these animals can be nutritive." Reed browbeat Dr. Francis, arguing that the doctor's evidence about children sickening from swill milk was hearsay and that he could not tell if it was swill milk or country milk which was the more deleterious article. "Would not country milk that had been milked over night, and when it came to the citizens here, half sour, perhaps, would it not be as likely to produce disease as the swill milk?" asked Reed. When Francis held his ground, Reed and Tuomey allowed the milk dealers' lawyer to interrogate the doctor, a move that had Frank Leslie himself on his feet issuing objections. To no avail. Furthermore, Leslie was enraged that the investigation focused mainly on a couple of stables rather than the swill-milk trade in general. In particular, the investigators ignored the many small stables in the city and in Brooklyn, which *Leslie's* found were even filthier than the stables under investigation.[67]

Doctors who were more sympathetic or even supportive of swill milk, such as Dr. John Shanks, received notably gentler treatment from the Investigating Committee. Shanks's contention that swill milk was a "harmless beverage" was based on secondhand analysis but unlike that of Dr. Francis, the committee accepted his "hearsay" evidence unchallenged. They also allowed Shanks to make frankly preposterous characterizations of the neighborhoods that housed the swill-milk distilleries: fetid, polluted industrial

areas on the city's waterfront. When asked: "[Do] you think stables of that kind should be permitted, in a sanitary point of view, in a densely populated city?" Shanks replied: "Not in the centre of a *densely populated* city, perhaps, but located as they are on the edge and border of a river, where they are constantly kissed by the breezes from the opposite shore, I think that is a delightful location!" When pressed on the problem of bad odors from industry blowing into the neighborhood, Shanks responded: "I think it is a rather *musky odor—agreeable*."[68]

The swill-milk investigation highlights the distance traveled from the colonial and early republican eras, when a patrician municipal government engaged in strong oversight of the public markets and food supply. This point was not lost on Frank Leslie, who evoked the language of civic responsibility in his critique. "What is the use of city government," *Leslie's* editor asked in an early article about the swill-milk horrors, "if not to protect the innocent and unwary from impositions?" It was the job of city leaders, *Leslie's* argued, to oversee and regulate the vendors who supplied New Yorkers' daily necessities. But the municipal government had abdicated this responsibility. Private interests were superseding the public good, *Leslie's* complained. "There is no city in the world where there is so little generous active public spirit as in New York, " the editorial concluded.[69]

Other reformers also noted the decline of civic virtue and public responsibility vis-à-vis the food supply. The state of Washington Market was particularly embarrassing since its decline occurred at the same time as some notable municipal successes, including the creation of the Croton water system and Central Park. But these two large public works projects turned out to be the exception that proved the rule. Croton represented an ending, rather than a beginning—a relic of the patrician government of the early national period. The municipality of the early republic produced city hall, the 1811 Grid Plan, and the Erie Canal, all of which envisioned a strong government hand in internal improvements. But Croton's $12 million price tag, which increased the municipal debt by a factor of eighteen, scared conservatives, bankers, and New York politicians, who would not embark on a public works project for another fifteen years.[70] That project—the monumental Central Park—was indeed a striking success. But the park was developed under the oversight of a state agency, the Central Park Commission, and therefore protected from the corrupt influences of Tammany Hall.[71]

As for the swill-milk scandal, Leslie's impassioned pleas went unheeded. The committee came back with a verdict favorable to the swill-milk dealers. The report found that the stables were stuffy and that the cows were packed

in too tightly but approved of the general conditions. They recommended that the stable owners improve their ventilation and give the cows more room within the structures. But they both allowed the swill-milk stables to remain open and argued that they found no evidence that swill milk was harming New York City's children. In fact, they maintained that "the chemical analysis establishes the fact that there are no deleterious or poisonous substances either in the milk secreted by these swill-fed cows, or in the swill upon which they are fed."[72]

Not everyone on the investigating committee agreed with these assessments. Charles Haswell, the lone councilman on the committee (the rest of the members were aldermen), issued a minority report, in which he argued that the distillery cows *were* diseased, that their milk was sold to an unwitting public and, as bad, so was their meat. Haswell went far beyond his colleagues in his resolutions. Not satisfied to stop just at cleaning up the distillery stables, he called (unsuccessfully, of course) for an ordinance banning the stabling of more than two cows south of 125th Street. But the board of health accepted the majority recommendations. Adding insult to injury for *Leslie's* and the reformers, the board never followed through on enforcing implementation of even the mild improvement measures recommended by the swill-milk-sympathizing committee.[73]

The swill-milk scandal did have an impact on the milk supply of the city, but not for those most affected by swill milk. As soon as *Leslie's* exposed the conditions and constitution of the swill milk and the stables where it was produced, New York's non-swill-milk dealers began to take out ads in the back of the newspaper assuring the public that their milk was pure, from Orange County farms and not from the city's distillery dairies. Other milk interests, such as the recently formed Borden's Milk Company, plugged their evaporated and concentrated milk as healthful, commercial alternatives to the tainted local milk. And restaurants and hotels assured the public that their milk had always come from reliable and healthful sources outside of the city limits. For example, the Astor House Hotel announced in a notice in *Leslie's* that "all the milk used here comes from a farm carried on for the sole and express purpose of furnishing MILK, VEGETABLES, POULTRY, EGGS, AND PORK to this Hotel."[74] Thus the groups that most benefited from the increased attention to tainted milk were the middle- and upper-class customers, who could seek and afford alternatives, and the producers of those alternatives who found new marketing opportunities. Meanwhile, the poor denizens of New York City ingested tainted milk for another generation.

The major fallout of the 1858 swill-milk controversy was political rather than legislative, an indication that the public was a step ahead of its representatives on this food-health issue. Aldermen Tuomey and Reed both lost their bids for reelection in 1858. Indeed, while Tuomey briefly regained his seat in 1876, he was forever marked with the stain of the swill-milk controversy. His 1878 run for city coroner failed when voters were reminded of his association with the 1858 scandal.[75] But New York's milk supply remained tainted for decades to come. The *New York Observer and Chronicle* accurately predicted that "in a few weeks the excitement will subside, families will take the same kind of milk of other dealers, with 'Pure Orange County Milk' on their carts, and all will go on as before."[76] And so it was. After the initial shock over the distillery dairies subsided, the public and its elected officials returned to other concerns and the swill-milk industry continued to operate in New York.

The lack of progress is evident in subsequent exposés of the swill-milk dairies. After the 1858 swill-milk investigation concluded, sanitary reformer Dr. Samuel M. Percy worked to investigate the distillery dairies. The doctor went undercover, assuming various identities, including a farmer selling cattle, a butcher looking for beef, and a grocer seeking a pure milk supply. Percy pursued his investigation for six years, visiting the distillery dairies, their environs, and the homes of their customers. The doctor, his cover apparently blown, was granted a cold reception. On at least one instance, he was pelted by offal, and at two stables, the burly "milk maids" threatened to throw him in the vats filled with cattle excrement. When he published his findings, Percy documented the same shocking conditions that Frank Leslie's reporters and artists had exposed five years before. And he found the same lack of response from the city council and its board of health which, despite the evidence provided them, never held hearings on the subject.[77] Given the city government's patent disinterest, Percy, like other reformers of his day, took his case to the state legislature, where legislation at last occurred. In 1863, the state finally outlawed swill milk.

The law was an important step but, unfortunately, it lacked teeth. While it made it a misdemeanor to sell unwholesome or adulterated milk, it failed to define what it meant by "adulteration" or "unwholesome," thus giving much leeway to the distillery dairies. For example, a municipal judge found that the addition of water was not an adulteration. And despite some cooperation from the mayor and police, lax enforcement ensured the continuation of swill-milk practices.[78]

In fact, the 1865 report of the Sanitary Committee suggests how little enforcement there was. Inspector James L. Little, MD, decried swill-milk distilleries, exposing these "detestable establishments," including the still-extant Moore's, one of the main targets of *Leslie's* investigation, which was located in his district. Like Frank Leslie almost a decade earlier, Little described the poor ventilation, the crowding of the cows, and their diseased conditions. Little also condemned the marketing of diseased milk to poor families, particularly children, and the sale of the meat from these diseased cows "of course to the poorer classes."[79]

Tainted milk remained a problem in New York City for the rest of the century. Only in the 1890s did philanthropist Nathan Straus and the Henry Street Settlement House work to provide pasteurized milk to the children of the poor, helping to address the extraordinarily high infant-mortality rate. And the Progressive Era of the early twentieth century saw true and lasting reform in pure-food-and-drug laws at both the local and national level. The Progressive-era reforms did not, as some historians suggest, emerge anew from industrial growth of the late nineteenth century.[80] Rather, the United States Department of Agriculture and the Pure Food and Drug Act developed from a long history of food issues and scandals daring back to the 1830s in New York City.

Reform of New York's food supply in general would also await another era. The market houses remained an embarrassment to the city throughout the nineteenth century and indeed worsened before they improved in the twentieth century. Grocers and other food retailers continued to sell substandard food in the city's poorer wards. And the pushcarts and peddlers that sold food to New York's poor multiplied, crowding the streets and sidewalks of tenement neighborhoods.

The unprecedented variety and abundance in New York City's mid-nineteenth-century food markets had an unsavory flip side. In many ways, the markets and their problems served as an index to larger challenges faced by New York's leaders and residents as the city emerged as the nation's metropolis. Gotham's public markets shifted from celebrated landmarks to emblems of municipal corruption and neglect. This transformed image was rooted in part in Tammany Hall's stance toward its public markets. At best, the city council embraced a laissez-faire position in keeping with the spirit of the times. The councilmen assumed the free market would better serve the public good than strong government oversight. At worst, corrupt officials saw in the markets opportunities to line their pockets through graft, kickbacks, and shakedowns. Even if Tammany had wanted to continue regulating the markets, the distribution channels that worked in the early republic were grossly inadequate in moving fresh food from the ships and trains that brought it to the city into the markets themselves. The neglect of

the markets extended to other areas as well, most notoriously the city's milk supply. Drawn from the distillery dairies of the city but sometimes passed off as the "pure country" variety, the milk that the city's residents drank, especially the poor, contributed to epidemic rates of gastrointestinal disorders and in many cases, death.

The increasing contrasts in the city's class structure, between the haves and the have-nots, were reflected in the food options available to them. As the city grew, class and geography became evermore intertwined in determining one's access to healthy and affordable foodstuffs. Wealthier New Yorkers shopped in private markets and meat shops near their homes on the outskirts of the city. These neighborhood groceries offered convenient hours and services and sanitary environments to their customers. But the tenement groceries that dotted the poorer and working-class wards were another animal entirely. These corner groceries often served more liquor than foodstuffs, and the food they offered was frequently stale, rotted, and otherwise substandard. Middle-class reformers demanded change, including legislation regulating the milk supply, a return to better oversight (or alternatively, privatization) of the city's markets, and prosecution of corrupt officials. But their efforts bore little fruit in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. And while later reforms improved New York's food supply, the class divisions that emerged in the midst of New York's food revolution remained solid. Indeed, the strong connections among class, geography, and food quality—rooted in these early years of metropolitan growth—remain a central issue in New York City today.

FOUR

"To See and Be Seen": Restaurants and Public Culture, 1825–1865

"Restaurants abound"! proclaimed the New York-based magazine *Home Journal* in 1854. "They are the daily resort of hundreds of thousands of all classes of citizens. Many go nowhere else for breakfast, dinner, or supper." Fifteen years later, New York journalist Junius Henri Browne proclaimed the ubiquity of Gotham's restaurants: "Go where you will between the hours of 8 in the morning and 6 in the evening," Browne asserted, "and you are reminded that man is a cooking animal. Tables are always spread; knives and forks are always rattling against dishes; the odors of the kitchen are always rising."[1]

These descriptions suggest the central role of restaurants in the business and social life of mid-nineteenth-century New York City. But in fact, the map of New York dining looked very different just fifty years before, when taverns and pleasure gardens were the only venues available to New Yorkers seeking commercial meal options. Along with changes to its retail provisioning sector, the growing metropolis of New York developed a new institution—the restaurant. Restaurants addressed a practical need—feeding the thousands of businessmen, tourists, and shoppers who crowded into the city's commercial downtown after the 1830s. But restaurants did far more than administer an undistinguished mass of food to a hungry populace. They quickly came to serve other, more symbolic needs as well. Restaurants grew up with the city itself and became entrenched in the landscape of New York. As such, they provided a staging ground for social interactions and stratification, for gender mores and conventions, and for working out social relationships and public behavior in the increasingly complicated metropolis. They were among the quintessential urban institutions of the nineteenth century and in accommodating their growth and proliferation, New Yorkers created a new urban culture.

Indeed, restaurants both reflected and helped to shape a new public culture in nineteenth-century New York City. In eighteenth-century New York and other American cities, taverns contributed to a lively public sphere. Like the London coffeehouses studied by German scholar Jürgen Habermas, taverns provided a space for the exchange of ideas and a gathering place for information and news. They thus offered fertile ground for the questioning of authority and governmental decisions, practices that were crucial to the eventual formation of democracy.[2]

But in the nineteenth century, the public sphere contracted. Historian Mary Ryan addresses these shifts in the American city. As industrial capitalism took hold in the nineteenth century, Ryan suggests, business owners sought ways to maximize profits that conflicted with the free space and discourse of Habermasian civil society. The open discourse and free exchange found in taverns and coffeehouses was ceded to semipublic spaces such as department stores, hotels, and sanitized public amusements that straddled the line between the private world of the home and the public world of business. Women played a crucial role in the creation of this semipublic sphere for it was their patronage that savvy entrepreneurs sought. Theater impresarios, hoteliers, and department store mavens like A. T. Stewart crafted spaces in the public sphere but removed from its most unsavory elements. In these highly regulated venues, according to Ryan, rules of conduct and strictly defined functions allowed ladies to socialize comfortably with little threat to their bodies or reputation.[3]

Restaurants represented an equally important semipublic space. As New York's restaurant sector grew larger and more diverse, restaurants became segmented along class and other lines. Rules—tacit and explicit—emerged to police such spaces and became part and parcel of the restaurant experience. Restaurants served as important spaces of social articulation—stages for acting out status and conspicuous consumption. Historian Rebecca Spang argues a similar role for the late-eighteenth-century French restaurant. Rather than serving as a place of dialogue and discussion, the French restaurant was about consumerism and spectacle.[4]

Restaurants played an important role in cementing New York's public culture. First, they helped shape New York's business life at a crucial point in the city's commercial development. Business transactions occurred over restaurant meals, and the very existence of restaurants allowed merchants, lawyers, clerks, and others to continue the workday uninterrupted. Second, restaurants provided New Yorkers of various backgrounds with the opportunity to dine out. Those of different class, gender, and ethnic identities did not necessarily share common *space*—specialized restaurants quickly emerged to cater to different groups of New Yorkers. But they did share a common experience—eating and socializing among strangers in public. In restaurants, they confronted new aspects and characteristics of metropolitan life including extremes of wealth, evolving class and gender mores, and commercial activities such as gambling and prostitution. They practiced new behaviors around food-related consumer items and participated in particularly urban forms of interaction.

New York's restaurants were part of a constellation of consumer leisure venues. In concert with department stores, luxury hotels, theaters, and brothels, restaurants formed an increasingly active and interactive consumer culture that touched almost all of the city's residents and visitors in one way or another whether as diners, as staff, or both. But perhaps more than any other institution, the nineteenth-century restaurant shaped and reflected New York's metropolitan public culture because such a wide range of restaurant types emerged. Virtually every New Yorker at every level of the social scale experienced restaurants in some form. The next closest institution in this respect was the hotel, whose common rooms and lobbies hosted public events.[5] But even with their reach, hotels did not touch the daily lives of such a broad range of New Yorkers as did restaurants.

In the growing metropolis, restaurants became important social spaces, not only gathering places for acquaintances and friends to share a meal but also venues where people learned how to interact with strangers in a convivial way. In this sense, restaurants served like many public and semipublic spaces in today's metropolis—the subway, the office building, even the neighborhood—where people become familiar with strangers, passing and greeting the same people on frequent occasion but usually not really interacting with or learning anything about each other. As Junius Browne explained, "Restaurants in New-York create singular companions," bringing together people who would not come together in any other situation. "Faces become familiar at a table that are never thought of at any other time. You know the face, as that of your brother, or father, or partner; but when it turns away into the crowd, you never suspect, or care, or conjecture where it goes, or to whom it belongs."[6] This experience was an important locus of civil society; it served as one basis of a shared public culture even in an increasingly segmented and divided populace, and it formed the roots of New York's modern restaurant and metropolitan culture.

The concept of a restaurant—a free-standing establishment that serves meals to customers from a fixed or rotating menu—was a relatively new one in the early nineteenth century.[7] The very first restaurants emerged in

eighteenth-century Paris not as a place but as a thing—a restorative broth served to the sick in guild-operated establishments. From these early foundations grew the Parisian restaurant, the template for those that opened across the Atlantic in the nineteenth century.[8] The French influence on restaurants cannot be denied. On a very basic level, some of the earliest American restaurants were started by French immigrants in cities like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. By 1810, the New York City Directory listed five free-standing "victualling houses." Many of the early eating houses were French-owned and French-inspired, including Delmonico's, which opened in 1830. But while Swiss brothers John and Peter Delmonico revolutionized fine dining in New York and the United States at large, they did not introduce the concept of the free-standing restaurant to the United States. In fact, the earliest-known American restaurant was not even in New York; it was Julien's Restorator, a full-scale French-style restaurant that appeared in Boston in 1794.[9] So New York certainly did not invent the American restaurant. But by the 1840s, Gotham bypassed all other cities as the center of American restaurant activity. New York had more restaurants, boasted greater variety, and catered to a wider diversity of people than any other US city. Moreover, New York restaurants both pioneered and cultivated the culture of eating out as well as set the standard for restaurants in cities around the country. And while New York's restaurants were undeniably influenced by their Parisian predecessors and counterparts, New York would develop its own particular and unique restaurant culture.

The first area where New York diverged from Paris was in the origins of its restaurant sector. New York's restaurants emerged to fill a need but not a medicinal one. They arose to serve the growing number of residents and visitors seeking meals away from their homes and hotels. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, New York's merchants and laborers worked in or near their homes, and they returned home for meals.[10] But by the 1820s, a large population of New Yorkers worked downtown and commuted from their homes in the growing residential neighborhoods on the city's edges. Too far from home to return for the midday meal, they began to seek dining options near work.

Many potential restaurant patrons lived not in private homes but in hotels and boardinghouses. Such living arrangements became an integral part of American urban life in the nineteenth century. These practices originated in the housing crunch and expense of buying a home in New York City. In the 1850s, renting even the "narrowest and shabbiest lodging for a family" cost $100 to $150 per year and a middle-class house between $500 and $700 per year to rent or $3,000 to $5,000 to own, according to the *Times*

and *Tribune*.[11] Setting up housing in a hotel or boardinghouse offered a more affordable option. Between 1830 and 1860, permanent residents occupied half of the hotel rooms in New York. One English visitor noted: "At some of the principal hotels you will find the apartments of the lodgers so permanently taken that the plate with their name engraved on it is fixed on the door."[12]

More common than hotel living was boardinghouse residency. These establishments ranged from the genteel to the seedy, and they formed a core institution in nineteenth-century New York. The expanding sector of white-collar clerks especially relied on this type of living arrangement. These young, single men entered the city in large numbers in the early nineteenth century, bound for work and training in the countinghouses, offices, and warehouses of the bustling port. Rather than establishing homes of their own, they settled in boardinghouses with other, similarly situated young men. Indeed, historians estimate that one-third to one-half of nineteenth-century urbanites lived in such lodgings.[13] Another housing option, one explored exclusively by poor and working-class New Yorkers, was the tenement or rental unit. But not until after the Civil War when French flats—large apartment units in big, residential buildings—became acceptable living accommodations for middle- and upper-class New Yorkers did the boardinghouse lose its predominance as a housing option in New York and other US cities.

Boardinghouse living and commuting contributed to the growth of New York's restaurants, a fact noted by observers of the New York scene. *Putnam's Monthly* attributed the proliferation of eating houses to the increasing distance between the downtown business district and the residential areas "up town, and across the East and North Rivers, and down the bay to Staten Island." Likewise, in an article subtitled "How New Yorkers Sleep Uptown and Eat Downtown," the *New-York Daily Times* described the large market for diners in the downtown eating houses. Their clientele included "the thousands of active working people who are engaged in various avocations downtown" but "have their homes far up town, or in the neighboring Cities of Brooklyn, Williamsburg, Jersey City, or some other suburb." Alternatively, commuters might carry their lunch and eat in or around the office. But, as the *Times* put it, "tin dinner-kettles, and little provision baskets are carried by comparatively few."[14]

For many of these men then, eating out became a daily occurrence. Calvin Pollard, a New York City architect who lived on Twenty-Second Street and worked downtown, was such an example. Pollard noted daily dinners (the midday meal) in his 1841–1842 account book, usually at the

cost of 12.5 cents. In 1849, 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." And John Stubbings Webb, a clerk for a British metals firm who lived in a Brooklyn Heights boardinghouse and commuted to his job in New York City, likewise ate dinner out every day. In an 1853 letter to his parents, he described his daily schedule, which included proceeding to an eating house for dinner each day at 1:00 or 2:00 p.m. By the 1860s, the *Tribune* estimated that one-quarter of the eight hundred patrons at One Chatham Street eating house were "regular customers."[15]

The growth and popularity of restaurants reflected a real change in the daily lives of many New Yorkers. Just a generation before, they took every meal at home in the company of family. Now, many men ate at least five meals a week among strangers in commercial venues. Mealtimes changed as well to accommodate urban growth and the new institutions that catered to it. When men returned home for the midday meal, it was the most substantial of the day. At the end of the workday, families ate a small supper of cold meats, soup, cheese, and bread. By the 1840s, this option was an impossibility for many. Thus, men of the middle and upper classes took their dinners at the public dining houses while their wives and children ate a small meal of breakfast leftovers at home—an early form of lunch. The dinner hour was pushed back to the early evening, and families either had supper at nine or ten o'clock or did away with this meal altogether.[16]

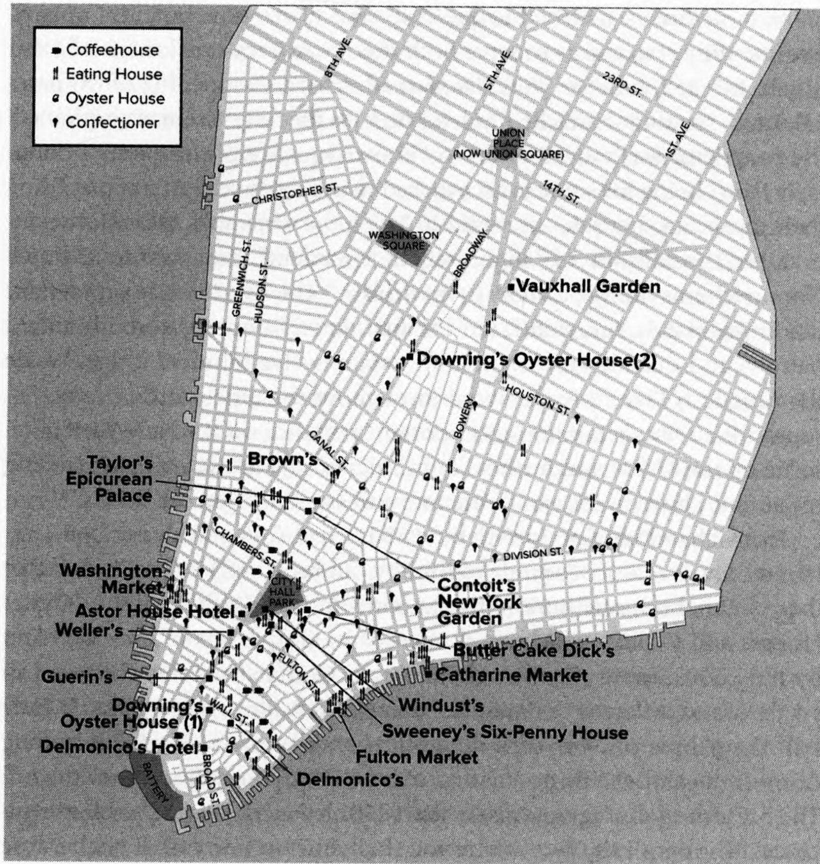
Not just local commuters but travelers to New York sought restaurant options as well. Some of these visitors were accustomed to European hotels, in which meals were served to order and paid for individually. American hotels, on the other hand, customarily followed the pattern established in taverns of offering a table d'hote. Under the table d'hote plan, diners ate precooked selections family-style, rather than choosing from a menu. Meals took place at set times and were included in the price of lodging, a practice called the "American Plan," and hotels that followed it were known as American Plan hotels.

With the growth in both the number of foreign visitors to the city and the incidence of permanent residency in New York hotels, more hotels adopted the European model. This process evolved in the three decades before the Civil War. Guests of European Plan hotels paid for meals separate from their lodgings. They could thus opt to take their meals in the hotel's restaurant, in their rooms, or off premises, and pay accordingly.[17]

As more hotels switched to the European Plan, some hoteliers opened free-standing restaurants to serve both their own guests and those of other hotels. In 1852, hotelier W. G. Dunlap advertised the opening of Dunlap's Saloon, a restaurant attached to his hotel. As the advertisement explained, the proprietor was moved to do so "in consequence of the guests at Dunlap's Hotel being for some years exposed to the inconvenience of procuring their meals at other saloons." And in 1857, the venerable Astor House announced the addition of "an entirely independent" restaurant to its hotel, "for merchants doing business in its vicinity." The Astor House's restaurant was immediately successful. On the first day, it attracted seven hundred patrons and quickly grew to accommodate twelve hundred a day. While the American Plan hotel persisted throughout the nineteenth century, European Plan hotels became an important presence on the New York hotel scene by the 1850s and further contributed to the growth of free-standing restaurants, both in the same structure and separate from the hotels.[18]

From a handful of options in the 1830s, New York quickly became a restaurant town. A tourist's guide to the city published in 1847 estimated that there were about one hundred restaurants in New York, plus the "Oyster Houses and Cellars, which are numerous in all quarters of the city." And by the 1860s, Junius Browne claimed that Gotham had five thousand to six thousand different restaurants. *Putnam's Monthly* suggested that "nearly half the people of New-York dine out every day of the week," including "almost the entire male population of New-York [who] dine 'down town.'" The breadth of dining options by the 1850s led clerk John S. Webb to conclude: "The perplexity as to where you shall dine in New York is not because you cannot find a place, but from the choice and variety of places."[19] Restaurant districts and rows began to emerge, on Nassau Street downtown, along the Bowery, and up the spine of Broadway.

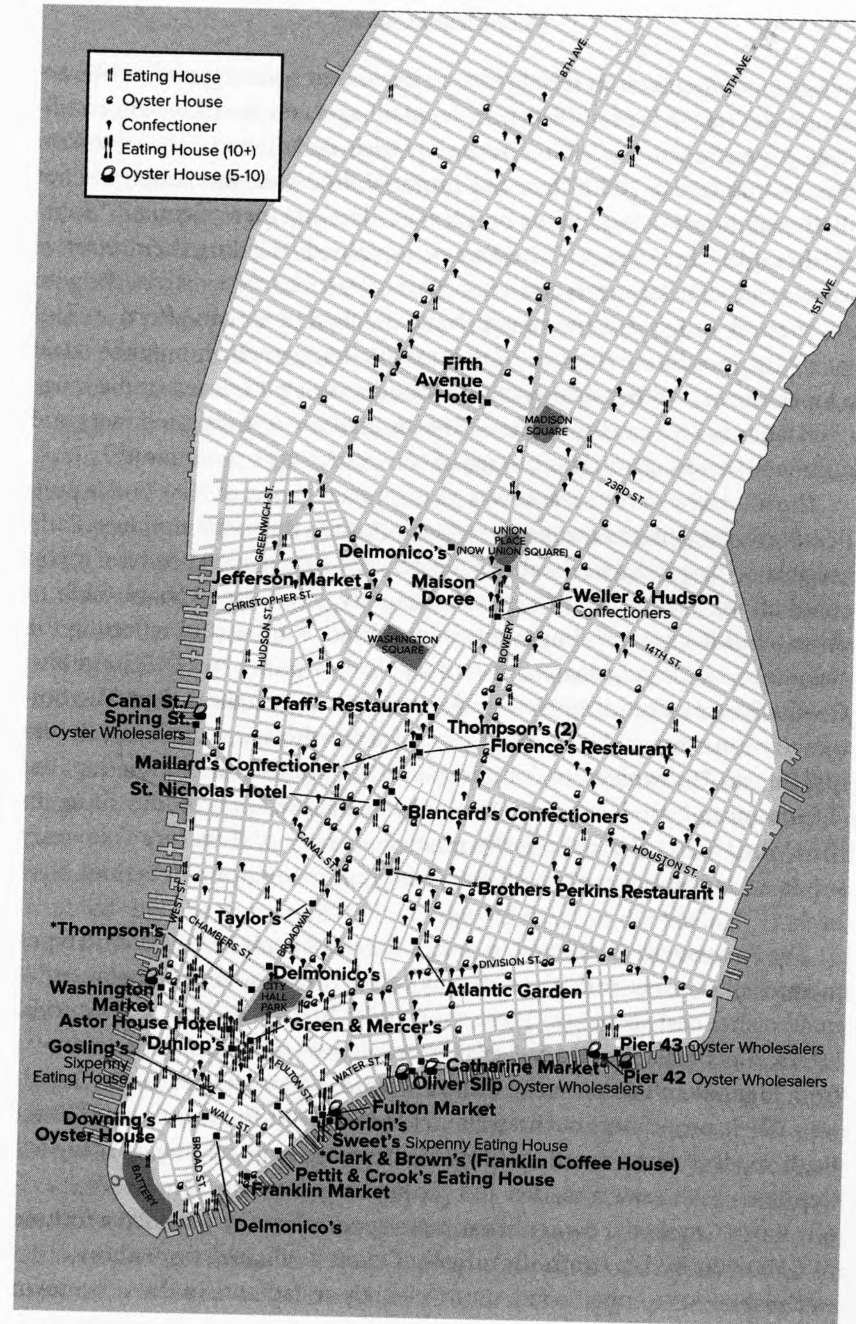
Restaurants and their patrons quickly started to sort themselves. Certain restaurants served specialized clienteles. For example, Windust's, its walls lined with playbills, clippings, and theater images, was the headquarters to New York's theater crowd for years. Located on Park Row near the Park Theater, this restaurant's patronage included actors, artists, musicians and their fans, as well as journalists from the nearby newspaper offices. Particular restaurants served tourists, merchants, mechanics, artisans, sporting men and bachelors, and families. The city housed Italian restaurants as well as other ethnic offerings that represented "all the different tribes of Scandinavia and Germany." And at least one restaurant catered to "'the upper ten' of sabledom," New York's wealthy African Americans.[20]



This map depicts the eating houses, oyster houses, confectioners, and coffeehouses of New York City in 1835, according to their listing in the New York City Directory. (Map by Ben Benjamin)

Even children ate at New York's restaurants, a practice that evoked interest and comment from several observers. These comments suggest the early incidence of children and families dining out socially and while traveling as well as the extension of restaurant dining into various segments of New York's population. But at this point, it was mainly the children of the wealthy who patronized Gotham's restaurants. Many more children were involved in the service side of public dining in New York: peddling food items on the streets, serving as runners in restaurant dining rooms, or performing menial jobs in the back of the house. [21]

Overall, by the mid-nineteenth century, New Yorkers of virtually every



This map depicts the eating houses, oyster houses, and confectioners of New York City in 1865, according to their listing in the New York City Directory. Locations marked with an asterisk were closed by 1865 but are referenced in the chapter text. All other locations were extant in 1865. Note the proliferation of restaurants between 1835 and 1865 as well as the development of restaurant districts around Nassau Street, Bowery, Chatham Square, the spine of Broadway, and near the public markets. (Map by Ben Benjamin)

background ate meals in restaurants or worked in some type of public accommodation. "A half million people, of all ages, sexes, colors and conditions depend upon the eating-house for their daily bread," the *New-York Tribune* remarked in 1866. These five-hundred-thousand-plus people did not all dine at the same restaurants or rub shoulders together, of course. "Some of [them] live luxuriously," the *Tribune* explained, "tickling their sensitive palates with delicate meats and wine." But others cram "their stomachs with the coarsest and grossest food which the pinched purse can afford . . . [to] satisfy the inordinate cravings of that terrible hunger which only the street pauper knows." In between could be found a variety of diners and a range of restaurants that catered to them. This assessment was repeated in a good number of midcentury descriptions of New York City's restaurants.[22]

The hierarchy of restaurants was an important aspect of New York's public culture. Restaurants spelled out where one fit in the social structure. Early on, this sorting was largely about means rather than social codes—if you could afford to dine at Delmonico's regularly, you were probably able to do so—but it served an important role in both shaping and reflecting the class structure of mid-nineteenth-century New York City. In 1848, journalist George Foster categorized New York's restaurants into three tiers. The bottom tier consisted of the "Sweeneyorum," a downtown eating house. In the middle was "Browniverous," a mid-priced chophouse. And at the top: the "Delmonican," modeled after Delmonico's, the exemplar of fine dining in the United States throughout the nineteenth century.[23] Foster's taxonomy serves as a useful tour through the restaurant culture of antebellum New York.

The Sweeneyorum referred to one of the most common restaurant types in antebellum New York, the sixpenny eating house, so named because the main dishes cost six pence. These short-order houses, including Sweeney's, Johnson's, Dunlap's, and Sweet's, catered to an all-male clientele drawn from Manhattan's commercial district around Wall Street and Lower Broadway. Their proprietors such as Daniel Sweeney, Rufus Crook, and Foster Pettit made a name for themselves in the nineteenth century as savvy entrepreneurs who saw a market and profited handsomely from it. For example, Rufus Crook, the owner of various sixpenny houses, amassed a fortune of $100,000 by his death. Eventually Crook graduated from short-order establishments to open some more leisurely restaurants in the downtown district.[24]

Given their novelty and popularity, restaurants provided entrepreneurial opportunities to many others as well. According to one account, opening a restaurant "afforded the surest means of making a fortune out of a comparatively small beginning." Newspaper ads placed by entrepreneurs seeking partners in restaurant ventures support this claim. An 1855 ad in the *New York Herald*, for example, sought a partner in an "oyster, eating and drinking saloon," with potential "receipts from $14 to $23, day and night." Another ad in the same paper promised "at least $5000 a year, clear profits" for a partner in "one of the best paying restaurants, located in the greatest thoroughfare in this city." Five thousand dollars appears to have been a magic number, proposed in several ads as profits to restaurant proprietors.[25] That said, restaurants were—as they are today—volatile businesses with high turnover and a sketchy success rate. "Many signs are taken down after a few months' airing and stowed away in garret or cellar among the dusty relics of untimely ventures and fruitless, extravagant hopes," the *New-York Tribune* lamented.[26]

Sixpenny restaurants shared a similar arrangement to each other, a template followed by other kinds of New York restaurants: a large, rectangular room with tables for four arranged in long aisles. In some cases, the tables were booths or "boxes" that lined the sides of the room, again separated by a long aisle. Some eating houses also had counters that ran the length of the room. Waiters, usually of Irish descent or African American, stood along the aisles, ready to take the orders of hungry and hurried patrons. In place of a printed menu, a "large white placard," or chalkboard outside the door displayed the meal options and prices—six pence for a small steak, three cents for a cup of coffee—or waiters called them out. After taking orders for standard offerings like roast beef, boiled mutton, lamb, or fish, these servers shouted them to the runners who conveyed them to the kitchen. The runners then delivered the preprepared meals in a flash to diners who quickly bolted them down, paid their bill, and left, usually within thirty minutes of their arrival.[27]

Not surprisingly, these venues were crowded, chaotic, and loud, according to all descriptions of them. Knives and forks made an "amazing clatter," as did the waiters who "bawled out in a loud voice, to give notice of what fare was wanted," one diner recalled. The pace involved an "extraordinary bustle," with patrons eating as quickly as possible. Customers swallowed their food "with a strange, savage earnestness, and in silence." The close quarters and assembly-line atmosphere presented, to one observer, "a most uncomfortable spectacle." Another visitor described the rapid turnover: "We were not in the house above twenty minutes, but we sat out two sets of company at least." A template was set for these establishments in the 1830s, and the script varied little even decades later. Even the prices remained the same.[28]

In fact, the standardization of restaurant prices suggests the growth of an organized industry by the early 1850s. Restaurant owners cooperated with each other in setting prices, addressing licensing issues, and dealing with crises such as the shortage of specie in New York in 1851 and again in 1862. In 1852, the owners of several sixpenny houses got together and raised prices to nine pence to deal with the increasing cost of supplies. Customers did not protest or demand a lowering of prices, but they countered the higher rates by ordering fewer side dishes, thus offsetting any additional profits the proprietors might have gained. Before long, the managers of the cheap eating houses agreed to return their prices to six pence. Likewise, the specie shortages led restaurateurs to issue coupons for meals so their customers could pay for a sixpenny or shilling plate without having to scrounge for elusive coins. And in 1852, restaurant and saloon owners got together and set a price standard for liquor offerings in response to new licensing laws that raised their operating costs.[29] New York's restaurants also carried on a high volume of business and moved a huge amount of product. In 1855, the *New York Journal of Commerce* reported that some of the downtown houses served one thousand to two thousand people daily. In a single month, patrons of one restaurant "devoured . . . 11,842 pounds of meat, 1,485 pounds of fish, 158 bushels of potatoes, 2,760 loaves of bread, 6,472 quarts of milk, 2,959 pounds of sugar," [and] 1,336 pounds of butter."[30]

In many of these early restaurants, food was secondary to other factors—speed, convenience, and cheapness. In fact, the cuisine left something to be desired. George Foster described it as "generally bad enough—not nearly equal to that which the cook" of a wealthy home "saves for the beggars." Foster particularly singled out the "disgusting masses of stringy meat and tepid vegetables." *Harper's* "Man about Town" decried the "black, elastic substance, known as a small steak," and the "balls of a species of vegetable putty, which figured as potatoes." And another diner complained that all of the dishes shared the same bad taste, a sure sign "that they have all simmered together in one omnivorous oven." These critiques aside, many sixpenny houses continued to do a brisk business, in part because the patrons of these establishments never sought a fine-dining experience. Their goal was to eat on the quick and cheap, and then return to work. "The downtown eating houses are a place where a man seizes a hasty lunch, bolts it and runs off . . . rapidly" the *New York Herald* explained.[31] These accounts suggest that the short-order restaurant was not a place of easy sociability, but rather of expediency, akin to today's fast-food restaurant. In the fast-paced world of New York commerce, this type of restaurant served an important role for on-the-go New Yorkers.

Indeed, the sixpenny houses encouraged and even cultivated the rushed, slovenly eating habits ascribed to nineteenth-century Americans in general and New Yorkers in particular. Descriptions of eating habits in restaurants and public dining rooms provided both amusing and evocative illustrations of the pace of daily life in New York City. In Gotham, the center of American finance, commerce generally superseded dining enjoyment. English tourist Horace Batcheler remarked that New Yorkers eat "with a despatch beyond my powers of mastication . . . and it frequently happens that you meet the parties who arrived the same hour with yourself coming out of the dining-room as you are about to enter."[32]

Descriptions of this type continued with little change throughout the nineteenth century. For example, in 1868 the *Tribune* presented a typical downtown diner:

> Sharp, nervous, and pulse at 98, [he] rushes into the saloon, drops into the chair . . . shouts "roast beef and coffee" to the nearest waiter, looks twice at his watch in the minute he is gone; then hitches up his cuffs, salts and peppers his beef, and, grasping knife and fork, attacks it as though it were alive and it was doubtful which would eat the other first. He flushes his coffee in the second attempt, demolishes a dessert ordered in advance, wipes his mouth with a handkerchief in lieu of a napkin, seizes his check, slaps down his change, and is off almost before you have begun your dinner.

This common assessment of the brisk dining habits of New York businessmen reflected the quickened pace of the commercial metropolis. These accounts give a definite sense (one that still persists to this day) that New Yorkers did not have time to enjoy breakfast or lunch because they had to get back to work. Contemporaries recognized this point specifically. The *Tribune* described the downtown restaurants as "rooms where the busy, hurrying money changers are lunching." These diners "have known all the vicissitudes of the stock gambler's life," and "can never be withdrawn from its seductions," the *Tribune* explained.[33]

Restaurants thus quickly became an integral part of New York's burgeoning business culture and among their central institutions. As George Foster put it: "New York could no more exist without her Eating-Houses, than you, dear reader, could get along without your stomach." 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."[34]

But the sixpenny refectories were hardly the only eating-house option.

For those who craved a more leisurely pace, a second type of all-male restaurant emerged on the scene, the Browniverous on Foster's taxonomy. Owned and operated by English immigrants, establishments like Clark & Brown's (aka the Franklin Coffee House) were "quiet, cozy places." They featured sanded floors, English prints on the walls, and steaks to order. Chophouses served as a bastion for English expatriates in Manhattan as restaurants would do for a host of other immigrant New Yorkers. Chophouses were somewhat similar to the short-order houses, but the pace a bit slower, the menu a bit more official. "The chief difference to be noted between the two is that . . . at Brown's the waiters *actually* do pass by you within hail now and then," George Foster explained. Brown's (a separate establishment from Clark & Brown's) also offered a printed menu and slightly higher prices than Sweeney's. While they were a cut above the sixpenny houses, the chophouses were still very unassuming. They offered a few dishes—"roast beef very rare and cut in thick slices, or a beefsteak scarcely warmed through, English plum-pudding," and of course English ale—and eschewed the pretenses that would attach to first-class restaurants like Delmonico's. Samuel Ward disparagingly recalled "the democratic nonchalance of the service" at chophouses like Clark & Brown's, and Brown's.[35]

If the distinction between Brown's and Sweeney's was merely one of degree, that was certainly not true of the top tier of Foster's taxonomy—the Delmonican. As New York's restaurant sector grew more established, some restaurants emphasized gastronomical luxuries over mere convenience. Delmonico's was the ultimate example of these first-class restaurants. But the dining rooms of the city's palace hotels served as important precursors. Beginning in the 1830s with the Astor House, the grand hotels placed a premium on luxury and cutting-edge technology, offering their wealthy guests a new standard in service and comfort. The dining rooms sat at the center of these palaces for the people.[36] One European traveler described American hotels simply as "giant feeding places," ignoring the range of other services the hotels provided, including lodging.[37]

The hotel ordinaries followed the model of colonial taverns, offering a table d'hote, where, again, various dishes were precooked and delivered to the dining room en masse. Guests chose individual meals, which waiters carved, dressed, garnished, and plated at the sideboard. But there the comparison with the rustic tavern ended. The giant hotel restaurants provided as much opportunity for showing off as they did for eating. Patrons participated in a highly ritualized dining performance, replete with props, dress, and prescribed roles. The hotel waiters performed a military-style drill, choreographed to the head waiter's whistle, which signaled them to deliver dishes to diners, uncover them with a flourish, and stand at attention through the seven courses that typified a hotel meal. The dining performance extended to the dress of the patrons, the tables, and the room itself. Some of the female patrons "appear in a different dress at every meal, and in point of elegance and costliness of attire, they went beyond anything in my poor experience," marveled Astor House guest William Chambers. Meanwhile, the long tables that seated hundreds of guests were covered with the finest linen, cut glass, porcelain, and silver. At each place lay a menu card, itself a new prop. The Astor House had its own printing press for the exclusive purpose of producing these daily menus.[38]

Unlike the traditional taverns, with their rustic settings, the hotel dining rooms were among the most lavishly decorated spaces in all of New York. Black walnut tables and velvet-covered chairs filled the dining room at the St. Nicholas Hotel. Gilded mirrors hung on its walls. And twenty-four marble pilasters supported the frescoed, twenty-foot-high ceiling. This immense fifty-by-one-hundred-foot room was, *Putnam's Monthly* reported, "an exquisitely beautiful example of a banqueting room, and shows to what a high condition the fine art of dining well has already been carried in this city." Indeed, *Putnam's* argued that the dining room decor if "lively and cheerful" offered an "essential aid to digestion."[39]

Meanwhile, the hundreds of hotel diners enjoyed some of the finest cuisine available in the city. The bills of fare were extensive. A guest at the St. Nicholas marveled at the number of dishes offered, including "our choice of two soups, two kinds of fish, ten boiled dishes, nine roast dishes, six relishes, seventeen entrées, three cold dishes, five varieties of game, thirteen varieties of vegetables, seven kinds of pastry, and seven fruits, with ice-cream and coffee." Dinner was the most extravagant meal served at the hotels but other repasts were similarly prodigious.[40] As early as 1843, the Astor employed three chefs including a "a Frenchman for the side dishes, an Englishman for the roast meats, and an Italian for the *patisseries*."[41]

But guests enjoyed far more than fine food. A diner at the public table sat among hundreds of others who like him wished to "sun [themselves] in the public gaze." Dining out in the hotel ordinaries became an event unto itself in antebellum New York, an entertainment rather than just a meal. As one contemporary proclaimed in 1844: "The going to the Astor and dining with two hundred well-dressed people, and sitting in full dress in a splendid drawing-room with plenty of company—is the charm of going to the city!" In comparison, theaters, shopping, and sightseeing were "poor accessories to the main object of the visit." Dining was not a private act or a family occasion but a public event and, according to some observers, the more public,

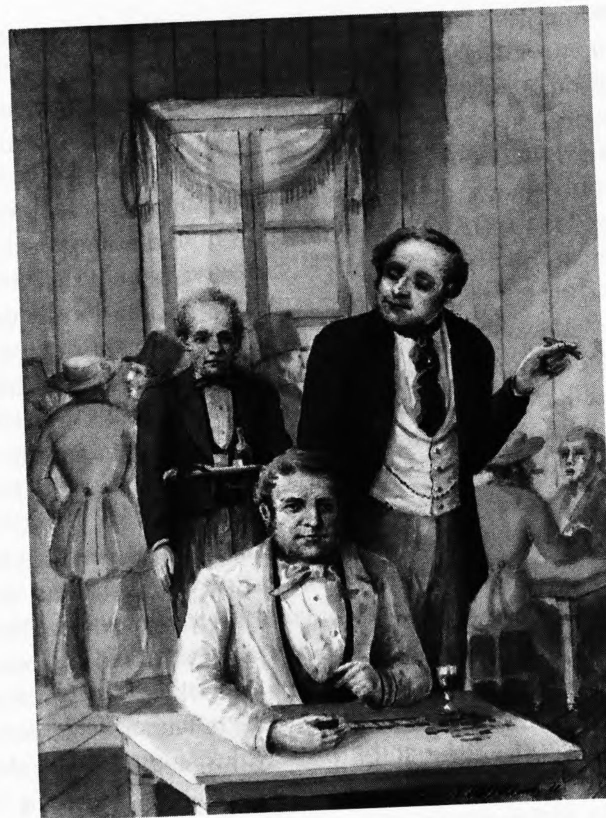
the better. "The distinguished, the fashionable, the dressy and handsome," the *New York Weekly Mirror* proclaimed, "all dine . . . *at the public table*."[42] As they did so, they socialized and participated in a performance of conspicuous consumption.

This show took place on the stage of the hotel ordinary, which emphasized space and display, as well as culinary excellence. The hotel ordinaries defined luxury dining, and hotel dining was among the most refined activities available to antebellum New Yorkers. "The days have gone by," the *New-York Tribune* noted, "when quiet comfort, mere neatness, and a good table were sufficient." According to the *New York Weekly Mirror*, the Astor House was "a perfect mirror of the fashions in costume, the luxuries, conveniences, comforts, manners, refinements, beauty, and elegancies of the 19th century."[43]

The rituals and furnishings of New York's grand hotel dining rooms thus represented something new—the public, commercial meal as opportunity for conspicuous consumption among strangers. As New York society grew more complex, the hotel dining room and the luxury restaurant served an important role in delineating the standards of decorum and display for New York's elite and those aspiring to join their ranks. In this way, the restaurant experience was sacralized along the same lines as the theater and other amusements in the mid-nineteenth century. The theater once offered entertainment for all classes under one roof. But as the nineteenth century progressed, it became segmented according to class, with plebian theaters located in separate structures and neighborhoods from elite and middle-class ones. Elite theaters increasingly required not just higher prices of admission but also stricter codes of conduct than working-class theaters, which hewed to older practices—bright lights in the house and a high level of interaction between audiences and actors.[44]

Restaurants also enforced a class hierarchy with the most exclusive not only charging more money but requiring knowledge of codes and rituals for inclusion. Among these codes and rituals was an ability to understand the menu—often written in French. A diner needed to make sense of the various accoutrements—utensils, linens, serving dishes—that covered the table. And he or she needed to feel comfortable interacting with servants since the elite restaurants employed large waitstaffs, themselves versed in a complex code of conduct.[45]

If the hotel restaurants introduced dining as spectacle to New Yorkers, Delmonico's perfected it in a free-standing setting. This famous restaurant began as a modest affair, a confectionery shop opened by Swiss brothers Peter and John Delmonico in 1827. During this nascent period, expectations



This wash drawing of the Delmonico brothers in their William Street restaurant shows a rare interior view of the early Delmonico's. Its simplicity of decor would be eclipsed by midcentury by the opulence associated with the Fourteenth Street branch. (Collection of the New-York Historical Society)

for restaurants were significantly lower than they would become in subsequent years. "Two-tine forks and buck-handled knives were not considered vulgar then," explained memoirist Abram Dayton, and "neither were common earthenware cups and plates inadmissible."[46]

In 1830, the Delmonico brothers expanded their operation into a restaurant on the Parisian model, hiring a French chef and a staff of waiters who prepared and served a wide selection of hot meals. The emergence of a proper restaurant in New York was novel enough that the *New York Gazette* made note of it. In 1830, the newspaper announced that a French restaurant had opened in Charleston and bragged: "we have one in this city" too, "kept in the true Parisian style—at Delmonico's, No. 23 William Street."[47]

At first, Delmonico's catered mainly to foreign expatriates but eventually, the restaurant "attracted the attention, tickled the palate, and suited the pockets of some of the Knickerbocker youths, who at once acknowledged the superiority of the French and Italian cuisine as expounded and set forth by Delmonico," Dayton recalled.[48]

Delmonico's patrons celebrated the restaurant's service, appointments, and food. An 1840 visitor lauded the host, John Delmonico, who "will talk with you in all the civilized languages, and serve you a dish after the manner of any christian country." The details of service included "the whitest napkin, coolest ice, and the best *demi tasse* of coffee . . . this side of Constantinople." And the rich furnishings consisted of mirrors, marble, gilding, fine fabrics, crystal, silver, porcelain, and linen.[49] These descriptions reflect the changing scene in New York City's restaurant culture, the shift from eating to dining in New York fostered by the hotels, Delmonico's, and eventually, other first-class restaurants.

By the 1840s, Delmonico's was *the* destination for downtown merchants as well as the go-to caterer of New York society. The restaurant had developed a national reputation as "beyond . . . question, the most palatial café, or restaurant on this continent."[50] Boosters in cities around the country used the famous New York restaurant as a benchmark against which to compare their culinary offerings. At this point, the restaurant's main operations had moved to Morris Street and Broadway, just south of Chambers, and Lorenzo Delmonico, the nephew of the founders, was overseeing the daily operations. In addition to its epicurean contributions, Delmonico's added to New York's antebellum public culture first by serving a wide swathe of New Yorkers in its various dining rooms and second by offering an important space for political and business transactions.

Even within Delmonico's one structure, though, a hierarchy of diners existed. Memoirist Samuel Ward recalled the differing populations at Delmonico's in this era. Downstairs were clerks and scribes on one side and journalists and politicians on the other. A small, intimate dining room served middling merchants. Meanwhile, on the top floor, in the "superb and luminous" main dining room, "men of distinction in every pursuit and profession, save the church" gathered for meals. The luminaries who dined upstairs included department store maven A. T. Stewart and *New-York Times* editor Henry S. Raymond, dining with politicians of various levels. Evenings brought a whole new and more profitable clientele, including stockbrokers, bankers, and journalists.[51] The restaurant also hosted private dinners and catered the biggest social events in New York, including the visits of the Prince of Wales and Charles Dickens.

The Delmonicos took cues from the hotel dining rooms—emphasizing space, performance, and fashion. But Delmonico's departed from the hotel model in several crucial ways. First, the restaurant was a free-standing establishment, separate from any lodging space (although the Delmonico family did eventually open a hotel on Broadway that also housed one of their several restaurants). Second, they abandoned the ordinary format; guests could choose their meals from a menu of options, prepared to their order, a practice known as the "French style" of service. Indeed, Delmonico's was one of the few free-standing restaurants in antebellum New York to print actual menus rather than listing the offerings on a chalkboard. And these menus were vast. Even as early as the 1830s, the menu, printed in French and English, consisted of eleven pages and included an astonishing 346 entrées, eleven soups, twenty-four liqueurs, fifty-eight wines, and an extensive list of side dishes and desserts.[52]

Delmonico's presented a distinctive environment, the opposite of the sixpenny houses where customers bolted their meals with no attention to taste or decorum. At Delmonico's, as at the hotels, patrons dined, their experience including not just the food but the service, atmosphere, accoutrements, and the ability to see and be seen within the walls of the famous restaurant. Of the space itself, Foster noted that the restaurant was "equal in every respect in its appointments and attendance . . . to any similar establishment in Paris." Similar to the hotel ordinaries, the midcentury Delmonico's had a lavish atmosphere with its frescoes, mirrors, gilding, and other sumptuous appointments.[53]

One paid a high price for Delmonico's service and atmosphere. Dinners started at two dollars in the 1850s, two days' wages for the average manual laborer of the time. But it all fit with the restaurant's role as stage for conspicuous consumption. Customers could count on a high level of attention from Lorenzo Delmonico and his skilled staff. While the waiters at Sweeney's and even Brown's were comically inattentive, at Delmonico's the waiters seemed to predict customers' needs before they were even uttered. "Without seeming to observe you, [they] are always at your elbow just at the moment you are beginning to think about wishing for something," explained one patron. In contrast to the cacophonous short-order waiters, Delmonico's servers were "noiseless as images in a vision," evincing "no hurry-scurry of preparation." Rather, they "glide about as noiselessly as ghosts." Abram Dayton concurred, impressed by "the absence of bustle and confusion," and a lack of "boisterous commands." If "our best American hotels were the palaces of the people," Samuel Ward exclaimed, "he might have added that Delmonico's was their Paradise."[54]

Delmonico's also provided a stage for the articulation of power and prestige in the growing metropolis. Political functions and dinners for visiting dignitaries took place at the restaurant. And politics was a point of discussion at its tables. For example, a reporter for the *Herald* visited Delmonico's to gauge public opinion on who would be elected mayor in 1856 and found it "thronged with patriots of various political proclivities, most of whom seemed to agree upon the certainty of [Fernando] Wood's election." When Wood was reelected three years later, after being turned out of office for a year, he received the election returns in a private room at Delmonico's.

Beyond these public affairs, the very act of dining at Delmonico's conveyed status upon the diner, a position that contemporaries acknowledged explicitly. As Abram Dayton explained: "To lunch, dine, or sup at Delmonico's is the crowning ambition of those who aspire to notoriety."[55] Indeed, by the mid-nineteenth century, patronizing Delmonico's had become an important marker of status and cosmopolitanism for New Yorkers and Americans at large, completing "the metropolitan education of an intelligent visitor, foreign or American," according to Samuel Ward.[56]

By midcentury Delmonico's had four locations, including two near Wall Street, one on Lower Broadway, and one on Fourteenth Street. The downtown branches served the business elite while the uptown location catered to the evening crowd. Delmonico's shared the apex of New York's culinary hierarchy with a few other restaurants including Blancard's and La Maison Dorée on Union Square. But Delmonico's, which now had its main branch on Fourteenth Street, remained the "*ne plus ultra* of restaurants."[57]

New York had developed so complex a restaurant culture as to defy George Foster's early three-part categorization. In the interstices between and beneath Sweeney's, Clark and Brown's, and Delmonico's were dozens of other choices. But while almost everyone in midcentury New York could participate in some way in its restaurant culture, New Yorkers of various stripes did not necessarily come together in common spaces. Indeed, the growth of the city's restaurant sector allowed for a complex social ordering. Price served as an obvious class delineator. Working- and lower-middle-class New Yorkers—those earning between one dollar and two dollars per week—simply could not consider Delmonico's or other fine restaurants, where a meal cost more than their weekly wage. But they could afford the occasional six-cent meal at Sweeney's or even a twelve-cent dinner at Clark and Brown's chophouse. Oyster saloons and coffee shops offered less expensive options, selling entire meals for a few cents.[58]

An 1868 illustration in *Harper's Weekly* magazine demonstrates the contrast between commercial dining options for wealthy and poor New York-

This 1868 illustration from *Harper's Weekly* shows the contrast between a Broadway ice creamery and a Bowery ice cream stand. Patrons are enjoying the same food item but in very different settings. (Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society)

ers. The image juxtaposes a group of poor children patronizing an ice cream stand on the Bowery—the main entertainment zone for working-class New Yorkers—with a genteel Broadway ice cream saloon. On the right side of the picture, a shabbily dressed ice cream vendor stands over a barrel, serving a group of children whom contemporaries might have described as street urchins. Dressed in rags and holding brooms and other tools, the young customers compose a decidedly ungenteel picture as they stand on the crowded street devouring their freshly scooped ice cream cones. If their appearance did not give away their class status, their manner of eating surely would have. For no self-respecting young lady or gentleman would have eaten anything on the streets, let alone out of a cone. The latter would be more likely to frequent the venue pictured on the left. Here, the marble floor, mahogany tables, crystal dishes, bright lighting, and well-dressed patrons suggest a very different atmosphere for eating the very same item.

The text alongside the image highlights the class differences attached to the venues. "The picture," it reads, "presents most admirably the contrast . . . between Broadway and the Bowery, those two great arteries of the city, filled almost to bursting with such different blood." While "each scene is a very frequent one," the article continues, "you never see the Broadway

character in the Bowery, and the Bowery waifs do not deign to lunch on Broadway."[59]

Southern visitor William Bobo made a similar distinction between the fashionable ice creameries of Broadway and the plebian ice cream shops (which sold nothing else) of Chatham Square, at the foot of the Bowery. The Chatham Square shop drew Bowery boys and girls. These patrons, Bobo explained, "are not dressed, nor do they act like those in Broadway; they are entirely a different class of the *genus homo*." And yet, Bobo went on to explain, they shared similar pursuits in different venues; "they walk the street, spend their money and time in the same sort of pursuits, yet they are different and widely so."[60]

Of course, many New Yorkers experienced the city's restaurant culture not as patrons but as workers. A typical restaurant in the 1860s required a staff of thirty-four people including twelve waiters; separate cooks for meat, vegetables, soup, griddle cakes, and "meat to order"; carvers; a coffee boy; a knife boy; dish washers; laundresses; and firemen to kindle the grill fire; according to the *New-York Tribune*. Restaurants and catering provided one of the few routes to economic and social mobility for black entrepreneurs, and some of the most well-known New York food entrepreneurs were African American, including famed oysterman Thomas Downing, whom merchant Philip Hone referred to as "the great man of oysters." A far greater number of African American New Yorkers served as waiters and cooks in New York's restaurants, along with Irish immigrants. "Female waiters" were still novel enough to merit special attention in travelers' accounts, such as that of William Ferguson, who remarked on the attractive, smartly dressed "girls" who waited tables at the Clarendon Hotel.[61]

Restaurant and other workers also frequented the restaurants that emerged in working-class neighborhoods. For example, the Bowery, the main entertainment zone for laboring New Yorkers, became associated with its numerous eating houses and oyster saloons. Many Bowery restaurants gained a dubious distinction as "cheap and nasty" establishments. A description of one such venue featured "blotched table-cloths . . . afflicted with the disease of chronic mustard-stains," waiters dressed in threadbare uniforms, and an atmosphere redolent with a "fatty vapor." Meanwhile, the patrons sported "close-cut hair, bloated, whiskerless faces, lowering, cruel eyes, and a general expression of vice and villainy."[62] In short, the cheap and nasty restaurants earned their nickname.

The cheap and nasty restaurants evinced particular concern because they were among the few inexpensive, free-standing general restaurant options.

Oyster cellars offered cheap meals but not as much variety as a regular restaurant. And the short-order houses did a brisk lunch business but did not offer much in the way of dinner. An 1859 article in the *Herald* complained about the dearth of decent inexpensive restaurants in New York and the surfeit of "cheap and nasty" options: "We must dive into oyster cellars, or be bored at hotel tables, or disgusted with dirty table cloths, unclean and stupid waiters," the newspaper lamented. The *Herald* called for reasonably priced restaurants with clean and comfortable accommodations and respectful and efficient waiters. Restaurant proprietors began to emphasize the cleanliness of their establishments in order to distance them from the reputation of the cheap and nasty.[63] Thus, a new type of restaurant began to emerge: the inexpensive yet respectable establishment. These restaurants would really proliferate in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Cleaner and more palatable than the cheap and nasty restaurants were the German beer gardens, which began to open along the Bowery after the 1840s. Here, entire German families thronged to "eat their national food, or an approximation thereto, drink their lager bier . . . and indulge in uproarious conversation and laughter, in which the shrill treble of childish voices is frequently caught varying the guttural monotony," the *New-York Tribune* remarked.[64] The lager beer saloons and their German patrons were among the few places in New York where married women and families dined for the pleasure of the event, and around liquor (or beer), while maintaining respectability. Given a cultural pass, the German hausfrau could eat sausage and sauerkraut in a barroom and hold on to her virtue. Her American-born counterparts did not enjoy the same dispensation.

In fact, gender and class conventions worked together to mark certain restaurants and behaviors as respectable and therefore acceptable for middle-class women who were concerned about their reputations when frequenting commercial entertainments. As New York's restaurant sector expanded, genteel women began to partake. The daily activities of middle-class and elite women included shopping, which took them from their homes on the residential outskirts into the commercial downtown. Like their husbands and fathers, many of New York's women of means thus found themselves too far from home to return there for the midday meal. But the restaurants that emerged to cater to them set and followed particular strictures of behavior, decor, and even food that became important elements of Gotham's restaurant and public cultures.

From an early point in the city's history, some public dining options existed for women. Colonial taverns had separate spaces where ladies—a

category of social distinction—could attend balls and assemblies with a male escort. And late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century pleasure gardens served genteel refreshments to a mixed clientele. Indeed, these venues sometimes depended on ladies to ensure the respectability of their establishments.[65] In early nineteenth-century Gotham, confectioneries and coffee shops joined taverns and pleasure gardens in catering to the ladies' trade. Opening in the 1820s and early 1830s, Thompson's, Contoit's, and Delmonico's were among the confectioneries that set aside tables and chairs for female customers. And when the grand hotels began to open in New York in the 1830s, they provided segregated space for ladies' dining rooms, restricted to women and to men accompanied by a lady.[66]

Despite this history, when free-standing restaurants began to proliferate in New York, most of them excluded women. Some, like the sixpenny houses, prohibited women by policy. In other cases, social conventions made some restaurants off-limits to ladies. George Foster noted that entering a certain ice creamery required climbing a flight of steps. Since doing so meant lifting one's skirts above the ankles, this means of entry was "of course, not to be tolerated in good society." Nor, for the same reason, did respectable ladies descend into restaurants, eliminating a good number of establishments that were located underground, including the city's ubiquitous oyster cellars. Another sure way to guarantee that genteel women would avoid a restaurant was to serve liquor. It was not until later in the nineteenth century that "saloons" came to refer specifically to drinking establishments. In the antebellum decades, the word applied to many large, commercial amusement venues, including billiard, bowling, ice cream, oyster, and eating saloons. Definitions aside though, the line between a restaurant and a drinking saloon was a fine one, and a lady who cared about her reputation would not risk entering the latter. And restaurants that courted the ladies' trade forwent hard drinks for delicate patrons.[67]

As a demand arose for free-standing restaurant options for women, entrepreneurs, happy to take advantage of this new market, began to open establishments specially earmarked as ladies' eateries. This description was used interchangeably with ice creameries, or ice cream parlors, since the ladies' eateries served the frozen treat, along with pastry and light meals. The menus included items such as ice cream, oysters, eggs, boiled and broiled meats, and chocolate but pointedly avoided liquor.[68]

Ladies' restaurants began to proliferate in the 1830s. Thompson and Son's Restaurant, opened in 1827, billed itself as "the first saloon established in this city for the accommodation of ladies." By the 1850s, several

ladies' eateries operated in the city. *Carroll's New York City Directory to the Hotels of Note, Places of Amusement, Public Buildings . . . Etc.*, published in 1859, listed five "Saloons Suitable for Ladies," including Maillard's, Gosling's, Thompson's, Weller's, and Taylor's.[69]

Some restaurant proprietors also advertised accommodations for ladies and families separate from the male-defined areas of the restaurant. In 1842, oysterman Thomas Downing advertised the opening of a Broadway branch of his famous oyster house. "I have . . . a set of furnished rooms in the upper stories," he announced, "with a private entrance as well as from the saloon, for the accommodation of private parties and families." Similarly, Brother Perkins's restaurant offered a separate entrance for families, "so arranged as to communicate with the street, independent of the main saloon, and where persons can be as private and retired as by their own firesides." And Green and Mercer Coffee and Dining Rooms touted its dining room for ladies, with its own entrance and overseen by Mrs. Mercer.[70]

These establishments offered private entrances to create a symbolic break between the public street and the semipublic restaurant, had female managers as well as patrons, and sought to replicate the home "fireside" to create a suitable environment for genteel women. Furthermore, by admitting only ladies and their guests, these restaurants aimed to make their patrons feel comfortable dining in public without compromising their reputations. As one New York guide explained, at these establishments, "our wives and sisters may visit without being compelled to mingle with miscellaneous society."[71]

Semipublic spaces in the nineteenth-century city acted as a third realm, between the public and private. As historian Mary Ryan explains, activities and behaviors were regulated by explicit rules and unspoken custom, allowing for suitable interactions among strangers.[72] Thus, middle-class women could enjoy commercial amusements while maintaining safety and respectability. Indeed, gender worked in both directions in this process. Respectable spaces welcomed ladies and, in turn, the presence of ladies lent respectability to a venue. On railroads and steamboats, in hotels and department stores, spaces were delineated "ladies" spaces either by name or by convention. In many cases, the ladies' accommodations were the most opulently furnished and well-appointed rooms in the building, akin to a private parlor. By creating a parlor ambience in terms of decor and manners, the ladies' restaurants established themselves as respectable and genteel settings. Indeed, in time some ladies' eateries even came to be called parlors, the ice cream parlor being the prime example.[73]

In New York's growing consumer culture, as an increasing number of goods came into the reach of people of varied means, space and accoutrements became important ways of signaling a place as socially proper. Hence as more and more female, middle-class New Yorkers began to partake of public, commercial amusements, the atmosphere of those amusements grew particularly important in delineating these venues as respectable. Ladies' eateries thus distinguished themselves through design. Fitted up with marble floors, gilded walls, and plush draperies, these restaurants astonished visitors.

Taylor's, the premiere ladies' restaurant in 1850s New York, was so richly furnished that English guest William Chambers wondered if "some will think [it] much too fine for the uses to which it is put." Chambers's compatriot Isabella Bird described it as "a perfect blaze of decoration . . . a complete maze of frescoes, mirrors, carving, gilding, and marble." A wall of mirrors on one side reflected a wall of windows on the other. The back wall featured a stained-glass window, flanked by fountains. Crimson-painted and gold-trimmed Corinthian columns stretched to the twenty-two-foot-high frescoed and gilded ceiling. Classical bronze statues kept watch as waiters rushed orders of oysters, omelets, sandwiches, eggs, coffee, hot chocolate, and ice cream to the black walnut tables that filled the room. The restaurant also boasted the largest pane of glass in New York City. Taylor's served gentlemen as well in a separate dining room.[74]

Taylor's main competitor was Thompson's. Both establishments originally operated as ice cream shops and grew into vast and opulent full-service restaurants that catered to refined ladies and their escorts. Over the years, Taylor's and Thompson's vied with each other in terms of space and service, to attract the ladies' trade. By the 1850s, that competition included opening entirely new outlets, far larger and more extravagant in furnishings and appointments than their predecessors. Thus in 1851, Thompson's opened a new location, a stone's throw from Taylor's, on Broadway. This new Thompson's was, according to one account, "rebuilt in splendid style, and hence has been more attractive in its appearance than Taylor's." But not for long. Two years after the new Thompson's debuted, Taylor's followed up, establishing a much enlarged space, fabulously called Taylor's Epicurean Palace, just a few storefronts away from Thompson's.[75]

The opening of the new Taylor's restaurant, at 365 and 367 Broadway, attracted much notice and was accompanied by an eleven-page promotional pamphlet. Filled with adjectives like "sumptuous," "magnificent," "immense," and "brilliant," the pamphlet devoted most of its attention to describing the furnishings, decorations, and expense of the building and very little time to the food served there. Journalists and visitors agreed that

Taylor's Epicurean Palace was among New York's most extravagant and impressive venues. One account called it "the most spacious and elegant restaurant in the world." A notice in *Gleason's Pictorial* marveled at the restaurant's cost (more than $1 million) and its capacity (over eight hundred persons), its daily expenses of $600 and its receipts of $900 per day on average. Likewise, *Leslie's* swooned over the expense of decorating the restaurant's ceiling ($17,000) owing to the copious gilding and unique decorative molding. The restaurant served three thousand patrons per day, including many women in need of a rest after hours of shopping at A. T. Stewart's department store, located just a few blocks away.[76]

Another way that ladies' restaurants ensured decorum was to demand particular behaviors of their patrons. Taylor's and similar establishments were the opposite of the sixpenny houses with their cacophonous din, rushed pace, and hideous manners. "The room is darkened—ladies love such subdued atmospheres," George Foster began his description of "the fashionable lunch for upper tendom," in a ladies' eatery. In place of the ear-splitting noise that characterized the downtown eating houses, in the ladies' eatery "low-voiced orders [were] entrusted confidentially to the waiters." Mrs. Bird described the atmosphere as "redolent with the perfume of orange-flowers, and musical with the sound of trickling water, and the melody of musical snuff-boxes."[77]

The links among gender, respectability, and the restaurants point to another important interplay between restaurants and public culture in New York. More than any other semipublic space in the city, the restaurant brought together women and men in a commercial space of entertainment. So defining the boundaries of respectability was particularly important here, especially for those women who were concerned about their reputations. At the same time, if a restaurant permitted too many non-respectable behaviors or patrons, it lost its respectability as well. While middle-class men could engage in non-respectable behaviors and remain respectable themselves, the same was not true of their wives, mothers, and daughters. Restaurateurs thus were careful to maintain boundaries and to police behaviors within their spaces to ensure the maintenance of social conventions. Tunis Campbell pointed to this need in his 1848 *Hotel Keepers, Head Waiters, and Housekeeepers' Guide* when he instructed: "Ladies who may be traveling alone should not be left to come to the table without being seen by the proprietor, and brought in and seated." Campbell thus reminded his readers that it was their responsibility to vet the female patrons of their establishments to be sure that they were not introducing a non-respectable element to their dining rooms.[78]

It was not only that ladies traveling alone were suspect. Restaurants garnered concerns about respectability in part because so many restaurants hosted less than respectable activities. Providing a space for men and women to interact socially in public, commercial spaces, restaurants offered temptations and lures even for the most virtuous. Thus, even the wholesome ice creameries had a taint of lasciviousness. Men were not admitted to Taylor's and Thompson's main dining rooms without a female escort. But, contemporaries intimated, there was no guarantee that a woman's companion was entirely proper. Describing a fashionable ice creamery, George Foster admitted that most of the patrons were "correct and commonplace." But a close look revealed some suspicious pairings, such as a middle-aged couple who were "evidently man and wife," but "not *each other's!*" The ice creamery offered them an easy cover for an illicit rendezvous. The ice creamery's location downtown provided extra security to the clandestine couple, since it was situated near businesses that would draw each to the neighborhood, a millinery shop for her, a dentist's office for him.[79]

Another commentator pointedly described the ice cream saloons as "a trysting ground for all sorts of lovers," including young singles courting each other and middle-aged marrieds besotted by other people's spouses. The *New-York Times* explained that Taylor's "always maintained its popularity, in spite of (or perhaps because of) rumors that it afforded most elegant opportunities for meetings not entirely correct." In addition to young couples, Taylor's also drew women "whose business it was to frequent public places, and who were not over particular as to the company they kept." Junius Browne also commented on the role of restaurants in hosting inappropriate dates. In this case, he referred to the uptown restaurants, where women were permitted to dine with male escorts. "How few of the fashionable wives that sup up town after the play or the opera, sup with their husbands!" Browne exclaimed. "Their husbands may be there; but they are with other women."[80]

The *Times* argued for the impossibility of effectively policing improper behavior in a crowded, diverse metropolis. As the newspaper explained, the proprietor could not be blamed since "our most frequented places are always selected by the evil disposed for assignations, and even our churches are not exempt from such contaminations."[81] This explanation for how Taylor's could maintain its respectability even in the face of less than respectable behavior speaks to the complex ways that restaurants played into New York's public culture. It also suggests the reasons why restaurants were such fraught spaces for respectable people in general and ladies in particular.

Furthermore, as dining out—and conspicuous display—became more entrenched in the life of New York society, upper-class ladies managed to maintain their status despite questionable behavior. After all, the need to maintain one's reputation for status purposes was more important for middle-class New Yorkers who sought to gain entry to the halls of power and respectability than it was for their elite counterparts who had already gained admittance.[82]

Here, respectability and wealth were inextricably tied together. The rendezvous that Browne, Foster, and others described at Taylor's and the uptown restaurants were carried on by society women and their consorts, not by middle-class women. For the latter group, restaurants were both a novel and interesting form of entertainment and convenience on the one hand and a minefield to navigate on the other. Faced with this paradox, many middle-class women in the antebellum period simply chose to eat at home or frequent a handful of "safe" restaurants. Strictures relaxed a bit in the postbellum period and more restaurant options for respectable middle-class women emerged, but in the antebellum years, relatively high prices assured that ladies' lunchrooms catered mainly to middle-class and elite women. Many working-class establishments were restricted to men, by policy or by custom. Only at the end of the nineteenth century, with the rise of cheap amusements, did working women gain a real foothold in the city's commercial entertainments.[83]

The tension among respectability, entertainment, and commerce came up as well in the restaurant type most associated with New York City in the antebellum period—the oyster cellar or saloon. Emerging on the scene in the 1830s and proliferating throughout the subsequent decades, the oyster cellars of antebellum New York were that era's counterpart to today's pizza parlors. Oyster eating, particularly in the ubiquitous cellars, was emblematic of New York's burgeoning consumer and entertainment culture.

Travelers to New York rarely failed to comment on the city's renowned bivalves and to visit the legendary establishments that served them. One of the most famous, Charles Dickens, described the signs hanging outside of oyster cellars announcing "'Oysters in every Style,'" remarking, "They tempt the hungry most at night, for then dull candles glimmering inside, illuminate these dainty words, and make the mouths of idlers water, as they read and linger." Oyster cellars could be found all around New York with the highest concentration on Canal Street, near the Bowery. They were identified by a red-and-white-striped balloon hung outside, illuminated during open hours, which lasted well into the night. Most oyster cellars offered

what was known as the "Canal Street Plan." For a few cents, one could eat all the oysters he could stomach. Proprietors purportedly punished overly greedy eaters by slipping a bad oyster into what would surely be their final order of the evening.[84]

Like Delmonico's and Taylor's, some oyster houses distinguished themselves by their fine appointments and reputations. African American oysterman Thomas Downing pioneered the respectable oyster cellar in New York City. A Chesapeake transplant to New York, Downing became the preeminent oyster caterer in the antebellum period. The son of free blacks, Downing learned how to harvest oysters on his parents' land on the Virginia coast. In 1819, he traveled to New York City, bought a small boat, and began selling oysters that he gathered from the shores of the Hudson. By 1825, Downing had earned enough capital to open an oyster cellar on Broad and Wall Streets. His Broad Street shop, opened in the 1830s, was among the most famous oyster restaurants in New York until its closing in the 1860s. Downing catered to the business and political elite, their friends, and even their wives for his oyster saloon was one of the few in the 1830s and 1840s that accommodated women, provided they had the proper escort.

Downing's example shows both the limits and possibilities for African American entrepreneurs in antebellum New York. By entering into a service occupation—cooking and waitering were acceptable jobs for African Americans within the white power structure—Downing found a niche for himself without upsetting racial conventions. But that niche placed him at the helm of a restaurant, which offered a public space for politicians and businessmen to gather. It thus offered him access—if not entry—to the highest political and social circles in the city. At his death, the *New York Herald* explained: "The fact that he was of African descent abated in no degree the regard in which he was held," and so many "gentlemen" requested to attend his funeral that his family held a special viewing at St. Philip's Episcopal Church. Downing also grew personally wealthy through his restaurants, becoming a central member of New York's antebellum black elite, a vestryman of St. Philip's and an advocate "for the elevation of the colored race," according to his obituary in the *Times*. Upon his death, Downing had amassed a "large fortune" of over $100,000. Downing was certainly not the only African American New Yorker of his time to make money from a food trade. According to an 1860 survey, two of the three richest black New Yorkers were waiters. The other was a cook.[85]

Other oystermen, white and black, followed Downing's lead, opening high-end oyster saloons that eschewed private rooms and bawdy behaviors. Again, space, accoutrements, and behavior played a role in distinguishing

respectable oyster saloons from non-respectable ones. "Fitted up with great luxury—plate-glass, curtains, gilding, pictures, &c.," these "fashionable saloons," chronicler Thomas Nichols explained, served oysters "in every style and in great perfection." Preparations included raw, fried, or stewed, as in the oyster cellars, but diners could also enjoy scalloped oysters, oyster pie, fish with oyster sauce, and even poached turkey stuffed with oysters. Located on the street level rather than underneath, these venues were "frequented day and night by ladies as well as gentlemen."[86]

Other oyster houses skirted the line of respectability. "Thieves, burglars, low gamblers, and vagabonds in general . . . haunt these quarters," sneered George Foster, describing a Five Points oyster cellar. Meanwhile, their "'pals' are up-stairs carrying on the game of prostitution." Even some oyster cellars on fashionable Broadway were pits of iniquity according to Foster, catering to "rowdy and half-drunken young men, on their way to the theater, the gambling-house, the bowling-saloon, or the brothel—or most likely to all in turn," Foster decried. The very descriptions of oyster cellars evoked images of lasciviousness. Editor N. P. Willis, for example, described Florence's Oyster Saloon in sensual terms, from the huge stone turtles that flanked the entryway, "waving their huge paws perpetually with indolent and voluptuous invitation," to the "ambrosial air," "sumptuous structure[s]," "succulent fruits," and other "temptations," including, of course, the raw oysters themselves.[87] Like the ice cream parlors, some oyster restaurants, Florence's among them, were both lavishly appointed and borderline respectable.

Their fluid reputation stemmed in part from the fact that oyster cellars often catered to a bachelor clientele. These men partook of the sporting male culture that emerged in antebellum New York and that was intimately tied to the city's growing consumer culture. In the early nineteenth century, young, single men flooded into the city from abroad and from the local hinterlands. Seeking their fortunes in the commercial city, these bachelors lived on their own in boardinghouses, removed from parental and employer controls. Many of them participated in the sporting man's subculture, with its bawdy and sometimes bloody entertainments. These included various forms of gaming, such as cockfighting and prizefighting; consorting with prostitutes; and visiting theaters, concert saloons, and other salacious venues. The antebellum sporting man's culture was a very visible one on the streets of New York, with groups of rowdy youths (known as "sports") roaming its avenues and sometimes wreaking havoc with their boisterous and occasionally violent behavior. Along with bachelor visitors to the city, the young sports of New York laid claim to the city's oyster cellars and some other late-night restaurants. They especially enjoyed venues with private

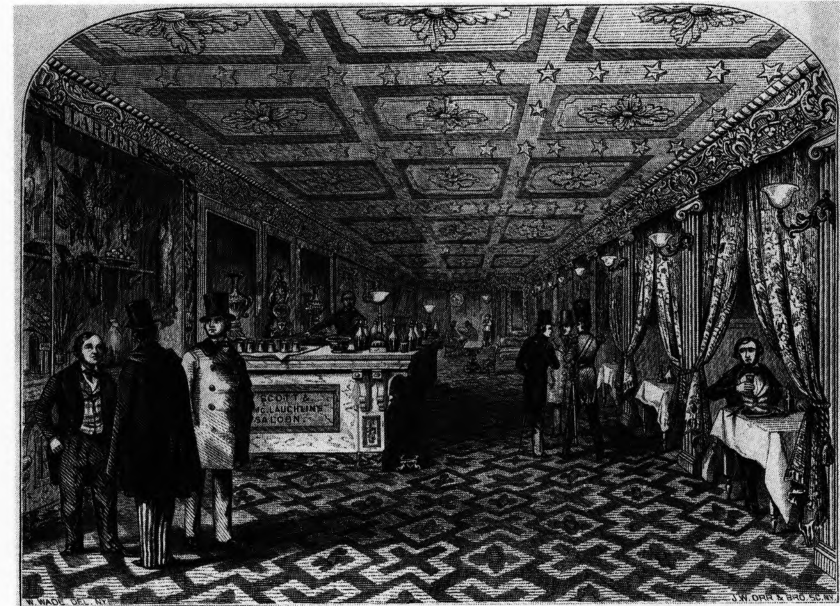
rooms where they could engage in various activities other than dining, in relative privacy.[88]

Considering these offerings, it is not surprising that contemporary accounts frequently drew a link between restaurants and commercial sex. Ministers and conduct advisers warned of scoundrel bachelors, schooled in the evils of the world in urban gambling dens and restaurants. Likewise, prescriptive stories in women's magazines like *Godey's Lady's Book* exhorted women to create a warm and welcoming home for their husbands lest they seek comfort in the city's vice-laden restaurants. In these cautionary tales, restaurants served as a shorthand for the lures and snares of the metropolis, not just closely tied to its burgeoning consumer culture but an actual symbol of it.[89]

Prescriptive writers did not conjure up this link. Prostitution did indeed occur at many of the new commercial entertainments in antebellum New York City. Historians have documented the notorious "third tiers" of the city's theaters—semiprivate balconies reserved for sex-seeking men and their female consorts that essentially served as a way station between the theater and the brothel. Prostitutes prowled the balcony in search of customers, as did men in search of willing partners. Such activities prevailed at all of New York's theaters. Even the Park, the most elite and respectable among them, had an active third tier. Once a match was made, prostitutes could take their customers back to their nearby brothels. A house of assignation directly behind the Park Theater, and linked to it by a rear alley, catered exclusively to actors. Other brothels were also conveniently located adjacent or near to theaters.[90]

But New York's theaters did not have a monopoly on salacious activity. Dance halls and drinking saloons, for example, served up commercial sex, as well as food and drink. And many late-night restaurants and oyster cellars also hosted illicit activities, part of the constellation of entertainment venues associated with prostitution and gambling in the growing metropolis. One typical establishment was the all-night house the Sailor's Home and All Nations' Retreat, on West Broadway. This restaurant was located in an entertainment zone around Lower Broadway that included hotels, theaters, brothels, gambling houses, saloons, and other late-night restaurants. There, the "lady boarders of questionable morals" ate, drank, and took advantage of unwitting male patrons, whether by seducing them or picking their pockets.[91]

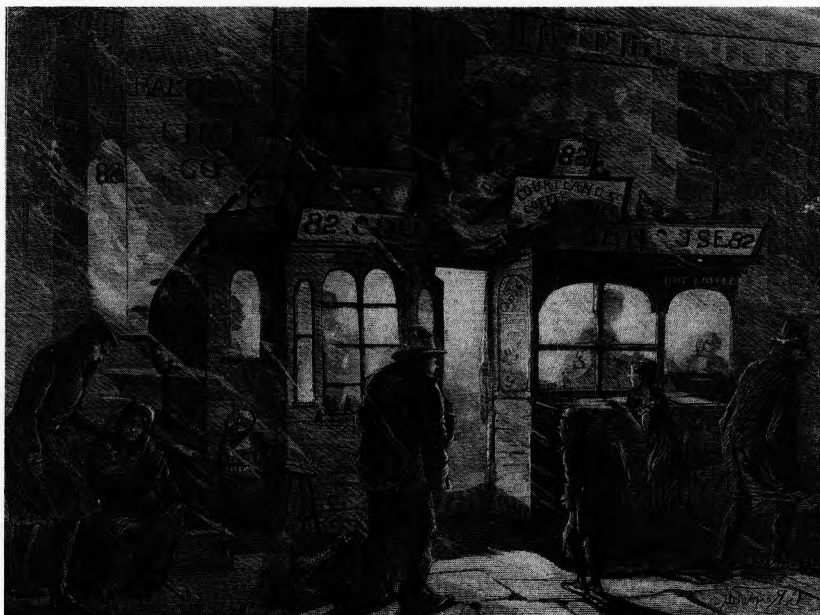
Like the lady boarders at the Sailor's Home, "girls of the town and their lovers" frequented the many eating houses on and around Mercer and Greene Streets. The finest of these establishments had private boxes for the



Interior image of a midcentury eating saloon. Note the private boxes along the sides of the room. (Collection of the New-York Historical Society)

comfort and privacy of their customers and offered dishes for double the price of Taylor's or Delmonico's. Restaurants with private boxes could be found "along the avenues . . . at most of the street corners above Sixteenth street." Even expensive restaurants might provide their customers with "private supper rooms," or boxes so that male diners could make assignations while eating their meals.[92]

Given these associations, women concerned about their reputations were careful about the restaurants they would frequent, and restaurateurs seeking their trade took pains to make their establishments comfortable for ladies. Even certain late-night restaurants aimed for respectability, distinguishing themselves from the more racy all-night venues. These businesses took a cue from Butter-Cake Dick's, a famous cake-and-coffee shop in 1840s and 1850s New York. Owned by Dick Marshall, a former newsman, and located on Spruce Street between Nassau and William, directly under the offices of the *New-York Tribune*, Butter-Cake Dick's served cakes and coffee to journalists and the newsboys who sold their copy. In 1850, a cup of coffee and the cake that gave the shop its name, described by George Foster as "a peculiar sort of heavy biscuit with a lump of butter in its belly," sold for three cents.



One of the many late-night coffee and cake shops found throughout the city, especially in and near the public markets. This one was located on Cortlandt Street, "along the docks of New York." (Picture Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)

Or a hungry newsboy could purchase a large slice of pie for four cents and huge doughnuts, "the size . . . of ebony walking-sticks," for a penny each.[93]

Butter-Cake Dick's cakes were essentially doughnuts or, as they were known at the time, "sinkers," thanks to their heft, which derived from a heavy dose of lard and butter. Like Downing's nearby oyster house, where patronage was served up alongside oyster pie, Butter-Cake Dick's served a political as well as a recreational function. By one account, "aldermen, and politicians of every grade" might "drop in at all hours of the night," especially during election time when the "custom from Tammany Hall alone has often amounted to ten dollars a night." George Foster too noted Butter-Cake Dick's association with New York politicos, some of them drawn from the ranks of the newsboys.[94]

Some coffee-and-cake saloons also served heartier fare such as pork and beans, corned beef, and mince pie which, along with the coffee and cake, supplied a hearty meal for fifteen cents. Thus, the coffee shops came to be full-fledged restaurants, offering hot, all-night food at low prices. While not glamorous, these restaurants had a reputation for being cheap, clean and

respectable, unlike the cheap and nasty joints located nearby or some of the other all-night options in the city. The proprietors of the cake shops, noted one commentator, "wear a very tidy appearance, with clean white aprons and a rather professional air. All the utensils are as bright as silver," the pastry offerings tempting and the coffee very hot. These shops grew into "institutions that are peculiar to New York," with its round-the-clock culture. They could be found wherever people worked or played late, including Newspaper Row and Fulton Market, whose cake-and-coffee shops catered to late-night passengers on the nearby Brooklyn ferries, which ran twenty-four hours a day. Oyster saloons competed with the coffee shops for the late-night trade at Fulton Market. Dorlon's, the most famous of Fulton's oyster houses, did a brisk nighttime trade, catering to young New Yorkers out for the evening, and "solid business-like men" who lived in Brooklyn and worked late in the offices of Manhattan.[95]

The range of late-night eating houses reflects the importance of restaurants in nineteenth-century New York's growing consumer and public culture in several ways. First, the late-night restaurants were part of a growing constellation of commercial entertainment options in the expanding metropolis. New Yorkers out on the town might stop into all-night oyster cellars, dining saloons, and cake-and-coffee shops on their way to or from the theater, the billiard saloon, bowling saloon, or brothel. Just as daytime restaurants like Taylor's were intertwined with the department stores, hotels, and other commercial entertainments of "sunshine" New York, the all-night eating houses were related to the other entertainment options of the gaslight city. Furthermore, the nighttime market offerings were a part of the commuter city in much the same way the sixpenny houses were during the daytime.

Second, like the earliest downtown short-order houses, the late-night restaurants catered to a variety of New Yorkers, including commuters who sought a quick meal on their way to or from home. The only difference in their case was the hours of work, requiring a late-night, rather than a midday, dinner. Third, the all-night eating houses, like the daytime ones, labored under the effort to seek a respectable clientele though they faced a far more difficult challenge than their daylight counterparts, given the associations between nighttime and commercial sex, especially in the city's entertainment sector. Finally, the proliferation of late-night eating houses added another element to New York's restaurant culture—the city that never sleeps had emerged. New York's visitors and residents had commercial dining options around the clock, from the market cake shops that served coffee and cake to early risers, to the sixpenny houses and oyster cellars that

offered up a cheap lunch, to the fine restaurants that served evening patrons, to the late-night restaurants that catered to revelers, commuters, and curiosity seekers.

Thus over the first half of the nineteenth century, New York developed a large, complex, and comprehensive restaurant culture. The commercial city relied on these institutions to feed businessmen, clerks, travelers, and others and to host business connections and transactions. And entrepreneurs found ways to capitalize on new markets by developing new restaurant types such as the ladies' lunchrooms and all-night coffee shops. Restaurants provided a space (several in fact) for New Yorkers of various backgrounds to share a common social experience, one firmly tied to new consumer patterns and behavior. At the same time, this space served as an important stage for conspicuous consumption and for social stratification. Restaurants thus served a central role in the public culture of the emerging metropolis.

FIVE

"No Place More Attractive than Home": Domesticity and Consumerism, 1830–1880

In 1855, the middle-class parlor magazine *New York Observer and Chronicle* included a short article entitled "Two Mothers." Jane Mason arrives at her friend Lucy Frost's New York townhouse to find her arranging her dining room. Jane attempts to lure her friend out on social visits in the city, but Lucy insists on preparing her home for the imminent return of her three children from college and boarding school. When Jane reminds her friend that she has plenty of servants to take care of the home, Lucy responds that it is her duty as a mother to create a warm, inviting home for her children, that "no child of mine should find any other place more attractive than home; that 'evenings and home' and even mother's pies and cakes, should seem better than any other." Her efforts have a specific end in mind, as she declares, "none can deny that their love of home is keeping them from the temptations of this wicked city." After "several busy hours, when the rooms had the inviting homelike appearance the mother desired," Lucy went to her well-appointed kitchen and prepared several pies and cakes. Mrs. Frost's efforts were rewarded the next day when her grateful and gracious children returned, delighted by their home and their doting mother.[1]

This story, like many of its kind in the mid-nineteenth-century middle-class periodical literature, illustrates some important themes regarding the middle-class home in general and its food spaces in particular. With industrialization, homes in New York and other cities grew more specialized in function. Once used for various work and domestic purposes, the rooms in these homes increasingly were given over almost entirely to domestic needs. As the middle-class home became less of a productive space and more of a reproductive one, it took on an important symbolic role. Overwhelmingly, ladies' magazines, cookbooks, architectural plan books, sentimental novels, and other popular literature celebrated the home as a haven from the harsh,

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. "NYCFood," New York City's food policy page, accessed January 3, 2013, http://www.nyc.gov/html/nycfood/html/home/home.shtml.
2. Junius Henri Browne, *The Great Metropolis: A Mirror of New York* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1869), 260.
3. "How the City Is Fed," *Christian Union* 42, no. 14 (October 2, 1890): 428–29.
4. On various approaches to the history of New York City in the nineteenth century, see Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Timothy Gilfoyle, *A Pickpocket's Tale: The Underworld of Nineteenth-Century New York* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006); Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The Nineteenth-Century New York Neighborhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum* (New York: Free Press, 2001); David M. Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Kenneth D. Ackerman, *Boss Tweed: The Corrupt Pol Who Perceived the Soul of Modern New York* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2005); David Quigley, *Second Founding: New York City, Reconstruction, and the Making of American Democracy* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005); Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850–1896* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Thomas Kessner, *Capital City: New York and the Men behind America's Rise to Dominance, 1860–1900* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001); Timothy Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992); Edward Spann, *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840–1857* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1790–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1785–1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); Patricia Cline Cohen, *The Murder of Helen Jewett* (New York: Vintage, 1999); Amy Gilman Srebnick, *The Mysterious Death of Mary Rogers: Sex and Culture in Nineteenth-Century New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Leslie M.

Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626–1863* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

5. On American food history, see Andrew Haley, *Turning the Tables: Restaurants and the Rise of the American Middle Class, 1880–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) and *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); James McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Roger Horowitz, *Putting Meat on the American Table: Taste, Technology, Transformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Warren Belasco, *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry* (New York: Pantheon, 1990); Donna Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Hasia Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
6. On the eighteenth-century consumer revolution, see Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994); T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992). On mass consumption, see Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage, 2003); William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1994); Elaine Abelson, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Andrew Heinze, *Adapting to Abundance: Jewish Immigrants, Mass Consumption, and the Search for American Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Stephen Nissenbaum, *The Battle for Christmas: A Cultural History of America's Most Cherished Holiday* (New York: Vintage, 1996); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
7. To be sure, there are many popular histories of New York's restaurant and dining culture and immigrant foodways including William Grimes, *Appetite City: A Culinary History of New York* (New York: North Point Press, 2010); Jane Ziegelman, *97 Orchard: An Edible History of Five Immigrant Families in One Tenement* (New York: Harper, 2011); Michael and Ariane Batterberry, *On the Town in New York: The Landmark History of Eating, Drinking, and Entertainments from the American Revolution to the Food Revolution*, revised ed. (New York: Routledge, 1999); John Mariani, *America Eats Out: An Illustrated History of Restaurants, Taverns, Coffee Shops, Speakeasies, and Other Establishments That Have Fed Us for 350 Years* (New York: William Morrow, 1991) and *How Italian Food Conquered the World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Mark Kurlansky, *The Big Oyster: History on the Half-Shell* (New York: Random House, 2006). And a few scholars have begun to look at certain elements of New York's food culture in the nineteenth century, especially Haley, *Turning the Tables*; Gergely

Baics, "Feeding Gotham: A Social History of Urban Provisioning, 1780–1860" (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 2009); Thomas David Beal, "Selling Gotham: The Retail Trade in New York City from the Public Market to Alexander T. Stewart's Marble Palace, 1625–1860" (PhD dissertation, SUNY Stony Brook, 1998). An excellent collection of studies on the food culture of New York City, though it is interdisciplinary and scarce on history, is Annie Hauck-Lawson and Jonathan Deutsch, eds., *Gastropolis: Food and New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

8. See, for example, Rebecca Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table*; Belasco, *Appetite for Change*, McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating*; Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*; Haley, *Turning the Tables*. Many of these works draw on anthropological studies by scholars like Sidney Mintz and Mary Douglas.
9. On public culture see Marguerite S. Shaffer, ed., *Public Culture: Diversity, Democracy, and Community in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Henkin, *City Reading*; Mary Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).
10. For an explanation of conspicuous consumption and leisure see Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; reprint, New York: Penguin, 1994).
11. Ryan, *Women in Public*; Amy G. Richter, *Home on the Rails: The Railroad and the Rise of Public Domesticity* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor-Making and Middle Class Identity* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Andrew Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Barbara Penner, "'Colleges for the Teaching of Extravagance': New York Palace Hotels," *Winterthur Portfolio* 44 (Summer–Autumn 2010): 159–92; Mona Domosh, "Those 'Gorgeous Incongruities': Polite Politics and Public Space on the Streets of 19th-Century New York," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, no. 2 (1998): 209–26.
12. For many years historians of nineteenth-century women argued that middle-class white women and men occupied "separate spheres"—the woman's sphere domestic and private, and the man's sphere commercial, political and public. In recent years, scholars have complicated this dichotomy significantly, many arguing for its rejection. But the notion of separate spheres has persisted, in part because it was unquestionably forwarded as an ideological position by many nineteenth-century writers and advisers even if it did not reflect the lived reality of American women. Influential works on separate spheres include Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151–74; Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973). For a more positive interpretation of separate spheres in creating supportive networks for women, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1–29; Blanche Wiesen Cook, "Female Support Networks and Political Activism: Lillian Wald, Crystal Eastman, Emma Goldman," *Chrysalis* (1977): 43–61. In a pivotal article published in 1988, Linda Kerber surveyed the paradigms of women's history and complicated the idea of separate spheres. See Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Woman's History,"

Journal of American History 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 9–39. For a more recent rejection of separate spheres as an organizing principle see the 2001 special issue of the *Journal of the Early Republic* 21 (Spring 2001), edited by Mary Kelley, with contributions by Julie Roy Jeffrey, Laura McCall, and Carol Lasser.

13. On the history of department stores, see Leach, *Land of Desire*; Abelson, *When Ladies go a'Thievin*; and Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).
14. On the creation of shopping districts, see Beal, "Selling Gotham"; Mona Domosh, "Shaping the Commercial City: The Retail Districts of Nineteenth Century New York and Boston." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80, no. 2 (1990): 268–84.
15. On the culture of empire in the late nineteenth century, see Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Kristin Hoganson, *A Consumer's Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Catherine Cocks, *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), especially 174–203; Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1–44; Kasson, *Amusing the Million*.

CHAPTER ONE

1. John Pintard, *Letters from John Pintard to His Daughter Eliza Noel Pintard Davidson, 1816–1833, in Four Volumes* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1941), 1:215, 329; 2:217.
2. Historian Gergely Baics includes these calculations of Pintard's market habits in "Feeding Gotham: A Social History of Urban Provisioning, 1780–1860" (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 2009), 114.
3. Pintard, *Letters*, 1:297; 2:41. See also 3:162.
4. Pintard refers to Stickler the grocer several times in his *Letters*, including: 2:193, 301, 311; 4:42. The reference to Mrs. King appears in 3:261. An example of Pintard's interaction with other market vendors can be found in 1:335: "A good woman in the market this morn[g] from whom I was purchasing some thyme for winters use, when I told her the price was high, remarked that *Time* was scarce. I told her, that was too true with me."
5. Pintard, *Letters*, 2:301.
6. Ibid., 1:317.
7. Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620–1860* (1925; reprint, New York: Peter Smith, 1941), 89–90; James McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 193–96; Charles L. Sachs, *Made on Staten Island: Agriculture, Industry, and Suburban Living in the City* (Staten Island, NY: Staten Island Historical Society, 1988), 20; Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts, trans. and eds., *Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey, 1793–1798* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1947), 172.
8. William Smith, *The History of the Late Province of New-York, from Its Discovery, to the Appointment of Governor Colden, in 1762* (New York: Collections of the New-York Historical Society, vol. 4, 1829), 263; Roberts and Roberts, *Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey*, 166–67; William Strickland, *Journal of a Tour in the United States of America 1794–5*, ed. J. E. Strickland (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1971), 41; Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture*, 84; Roger Horowitz, *Putting Meat on the American Table: Taste, Technology, Transformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 20; Ulysses Prentiss Hedrick, *A History of Agriculture in the State of New York* (New York: New York Agricultural Society, 1933); J. Ritchie Garrison, "Farm Dynamics and Regional Exchange: The Connecticut Valley Beef Trade, 1670–1890," *Agricultural History* 56, no. 1 (1982): 3–21.

9. Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York, in Four Volumes* (London: William Baynes and Son, 1823), 3:289–90, 457 (on street-manure income). On eighteenth-century market production, see McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating*, 195–96; Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture*, 89.
10. "A List of Farms on New York Island, 1780," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* (1917): 8–11.
11. *New-York Packet*, February 2, 1790, 3.
12. *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, December 16, 1801, 4. See also *New-York Packet*, February 2, 1790, 3; *Daily Advertiser*, August 13, 1790, 4; *Daily Advertiser*, May 7, 1796, 3.
13. Roberts and Roberts, *Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey*, 166–67.
14. *Daily Advertiser*, February 17, 1790, 2.
15. *Spectator*, July 6, 1803, 4. See also *Daily Advertiser*, August 13, 1790, 4. Hundreds of advertisements published in the early national period for farms near New York boasted of their fecundity and proximity to the New York markets.
16. Roberts and Roberts, *Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey*, 155–57, 172–73; Pintard, *Letters*, 2:301; 3:123–24, 174–75. On the Buttermilk Market, see Thomas F. De Voe, *The Market Book: A History of the Public Markets of the City of New York* (1862; reprint, New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1970), 408.
17. De Voe, *Market Book*, 82, 186–89, 322, 366–67; Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture*, 108–9; Horowitz, *Putting Meat on the American Table*, 20; Roger Horowitz, "The Politics of Meat Shopping in Antebellum New York City," in *Meat, Modernity and the Rise of the Slaughterhouse*, ed. Paula Young Lee (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008), 169–70; Jared N. Day, "Butchers, Tanners, and Tallow Chandlers: The Geography of Slaughtering in Early-Nineteenth-Century New York City," in Lee, *Meat, Modernity*, 181–87; J. Ritchie Garrison, "Farm Dynamics and Regional Exchange: The Connecticut Valley Beef Trade, 1670–1850," *Agricultural History* 61, no. 3 (Summer 1987): 13–15.
18. Thomas F. De Voe, *The Market Assistant: Containing a Brief Description of Every Article of Human Food Sold in the Public Markets of the Cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn; including the Various Domestic and Wild Animals, Poultry, Game, Fish, Vegetables, Fruits, &c., &c. with Many Curious Incidents and Anecdotes* (New York: Riverside Press, 1867), 203. On the oyster trade in the eighteenth century, see William Smith, *The History of the Province of N.Y. from the First Discovery to the Year MDCCXXXII* (London, 1757), 676; Adolph B. Benson, ed., *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America / the English version of 1770, revised from the original Swedish* (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937), 237; *The Independent Reflector* (New York: James Parker, 1752–53); Mark Kurlansky, *The Big Oyster: History on the Half-Shell* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2006), 62, 88–98.
19. The 1686 Dongan Charter included provisions for establishing a ferry service between New York City and Long Island, requiring the ferry master to operate two

109. De Voe, *Market Book*, 452; "New York Provision Markets," *Herald*, 3.
110. "Victualling the Metropolis," *Herald*, 2.
111. Ibid.
112. De Voe, *Market Book*, 452; "New York Provision Markets," *Herald*, 3; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 9, no. 215 (January 14, 1860): 101.
113. John Sturtevant, "Recollections of a Resident of New York City from 1835 to 1905," Diaries, Manuscripts Collection, New York Public Library. See also Paul Prowler, "Glimpses of Gotham," *National Police Gazette* 35, no. 128 (March 6, 1880): 15.
114. "How New York Is Fed," *Scribner's Monthly* 14, no. 6 (October 1877): 732; "Characters in Washington Market," *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 7, no. 166 (June 1, 1873): 604.
115. "Hotel Life—How the Guests Are Fed," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 15 (December 1860): 58.
116. "How We Get Our Ducks," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 3, no. 59 (January 24, 1857): 125.
117. "Marketmen and Middlemen," *Times*, 4.
118. "Our Markets," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 3, no. 77 (May 30, 1857): 403.
119. "Astor House Farm and Dairy," *Leslie's*, 91.
120. De Voe, *Market Assistant*, 7.
121. Ibid., 21–22.
122. Ibid., 25.
123. Roger Horowitz makes a connection between licensed market butchers' resistance to changes to the butchering trade and the increased immigrant makeup of the city's nonmarket butchers in "Politics of Meat Shopping," 174–76.
124. See, for example, Gorn, "'Good-Bye Boys: I Die a True American'"; Richard Stott, *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 244–53.
125. "The Pugilists' Encounter. Death of William Poole. Post-Mortem Examination-Corner's Investigation," *New-York Daily Times*, March 9, 1855, 1; "*'I Die a True American!' Life of William Poole, With a Full Account of the Terrible Affray in Which He Received His Death Wound* (New York: Clinton T. De Witt, 1855), 7–8; "The Stanwix Hall Tragedy," *New-York Daily Times*, March 12, 1855, 1; *New York City Directory for 1847 and 1848* (New York: John R. Doggett Jr. Publisher, 1847), 328; *Doggett's New York City Directory for 1848–1849* (New York: John Doggett Jr., 1848), 328; *The New York City Directory for 1850–1851* (New York: Doggett and Rode, 1850), 403.
126. Gorn, "'Good-Bye Boys: I Die a True American,'" 392–400; Stott, *Workers in the Metropolis*, 34–68.
127. "The Pugilists' Encounter," 1.

CHAPTER THREE

1. "Washington Market in Christmas-Time," *Harper's Weekly*, December 30, 1865, 823–24; See also Junius Henri Browne, *The Great Metropolis: A Mirror of New York* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1869), 408.
2. "Washington Market in Christmas-Time," *Harper's*; Browne, *Great Metropolis*, 405.
3. On the growing contrasts between poor New Yorkers and their middle-class and wealthier counterparts, see Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 460–61, 475–76, 587–88, 712–34, 744–48, 786–90; Edward Spann, *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840–1857* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 67–75, 94–116; Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1785–1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 72–108, 115, 138–48; Stuart Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1790–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 138–91.

4. Gergely Baics, "Feeding Gotham: A Social History of Urban Provisioning, 1780–1860" (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 2009), 230–33, 235.
5. Citizens' Association of New York, *Report of the Council of Hygiene and Public Health of the Citizens' Association of New York upon the Sanitary Condition of the City* (New York: D. Appleton, 1866), 59, 137–38; Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The Nineteenth-Century New York Neighborhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 191.
6. On associations between grocers and liquor in the temperance literature, see, for example: "A Conversation between a Grocer and a Keeper of a Gambling House," *New York Evangelist* 1, no. 3 (April 17, 1830): 11; Letter from "Philanthropist," in *New York Evangelist* 1, no. 3 (April 17, 1830): 11; "New York City Temperance Society," *New York Evangelist* 1, no. 7 (May 15, 1830): 27; "The Temperance Cause in New York City," *Religious Intelligencer* 14, no. 53 (May 29 1830): 843; "Letter to a Friend on Temperance," *Religious Intelligencer* 17, no. 5 (June 30, 1832): 73; "Diary of a Drunkard," *Universalist Watchman, Repository, and Chronicle* 4, no. 10 (June 30, 1832): 80. On temperance grocers, see "Testimony of a Temperance Grocer," *Boston Recorder* 17, no. 13 (March 28, 1832): 49; "Temperance Grocers," *Christian Watchman* 15, no. 1 (January 3, 1834): 3; "National Temperance Convention," *Religious Intelligencer* 18, no. 2 (June 8, 1833): 24; "Grievances of a Temperance Grocer," *Christian Advocate and Journal* 21, no. 17 (December 2, 1846): 68.
7. On antebellum middle-class culture, see Blumin, *Emergence of the Middle Class*, especially 1–16; Mary Ryan, *The Cradle of the Middle Class* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), especially 11–15, 155–85. On working-class culture, see Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), especially 1–18, 89–101; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & The Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 255–62; Richard Stott , *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity and Youth in Antebellum New York City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 191–276; Elliott J. Gorn, "'Good-Bye Boys, I Die a True American': Homicide, Nativism, and Working-Class Culture in Antebellum New York City," *Journal of American History* 74, no. 2 (September 1987): 388–410. On the temperance movement and middle-class ideology, see Scott C. Martin, *Devil of the Domestic Sphere: Temperance, Gender, and Middle-Class Ideology, 1800–1860* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008).
8. George Foster, "New York in Slices—Liquor Groceries," *New-York Tribune*, October 5, 1848, 2; *New-York Tribune*, February 9, 1847, 3.
9. Citizens' Association, *Report of the Council of Hygiene and Public Health*, 138.
10. "The Holidays," *New-York Tribune*, December 25, 1851, 4; and "Holiday Gifts," *New-York Daily Times*, December 30, 1851, 2; *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 9, no. 229 (April 21, 1860): 329; Solyman Brown, ed., *The Citizen and Strangers Pictorial and Business Directory for the City of New York and Its Vicinity* (New York: Charles Spalding, 1853), 111. See also "Marketmen and Middlemen," *New-York Daily Times*, June 14, 1855, 4; ad for "Essence of Coffee," *New-York Daily Times*, February 18, 1852, 3; ad for Thomas R. Agnew, "Fine Groceries," *New York Observer and Chronicle* 43, no. 17 (April, 27, 1865).

11. Article from *Clipper*, October 3, 1868, quoted in Anbinder, *Five Points*, 191.
12. [George G. Foster], *New York in Slices; By an Experienced Carver* (New York: W. F. Burgess, 1849), 81. On grocers selling adulterated liquors, see "Adulterations in Wine," *New York Observer and Chronicle* 24, no. 5 (January 31, 1846): 20.
13. George Foster, "New York in Slices—The Immigrants," *New-York Tribune*, July 8, 1848, 2; Unpublished Bultman memoir, quoted in Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 40.
14. "Walks among the New York Poor: The Street-Boys," *New-York Daily Times*, September 28, 1853, 2; Foster, *New York in Slices*, 81.
15. Frank Beard, *The Night Side of New York: A Picture of the Great Metropolis after Nightfall* (New York: J. C. Haney, 1866), 20–24; Foster, *New York in Slices*, 82; As early as the 1830s, Frances Trollope had commented on the presence of these "ladies" in the Corlaer's Hook grocery she visited in the 1830s. See "Leaves from Mrs. Trollope's Journal," *New-York Mirror: A Weekly Gazette of Literature and the Fine Arts* 10, no. 6 (August 11, 1832): 46.
16. G[eorge] G. Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light: With Here and There a Streak of Sunshine* (New York: Dewitt and Davenport, 1850), 60.
17. Matthew Hale Smith, *Sunshine and Shadows in New York* (Hartford, CT: J. B. Burr, 1868), 276.
18. "Liquor Groceries," *Harbinger, Devoted to Social and Political Progress*, 7, no. 25 (October 21, 1848): 195; Citizens' Association, *Report of the Council of Hygiene*, 54.
19. Citizens' Association, *Report of the Council of Hygiene*, 40, 59, 71, 313. Quotations on 59.
20. Foster, *New York in Slices*, 81, 79.
21. "Liquor Groceries," *Harbinger*, 195; Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 61. See also Foster, *New York in Slices*, 82.
22. John Doherty Ely, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of New York* (New York: n.p., 1859), 75; Citizen's Association, *Report of the Council of Hygiene*, 201–2.
23. Browne, *Great Metropolis*, 99.
24. "Broadway and the Bowery," *New-York Daily Times*, August 9, 1852, 2.
25. "The Joy of Growing Up Italian," anonymous memoir in Oblate Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Villa Maria Teresa, Hubbard, Ohio, *La Cucina dell'Amore: The Kitchen of Love* (Youngstown, Ralph R. Zerbonia, 1990, xxi), quoted in Donna Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 73.
26. *Documents of the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York* (New York: Chas. King, 1843), 6:363–77.
27. Baics, "Feeding Gotham," 239, 238. See also A. K. Gardner, MD, "Reports on the Varieties and Conditions of the Meats Used in the City of New-York," *New York Journal of Medicine and Collateral Sciences* 10, no. 1 (January 1853): 48–57. For a detailed discussion of the slaughterhouses and the call to centralize them along the lines of Paris or Mexico City, see Roger Horowitz, Jeffrey M. Pilcher, and Sydney Watts, "Meat for the Multitudes: Market Culture in Paris, New York City, and Mexico City over the Long Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 4 (2004): 1055–83. On slaughterhouses in New York, see also Jared N. Day, "Butchers, Tanners, and Tallow Chandlers: The Geography of Slaughtering in Early Nineteenth-Century New York City," in *Meat, Modernity, and the Rise of the Slaughterhouse*, ed. Paula Young Lee (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008), 178–97.

28. Baics, "Feeding Gotham," 230–33, 235.
29. Robert Hartley, *An Historical, Scientific and Practical Essay on Milk, as an Article of Human Sustenance* (New York: Jonathan Leavitt, 1842), 108–9; "Spurious Milk: Highly Important to the Public," *New York Herald*, August 20, 1854, 3.
30. "The Milk Trade of New York," *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* 28, no. 6 (June 1, 1853): 686; *Majority and Minority Reports of the Select Committee of the Board of Health, Appointed to Investigate the Character and Condition of the Sources from Which Cows' Milk Is Derived, for Sale in the City of New York, Together with the Testimony and the Chemical and Microscopical Analyses of Milks. Also, Letters from Distinguished Physicians, &c., &c., &c.* (New York: Charles W. Baker, Printer to the Common Council, 1858), 8.
31. "Milk Trade of New York," *Merchants' Magazine*, 684, 686.
32. Ibid., 686, 687; "Adulteration of Milk in the City of New York," *Farmer's Register: A Monthly Publication* 4, no. 5 (September 1836): 279; Samuel R. Percy, *On the Food of Cities. Read before the Medical Society of the State of New York at Its Annual Meeting, February 1864* (New York, 1864), 91; Ely, *Report on Sanitary Condition*, 177.
33. See, for example, "Adulteration of Milk in the City of New York," *Farmer's Register*, 279.
34. Hartley, *Essay on Milk*, 107, 108, 110.
35. Ibid., 107–15; "Milk Trade of New York," *Merchants' Magazine*, 686–70; "Our Exposure of the Swill Milk Trade," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 29, 1858, 407; Ely, *Report on Sanitary Condition*, 99.
36. "Exposure of Swill Milk," *Leslie's*, 407; Citizens' Association, *Report of the Council of Hygiene*, 311–12; "Milk Trade of New York," *Merchants' Magazine*, 686; Ely, *Report on Sanitary Condition*, 177.
37. On Tammany Hall and municipal corruption in general and of the markets in particular, see Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 822–29; Spann, *New Metropolis*, 313–400.
38. "New York Provision Markets," *New York Herald*, January 18, 1853, 3; Ely, *Report on Sanitary Condition*, 9, 88–90.
39. The city council did periodically investigate and take action on such charges. In September 1855, for example, Councilman Healy was charged with demanding $1,000 in bribes from Washington Market farmers, "on their application to the Common Council for a stand or position for their wagons in West-st." *New-York Daily Tribune*, September 24, 1855, 7.
40. "The Management of the Public Markets," *New York Herald*, February 17, 1858, 1.
41. For details of the investigation, see the following articles in the *New York Herald*: "The News," December 15, 1857, 4; "The News," December 22, 1857, 4; "The Washington Market Investigation," December 23, 1857, 2; "The Washington Market Investigation," December 25, 1857, 1. In the *New-York Daily Tribune*, see "Washington Market Affairs," December 22, 1857, 7; "The Alleged Abuses at Washington Market," December 23, 1857, 7; "The West Washington Market Investigation," December 25, 1857, 7.
42. "Washington Market Investigation," *Herald*, December 23, 1857, 2; "Management of the Public Markets," *Herald*, 1; Ely, *Report on Sanitary Condition*, 177. For another instance of fraud the following year, see "The West Washington Market Case Again," *New York Herald*, October 27, 1859, 10; and "The Washington Market Blackmailing Affair," *New-York Daily Tribune*, October 27, 1859, 8. See "Our Albany Correspondence," *New York Herald*, May 7, 1858, 2; "The Washington Market Difficulty," *New-York Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1858, 7; "The Latest News," *New York Herald*, February 11,

1859, 4; "Washington Market Matters," *New-York Times*, February 9, 1860, 8; "West Washington Market," *New-York Times*, May 4, 1860, 2, 4; "Motion to Set Aside the West Washington Market Judgment," *New-York Times*, May 16, 1860, 2; "The West Washington Market Case," *New-York Times*, July 7, 1860, 3; "State Lands around the City—West Washington Market," *New-York Times*, July 27, 1860, 4; "The West Washington Market Case: The Troubles Not Yet Ended," *New-York Times*, August 17, 1860, 8; "West Washington Market," *New-York Times*, August 21, 1860, 8; "The West Washington Market Property," *New-York Times*, January 8, 1861, 4.

43. "The Old City Government and the New," *New York Herald*, January 10, 1852, 4; "Municipal Reform," *New-York Times*, February 22, 1860, 6.
44. "Washington Market Affairs," *Tribune*, 7;"Washington Market," *New-York Daily Tribune*, June 19, 1844, 1.
45. "Provisions and Extravagance," *New-York Daily Times*, November 9, 1852, 4.
46. "Meats, Milk, and Fruits," *New-York Daily Times*, May 25, 1852, 2.
47. "Provisions and Extravagance," *Times*, 4. See also "The Scramble for Food," *New-York Daily Tribune*, June 9, 1855, 4.
48. "The Scramble for Food," *Tribune*, 4; Foster, *New York in Slices*, 42.
49. See series of Petitions to the Common Council, City Clerk, Filed Papers, 1842, 1843. "Markets" folder, Municipal Archives, New York City.
50. Petition to the Common Council, May 29, 1843, City Clerk Approved Papers, 1843, "Markets" folder, Municipal Archives, New York City. See also "Washington Market," *Tribune*, 1. Farmers also complained about the laws that were geared toward preventing crowding on the sidewalks outside of the market buildings—statutes that required country vendors to unload all of their merchandise by 9:00 a.m. In June 1858, a group of Long Island and New Jersey farmers, primarily Germans, met to devise strategies to resist these laws and the fines the city levied when they were broken. See "Washington Market—Meeting of the Gardeners of New York," *New York Herald*, June 14, 1858, 8.
51. "The Market Gardeners before the Mayor," *New-York Daily Times*, May 29, 1855, 4; "Mayor Wood on the Price of Vegetables," *New-York Daily Times*, June 8, 1855, 4; "Venders of Vegetables," *New-York Daily Times*, August 15, 1855, 4. See also "The Market and the Market Gardeners," *New-York Daily Times*, May 31, 1855, 4; "Marketmen and Middlemen," *Times*, 4.
52. Ibid.
53. "Market Report," *New York Herald*, September 24, 1842, 7. In yet another market report, the *Herald*'s reporter declared Washington Market "not fit for a lady to go into," due to its "very filthy condition." The *Herald* included complaints about the terrible state of Washington Market in its market reports through the 1840s and 1850s. See, for example, *New York Herald*, July 15, 1843, 3; March 30, 1844, 4; July 19, 1845, 8; August 1, 1846, 4; January 13, 1850, 1; January 18, 1853, 3; July 17, 1857, 3; February 19, 1859, 8. See also "The New Central Park—The New Croton Reservoir—The New Washington Market—The New Emigrant Depot at Castle Garden—The New City Hall," *New York Herald*, July 18, 1855, 4.
54. "A Good Move," *New-York Daily Times*, April 6, 1853, 4; "Marketmen and Middlemen," *Times*, 4; "Municipal Reform," *Times*, 6.
55. Citizens' Association, *Report of the Council of Hygiene*, 16; "Characters in Washington Market," *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 7, no. 166 (June 1, 1872): 604.

56. Citizens' Association, *Report of the Council of Hygiene*, xliv, xcii. On today's mortality rates, see New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene statistics, accessed August 8, 2013, https://a816-healthpsi.nyc.gov/SASStoredProcess/guest?_PROGRAM=%2FEpiQuery%2FVS%2Fqnycvs1&topic=OverallMortality&years=2007.
57. "Our Family Market Report," *New York Herald*, February 26, 1859, 8; Citizens' Association, *Report of the Council of Hygiene*, 11. See also "Municipal Reform," *Times*, 6. *Appleton's Journal* also expressed concern about water damage thanks to holes in the roof and shingle damage. "In rainy weather the stalls and stands are drenched with rain . . . causing, annually, destruction and consequent loss of enough valuable articles, damaged by water, to build a splendid and convenient edifice," the writer declaimed. "Characters in Washington Market," *Appleton's Journal*, 604.
58. "Extraordinary Developments of the Administration of Justice in New York," *New York Herald*, March 7, 1844, 8. For coverage of these proposals, see also: *New York Herald*: December 2, 1848, 2; December 28, 1849, 2; January 12, 1850, 1; January 13, 1850, 2; October 16, 1851, 7; December 30, 1851, 34; December 31, 1851, 1; March 31, 1853, 2; April 22, 1854, 54; June 20, 1856, 8; July 17, 1857, 3; June 18, 1859, 1.
59. "Marketing," *New-York Times*, February16, 1858, 4; "The Market Gardeners before the Mayor," *Times*, 4; "Mayor Wood on the Price of Vegetables," *Times*, 4; "Marketmen and Middlemen," *Times*, 4. See also "Municipal Reform," *Times*, 6.
60. "The Manhattan Market," *New-York Times*, June 8, 1880, 3; "Manhattan Market Gone: Destroyed at Midnight by Fire," *New-York Times*, September 9, 1880, 1.
61. "Exposure of Swill Milk," *Leslie's*, 407.
62. Ibid.
63. Tuomey's market associations continued well beyond this point; according to his obituary in the *New-York Times*, at the end of his life, Tuomey died on his way to the butchers' stall he had operated in Washington Market for the past eight months. "Suddenly Dropping Dead: Alderman Tuomey's Varied Career Brought to a Close," *New-York Times*, May 3, 1877, 8.
64. "The Swill Milk Committee Render Their Report at Last," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 10, 1858, 90.
65. "The Swill Milk Investigating Committee," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 12, 1858, 24; *Majority and Minority Reports of the Select Committee of the Board of Health*, 61.
66. *Majority and Minority Reports of the Select Committee of the Board of Health*, 31–68, 67.
67. Ibid., 81, 189.
68. Ibid., 158, 162.
69. "Our Exposure of the Swill Milk Trade," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 12, 1858, 22; June 12, 1858, 22. See also "Swill Milk Committee Render Their Report," *Leslie's*, 90.
70. "Marketmen and Middlemen," *Times*, 4; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 627–28; Baics, "Feeding Gotham," 100–104.
71. Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 211–37; Spann, *New Metropolis*, 169–72; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 790–95.
72. "Swill Milk Committee Render Their Report," *Leslie's*, 90; *Majority and Minority Reports of the Select Committee of the Board of Health*, 9.

73. *Majority and Minority Reports of the Select Committee of the Board of Health*, 21–28; "Our Exposure of the Swill Milk Trade," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 24, 1858, 120; "The Swill Milk Question—Important Movement of Alderman Tucker," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 18, 1858, 248.
74. "New York Items," *Maine Farmer* 26, no. 24 (June 3, 1858): 2; "Pure Country Milk," *New-York Times*, May 15, 1858, 5; "Pure Milk," *New-York Times*, June 10, 1858, 8; "What Is American Solidified Milk?," *New-York Times*, March 28, 1859, 5; "Milk for Babes," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 15, 1858 ; advertisements and announcements in *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 22, 1858, 400; May 29, 1858, 416; June 5, 1858, 16; June 12, 1858, 32; June 19, 1858, 48; "Dalson's American Solidified Milk," *New-York Daily Times*, January 27, 1856, 5; "New-York Condensed Milk Company," *New-York Times*, May 12, 1858, 5; "Borden's Condensed Milk," *New-York Times*, April 2, 1859, 5; Fulton Coffee and Dining Rooms," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 15, 1858, 384; "The Astor House Farm and Dairy," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 10, 1858, 91; "Astor House, New York," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 10, 1858, 94.
75. "They Ought to Be Beaten," *New-York Times*, October 29, 1878, 8; also "Suddenly Dropping Dead," *Times*, 8.
76. "Swill Milk Nuisance," *New York Observer and Chronicle* 36, no. 22 (June 3, 1858): 174.
77. Samuel M. Percy, MD, "On the Food of Cities," *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of New York, for the Year 1864* (Albany, NY: Comstock and Cassidy, Printers, 1864), 77, 86.
78. Percy, "Food of Cities," 86, 87–88; Citizens' Association, *Report of the Council of Hygiene*, 264.
79. Citizens' Association, *Report of the Council of Hygiene*, 263–64.
80. On pure-food-and-drug laws as a response to late nineteenth-century industrialization, see Michael E. McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Era in America, 1870–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 160–63; Joshua David Hawley, *Theodore Roosevelt: Preacher of Righteousness* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 160–61.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. "Outline Sketches of New-York," *Home Journal*, September 9, 1854, 2; Junius Henri Browne, *The Great Metropolis: A Mirror of New York* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1869), 260.
2. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989); David Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill, NC: Omohundro Institute of American Culture, 1995).
3. Mary Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 58–80, quotation on 62.
4. Rebecca Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 85–86.
5. Andrew Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 65.
6. Browne, *Great Metropolis*, 263.
7. Of course, taverns had long existed, but they served more as places of lodging and drinking than of eating. Those who stayed in the taverns received meals with lodging, but they could not separate the two and had no options for commercial meals outside of the tavern. Male residents of various stripes might visit taverns for drinking, socializing, and transacting business, and the taverns' public rooms hosted balls and assemblies. But with few exceptions, only travelers ate their meals in these establishments. City residents tended to take all of their meals at home, then located near or in the same structures as their places of work. On taverns see Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Kym S. Rice, *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Richard Pillsbury, *From Boarding House to Bistro* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 18; Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 338–39.

8. The predominant history of the French restaurant is Rebccca Spang's *Invention of the Restaurant*. While Spang offers a more particularized definition of the restaurant than I do, I share her designation of a restaurant as a free-standing establishment with a fixed menu. And her claim that the restaurant played a central role in the civic, social, economic, and political life of Paris applies to the restaurants of nineteenth-century New York City as well. Indeed, New York served as an American Paris in terms of its restaurant culture.
9. Abram Dayton, *Last Days of Knickerbocker Life in New York* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), 145–48; *Longworth's New York City Directory for 1810* (New York: Longworth, 1810).
10. John Pintard described a typical pattern when telling his daughter Eliza about her sister's stepson's daily schedule in New York in 1829: "He is to begin his career by going down to the store in Nassau S[t] near Pine, before breakfast, sweep[ing] the counting room, & return[ing] to breakfast," Pintard explained. After returning to the office, the young man would "attend to duty till 2, come home to dine, return & lock up at evening." John Pintard, *Letters from John Pintard to His Daughter Eliza Noel Pintard Davidson, 1816–1833, in Four Volumes* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1941), 3:90.
11. "House Rents in Town," *New-York Daily Times*, September 16, 1852, 2; "Living on $600 a Year," *New-York Daily Tribune*, November 8, 1853, 4; "Life of the City Poor: Labor and Its Wants in Cities," *New-York Daily Tribune*, August 22, 1853, 6; "A Laborers' Strike," *New-York Tribune*, May 1, 1852, 4; Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1785–1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 192–95.
12. "The Summer Hotels," *Nation*, September 11, 1884, 217; Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America with Remarks on its Institutions*, ed. Sydney Jackman (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 390.
13. Wendy Gamber, *The Boardinghouse in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 3; On clerks, see Thomas Augst, *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
14. "New-York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science, and Art* 1, no. 4 (April 1853): 366; "The Eating Houses—How New Yorkers Sleep Up Town and Eat Down Town," *New-York Daily Times*, November 6, 1852, 8. See also "Dining Down Town," *Home Journal*, 2, no. 413 (January 7, 1854): 2; "The Serious Comedy of the Restaurant," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 10, 1866, 115.
15. Calvin Pollard Diaries, 1841–1842, New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Collections; Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, 4 vols. (New York:

Macmillan Company, 1952), 1:364; T. Barry Davies, comp. and ed., *Letters from America, 1853–1860* (Upton-upon-Severn, Worcs: Self Publishing Association, 1991), 19; "The Eating-Saloons of New-York," *New-York Tribune*, November 10, 1866, 2. See also "The Eating Houses," *Times*, 8; and the *Water Cure Journal*, May 1857, 111, for a letter from "A Bachelor" lamenting the reliance of boardinghouse residents on restaurants for their daily subsistence.

16. Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 46–47.
17. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 168–69; *Albion*, July 18, 1840, 236. See also "Change in New-York Habits," *New York Weekly Mirror*, October 12, 1844; "New York Hotels," *Daily Picayune*, April 11, 1865. For mention of specific European Plan hotels, see "New-York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's*, 360. Advertisements for European Plan hotels can be found in *Spirit of the Times*, August 7, 1841, 274; August 13, 1853, 312; October 14, 1854, 419; *Independent*, August 2, 1855; *Charleston Mercury*, September 5, 1854 and May 11, 1849; *New York Herald*, September 6, 1865.
18. *New-York Daily Times*, June 1, 1852, 3; *Independent*, August 13, 1857, 5; "The Astor House Restaurant," *Daily Picayune*, May 8, 1857, 9; "Hotels on the European Plan," *New York Observer and Chronicle*, August 9, 1855, 254; *Home Journal*, March 29, 1856, 3. See also "The Astor House, New York," *Daily Picayune*, July 25, 1857, 1.
19. O. L. Holley, *A Description of the City of New York with a Brief Account of the Cities, Towns, Villages, and Places of Resort within Thirty Miles. Designed as a Guide for Citizens and Strangers to All Places of Attraction in the City and Its Vicinity* (New York: J. Disturnell, 1847), 55; Browne, *Great Metropolis*, 261; "New-York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's*, 366; Davis, *Letters from America*, 30–31. An 1858 Sabbatarian count of New York's restaurants listed 487 restaurants, along with "3,409 liquor shops and drinking saloons," and "1,244 confectionery and cigar stores." "Sabbath Observance," *Columbus Gazette*, March 12, 1858, 4. See also "Eating Houses," *Times*, 8; "Financiering," *Literary World* 12 (January 1, 1853): 6.
20. Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 124–25, 134–38; Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light: With Here and There a Streak of Sunshine* (New York: Dewitt and Davenport, 1850), 217; "Outline Sketches," *Home Journal*, 4; "Eating Houses," *Times*, 8, noted that at 12.5 cents for a full meal, the sixpenny eating houses catered to "thousands of mechanics and others." For ads and notices for restaurants that drew merchants, see *Independent*, August 13, 1857, 5; *Knickerbocker*, June 1849, 554; "Pieri's Splendid Restaurant," *New York Herald*, February16, 1845; "New-York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's*, 366–67; *Albion*, January 22, 1859, 48. Sherwood's and Fisher's were two restaurants associated with sporting men. "From the Docket of a Late Sheriff," *Knickerbocker*, January 1853, 59–64; "Gossip of the Last Knickerbocker," *Spirit of the Times*, May 27, 1848, 165; *Spirit of the Times*, October 1, 1859, 406. For a story that links restaurants and bachelor life, see "Slippers. A Wife's Stratagem," *Godey's Lady's Book*, February 1856, 136–41.
21. "New-York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's*, 367; William Ferguson, *America: By River and Rail, or Notes by the Way on the New World and Its People* (London: James Nisbet, 1856), 50.
22. "The Eating-Saloons of New York," *Tribune*, 2. See also Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 216–17; "Outline Sketches," *Home Journal*, 2; "New-York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's*, 366–67; "Our Restaurants," *New-York Tribune*, July 6, 1868, 3; Browne, *Great Metropolis*, 260–66.
23. [George G. Foster], *New York in Slices; By an Experienced Carver* (New York: W. F. Burgess, 1849), 67.

24. "Dining for Fifteen Cents," *New-York Tribune*, February 20, 1881, 2; "Eating-Saloons," *Tribune*, 2; "How to Be Neat, Elegant, and Economical," *Albion* 37, no. 4 (January 22, 1859): 47.
25. *New York Herald*, February 8, 1855. Ads seeking partners in restaurant ventures appeared frequently in the *Herald* and other newspapers. See, for example, *New York Herald*, May 2, 1855; March 18, 1856; March 20, 1856; May 25, 1856; May 12, 1861; *New-York Times*, June 25, 1858; October 14, 1859; April 28, 1864. Junius Browne also claimed that nearly all restaurants in New York "do a successful business, and many make their proprietors rich in a very few years." Browne, *Great Metropolis*, 261.
26. "Our Restaurants," *Tribune*, 3.
27. For descriptions of the short-order eating houses, see Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 120–22; Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 214–18; "New-York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's*, 361; Captain Basil Hall, *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1829), 32–34; "Of Dinners and Dining Places," *Harper's Weekly*, March 7, 1857, 147–48; "Eating Houses," *Times*, 8; "Eating-Saloons," *Tribune*, 2.
28. "Of Dinners and Dining Places," *Harper's*, 147; "Culinary Reform," *Memphis Daily Appeal*, November 18, 1865; Hall, *Travels in North America*, 32–34. See also "Our Restaurants," *Tribune*, 3.
29. "Eating Houses," *Times*, 8. According to one proprietress, some failed to honor the agreement. Mrs. C. F. Fish announced in the *New-York Daily Times* (November 1, 1852, 4) that she would be returning her prices to six pence a plate "to suit the wishes of her patrons and to protect herself against dishonorable competitors who have not stood up to their agreement." On specie and liquor pricing see *New York Herald*, February 15, 1851; April 4, 1858; *Daily Dispatch*, September 28, 1853; *Louisville Daily Journal*, July 16, 1862.
30. "New York Eating Houses," *Louisville Daily Journal*, August 17, 1855. Likewise, the *Tribune* declared: "A good saloon in a good location has from five to six hundred customers at breakfast, perhaps eight hundred at dinner, and about six hundred at supper." The *Tribune* estimated a daily consumption of five hundred to six hundred pounds of beef, "100 to 150 pounds of veal, 100 pounds of mutton, about as much of pork, and about as much lamb in its season; 100 pounds of fish; from 100 to 200 pounds of poultry in Winter, $30 to $50 worth of various vegetables, 300 loaves of wheat bread, 100 loaves of French and 25 loaves of Graham bread; from 400 to 500 rolls; 100 gallons of coffee; 50 gallons of tea; 300 to 400 quarts of milk; from 100 to 150 pounds of butter, from $30 to $50 worth of dried, canned, and fresh fruits," and two thousand pounds of ice per week. "Our Restaurants," *Tribune*, 3.
31. Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 215; "Of Dinners and Dining Places," *Harper's*, 147; "Culinary Reform," *Memphis Daily Appeal*; "Humanizing Influence of the Central Park," *New York Herald*, October 2, 1859, 4. Abram Dayton makes a similar assessment of the short-order houses in *Knickerbocker Life*, 121.
32. "Culinary Reform," *Memphis Daily Appeal*; Horatio P. Batcheler, *Jonathan at Home: or, a Stray Shot at the Yankees* (London: W. H. Collingridge, 1864), 56. More commentary on food bolting can be found in James Boardman, *America, and the Americans* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman), 1833, 25; Thomas Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life* (London: J. Maxwell, 1864), 287–88; "Blancard's Five O'Clock Table," *Spirit of the Times*, November 4, 1848, 433; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 48–49, 126. Likewise, New York journalist Junius Browne viewed patrons "standing elbow to elbow, or perched on stools, using knives, and forks, and spoons; talking with their mouths full; gesticulating with their heads, and arms, and bodies;

eating as if they were on the eve of a journey round the World, and never expected to obtain another meal." Browne, *Great Metropolis*, 252.

33. "Our Restaurants," *Tribune*, 3; "Eating-Saloons," *Tribune*, 2–3.
34. Foster, *New York in Slices*, 70–71; "New-York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's*, 366; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 120–21.
35. "Eating-Saloons," *Tribune*, 2; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 123–25; Foster, *New-York in Slices*, 69; Samuel Ward, "Unpublished History of Delmonico's," 1, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, New York Public Library.
36. On hotels and their ordinaries, see Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, especially 65–67, 168–72; Molly W. Berger, "A House Divided: The Culture of the American Luxury Hotel, 1825–1860," in *His and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology*, ed. Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 46; and "The Modern Hotel in America, 1829–1939," (PhD dissertation, Case Western University, 1997); Carolyn Brucken, "In the Public Eye: Women and the American Luxury Hotel," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 215–17; Meryle Evans, "Knickerbocker Hotels and Restaurants, 1800–1850," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 36 (1952): 377–410; Jeffrey Williamson, *The American Hotel* (New York: Arno Press, 1975); Doris Elizabeth King, introduction to *Never Let People Be Kept Waiting: A Textbook on Hotel Management*, by Tunis G. Campbell (Raleigh, NC: D. E. King, 1973).
37. Capt. Oldmixon, R. N., *Transatlantic Wanderings: or, A Last Look at the United States* (London: Geo. Routledge, 1855), 26. See also "A French Visitor's Idea of the Astor House," *New Mirror*, August 9, 1843.
38. "A French Visitor's Idea of the Astor House, " *New Mirror*; William Chambers, *Things As They Are in America* (1854; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1986), 182, 189; Williamson, *American Hotel*, 196–99; Michael and Ariane Batterberry, *On the Town in New York from 1776 to the Present* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 63–64. Evans, "Knickerbocker Hotels," 379–81, 390.
39. "New-York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's*, 362. For travelers' descriptions of New York hotels, see Chambers, *Things As They Are in America*, 177–90; William Ferguson, *America by River and Rail: Or Notes by the Way on the New World and Its Peoples* (London: James Nisbet, 1856), 51–53; Charles MacKay, *Life and Liberty in America: Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada, in 1857–8* (London: Smith, Elder, 1859), 37–46; Marryat, *A Diary in America*, 373–79.
40. Ferguson, *America by River and Rail*, 52; Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life*, 11.
41. "A French Visitor's Idea of the Astor House, " *New Mirror*; Chambers, *Things As They Are in America*, 182; "New Kind of Hotel Up Town," *New York Weekly Mirror*, December 7, 1844.
42. "New Kind of Hotel Up Town," *Weekly Mirror*; "Change in New-York Habits," *New York Weekly Mirror*, October 12, 1844; "A French Visitor's Idea of the Astor House," *Weekly Mirror*; Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life*, 14; Chambers, *Things As They Are in America*, 182.
43. *Tribune* quoted in Evans, "Knickerbocker Hotels," 394; "The Astor House, New York," *New York Weekly Mirror*, November 9, 1844.
44. On segmentation of the theater and other areas of nineteenth-century culture, see Lawrence Levine, *High Brow, Low Brow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); Richard Butsch, "Bowery B'hoys and Matinee Ladies: The Re-Gendering of Nineteenth-Century American Theater Audiences," *American Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (September 1994): 374–405.

45. On the development of the aristocratic restaurant and some of the codes mentioned, see Andrew Haley, *Turning the Tables: Restaurants and the Rise of the American Middle Class, 1880–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 23–29, 34–37.
46. Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 147.
47. The *Gazette* article was reprinted in the *Workingman's Advocate*, December 18, 1830, 1.
48. Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 147. One such youth was banker Samuel Ward who remembered entering "its charmed precincts" for the first time "with something of awe" in 1829 when Delmonico's was still a café. He recalled spending his Saturdays there years later, "the day of pastime and pocket money the culminat of the college week." Ward, "Unpublished history," 1, 2. Ward's fellow Columbia alumnus George Templeton Strong also enjoyed meals at Delmonico's while a student and afterward. Strong was so frequent a guest at Delmonico's that he grew close to the proprietor. Strong made a special trip to the restaurant to announce his engagement to Ellen Ruggles and reported in his diary that he "took [Delmonico's] breath away with the news." Nevins, *Strong Diary*, 1:74; 2:315. Not everyone was impressed by Delmonico's. In 1832, famed Knickerbocker and former mayor Philip Hone wrote in his diary: "Went yesterday to dine at Delmonico's, a French restauranteur in William Street, which I had heard was upon the Parisian [or French] plan and very good. We satisfied our curiosity but not our appetites." Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828–1851* (1927; reprint, New York: Dodd, Mead, 1969), 33.
49. "Original Sketches of the Metropolis," *New-York Mirror, a Weekly Gazette of Literature and the Fine Arts*, August 22, 1840, 69–70; See also Foster, *New York in Slices*, 72–75; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 139–48; Henry Collins Brown, *Delmonico's: A Story of Old New York* (New York: Valentine's Manual, 1928), 15–18, 48–51; Lately Thomas, *Delmonico's: A Century of Splendor* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), 3–62.
50. Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 139; Brown, *Delmonico's*, 15–18, 48–51; Thomas, *Delmonico's*, 3–62.
51. Ward, "Unpublished History," 6.
52. Ibid., 8.
53. Foster, *New York in Slices*, 69; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Days*, 145.
54. *Tribune* reporter, quoted in Lately, *Delmonico's*, 84–85; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Days*, 145; Ward, "Unpublished History," 8.
55. Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 141–42.
56. "The Great Thoroughfares As Seen on the Day before Election," *New York Herald*, November 4, 1856, 1; "The Mayor Elect Receiving the Returns at Delmonico's," *New York Herald*, December 7, 1859, 8; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 139, 141–42.
57. "Eating-Saloons," *Tribune*, 2; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 139–48; Thomas, *Delmonico's*, 82–86. See also "Lorenzo Delmonico Dead," *New-York Times*, September 4, 1881, 7. For Delmonico's as a restaurant model, see *Knickerbocker*, September 1855, 29.
58. Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 113–14.
59. "Up among the Nineties," *Harper's Weekly*, August 15, 1868, 520–21.
60. William M. Bobo, *Glimpses of New-York City. By A South Carolinian (Who Had Nothing Else To Do)* (Charleston: J. J. McCarter, 1852), 158–59.
61. "Our Restaurants," *Tribune*, 3; "Outline Sketches," *Home Journal*, 2; Nevins, *Diary of Philip Hone*, 587; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 128–33; "Thomas Downing Obituary," *New-York Times*, April 12, 1866, 5; "Funeral of the Late Thomas Downing," *New-York Times*, April 14, 1866, 8. For references to African American and Irish waiters, see

Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life*, 12; Isabella L. Bird, *The Englishwoman in America* (London: John Murray, 1856), 353; "From the Docket of a Late Sheriff," *Knickerbocker*, 60–61; "Little-or-Things," *Home Journal*, April 12, 1856,: 4; *Knickerbocker*, January 1857, 94; *Spirit of the Times*, December 15, 1855, 520, 522. On waiter girls, see Ferguson, *America by River and Rail*, 49; "Editorial Melange," *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* 6, no. 12 (March 25, 1854): 191.

62. "The Man about Town: Of Dinners and Dining Places," *Harper's Weekly*, March 7, 1857; "Eating-Saloons," *Tribune*, 2.
63. "Humanizing Influence of Central Park," *New York Herald*, October 2, 1859, 4. Advertisements for respectable inexpensive restaurants appear, for example, in the *New York Herald*, September 24, 1840; May 26, 1842; April 10, 1849; *Albion* 37, no. 4 (June 22, 1859): 4.
64. "Eating-Saloons," *Tribune*, 2. See also "Lager Bier," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 2, no. 9 (June 28, 1856): 35; "Lager Bier," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 4, 1856, 278.
65. See, for example, advertisements for Vauxhall Garden in the *New York Daily Advertiser*, December 7, 1799, 3; May 14, 1803, 2. Newlywed and New York transplant Eliza Southgate Bowne describes visits to several pleasure gardens in a letter to her sister, dated June 6, 1803: *Letters of Eliza Southgate, Mrs. Walter Bowne* (New York: DeVinne Press, 188?), n.p.
66. Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 122, 147–48, 159–62.
67. Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 133.
68. Ibid.
69. *Carroll's New York City Directory to the Hotels of Note, Places of Amusement, Public Buildings . . . Etc.* (New York: Carroll, 1859), 15.
70. Downing ad, *New York Herald*, May 26, 1842; "The Brother Perkins' Restaurant," *New York Herald*, April 10, 1849; See also, advertisements in *Morris' National Press: A Journal for Home*, February 21, 1846, 3; *Yankee Doodle*, October 10, 1846, 11; *Albion*, January 22, 1859, 48; an advertisement for Gosling's Restaurant in the *New York Herald*, June 5, 1857, announcing the opening of a new space, with "two large saloons, each 160 feet deep," housing "a restaurant for the accommodation of gentlemen alone, and for ladies accompanied by gentlemen; also a separate dining saloon for gentlemen, oyster and lunch room, smoking room, &c."; and an ad for a Railroad Restaurant, with a separate ladies' saloon in *Home Journal*, August 31, 1850, 3. An ad for Thompson's can be found in O. A. Bullard, *Views in New York City, Embracing Many of the Most Celebrated Public Buildings in the Empire City, with a Description of Each* (New York: s.n., 1857), 22. In another example, by the 1860s, Delmonico's reserved the second floor of its Chambers Street establishment (the grand salle à manger that Sam Ward had reserved for the luminaries of the 1840s) for ladies. "Eating-Saloons," *Tribune*, 2; "Our Restaurants," *Tribune*, 3.
71. Bullard, *Views in New York City*, 39.
72. Ryan, *Women in Public*, 62.
73. On the public parlor, see Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor-Making and Middle Class Identity* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997). On semipublic spaces, see Ryan, *Women in Public*, 60–94; On the railroad, see Amy G. Richter, *Home on the Rails: The Railroad and the Rise of Public Domesticity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), especially 58–111. On parlor culture, see Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982). On public parlors in hotels see Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 171–73; and Brucken, "In the Public Eye," 215–17. See also Mona Domosh, "Those 'Gorgeous Incongruities': Polite Politics and Public Space on the Streets of 19th-Century New York," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 88 no. 2 (1998): 209–26.

74. Chambers, *Things As They Are*, 177; Bird, *Englishwoman in America*, 353–54; *Gleason's Pictorial*, July 1, 1854, 415. See also Bullard, *Views in New York*, 39–40; *Boston Herald*, June 24, 1853.
75. Bobo, *Glimpses of New-York City*, 154; Bullard, *Views in New York*, 40. Eventually, in 1859, Thompson closed his restaurant and retired, allegedly at the behest of Taylor who offered him $4,000 per annum for the next ten years for eliminating his competition. See "Editor's Easy Chair," *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion* 17, no. 8 (August 20, 1859), 126.
76. *Taylor's International Hotel and Saloon* (New York: s.n., 1853); Bullard, *Views in New York*, 39–40; "New-York Daguerreotyped," *Putnam's*, 363; "A Large Business," *Gleason's Pictorial*, November 19, 1853, 333; Bird, *Englishwoman in America*, 353–54; "Broadway at Night," *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 11, 1858, 226. Like some contemporary New York restaurants—the Rainbow Room comes to mind—Taylor's eventually came to be visited mainly by tourists as fashionable New Yorkers moved on to other options. An English traveler wrote in 1864: "Taylor's saloon is very grand, but in nowise fashionable. . . . It is for the most part frequented by country people and strangers, who are attracted by its external magnificence. As to ladies, you see none of any position there, though many with very pretty faces." Batcheler, *Jonathan at Home*, 52.
77. Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 133–34; Bird, *Englishwoman in America*, 353–54.
78. Tunis Campbell, *Hotel Keepers, Head Waiters, and Housekeepers' Guide* (Boston: Coolidge and Wiley, 1848), 41–42.
79. Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 65, 66.
80. Bobo, *Glimpses of New-York City*, 153–59, quotation on 159; "Another 'Institution' Gone: Taylor's Saloon Closed—the International Hotel Furniture at Auction," *New-York Times*, July 31, 1866, 8; Browne, *Great Metropolis*, 266.
81. "Another 'Institution' Gone," *Times*, 8.
82. Andrew Haley makes this point as well in *Turning the Tables*, 151.
83. On working-class women and commercial entertainments, see Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
84. Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850), 57–60; *New York Herald*, October 30, 1854; Ernest A. Mackay, *The Civil War and New York City* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 13. For descriptions of visits to New York's oyster cellars, see Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 73–74; Browne, *Great Metropolis*, 202–4; Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life*, 269; MacKay, *Life and Liberty*, 24–28; Oldmixon, *Transatlantic Wanderings*, 28; Boardman, *America, and the Americans*, 87–88; Bird, *Englishwoman in America*, 353; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 133–34. See also Mark Kurlansky, *The Big Oyster: History on the Half-Shell* (New York: Random House, 2006), 157–71.

85. "Death of a Private Citizen of New York," *Christian Recorder*, April 21, 1866; "Thomas Downing Obituary," *Times*, 5; "Politics of the Free Colored People of New York," *National Era*, October 6, 1859; "The Negro in the Metropolis," *New York Herald*, January 25, 1861, 3. On Downing, see also John H. Hewitt, "Mr. Downing and His Oyster House: The Life and Good Works of an African-American Entrepreneur," *New York History* 74, no. 3 (July 1993): 229–33; Kurlansky, *Big Oyster*, 162–70; Dayton, *Knickerbocker Life*, 128–33; "Funeral of the Late Thomas Downing," *Times*, 8. Another oyster house which served New York's elite and middle classes was Dorlon's, located in Fulton Market. For a description, see Browne, *Great Metropolis*, 202–4.
86. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life*, 269.
87. Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 123, 73; N. P. Willis, "Letter from the Astor," *Godey's Lady's Book* 26 (May 1843): 227–28.
88. On sporting men's culture, see Timothy Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 92–116. On bachelors' association with restaurants, see *New York Herald*, November 18, 1853; December 6, 1853; *Daily Dispatch*, October 12, 1864; Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 73–74. *The Spirit of the Times*, a magazine aimed at wealthy sporting men, contained many ads and notices for oyster saloons including mention of private rooms. See, for example, the following issues and pages: May 27, 1848, 165; January 29, 1853, 599; October 1, 1859, 406. See also "Gossip of the Last Knickerbocker," *Spirit of the Times*, 165; *New York Herald*, April 15, 1851. Sherwood's and Fisher's association with sporting men is addressed in "From the Docket of a Late Sheriff," *Knickerbocker*, 59–64. On private rooms and vice, see George Ellington, *The Women of New York* (New York: New York Book Company, 1870), 272–77.
89. See for example: "Slippers," *Godey's Lady's Book*, 136–41; "Life in Cities," *Home Journal* 29, no. 179 (July 14, 1849): 4; H. Hastings Weld, "A Young Man's Temptations," *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* 5, no. 7 (August 13, 1853): 106; Francis A. Durivage, "The Gold Fiend," *Flag of Our Union* 11, no. 32 (August 9, 1856): 1; Alice B. Neal, "Ruth Norton's Trial of Patience," *Godey's Lady's Book*, June 1852, 474–50; "Hartley Coleridge," *National Magazine* 1, no. 1 (July 1852): 71–72; "The Awful Calamity," *New York Evangelist* 21, no. 41 (October 10, 1850): 162; "The Story of the Lucky Doctor," *Prisoner's Friend: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Criminal Reform, Philosophy* 25, no. 6 (December 9, 1848): 41.
90. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 112.
91. Frank Beard, *Night Side of New York: A Picture of the Great Metropolis after Nightfall* (New York: J. C. Haney, 1868), 75.
92. Beard, *Night Side*, 78; Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 112. For ads and commentary on private rooms, see "Gossip of the Last Knickerbocker," *Spirit of the Times*, 165; *Spirit of the Times*, January 29, 1853, 599; October 1, 1859,: 406; Ellington, *Women of New York*, 272–77. The periodical literature, both the Evangelical and the mainstream press, often linked restaurants and vice. See, for example, "The Awful Calamity," *New York Evangelist*, 162; Neal, "Ruth Norton's Trial of Patience," *Godey's Lady's Book*, 474–79; "Hartley Coleridge," *National Magazine*, 71–72; Weld, "A Young Man's Temptations," *Gleason's Pictorial*, 106–7; Durivage, "The Gold Fiend, or Shadows on the Hearthstone," *Flag of Our Union*, 1; "Letter to Reverend Dr. Bellows," *Christian Inquirer*, March 13, 1858, 1; "A Glance at Our Moral and Social Condition," *United States Democratic Review*, October 1858, 317.
93. On Butter-Cake Dick's, see Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 112–19, 218–19; Beard, *Night Side*, 74–75; "The Herald Establishment: Its Rise and Progress," *New York Herald*, July 31, 1854, 1; "Origin of the Sinker," *Summary* 76 (December 26, 1908): 5. (William Grimes kindly shared his transcription of this source with me.) Other references to Butter-Cake Dick's are included in "Mathematical," *John-Donkey*, February 26, 1848, 135; "Celebration of the Seventy-Second Anniversary of the Glorious 4th," *John-Donkey*, July 15, 1848, 27.

94. Beard, *Night Side*, 49–50, 74–75; Foster, *New-York by Gas-Light*, 112–19. A close competitor to Butter-Cake Dick's was Meschutt's. Located first on the Bowery, it eventually grew into a small chain with outlets around downtown. Meschutt's eschewed the lard and served a lighter variety of butter cake than did Dick Marshall, "to be buttered by the customer himself to suit his taste." "Origin of the Sinker," *Summary*, 5.
95. The article "Dining for Fifteen Cents," *New-York Tribune*, February 20, 1881, 2, recalled the cake-and-coffee shops of the antebellum period; "Men Who Live Downtown," *New-York Times*, December 4, 1881, 3; Beard, *Night Side*, 50–52; Paul Prowler, "Glimpses of Gotham," *National Police Gazette* 35, no. 116 (December 13, 1879): 116.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. "The Two Mothers," *New York Observer and Chronicle* 33, no. 13 (March 29, 1855): 100.
2. On servants and the home as a place of work, see Faye Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983); Jeanne Boydston, *Home & Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1785–1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 109–48; Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982). See also Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery, 1850–1930* (Rochester, NY: Strong Museum, 1988).
3. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; reprint 1994, New York: Penguin Classics), 69–85. More recent historians like Stuart Blumin have identified a distinctive middle class in the nineteenth century, defined by a series of characteristics including consumption patterns. Stuart Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1790–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 138–91.
4. Diana DiZerega Wall, *The Archaeology of Gender: Separating the Spheres in Urban America* (New York: Plenum Press, 1994), 34.
5. On construction and layout of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century homes, see Charles Lockwood, *Bricks and Brownstones: The New York Row House, 1783–1929* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1972), 14–26, 70–75; Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 103–27; Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 47–48; Russell Lynes, *The Domesticated Americans* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).
6. Clifford Clark, "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840–1870," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7, no. 1 (Summer 1976): 33–56; and "The Vision of the Dining Room: Plan Book Dreams and Middle Class Realities," in *Dining in America, 1850–1900*, ed. Kathryn Grover (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 149–51.
7. Mary Ryan, *The Cradle of the Middle Class* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Clifford Clark argues for the dining room's importance within this paradigm in "Vision of the Dining Room," 147–55.