beef and cabbage, potatoes, coffee, stewed prunes, and bread. Unlike Macfadden's restaurants, this one had tables and chairs. It served men and women of all ages, regardless of "race, creed or color."

Beginning in 1853, the New York's Children Aid Society began offering lunches for some students in vocational schools. In 1908, the New York City Board of Education instituted three-cent lunches for students. The Federal School Lunch Act, passed in 1946, established federally subsidized lunches for the nation's school children.

The Food Stamp Act, passed in 1964, offered federal assistance to qualifying low- or no-income people. Funded through the U.S. Department of Agriculture, it provided qualified individuals and families with stamps they could redeem in grocery stores and supermarkets. In 2008, the program was renamed the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), and the system has shifted from stamps to Electronic Benefits Transfer (EBT) cards that operate like credit or debit cards. In 2001, eight hundred thousand New Yorkers qualified for food stamps. Ten years later, this had reached 1.6 million people, or about one-quarter of all adult New Yorkers. An estimated 750,000 residents live in what are called "food deserts," areas where there are no grocery stores or supermarkets that sell fresh fruits and vegetables. Recently, large chains, such as Whole Foods, have agreed to open outlets in food deserts that will offer better quality foods at reasonable prices. Also, it is now possible to use EBT cards at most of the city's Greenmarkets.

Today, more than 1.4 million city residents and the homeless are food insecure. Many organizations in the city have focused on helping New Yorkers who do not have enough food. The New York City Coalition against Hunger was formed in 1983 by nonprofit soup kitchens and food pantries to coordinate the activities of the emergency food providers. Today, the coalition represents more than 1,100 hunger-relief groups working in the city. Programs are available for the homeless as well as the elderly who are unable to purchase or prepare their own meals.

At the other end of the spectrum are those New Yorkers who are overweight. In 2011, it was estimated that 25 percent of New Yorkers were obese, and this is projected to hit 51 percent by 2030. Recently, the city's health department with the encouragement and support of Mayor Michael Bloomberg, has launched a number of efforts to curb obesity. In 2006, New York City required chain restaurants to post calories of the foods that they served; this went into effect three years before this became a national requirement. In January 2012, the city health department launched a program, "Cut Your Portions, Cut Your Risk," to encourage overweight New Yorkers to eat less at meals. The city health department has also attempted to reduce the consumption of sugary sodas as a means of reducing obesity.

CHAPTER THREE

A Culinary Stew

Immigrants and Their Food

From the beginning of European colonization, New York's population embraced myriad groups that differed culturally, linguistically, religiously, and racially. In addition to American Indians, there were British, Dutch, Swedish, German, Irish, and French settlers; enslaved peoples were shipped in chains from Africa and the Caribbean. After the colonial period, immigration from abroad rapidly increased, as did migration from other regions of America. These groups have shaped the city—and its foods and beverages—for four hundred years.

While New Amsterdam was established by the Dutch, the majority of early European settlers were Walloons from what is today Germany, northern France, and Belgium. Peter Minuit, the first director of the West India Company's operation in New Amsterdam, was a Protestant refugee from what is today North Rhine–Westphalia in Germany. Walloons also settled at the Waelenbogt, or Walloon Bay, which is today in Brooklyn. Most New Amsterdam colonists understood Dutch, but Rev. Jonas Michaëlius occasionally preached in French to reach those whose primary language was not Dutch. In addition, slaves were brought to New Amsterdam within months of the community's founding, and they continued to be imported throughout the colonial period.

The Dutch population in New Amsterdam was never very large. When the fur trade petered out, immigration languished, and other Europeans were permitted to settle in the colony. In 1643, the director general of New Amsterdam estimated the total male population of the city and its surrounding

area at between four and five hundred. New Amsterdamers spoke eighteen different languages and included a number of English settlers; some freed slaves; Jewish refugees from Pernambuco, the former Dutch colony in Brazil; and some Swedes, Danes, French, and at least one Italian. By the time English military forces captured the city in 1664, only about half of those in the colony were of Dutch lineage.

As part of the agreement that surrendered New Netherland to England, Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch director general, convinced the English to grant the Dutch colonists ownership of their estates, which were especially vast along the Hudson Valley. As the English and others immigrated to New York, the Dutch sold small parcels of their land for high prices, thus making themselves wealthy. Their financial position helped create an aristocracy that continued to influence New York for more than two hundred years.

Precisely what early Dutch colonists in New Amsterdam ate is unclear. No descriptions of meals have been uncovered. Archaeological evidence indicates that New Amsterdamers ate bread (made from wheat or rye), milk, cheese, game, apples, and some beef and pork, as well as maize, squash, and beans. Corn was converted into porridge and mush. Pumpkins were commonly consumed as fruit.

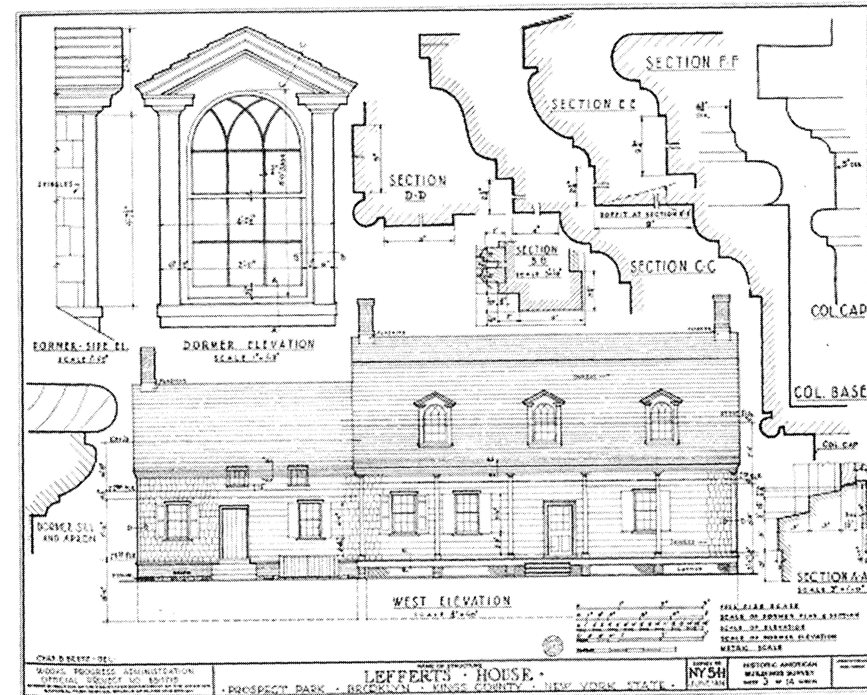
Several later descriptions of upstate Dutch fare have survived. Peter Kalm, a Swedish-Finnish scientist who visited New York in 1749, reported that the Dutch along the Hudson typically breakfasted on bread, butter, cheese, and milk, and that dinner, usually served at midday, consisted of one main dish accompanied by a "great salad" dressed with vinegar.

Manuscript cookbooks authored by New Yorkers of Dutch heritage date to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but do not likely reflect what Dutch colonists ate before 1664. However, unlike other immigrant groups who wanted to assimilate into their adopted land, the Dutch in New York maintained many of their traditions, including their language, well into the nineteenth century. This was partly due to their common membership in the Dutch Reformed Church, which kept many traditions alive.

Dutch settlers continued to arrive in New York after 1664. These immigrants likely introduced culinary traditions that were emerging or popular in Holland, and they were likely the source for some "Dutch" culinary traditions popularized by nineteenth-century writers. Waffles (from the Dutch *wafel*), for instance, were first recorded in New York City by 1744, and they were such a hit that "waffle frolics" and "waffle parties" were enjoyed in the city for decades afterward. Coleslaw (*koolsla*, a cabbage salad) was first cited in 1794; doughnuts, which may have been of Dutch, English, or German derivation, were sold in a public market by a Dutch woman by 1796; cookies

(*koekjes*, "small cakes" that were, in fact, very large) were mentioned in Ne York by 1808; and crullers (*krullen*, "curls") were consumed by 1820 and wer frequently cited throughout the nineteenth century. Pretzels had been mad in Europe by the Dutch and Germans by the late seventeenth century, bu the word does not appear in print in New York until the 1820s. Many othe Dutch favorites—*hutspot* (a dish of potatoes and vegetables, usually serve with meat), *olykoek* (a deep-fried cake), and *oliebollen* (a spherical doughnu often studded with dried fruit and typically served on New Year's Day)— were likely introduced into New York at an early time but were not recorde until decades—or centuries—later.

New Yorkers of Dutch heritage influenced the city's culinary life throughout the nineteenth century. A mid-nineteenth century writer for *Harper'* reported that the gardens and farms of "Dutch Fraus" in Brooklyn provide cabbage, potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables to Manhattan's public markets. But Dutch traditions were fading. In 1881, Gertrude Lefferts Vanderbil complained that Dutch Americans had given up their traditions, including the foods of their forefathers.



Lefferts's House, Prospect Park, Brooklyn. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. Reproduction Number: HABS NY,24-BROK,2-3

During the colonial period, each immigrant group contributed to the city's foods and beverages, but English settlers put down the deepest roots. Not only were English settlers most numerous, but also they continued to immigrate to New York in large numbers throughout the colonial period and long afterward.

English immigrants brought cookery books and recipe collections with them; English culinary styles came to dominate colonial New York's foodways and continued to do so well after the American Revolution. English cookbooks were imported into New York, and beginning in 1790, they were published in the city. Even after cookbooks authored by Americans began to be published in New York, English traditions continued to thrive, influencing what New Yorkers ate and drank. English-style pancakes, sweet and savory pies, tarts, sausages, puddings, rusks, roast beef, pastries, ketchups, dumplings, stews, soups, and condiments dominated New Yorkers' tables. These were accompanied by English-style beer, sweet wines from the Atlantic islands, and mixed drinks, such as possets and punches, that were popular in England.

English immigrants opened boarding houses, restaurants, and saloons, and established food businesses. English-born Richard Davies, who had founded the Canton Tea Company in New York, invented a popular mixture of teas that was marketed as "English Breakfast." Another English immigrant, Samuel Bath Thomas, opened a bakery called the "Muffin House" in New York in 1880. When his baked goods became popular, he formed the S. B. Thomas Company and began manufacturing "Thomas's English Muffins," a product that remains part of American breakfasts today.

Another English immigrant was William Loft, the son of a candy maker. In 1860, he opened a candy store in Manhattan, which developed into a chain that was a part of New York City life for 130 years. The company he and his son created eventually manufactured and sold more than 350 types of candies and was one of the largest candy store chains in America.

An English culinary import that became a perennial New York City favorite was the sandwich. Sandwiches first appeared in England in the 1760s. The sandwich concept migrated to New York, and recipes for them were published in the city by 1816. Virtually all early nineteenth-century American sandwich recipes were taken almost verbatim from British cookbooks. But Americans made the sandwich their own, and special sandwiches have become some of New York's defining foods—from hotdogs and hamburgers to the Reuben sandwich and pastrami on rye.

The British culinary influence may have predominated in early America, but other nationalities made contributions. Under British colonial control, immigrants from other countries were also permitted to settle in the city. More Dutch, Scandinavian, French, and German immigrants arrived. When the first census was taken in 1790, 33,470 people lived in Manhattan. Of these 2,250 were new immigrants from Germany, and 5,000 were (mostly Protestant) immigrants from Ireland.

Immigrants from abroad continued to move into the city. By 1825, Manhattan's population had reached 166,000. Immigration patterns changed in the 1830s as industrialization, revolutionary activity, crop failures, poverty, and religious persecution abroad drove waves of Europeans from their home countries. The first new wave of immigrants came from Germany.

German Immigrants

Germans had trickled into New York since the 1600s, but immigration picked up after the American Revolution. William Havemeyer, born in what is today Lower Saxony, started a sugar refinery in New York City. His descendants grew the firm into America's largest sugar-refining business, which would become known as Domino Foods. Another German immigrant, John Jacob Astor, came from a village near Heidelberg. He first went into the fur trade, where he made his first fortune. When he saw the potential profits in the tea trade with China, Astor jumped in, shipping furs to China in exchange for tea. This trade, begun in 1800, earned Astor a second fortune. He invested in Manhattan real estate, reaping huge profits when he sold the latter to a rapidly expanding city and made yet another fortune. He purchased property around his home on Broadway in downtown Manhattan, and here he built a block-square hotel called the Astor House. When it opened in 1836, it was the city's largest and most luxurious hotel, and its dining room served some of the city's finest French cuisine.

During the 1830s, the pace of German immigration increased due to a series of unsuccessful revolutions and agriculture failures in the southern and western parts of the country. Those immigrants who had already arrived in New York wrote home telling family and friends about life in America, thus creating a chain migration. By 1840, twenty-four thousand Germans lived in Manhattan; others crossed the East River and moved to Brooklyn Village and Williamsburg, where, by 1847, they comprised two-thirds of the entire population. In the 1840s, bad weather again destroyed crops in southern Germany, and a steep rise in food and beer prices led to widespread riots there that continued for months. Southern Germany, especially Bavaria, suffered yet another severe blow in 1848, when a revolution was brutally suppressed. More Germans fled to New York, and they continued to do so for decades afterward.

By 1860, the city was home to two hundred thousand Germans, and many lived east of Bowery and north of Division Street in Manhattan—an area that came to be called Kleindeutschland ("little Germany"), which was New York's first ethnic ghetto. As the immigrants became more affluent, they moved northward to the city's more fashionable neighborhoods, such as Yorkville on Manhattan's Upper East Side, Ridgewood in Queens, and Bushwick and Williamsburg in Brooklyn. By 1880, the number of Germans in New York had doubled again, forming almost one-third of the city's entire population. New York had more German-speaking people than any other city in the world except Berlin and Vienna.

Newcomers went into food-related businesses of one kind or another. Some opened hotels, boardinghouses, inns, and saloons. In 1854, a German immigrant set up a coffee and chocolate factory that also produced "German-style mustard." By 1855, two-thirds of the city's butchers were German, and German bakers outnumbered the Irish or Scots bakers who had previously dominated the profession. German immigrants ran the majority of the city's grocery stores from 1855 on; 75 percent of the grocers were from the Lower Rhine, particularly Hanover. By 1867, Germans had a near monopoly on the market-garden business supplying New York City.

Beer was the German national beverage, but the heavy, dark, British-style brews made in New York did not appeal to the immigrants. Brewing was an obvious career choice for the new arrivals, many of whom had followed this trade back home. German-owned breweries sprang up around the city to make the lighter lagers favored in the old country. Saloons owned or operated by Germans served the lager, and there German immigrants (only the men, of course) could socialize with their compatriots, eat a meal, and seek help finding work and housing.

Single German women had few employment opportunities; many became domestics or worked in boardinghouses. Domestic employees at least had the security of a roof over their heads and food to eat; they earned only about four to six dollars per month. The alternative was the factories, where working conditions could be horrendous. Domestics could also easily move from one place of employment to another as the job market was rapidly expanding. By 1855, about 15 percent of all domestics in New York City were German immigrants. Since these women cooked some, if not all, of the family's meals, their culinary traditions had some influence on their employers' way of eating.

German immigrants also found work in New York's rapidly growing restaurant scene. Some were cooks or chefs, while others worked as waiters in the city's best restaurants. Others opened small restaurants of their own, which were known for serving generous portions of food at low prices. In 1867, these were described as

> queer, dingy, rattle-trap dining-houses in which families of the Teuton race—men, women, and children—appear to spend a great deal of their time. The bar was piled with joints and manufactured meat adapted to the strong German stomach; enormous fat hams, not thoroughly boiled, for the German prefers his pig underdone; rounds of cold corned beef, jostled by cold roast legs and loins of veal; pyramids of sausages of every known size and shape, and several cognate articles of manufactured swine-meat. . . . [There were also] baskets full of those queer, twisted, briny cakes which go variously, I believe, by the names of *Pretzel* and *Wunder*; sardine-boxes piled upon each other . . . huge glass jars of pickled oysters, flanked by huge earthen jars of caviare. Raw onions in heaps give a tone to the combined odors of all these; and through this confusion of smells come powerful whiffs of the Limburger and Sweitzer cheeses, without which the *menu* of no German restaurant would be considered complete. . . . Conspicuously posted upon the walls are the *Weinlisten*, from which documents you gather that white wine is to be had at from one dollar and a quarter to three dollars per bottle, and red wine at from one dollar to four. The inevitable keg of *lager-bier* lies upon its slanting trestles, behind one end of the counter.

Auguste Ermisch, an immigrant from Mecklenburg-Schwerin, opened a restaurant at Nassau and John Streets in Manhattan. In 1873, his menu featured German bread, beef with macaroni, Vienna sausage with mashed potatoes and sauerkraut, wienerschnitzel, calf's tongue, lentil soup with bologna sausage, fish balls and red cabbage, dumplings, and even pumpkin pie. One of the more interesting items on the menu was "Hamburger steak," described in an article in the *New York Times* as "a beefsteak redeemed from its original toughness by being mashed into mincemeat and then formed into a conglomerated mass. This is very appetizing, but conscience compels us to state that it is inferior to the genuine article, which can also be had here in a very satisfactory condition of tenderness." Hamburg, or hamburger steak, was an inexpensive dish made by grinding scraps of beef left after butchering choicer cuts, such as Porterhouse steak or sirloin. This dish would become commonplace throughout the country within ten years; by the 1890s, hamburgers were sold by street vendors, who served them in buns for a convenient stand-up meal, thus creating the hamburger sandwich.

In Williamsburg, German immigrants Carl and Peter Luger opened a café, bowling alley, and billiards hall in 1887. After Carl died, the bowling alley and billiards hall were jettisoned and the establishment was renamed Peter Luger Steak House. In Manhattan, August Guido Lüchow, an émigré from

Hannover, went to work in a beer hall on Fourteenth Street in 1877 and, by 1879, had saved up enough money to buy the place. William Steinway, manufacturer of pianos, was a fan and frequent patron of the establishment, which became a favorite among New York's musical elite. As Lüchow's became popular it grew from a beer garden into one of New York's most fashionable restaurants.

German immigrants and their progeny, such as Charles Gulden, William Entenmann, and Richard Hellmann, opened food-related businesses. Charles Gulden, the son of a German immigrant, worked at his uncle's company, Union Mustard Mills and then in 1867 launched his own mustard company on Elizabeth Street in New York. By 1883, Gulden's product line included many different mustard varieties and other products. His spicy brown mustard has survived, although the company is now owned by ConAgra. William Entenmann, an immigrant from Stuttgart, Germany, opened a small bakery selling small cakes, breads, and rolls on Rogers Avenue in Brooklyn in 1898. His business thrived, and he expanded his product line. During the 1920s, the company moved to Bay Shore, Long Island. During the 1950s, it expanded sales throughout the Northeast and later throughout America; today, its brands are among the largest-selling pastries and donuts in America. Richard Hellmann, who arrived in New York City in October 1903, opened a deli on Manhattan's Upper East Side in 1905. On September 1, 1912, he began selling his store-made "Blue Ribbon Mayonnaise." Within fifteen years, his company was the largest mayonnaise manufacturer in the world. In 1927, Richard Hellmann sold his company; Hellmann's mayonnaise eventually became the most profitable brand in the product line of Best Foods, Inc., which today is owned by Unilever USA, headquartered in New Jersey.

The two world wars hurt German restaurants and many German Americans left the city. Most German restaurants closed. Lüchow's, one of New York's last prominent German restaurants, survived for decades before finally closing in 1986. The steakhouse that Carl and Peter Luger launched in Williamsburg, however, has survived, and other restaurants serving German-style food have opened around the city.

Irish Immigrants

Germans were only the first of several waves of immigrants to hit New York. The second was the Irish. Irish immigrants had been coming to the city since colonial times. Many came as indentured servants and some as convicts; still others were merchants, artisans, and shopkeepers who paid their own way. Most early Irish immigrants were Protestants.

Early Irish immigrants went into food-related businesses in New York. One successful Irish entrepreneur was John Hill, who opened the New Beef Steak and Oyster House in 1774. Another was William Niblo, who arrived after the American Revolution. He apprenticed at a coffeehouse and married the owner's daughter. In 1814, he opened the Bank Coffee House. In 1823, he purchased the grounds of a small circus, called "The Stadium," at the corner of Broadway and Prince Street. There he opened Niblo's Garden, the city's most fashionable resort, complete with a restaurant. In 1834, Niblo put up a theater, where plays and other entertainments were performed throughout the mid-nineteenth century.

Beginning in the early 1830s, Irish Catholics began to immigrate to New York. Most were poor, from rural areas; unskilled and uneducated, they were not prepared for the demands of the urban workplace. They were also Catholic in a mainly Protestant city, and they would face prejudice, poverty, and hunger for decades to come.

Some Irish immigrants opened eating establishments. Daniel Sweeney arrived in New York during the 1820s. He made money as a water vendor while learning the restaurant trade. In 1836, he opened a restaurant to serve middle-class workers in downtown Manhattan, offering oysters, roast beef, mutton, beans, pies, and desserts. It was an immediate success, and Sweeney later opened a hotel, which became a center for Irish immigrants during the following decades. Patrick Dolan, an Irishman who arrived in New York in 1846 and worked at Sweeney's restaurant, opened his own very successful restaurant in downtown Manhattan. Other Irish immigrants became importers. One of New York's largest importers of beer and wine was Thomas McMullen, who in 1852, published *Hand-Book of Wines, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical; with a Description of Foreign Spirits and Liquors*, one of the first books published in the United States on wine and how to make it.

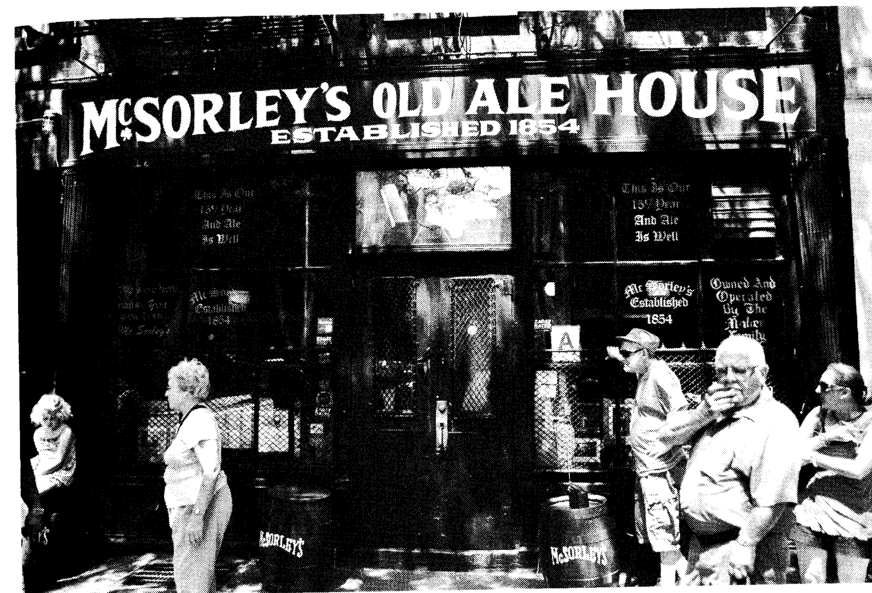
When the Potato Famine hit Ireland in 1846, Irish immigration swelled to flood stage. In 1847, an estimated eighty-five thousand Irish men, women, and children departed for North America, many bound for New York. Decades after the Potato Famine subsided, the Irish continued to immigrate. By 1860, there were more than two hundred thousand of them in New York, forming about one-fourth of the city's total population. By 1890, more than four hundred thousand people of Irish heritage lived in Manhattan (and thousands more in Brooklyn and Queens). There were more Irish in New York than Dublin.

Many single women went into domestic service. In 1846, two-thirds of the domestic servants in New York City were Irish. Within a decade, 80 percent of the thirty-five thousand foreign-born domestics and waiters in Manhattan were Irish. Coming as they did from a famine-stricken land, these women were not necessarily able cooks, and they were unfamiliar with American food. Some, according to their employers, were unable to cook even potatoes properly by American standards: they "only half boil their potatoes, leaving the centre so hard, that it is called the bone of the potato." And they persisted "in bringing half-boiled potatoes to the table, notwithstanding our repeated orders to the contrary." But Irish kitchen help gradually became familiar with American food and its preparation, and they brought these skills and habits home to their families when they married.

Other Irish women became fruit and vegetable peddlers. They bought oranges, apples, and other groceries from middlemen and sold them on the streets. Those who were successful rented stalls in one of the city's markets. A few immigrants opened small hotels, and those who could afford to buy houses frequently turned them into boardinghouses.

Still others went into the grocery business, making their greatest profits in liquor sales. In a short period, Irish dominated New York grocery stores. Some gained economic prominence. Perhaps the most successful Irish immigrant grocer was Thomas Butler, who arrived in America in 1871. After working in hotels, he and a partner started a grocery store in 1882. They painted the shop front green and emblazoned their names on it in gold lettering. They sold their goods at low prices, and the public thronged to the store. Butler bought out his partner the following year and began to open more stores. By 1914, there were 235 Butler Grocery Stores. The chain continued to grow, reaching 1,100 stores in the New York area by the time Thomas Butler died, in 1934. Despite its Irish American ownership, and the fact that many of its customers were of Irish heritage, the chain did not sell any particularly "Irish" food products.

In Ireland, the diet of the rural poor was largely based on potatoes, oatmeal, buttermilk, some vegetables, and very little—if any—meat, which was simply beyond their means. The same was true of whiskey. In New York, food prices and alcoholic beverages declined throughout the nineteenth century. Irish immigrants, poor as they were, ate and drank well compared to how they had fared in Ireland. An observer noted in 1864 that Irish immigrants in New York bought cheap whiskey and cheap provisions, especially meat that "they have been accustomed to consider the luxury of the rich, and they go in for it accordingly. They eat meat three times a day, rudely cooked, and in large quantities. Whisky of an execrable quality, is plentiful and cheap."



McSorley's Old Ale House, which claims to be New York's oldest saloon, 2013. Courtesy of Kelly Fitzsimmons

Some Irish newcomers became waiters at New York City restaurants, while others opened working-class restaurants, especially oyster cellars. Many immigrants opened or worked in saloons. In 1851, Seamus O'Daoir, owner of a "porter house" on New York's Duane Street, wrote a poem for the *Irish American* promoting his drinking establishment and extolling the connection between the Irish and alcohol. Another enterprising immigrant, John McSorley, opened an alehouse for workingmen on East Seventh Street in 1854. McSorley's Old Ale House, New York's oldest continuously operating saloon, still serves ale, porter, and their famous liverwurst-and-onion sandwiches. Other Irish saloons served potatoes to go along with the alcohol.

Bars and saloons served as places of employment for Irish immigrants. Bartenders helped men find jobs and get a meal when necessary. Irish saloons were also places where men socialized and talked politics. In *Hungering for America* (2001), Hasia Diner observed that

> alcohol linked the Irish in America to the emotionally satisfying world of past memory and ushered them into a comfortable world of friendship with others like themselves. Above all, it heightened their Irish identity. In saloons, under the influence of alcohol, they declared their unswerving loyalty to Ireland, the place they had left but claimed still to serve, while they articulated a deep American patriotism.

Irish saloons became the core of Irish American political control over Tammany Hall, which dominated New York City politics until the Depression.

Irish immigrant Patrick J. Clarke became a bartender at a dingy saloon on Fifty-fifth Street and Third Avenue in 1902. Ten years later, he had saved enough money to buy the place. It was just another little neighborhood bar until 1945, when it was selected as the location for the Billy Wilder film *The Lost Weekend*, based on a book by Charles R. Jackson, who had done much of his writing in the bar. Celebrities discovered P. J. Clarke's, and it morphed into a restaurant, serving hamburgers, pies, and other dishes. Clarke died in 1948, but P. J. Clarke's survived and expanded to other locations in New York and in other cities.

Irish immigrants formed regiments in the New York militia, such as the Sixty-ninth, also called the "Irish Brigade." When the Civil War broke out in 1861, it was among the first units to respond to President Lincoln's call for volunteers to put down the rebellion. The "Fighting Sixty-ninth" served with great distinction during the war, and afterward it traditionally marched at the head of the city's St. Patrick's Day Parade, widely celebrated in New York since the nineteenth century. The day featured serious drinking and lavish meals featuring corned beef and cabbage, Irish stew, Irish soda bread, and colcannon (mashed potatoes with kale or cabbage).

Jewish Immigrants

The third wave of immigrants were Jews, initially from Germany and later from Eastern Europe. In 1654, when the Portuguese expelled the Dutch from Pernambuco, which is today in Brazil, some Dutch refugees, of whom twenty-seven were Jews, arrived in New Amsterdam. Eventually, after considerable debate among city leaders, Jews won the right to own property. Few Jews immigrated subsequently, but this changed suddenly with the advent of the first big wave of German immigration: an estimated eighty thousand of the Germans who began arriving in the 1830s were Jewish. Many settled permanently in New York—they were urbanites who had little difficulty adjusting to city life. Many ended up as butchers and bakers. For Passover in 1859, nine Jewish bakeries in New York used 2,200 barrels of flour making matzah, most of which was shipped to other communities.

During the 1880s, a new group of Jewish immigrants poured into New York City, fleeing political oppression, pogroms in Russia, crushing poverty in Eastern Europe, and the turmoil caused by the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. Unlike the earlier Jewish immigrants, the newcomers were largely poor, from rural villages; thus, many were unprepared for city life. They moved into tenement buildings in Manhattan's Lower East Side, which had previously been home to German immigrants. Many of these Eastern Europeans were Orthodox Jews, and they strictly followed the laws of kashruth (Kosher dietary laws). Meats and some other foods had to be prepared according to these rules. To meet these needs, immigrants opened butcher shops, bakeries, restaurants, cafés, and cafeterias.

The meals prepared in these establishments (or at home) were simple fare. In addition to basic soups, stews, grain dishes, and the like, they included gefilte fish, pumpernickel and rye breads, challah, kreplach, latkes (potato pancakes), and blintzes (cheese-filled pancakes). Some Jews moved into commercial production of foods, such as bagels, which were sold by vendors on the streets of New York by the early twentieth century.

Many Jewish-owned businesses advertised that they were kosher, selling only kosher foods, wines, and liquors. But were they truly kosher? This issue perplexed New York Jews for decades. In 1887, the Orthodox synagogues in New York and other cities imported a rabbi from Vilna, Russia (now Lithuania), in part to regulate the kosher meat business. His efforts—and those of others—failed. In 1923, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations launched a supervision and certification program for processed foods. It wasn't until New York State passed and enforced a Kosher Law in 1934 that this matter was, for the most part, resolved.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the vast majority of the city's pushcart vendors and door-to-door salesmen were Jewish; many moved up the retail ladder to open their own shops. By 1899, these included "140 groceries, 131 kosher butchers, 36 bakeries, 9 bread stands, 14 butter and egg stores, 24 candy stores, 7 coffee shops, 10 delicatessens, 9 fish stores, 7 fruit stands, 2 meat markets, 10 sausage stores, 13 wine shops, 13 grape wine shops, and 10 confectioners." Jewish grocers thrived throughout the early twentieth century. By 1938, there were almost ten thousand grocery stores that catered largely to the Jewish population in New York. In addition, about five hundred "appetizing stores," such as Russ & Daughters and Zabar's, specialized in prepared foods: pickled, smoked, and salted fish, such as lox, herring, and white fish, as well as dried fruit, nuts, pickles, breads, candy, and imported delicacies.

By comparison to other immigrant groups, most immigrant Jews drank little alcohol. In Jewish neighborhoods, saloons languished. As an alternative, two companies began manufacturing soda, which was well received in part due to its purported healthfulness. When the Sugar Trust's activities increased the price of sugar, Jewish soda manufacturers shifted to make seltzer (plain soda water), referred to as "Jewish champagne" and labeled the "staple

Diversity of sausages and other products for sale in a New York deli, 2013. Courtesy of Kelly Fitzsimmons

beverage of Yiddish New York." By 1907, there were more than one hundred Jewish seltzer manufacturers in New York. A Jewish candy store owner in Brooklyn, Louis Auster, has been credited with inventing one of the city's most iconic beverages, the egg cream. Despite its name, this classic fountain drink contains only soda water, milk, and chocolate syrup.

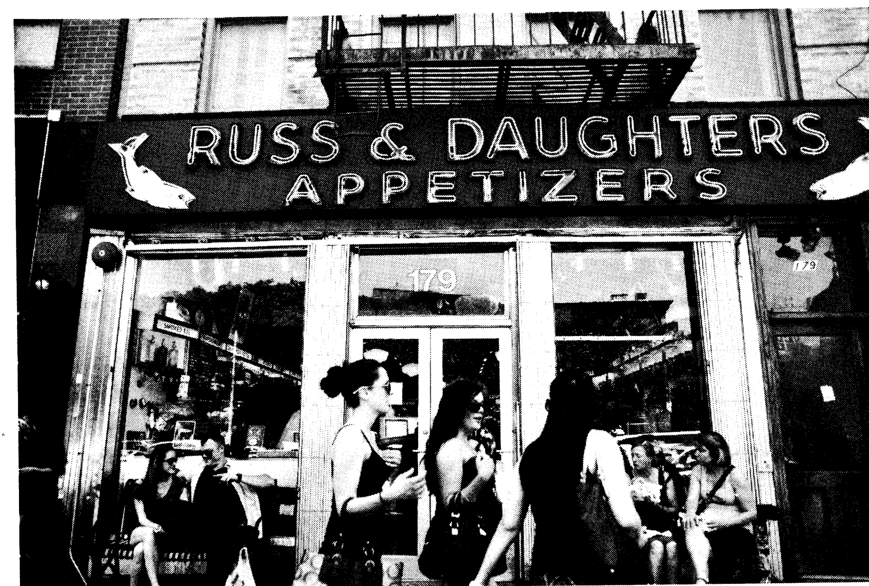
Jewish immigrants found employment in New York City, and many thrived economically. Those who had often gone hungry in their homelands could now enjoy foods that had been the province of the upper classes there. As Hasia Diner notes, "The formerly poor started to eat *blintzes*, *kreplach*, *kasha-varnitchkes*, *strudel*, noodles, *knishes* and more importantly, meat every day."

Jewish restaurants opened throughout the city. Ratner's, in Manhattan, was founded by Jacob Harmatz and Alex Ratner in 1905. It was a kosher dairy restaurant, where no meat was served. At the height of its fame, Ratner's would serve ten thousand meals per week. Other early and notable kosher restaurants included Steinberg's on the Upper West Side of Manhattan and Garfield's in Brooklyn. Neighborhood cafés and coffeehouses flourished on the Lower East Side, some of them catering to intellectuals—writers, poets, and artists. The Garden Cafeteria, a dairy restaurant on bustling East Broadway, was the most famous of these.

Like their non-Jewish German counterparts, Jewish immigrants also opened delicatessens, which eventually became sit-down restaurants. Following the laws of kashruth, these offered only meat, fish, and pareve (neutral) foods; a typical selection featured chicken soup, corned beef, gefilte fish, lox, knishes, pastrami, chopped liver, tongue, and garlic pickles. Some delis made their own beef sausages—salami, bologna, and frankfurters—but most found it cheaper and easier to buy from Isaac Gellis, a Jewish immigrant from Berlin, who opened a kosher sausage company on Essex Street shortly after the Civil War. Other companies, such as the Williamsburg Genuine Kosher Meat Products Company in Brooklyn and the Hebrew National Kosher Sausage Factory on the Lower East Side, later provisioned Jewish delis. Jewish delis also popularized old-country breads, notably rye and pumpernickel.

Gradually, as secular Jews and non-Jewish diners became steady customers, Jewish delicatessens expanded their menus to include cream cheese and farmer cheese to spread on bagels and bialys, herring in cream sauce, blintzes, and cheesecake. Of course, these establishments lost their kashruth-observing patrons in the process.

Some Jewish delis became iconic New York establishments. Joel Russ, a Jewish immigrant from what is today Poland, began his career in 1907 selling Polish mushrooms, which he carried on his shoulders. He saved up enough money to buy a pushcart and then a horse and wagon. In 1914,



Russ & Daughters appetizing store, Manhattan, 2013. Courtesy of Kelly Fitzsimmons

he opened his first store on Orchard Street on the Lower East Side and expanded his offerings to include salmon and herring. His business would eventually become Russ & Daughters, which is still one of New York's premier appetizing stores.

Louis Zabar, a Jewish refugee from Ukraine, started selling smoked fish in Brooklyn in 1934; he later moved the business to the Upper West Side of Manhattan. Still family owned and run, Zabar's now offers a full range of gourmet foods and kitchenware at its single vast store on Broadway at Eightieth Street, and smoked fish is still a huge part of the business.

During the Depression, deli owners had a difficult time selling their relatively expensive meats and imported products. Mogen Dovid Delicatessen Corporation, a trade association, encouraged Jewish deli owners to appeal to a wider audience and to keep their prices moderate; they published a periodical for deli owners that included a list of suggested prices for standard deli items. Many Jewish delis sell kosher meats but do not otherwise adhere to the laws of kashruth, including closing the store for the Sabbath. Some notable Manhattan delis past and present are the Carnegie, the Second Avenue Deli, the Stage, and Katz's.

Food played an important part in the Jewish communities in New York. As Hasia Diner wrote, "Food drew Jewish men and women to the streets. In the immigrant and first American-born generations, Jews lived in relatively

Katz's Deli, on Houston Street, Manhattan, 2013. Courtesy of Kelly Fitzsimmons

compact Jewish neighborhoods. The provision of food to Jews by Jews enhanced the sense of community."

By 1910, more than 1.2 million Jews lived in New York, and this number continued to increase; by the 1920s, the Jewish population of the city was nearly two million. This immigration stopped in 1924 but picked up again in the 1970s, when the city became the destination of choice for thousands of Soviet Jews fleeing relentless oppression. Many moved to Brighton Beach, Brooklyn, now dubbed "Little Odessa." Today, New York is home to about one hundred thousand Russian Jews, more than any other place in the world. Russian restaurants, cafés, clubs, and bars have proliferated in the area, and neighborhood shops supply imported specialty items from Russia. One immigrant from Odessa, Tatiana Varzar, opened a small restaurant on the boardwalk in Brighton Beach that grew into Tatiana Restaurant, one of the most popular eating establishments and nightclubs in the neighborhood.

Italian Immigrants

Although Italians lived in New York since colonial times, they were few in number. Some Italian immigrants became prominent in the early nineteenth century. Ferdinand Palmo, who arrived in New York in 1808, opened Palmo's Garden on Broadway near Duane Street. Its restaurant, the Café de Mille Colonnes, was filled with gilded columns and huge mirrors. Palmo hired Italian musicians for the band at the restaurant, which quickly became one of the city's hot spots. In 1844, he opened an opera house that specialized in Italian opera.

According to the 1850 census, fewer than four thousand people of Italian heritage lived in the United States. In the 1850s, Italian immigration picked up momentum. By the 1860s, Italian foods such as spaghetti, macaroni, and vermicelli were manufactured in the city, and merchants imported Chianti and other Italian wines.

Italian immigration surged after the Civil War. Most of the newcomers were from poverty-stricken areas of southern Italy, and they came to New York seeking economic opportunities. They became street vendors and gardeners. Italian commission merchants established themselves in the peanut business, hiring their fellow Italian immigrants as pushcart peddlers to sell the nuts. By 1870, there were several hundred Italian peanut vendors on the streets of New York. Some moved up the retail chain by buying carts and hiring others to operate them, or by setting up stationary stands. Some also returned to Italy and recruited others to come to America, guaranteeing them jobs as peanut vendors. Some Italians hired in this way returned home after

they had made enough money; most, however, encouraged their families to immigrate to America, thus creating another chain migration.

Immigrants mainly lived in tenements south of Greenwich Village in what would become Little Italy. Where they could, they kept chickens, goats, and on occasion pigs in their tenement basements; for those lucky enough to live in a house, backyard gardens were the norm. Others lived or worked on small farms around the city where they grew fruits, vegetables, and herbs commonly used in Italian cooking: these included certain types of lettuce, Savoy cabbage, tomatoes, eggplant, onions, asparagus, beans, potatoes, broccoli, celery, peas, thyme, parsley, mint, basil, garlic, and oregano. These were marketed only to Italian immigrants at first, but eventually these items caught on with New Yorkers of other ethnic groups.

Some Italian food products were unavailable in New York, so Italian-owned businesses imported olive oil, Parmesan and other cheeses, sausages, anchovies, pastas, and coffees. These were supplied to Italian American grocers, who introduced them to other New Yorkers. By the 1930s, Italians ran 10,000 grocery stores, 875 butcher shops, and 1,150 restaurants in the city. Many of the city's other restaurants hired Italian chefs, waiters, and kitchen help. Italian cookbooks were published in New York beginning in 1911. Italian foods were popularized through festivals, such as the Feast of San Gennaro, which has been celebrated since 1926 along Mulberry Street in Little Italy. New dishes based on Italian heritage emerged; for example, spaghetti and meatballs, a combination not traditionally served in Italy, became an American mainstay.

Italian immigrants opened fish markets and introduced New Yorkers to types of seafood they hadn't appreciated before. Few New Yorkers, for instance, ate tuna—it was considered too oily, its flesh too dark. In the autumn of 1897, the *New York Times* published an astounding saga of an Italian fishmonger who had bought a nine-hundred-pound tuna for nine dollars at Fulton Market. "About his store that night a changing group made up of old women, old men, young girls, and small boys with bulging eyes worshiped at the shrine. The old people spoke of fish in their day in far-off Italy, and revealed the secret of the wonderful sauce. To this last the young girls paid careful attention." Within two decades, New Yorkers began to eat canned tuna, which by the 1940s, became the nation's most consumed fish.

Italians also opened ice-cream parlors, quick-lunch establishments, and restaurants. Many were highly rated, such as Morelli's in Little Italy. Others were identified as "spaghetti joints"—usually very small establishments in cellars. One was described in 1891 as "lit by a smoky kerosene lamp. A little bar is in one corner, and narrow, wooden benches, black with use, run around the walls and are fastened to them. Here five cents will buy a plate of maccaroni [*sic*], a bit of toast, and a cup of coffee."

By the 1930s, Manhattan had about six hundred Italian restaurants, while Brooklyn had three hundred and the Bronx another two hundred and fifty. Most remained small "hole-in-the-wall" joints with sawdust on the floor and few refinements of décor or service. They served big bowls of macaroni and spaghetti, and pizza with tomato sauce and cheese. At the other end of the Italian restaurant spectrum were restaurants such as Monetta's on Mulberry Street, Barbetta's on West Forty-sixth Street, and Sardi's near Times Square. Sardi's served both Italian and French cuisine, and was (and remains) a popular theater crowd hangout in the Theater District. Whether large or small, these restaurants popularized common Italian foods.

Italian immigrants also started factories that produced Italian foods. Macaroni had been known in America since the late eighteenth century, but it was considered an exotic luxury. The Atlantic Macaroni Company began operating in 1897 and La Rosa Macaroni Company in 1914. Emanuelle Ronzoni formed the Ronzoni Macaroni Company in 1915. It specialized in farina macaroni, farina spaghetti, and *pasta all'uovo* (egg noodles). Along with La Rosa, Ronzoni became one of the largest pasta makers in America. Yet another business was launched by Joseph Kresevich and his wife Angela, immigrants from Trieste, Italy, who started the Stella D'Oro Biscuit Company in 1932.

In time, Italian foods and dishes reached all levels of New York society. By the late ninetieth century, spaghetti had become a mainstream dish. Pizza was sold in Little Italy by 1902. Lombardi's Pizzeria, which opened in 1905, still stands on the corner of Spring and Mott Streets. Pizza was eaten mainly by Italian Americans until after World War II, when returning GIs who had served in Italy sought out dishes they had enjoyed overseas. Pizza was on its way to becoming one of New York's (and America's) favorite foods. Still, as late as 1956, the *New York Times* had to define pizza as "a circular mixture of dough, cheese, sauce and Italian lore." New York–style pizza—a thin crust with a thin layer of sauce—remains the city's favorite pizza.

Italians had a greater influence on New York culinary scene than did many other immigrant groups. As historian Richard Hooker said, their cookery "was strange enough to interest Americans but not so different as to be unacceptable or difficult." Italian food has continued to thrive in New York, especially as chefs and restaurateurs such as Lidia Bastianich and Mario Batali have created Italian food empires. In 2010, Lidia Bastianich, her son Joe Bastianich, and Mario Batali opened Eataly, a fifty-thousand-square-foot emporium devoted to Italian food and drink. New Yorkers have accepted

Italian food with open arms, whether it be homemade lasagna layered with locally made mozzarella and ricotta; "a slice" from a neighborhood pizza joint, folded in two and dripping with oil; or an elegant repast fragrant with truffles and complemented with fine Tuscan wines.

Chinese Immigrants

Chinese immigrants arrived in New York City beginning in 1855, when a census included thirty-eight Chinese men. When construction began on the transcontinental railroad in 1863, an estimated ten thousand Chinese laborers helped build the western portion, and Chinese cooks came along to prepare their meals. With the railroad's completion in 1869, the Chinese population—and the delights of their culinary repertoire—spread eastward across America. By 1873, more than five hundred Chinese lived in New York City, in the area that would become Chinatown. Even after Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Acts in 1882, Chinese continued to migrate to New York from the West Coast, and illegal immigration continued through Canada. New York's Chinese population steadily increased.

Racial discrimination prevented Chinese immigrants from employment in many professions; restaurants were an exception. Chinese restaurants opened in Chinatown, and initially they mainly served the immigrant population. Like many ethnic restaurants, they served more than cheap comfort food; they also helped immigrants to assimilate, became gathering places for new arrivals, and occasionally functioned as aid societies, lending money when necessary and helping people find work.

Few New Yorkers ventured into Chinese restaurants except out of curiosity. One brave soul reported in 1891 that a Chinese restaurant on Mott Street served rice, stewed pork, pig's feet, duck, chicken, boiled cabbage, onions, bamboo shoots, celery, beans, soy sauce, and tea. Special party menus included pigeon, sea worms, bird's nest soup, muscles, and rice wine. The observer of this restaurant may well have seen chop suey, which was described by the *Brooklyn Eagle* as a combination of "pork, bacon, chickens, mushroom, bamboo shoots, onion, pepper." Others reported that chop suey contained mushrooms, parsley, cornstarch, water chestnuts, bean sprouts, seaweed, and many other ingredients. There was no agreed-upon definition, and each establishment made it with whatever ingredients were available. The only thing clear about chop suey was that it originated in America, although it was based on Chinese culinary traditions.

By the late 1880s, chop suey joints were popular in New York. A writer in *Leslie's Illustrated* warned in 1896 that "an American who once falls under

Port Author Restaurant, Chinatown, during Chinese New Year's celebration circa 1890s. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. Reproduction Number: LC-DIG-ggbain-00025

the spell of chop suey may forget all about things Chinese for a while, and suddenly a strange craving that almost defies will power arises" and "he finds that his feet are carrying him to Mott street." A 1915 description of these chop suey establishments noted that non-Chinese diners found the food "really toothsome and gratifying." But the author, who had traveled extensively in China, also pointed out that the food had little in common with the food actually served in China. Chinese Americans rarely ate anything like it, either. One wrote in 1902 that "there is a great deal of pork in it, and it is too greasy. It is made more to suit American tastes." Other Chinese Americans regarded chop suey as "a culinary joke at the expense of the foreigner."

By 1900, New York's Chinatown had more than one hundred restaurants. Their basic menu was fairly set: chop suey, chow mein, egg foo young, and a noodle soup called yat gaw mein, or "yakaman." Egg rolls probably didn't appear until the 1920s and fortune cookies, an American invention, not until the 1940s. These dishes, although based on home-style village food, had been relentlessly adapted to American tastes. By the 1930s, Chinese restaurants, such as the Bamboo Forest on MacDougal Street and the Chinese Delmonico's on Pell Street became popular.

The Chinese immigrants themselves, whether at home or in restaurants, clung steadfastly to the traditional fare from whatever region or country they had come from. They imported products from China and created their own market gardens, which supplied home kitchens and Chinese restaurants. They ate mainly rice, vegetables, fish (frequently salted), shrimp, other seafood, fowl, special herbs, and pork. They drank tea, eschewed dairy products, and rarely consumed sugar. They stir-fried, braised, or steamed their food in woks, and they ate with chopsticks.

Chinese restaurateurs intentionally moved out of Chinatown, where competition was severe and few non-Chinese were willing to eat. By 1910, more than half of the Chinese-owned restaurants in New York were located outside Chinatown. After World War I, Chinese restaurants expanded in size and number as their foods became more acceptable to their non-Asian neighbors. The Chinese immigrant population of New York increased again after World War II. In 1958, the city had more than three hundred Chinese restaurants, of which thirty were in the Times Square area alone. By 1960, only fifty of the nearly six hundred Chinese restaurants in New York were located in Chinatown.

By 1988, the 781 Chinese restaurants in New York City employed more than fifteen thousand workers. New immigrants brought other culinary traditions with them. Unlike earlier arrivals, who were mainly Cantonese, the new immigrants came from Sichuan, Hunan, and other regions. Some had lived in other countries before arriving in New York. Restaurants specializing in Chinese regional cuisines from Peking, Sichuan, and Hunan opened around the city. By the twenty-first century, the city had an estimated half a million residents of Chinese heritage. The Chinese restaurant business continued to grow and prosper, in part because of a demand for inexpensive Chinese food and the continued inflow of Chinese immigrants willing to work for low wages. At the other end of the economic spectrum are trendy upper-class Chinese restaurants offering traditional and innovative Chinese fare. New Yorkers seem to have unlimited appetites for the foods of China.

Greek Immigrants

When Greek immigrants arrived in America in the late nineteenth century, they wanted the foods that they remembered from back home. Many immigrants went into the food service business. Beginning in the 1890s, Greek immigrants in New York established stores that imported and sold Greek wines, cheese, olive oil, black olives, dried fish, figs, and many other foods. These operations subsequently expanded to Chicago, Boston, and other large

northern cities. Other Greek immigrants opened candy stores, fruit stands, ice-cream parlors, bakeries, and coffeehouses.

Many Greek immigrants became street food vendors, selling whatever potential customers would buy. When zoning and licensing laws made it more difficult to operate pushcarts, Greek vendors bought coffee shops and small restaurants. By 1913, at least two hundred of these "third-class" restaurants served customers on Seventh Avenue alone. A few upscale Greek restaurants opened on Sixth Avenue. There, according to one observer, "soup, roast lamb, potatoes, salad, Greek pudding and bread may be secured for thirty-five or forty cents." Greek immigrants soon dominated the city's corner diners. Usually their food was very similar to that of other neighborhood restaurants; one distinctive characteristic of the Greek diners was their use of paper cups that featured the Parthenon. Greece is a coffee-loving country, and many Greek immigrants opened coffeehouses. After World War II, especially during the 1960s and 1970s, more Greeks immigrated to New York, particularly to Astoria in Queens, Bay Ridge in Brooklyn, and Washington Heights in Manhattan. The city became home to more than two hundred thousand people of Greek heritage. Greek businessmen purchased coffee shops and hired the new immigrants to operate them. Others launched restaurants, many of which served Greek foods, while others opened pizza parlors.

Tom's Greek diner in Brooklyn, 2013. Courtesy of Kelly Fitzsimmons

Slaves from Africa and Migrants from the South

Enslaved Africans had been brought to New York since colonial days. By 1700, slaves and freed slaves comprised an estimated 14 to 21 percent of the city's entire population. Most slaves lived with families, and many ended up as cooks. Freed slaves established small communities that were later incorporated into New York. When the British army left New York at the end of the American Revolution, three thousand freed slaves left with them. When the first census was taken in 1790, out of a total population of 33,470 people living in Manhattan, 2,369 were slaves.

Slavery was outlawed in the state in 1837, and many African Americans ended up as street vendors. Others worked as cooks and waiters in the city's restaurants. When the Civil War ended in 1865, African Americans from the South began to migrate into the city; some took jobs as cooks and servants in private homes, schools, and hotels. Many worked as cooks in the city's booming restaurants, and their cooking abilities were highly praised by observers.

A wave of African Americans into the city increased after 1903 and reached its peak in the 1920s, when tens of thousands of African Americans moved in, seeking jobs in factories. Many ended up in Harlem, which at the time was occupied by Irish and Jewish immigrants and squatters. During the 1920s and 1930s, West Harlem became the center of the "Harlem Renaissance." Nightclubs such as the Cotton Club featured the greatest African American entertainers and supplied their patrons with beer and other alcoholic beverages even during Prohibition. The Cotton Club menu included Chinese dishes, such as "Chinese soup," moo goo gai pan, and egg foo young; other items included baked oysters Cotton Club, filet mignon, broiled live lobster, steak sandwiches, crabmeat cocktails, and scrambled eggs and sausage. Although the Cotton Club was segregated—only whites were admitted as customers—other Harlem clubs were integrated, providing an opportunity for African Americans and whites to socialize.

African Americans brought their culinary traditions with them when they came north. Edna Lewis, who was born in Virginia, arrived in New York during the Depression. In 1949, she became the cook at Café Nicholson, a restaurant opened by a friend on New York's well-to-do Upper East Side. Café Nicholson became a gathering place for literary greats including Tennessee Williams, William Faulkner, and Truman Capote, as well as other New Yorkers in the arts. Lewis became known for her perfectly roasted chickens and her lofty soufflés. In 1957, Lewis left the restaurant and worked at various food-related jobs, including catering. Although Lewis wrote notable cookbooks, such as *The Edna Lewis Cookbook* (1972) and *The Taste of Country Cooking* (1976), she continued to work in New York restaurants, most notably as chef at the venerable Brooklyn restaurant Gage and Tollner. In 1995, Edna Lewis received the first Living Legend Award from the James Beard Foundation.

In the 1960s, some African American culinary traditions were popularized under the rubric of "soul food," and by 1964 Harlem became known as "Soul City." One African American, Sylvia Woods, became particularly associated with "soul food" in New York. Woods, who was born in Hemingway, South Carolina, moved to New York in 1941 and married Herbert Woods. In 1962, the couple bought a luncheonette, which they named "Sylvia's." They served hamburgers and French fries as well as foods traditional in the South, such as fried chicken, ribs, hot cakes, corn bread, collard greens, black-eyed peas, candied yams, and rich desserts. Six years later, they moved to a larger restaurant on 126th Street. Sylvia's became a tourist attraction, drawing visitors from all over the world. In the 1990s, Woods launched Sylvia Woods Enterprises, supplying canned soul food to supermarkets. A consultant recommended that "Sylvia's of Harlem—Queen of Soul" be placed on the product labels, and thereafter Sylvia Woods was called "the Queen of Soul." She wrote two cookbooks: *Sylvia's Soul Food: Recipes from Harlem's World Famous Restaurant* (1992) and *Sylvia's Family Soul Food Cookbook* (1999).

Yet other African American culinary traditions were espoused by the Nation of Islam, which forbade many of the traditional African American foods, especially pork, but retained a fondness for sugary desserts and well-cooked vegetables. Its culinary hallmark became the bean pie, akin to pumpkin pie but filled with sweetened, spiced, mashed kidney beans.

Hispanic Immigrants

Puerto Rico was acquired by the United States through conquest during the Spanish-American War (1898). During World War I, America needed soldiers, and to acquire them, Congress passed the Second Organic Act in 1917, granting Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship, which gave them freedom to travel freely between the island and the United States. This plus Congress's limitation of immigration from other countries, encouraged Puerto Ricans to migrate to New York, particularly East Harlem in Manhattan, south of the Gowanus Canal in Brooklyn. By the late 1920s, there were an estimated 150,000 to 200,000 Puerto Ricans living in New York, and they were served by more than 125 restaurants and 200 bodegas and colmados (neighborhood grocery and convenience stores).

Puerto Ricans continued to migrate to New York during the Depression. This turned to a flood after World War II and reached a peak in 1953 when seventy-five thousand people left the island. The mostly rural, unskilled immigrants settled predominantly in the northeastern part of Manhattan, which is known as El Barrio or Spanish Harlem. This migration continued, and by 1964, more than 10 percent of New York's total population was of Puerto Rican heritage. Puerto Ricans organized social, cultural, and sports clubs that often sponsored public festivals. The Puerto Rican club Los jíbaros (the Puerto Rican peasants) organized festivals that highlighted the preparation of foods like *chicharrones* (fried pork rinds), *tostones* (twice-fried green plantains), and *arroz con dulce* (coconut milk rice pudding).

In El Barrio, Puerto Ricans strived to maintain their food habits. *Carnicerías* (butcher shops), *cuchifritos* (snack stands), and bodegas brought Puerto Rican flavors to the neighborhood. In the 1950s, Puerto Ricans owned and supported food stalls in the covered food market that they baptized La Marqueta. This market became like a piece of the Caribbean in Manhattan, where they sold yuca and other root vegetables, *yautía* (underground stem of a plant of the genus *Xanthosoma*), plantains, green bananas, *culantro* (long-leaf cilantro), fruits, *gandules* (pigeon peas), avocados, and *maví* (bark used to make a slightly alcoholic drink).

Prudencio Unanue, a Basque who moved to Puerto Rico when he was seventeen, immigrated to New York and, in 1928, opened a small firm in New York to import products like olives, olive oil, and sardines from Spain. In 1936, Unanue founded Goya Foods, which sold rice and beans in bulk in La Marqueta and supplied bodegas with a wide array of foods for the Puerto Rican table: dried codfish, tropical fruit syrups, papaya and guava preserves, chorizo sausages, anchovies, sardines, spices, and cans of prepared foods like *pasteles* (savory plantain and green banana cakes) and *mondongo* (tripe soup). Goya has expanded and diversified according to the changes in migration trends and as the new generations lack the skills to prepare traditional foods. Now Goya is a large food importer and processing company that is the leader in its market. In spite of the large size of the company, family members still serve in key positions.

Hispanics are currently one of New York's fastest-growing immigrant groups. Dominicans mainly settled in Washington Heights in Manhattan or in Queens. Many have gone into operating bodegas and small restaurants catering to the city's Hispanic population. Few Mexicans lived in New York prior to 1980, but since then, the Mexican population has increased several fold. More than six hundred Mexican-style restaurants have opened, and some offer specific Mexican regional styles. In addition, taco trucks prowl the streets.

Japanese Immigrants

Few Japanese immigrants arrived in New York prior to the 1950s. In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Acts, which also restricted immigration from Japan. In 1908, the United States and Japan concluded a gentleman's agreement in which the United States would not officially halt Japanese immigration, but the Japanese government agreed to deny visas to laborers who wanted to emigrate to America. The few Japanese restaurants established in New York prior to World War II catered almost exclusively to Japanese ex-pats and visiting tourists from Japan, although there were exceptions such as the Miyako on West Fifty-eighth Street and the Daruma on Sixth Avenue. To attract a wider clientele, they offered sukiyaki and other Americanized dishes.

During the early 1950s, this began to change as Japanese officials connected with the United Nations arrived in the city. Japanese markets in New York began to sell raw fish for sashimi and sushi to resident Japanese nationals, but raw fish was also bought by some "Caucasians who have tasted and liked this speciality," reported a Japanese market owner in 1954.

By the late 1950s, Japan had recovered from the devastation of World War II, and its economy was booming. At the time, many American corporations were headquartered in New York City, and Japanese businessmen flocked there, opening offices managed by Japanese nationals. These professionals demanded authentic, high-quality Japanese food, not the made-up American dishes identified as "Japanese," and they could afford it. Japanese chefs and sushi masters were imported to feed their compatriots. New restaurants opened, manned by sushi professionals, and their Japanese customers invited New York counterparts to share in Japanese food. Japanese cuisine is complex and subtle, but what received the most attention from their colleagues were sashimi—sliced filets of raw fish—and sushi—vinegared rice topped with raw fish (among other things). Before then New Yorkers did not eat raw fish, and it seemed unlikely that most would ever sit down to a meal of raw seafood.

This began to change in the 1960s. Craig Claiborne, the *New York Times*' food editor, discovered Japanese food in 1961. Two years later, he cautioned that raw fish was probably still "a trifle too 'far out' for many American palates." By 1965, he described New York City as "a metropolis with a growing public enthusiasm for the Japanese raw fish specialties, sashimi and sushi." Two years later, he noted that "gastronomically there has been no phenomenon in recent years to equal the proliferation of Japanese restaurants, East Side, West Side and up and down the town."

Recent Immigrants

The Immigration Act of 1965 liberalized U.S. immigration law, making it easier for people from other countries to move to America. Jet air service made travel easier, swifter, and more affordable. New York became a major destination city for immigrants. In 1970, 18 percent of the city's population was foreign born; by 2010, it was 40 percent. Prior to 1970, most immigrants hailed from Europe; after that date, they were mainly from the Caribbean, Latin America, South and East Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. White flight began, and the city's racial composition changed. By 1990, Asians made up 7 percent of the city's total population, Hispanics about 25 percent, and African Americans slightly more, but of the last group, five hundred thousand were from the Caribbean, particularly Haiti and Jamaica.

Asian immigrants have included Koreans, Filipinos, and Indians. Korean immigrants settled in enclaves in Flushing and Elmhurst, Queens. Beginning in the 1970s, Korean immigrants began to retail produce, groceries, and fish. They soon operated 90 percent of the city's produce stores. By 2000, the metropolitan area was home to more than two thousand Korean-owned produce retail stores. Most have been very successful, but in 1988 Korean greengrocers in African American neighborhoods have run into ethnic conflicts and boycotts. Recently, food trucks selling Korean tacos have become popular on New York streets. Korean restaurants line West Thirty-first to West Thirty-third Streets, which is now called Koreatown, and Chef David Chang, the son of Korean immigrants, has achieved culinary stardom with his Momofuko restaurant group.

Filipinos began to immigrate to New York after 1970. Filipino restaurants have opened particularly in Queens and Brooklyn, and in the East Village in Manhattan. They serve traditional Filipino fare, such as *bangus* (a boneless baby milkfish), *adobo* (the Filipino national dish), *arroz caldo* (rice porridge), and Spam fried rice. Some opened specialty food stores in Manhattan. Many have settled in Flushing, Queens, where a Filipino fast-food chain, Jolly Bee, just opened a franchise.

Small numbers of Indians lived in New York prior to World War II. Indian migration picked up after the war. They were diverse: they adhered to different religions (Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, Sikh, and smaller groups such as Biharis and Jains), castes, and classes. Many were vegetarian. Indian immigrants came from different regions of India and had different culinary traditions. Some opened spice stores and restaurants on Lexington Avenue between Twenty-sixth and Twenty-ninth Streets, which was soon called "Little India." Others opened grocery stores in those neighborhoods where Indian immigrants lived. These sold a variety of spices, basmati rice,

flours, cans and jars of spicy pickles, sweets, snacks, and fresh vegetables. In the 1990s, Indian restaurants began to open in Flushing, Long Island City, and Jackson Heights, Queens, where many Indian immigrants lived. Some restaurants focused on specific Indian cuisines, such as those from Punjab, Gujarat, Bengal, or South India. Most served regional variations of dishes, such as rice, curries, Indian breads, Indian *lassi* (a yogurt-based drink), roti, samosas, tamarind sauce, and tandoori chicken. Some Indian restaurants were run by Jews and served kosher Indian food. Others were fast-food operations, called "curry in a hurry" outlets. Still other Indians opened pizzerias and other non-Indian fast-food operations. Smaller numbers of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis have followed similar patterns.

The first significant number of early Arab immigrants began arriving in the 1880s. They hailed initially from Lebanon and Syria, and most were Christian. After 1970, immigration from Arab countries picked up. This second wave of Arab immigrants included many Muslims. In 2010, there were an estimated 370,000 Americans of Arab heritage living in the New York area. The center of the Arab community in the city is a section of Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn, where Arab restaurants, grocery stores, bakeries, and other shops are concentrated.

Arab Americans (along with Jewish Americans) popularized the falafel, which is usually made from fried ground chickpeas, fava beans, or the combination of the two, and other vegetables. These combinations are usually stuffed into pita bread. Falafels and stuffed pita bread have been sold by street vendors in New York for years and have recently become a favorite of many of the city's food trucks.

One unusual group has been Afghan refugees who began arriving in New York after the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979. Many have become food vendors; others have opened ethnic restaurants; and still others have opened up fast-food chicken establishments. Kentucky Fried Chicken chain was probably founded by an Afghan immigrant, and many Afghans are owners of these outlets today.

Ethiopians and Eritreans arrived in New York beginning in the 1960s, and some opened Ethiopian restaurants. Ethiopians introduced New Yorkers to *wat*, a thick stew, and *injera*, a large flatbread made from teff. Eritreans introduced New Yorkers to similar dishes (typically spicy hot) as well as their interpretations of Italian dishes. During the 1980s, Senegalese began immigrating to New York. They were followed in the 1990s by Guineans, Malians, Ghanaians, Nigerians, Ivory Coasters, and peoples from other African countries. Many were street vendors, but others opened grocery stores in Harlem, Clinton Hill, University Heights, Flatbush, and the Bronx. These sold specialty foods imported from West Africa. During the early twenty-first century,

entrepreneurs began opening restaurants. Many serve traditional foods of their home countries, such as *cheb*, *mafe*, and *yassa*. Others have gone into the food delivery services, which today is dominated by West Africans.

Peoples from the West Indies (mainly Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, and Guyana) arrived in New York after 1964. Many ended up working in restaurants or as street vendors. Their culinary traditions have just begun to influence mainstream New York. Common Caribbean dishes include callaloo (edible leaves of various plants used as greens or in making thick soups), chicken, beef or goat patties, curried goat, fungi, Jamaican patty (pastry that contains various fillings and spices and is often sold, surprisingly, in pizza joints), peas and rice (peas or beans and rice), and roti (a round flat bread); patties and stews are now common foods sold by street vendors and food trucks. Many Caribbean foods are sold in Brooklyn on Labor Day at the Caribbean Day Parade, which claims to be the largest parade in the world with an estimated two to three million people participating and watching.

Some West Indians, especially Jamaicans, are Rastafarian, members of a quasi-religious group whose dietary precepts incline them to vegetarianism (some Rastas eat fish but not shellfish). The approved foods, called "ital," are pure, natural, and unprocessed; they are supposed to enhance "Livity," or life energy. Consumption of alcohol is strongly discouraged. Rastas have opened restaurants in New York neighborhoods where large numbers of them have settled, including Crown Heights and Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, the north Bronx, and around Laurelton and Cambria Heights, Queens.

During the 1960s throughout the 1970s, many Haitians emigrated to the United States. An estimated four hundred thousand people of Haitian ancestry now live in New York, especially in Flatbush and East Flatbush in Brooklyn and Springfield Gardens in Queens. Many Haitian Americans work in New York grocery stores, restaurants, bakeries, and bars. Haitian Americans have begun to influence mainstream American foodways through street vendors and small restaurants, mainly in areas where large numbers have migrated.

It isn't just that immigrant groups have moved into New York and started selling traditional or modified culinary treats from their homelands. The city creates opportunities for groups to interact in ways that they might never have in their points of origin. Groups and individuals have learned from others, and what's frequently offered on restaurant menus or on the family table show signs of these interconnections. Although many restaurants purport to offer "authentic" foods and beverages (and some do), it is more common that immigrants have added nontraditional styles and dishes to their culinary repertoires.

Jamaican-born Cheryl Smith, chef and co-owner of the Global Soul Restaurant in Brooklyn. Courtesy of Kelly Fitzsimmons