Dining as we Know it:

How the Middle Class Changed American Food Forever

Summer U.S. History

Mr. Bedar

8-5-13

Junior Thesis

Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, an eighteenth century French gourmand, once wrote, "tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are" (quoted in Wallach, Loc 79). This is reminiscent of today's "you are what you eat," which references health and dieting. In eighteenth century France, there was no focus on dieting. One can assume that Brillat-Savarin is instead focused on social class because of his era, ethnicity and status as a gourmand. Social class is a defining factor in diet; it affects what, where and how people eat. According to historian Hasia Diner, "consumption of food has always been culturally constructed" (quoted in Wallach, Loc 83). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in America, the upper class ruled culture. **In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the rise of the American middle class as well as increased immigration and decreased domestic help transformed the national dining scene from one of upper class dominance to one of middle class influence.**

The modern restaurant originated in Paris in the 1700's (Spang, 2), reaching America in the 1820's (Haley, 11). Prior to that, restaurants were something to eat, not somewhere to go. They were restorative broths meant for medical use. The beginning of today's restaurant took place in the last twenty years of France's Old Regime, when public places to go and sip a restaurant (the food) were opened. These places were different from the already existing inns and taverns because they had individual tables, not benches (Spang, 2) They soon offered other foods, and voila, the modern restaurant was born. Foreigners visiting Paris were taken aback by these new places. In 1856, a children's book called *Rollo in Paris* explained that travelers in Paris did not stay at boardinghouses, but rather stayed at hotels and, surprisingly, dined away from them (Spang, 2).

Restaurants soon caught on in other parts of the world, becoming popular in America after the Civil War (Haley, 11). The major restaurant cities in America are San Francisco, Chicago, New Orleans, Boston, Washington and New York (Haley, 13). New York is the prevailing, and has heavily influenced the others. Southern restaurants did not serve orange juice until *The Southern Hotel Journal 1* of 1911 reported, "Sherry, Delmonico, Hotel Astor, The Knickerbocker, The Plaza, The Waldorf-Astoria, The Belmont and all other strictly first-class establishments [in New York] serve oranges exclusively this way" (quoted in Haley, 14). Other cities looked to New York around the turn of the twentieth century during the transformation of American restaurants.

From the 1870's to the turn of the twentieth century, America was in a 'Gilded Age,' with wealth concentrated in the hands of few and large corporations (owned by members of the upper class) controlling the economy. The upper class had cultural and social power. It started trends, and others tried to follow. Culturally, the upper class imitated European aristocrats. According to historian Lawrence W. Levine, arts such as opera, European painting and literature became exclusive to the American upper class in the nineteenth century. French cuisine was at high society's culinary center (Haley, 6-7). The upper class used Brillat-Savarin's, "tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are," eating like aristocrats to be aristocrats.

American upper class dining had specific rules to distinguish itself in the nineteenth century. Members of this class would order dishes too expensive and unfamiliar for ordinary people. Their restaurants included formal manners, multi-course dinners and French language menus. Women who were unescorted were not seated (Haley, 14-18). Samuel Ward McAllister, the self-professed director of New York society from the 1860's to the 1890's, described in his 1890 memoir, *Society As I Have Found It*, how to cater dinner parties. Every menu item he mentioned was in French. Examples included "Mousse aux Jambon," "Pâté de Foie Gras en Bellevue" and "Croute au Madère" (O'neill, 90-91). Even as the middle class established its own restaurants, menu items were often partially in French. An 1883 dinner menu from a popular roadside restaurant included "Baked Lake Front aux Fines Herbes," "Tartelette of Fruit" and "Prime Ribs of Beef au Jus" ("Fred Harvey" Menu). Upper class restaurants utilized exclusive language, manners and rules which influenced the middle class.

While the upper class ruled society, elite French restaurants prioritized wealthier, more reputable patrons (Haley, 13). At Delmonico's, one of the most respected restaurants in New York, if someone gained a poor reputation, they would be seated and never served. This treatment was once given to Skipper Ben Wenberg, an amateur chef and ex-friend of the owners, after he participated in a rude political fight in public (Batterberry, 141). Eating at fine restaurants demonstrated social rank.

Extravagant dinner parties also demonstrated social rank. According to Michael and Ariane Batterberry, "the eighties and nineties [of the nineteenth century] represent one of the most foolish periods in American social history" (Batterberry, 139). At C. K. G. Billingsworth's white-tie banquet for the New York Riding Club, all diners ate on horseback with trays secured to their horses. They sipped champagne by long straws from their saddle bags (Batterberry, 139). One of the most elaborate dinners was the "Swan Banquet" of 1873, when importer Edward Luckemeyer gave a ten-thousand dollar tax rebate to Lorenzo Delmonico with the request of a "memorable" dinner. For this event, a huge table filled the ballroom with a thirty-foot lake in the middle, surrounded by flowers. Four swans floated on the lake, restrained by a table-to-ceiling golden cage by Tiffany's. Other than the difficulty of talking across the table and the distraction of two mating swans, the dinner went well. Only the upper class could hold such events.

Many believed in the 'American Dream' of social mobility during the Gilded Age. Starting from nothing and climbing the social ranks to the top, people thought they could join the upper class. The richest people became celebrities. By the 1870's. twenty-four newspapers in New York were all about the lives of the rich. Knowledge about these celebrities was common. Most housewives knew the number of stars on Mrs. Astor's tiara and how to make a "Waldorf Salad" (Batterberry, 134). Mrs. Astor and Mrs. Waldorf were both from wealthy hotel-owning families. They were extremely rich, famous and often imitated.

Etiquette guides became a popular way of striving for social mobility. These books explained how to behave in high society, and over two-hundred of them were published between 1870 and 1917 (Batterberry, 134). Their lessons made it seem to move up socially, however this did not actually work. Lessons for women included how to set the table, arrange flowers, manage servants and buy china. Lessons for men included what to wear, which fork to use, how to read a menu, and how and what to order on a budget (Haley, 51). The *Hills Manual of Social and Business Forms* of 1879 instructed men to "never allow butter, soup or other food to remain in your whiskers" (quoted in Batterberry, 135-136). *American Etiquette and Rules of Politeness*, an 1886 bestseller, stated, "every young lady and gentleman should cultivate a love for society -–not as an end, but as a means . . . to regard it as a means to an end -–makes it a constant source of interest and profit" (quoted in Batterberry, 134). In Samual Ward McAllister's memoir of 1890, *Society As I Have Found It*, he explained, "the highest cultivation of social manners enables a person to conceal from the world his real feelings." He went on to call home entertaining "the ladder to social success. If successfully done, it naturally creates jealousy" (O'neill, 99-100). In order to act like the upper class, middle class families began to entertain often. Dinner parties became a central part of life. Luncheon and dinner clubs became popular; members hosted these, and each one tried to top the previous (Levenstein, 62). However, reading etiquette guides and hosting dinner parties did not mean an easy entrance to the upper class.

Everything the middle class tried was essentially a step below the upper class. To be like the upper class, middle class couples would honeymoon internationally. Many of them went to Canada, while real members of the upper class toured Europe. Middle class businessmen rarely met in the lobby of a fancy hotel and ate at its restaurant. Upper class businessmen did this regularly (Haley, 48). The servant problem added to the difficulty of climbing the social ladder. Etiquette guides told women to hire servants, but it became increasingly harder to do so because of the growing economy. Working women did not want to be servants, and no longer had to be because of the availability of better jobs. In New York in 1880, there were 188 servants for every 1,000 households. In 1900, there 141 servants for every 1,000 households. And, in 1920, there were only sixty servants for every 1,000 households. One reason middle class families began dining at restaurants is because they could not get help in the house (Haley, 71). Etiquette guides made climbing the social ladder seem simple and doable. While the middle class tried to imitate the upper class, they did not join their ranks.

Not only did the middle class fail to embody the upper class, but the upper class excluded them. This was apparent in the restaurant world. Fine French restaurants were exceedingly snobby and overpriced, at least in the eyes of the middle class. Among the highest paid members of the middle class were those that worked in finance, manufacturing, and for the federal government. In 1900, the average weekly salary of workers in finance was $20.00. For workers in manufacturing, it was $19.44. For those who worked for the federal government it was $18.08. A couple could get a $20.00 dinner at a fine French restaurant if they shared a meal, under-tipped and did not order alcohol (Haley, 57). That would mean spending a week's pay on an incomplete upper class meal. The high prices of these restaurants caused them to be exclusive.

Later, when the middle class opened their own eateries, they included diverse cuisines, menus in English, catering to unescorted women and prioritizing the health and happiness of customers over formality (Haley, 2). Because of conflicting ideals and incomes, it was difficult for members of the middle class to eat at upper class restaurants.

In the 1890's on New Year's Day, New York hotels served free lunches to bachelors. An anonymous reporter contrasted the lunch of the modest Murray Hill Hotel with that of the upper class Hoffman House. For Murray Hill Hotel's, it served an English language menu "in thoughtful consideration of the few patrons of the house who do not understand French." For Hoffman House's, "the chef did not deem it necessary to use English in naming his [dishes]" in "recogn[ition] of the fact that Hoffman House patrons all understand French." At the end of the article, the reporter noted, "no one who knows the ropes need start in hungry for the New Year" (quoted in Haley, 44). By that, the reporter meant that only those who truly knew how to act in high society would get by in the world of restaurants.

There were other places to eat besides fine French restaurants. In 1869, former war correspondent Junius Henri Browne published a comprehensive description of life in New York City. It was called *The Great Metropolis*, and estimated that the city had "five or six thousand restaurants" with two types: the "elegance and costliness of Delmonico's and Taylor's" and "the subterranean sties where men are fed like swine, and dirt is served gratis in unhomeopathic doses" (quoted in Haley, 68). So, there *were* other places to eat, but not places where one would strive to eat. Interestingly, a similar trend occurred in Paris half a century earlier. In the early 1800's, Joachim Nemeitz visited Paris and recorded, "wealthy people of quality feast deliciously, for they all have their own cooks." On the other end of the spectrum, the public inns for ordinary people "[do] not fare well at all, either because the meat is not properly cooked, or because they serve the same thing . . . and rarely offer any variety" (quoted in Spang, 7). America not only borrowed the restaurant concept from Paris, it borrowed the exclusivity of it as well.

Even though the middle class did not have cultural or social powers during the Gilded Age, it was gaining economic influence. According to author Andrew P. Haley, in the mid-1800's, "the term 'middle class' was achieving a quite stable form and a widely understood meaning within the American language" (Haley, 45). The industrial revolution created a need for jobs, and not just minimum wage factory jobs. There was a need for clerks, salespeople, professionals, lawyers, managers and administrators to organize the growing economy. Data from manufacturing firms shows that daily wages of all employees doubled between 1860 and 1914, increasing by a quarter in the 1890's alone. Corrected for population increase, the number of professional jobs doubled between 1820 and 1920. Managerial jobs went from 161,000 to about 1,000,000 between 1880 and 1920, and the number of male clerks grew three-hundred percent from 1880 to 1900. This data suggests that there was about twenty percent of the population in the middle class at the turn of the twentieth century. The middle class at this time was generally wealthy enough to take vacations, and many of the wives and children of the working men did not need to work (Haley, 46-47). Because the middle class was gaining wealth, its members spent more money. By the end of the nineteenth century, middle class families were spending much of their disposable income in the consumer economy. Corporations began to rely on this class for the future of the economy (Haley, 9). Soon, this economic power translated into society and culture as well. In 1927, an article in the *Denton Journal* called the middle class "the dominant social body in America" (quoted in Haley, 9).

A major way that the middle class gained social and cultural power was by eating in restaurants in a way that was accessible to it. The upper class French restaurants and the lower class "sties" never embraced the middle class, so new restaurants would have to be created; but first, interest would have to be expressed. Lowered prices in imported foreign delicacies and technological innovations including food preservation, food processing and new cooking tools made the middle class more aware of and interested in food. These also threatened the style of the upper class (Levenstein, 60). Around 1870, commercial growth, more public entertainment and an increase in department stores caused people of the middle class to be more active in their cities. Not only were they interested in food, but restaurants too. Many different people tried restaurants: bachelors tired of boardinghouses, young and working women, shoppers at department stores, theater-goers and more (Haley, 71). In addition, the aforementioned 'servant problem' caused more middle class families to eat out. A cartoon in *The New York Times* from March 23, 1913, showed a servant with a bayonet labeled "bad service" who was pushing a middle class couple into a public restaurant. There was a welcome mat in front of the restaurant's door (I WILL FIND IT but it's Haley, 73). This cartoon suggests that restaurants were easier to access and had better service than servants could or would provide.

Since there were no middle class restaurants to begin with, the middle class dined at the lower class restaurants and changed them to meet their standards. Many of the middle class restaurants resembled the lower class ones, just with better food and service. These changes represented a democratization of dining (Haley, 69). Members of the middle class founded their own restaurants too. Fred Harvey, an immigrant from England, started a chain of decent restaurants for train travelers. By the late 1880's, their was a Harvey establishment every one-hundred miles on the Santa Fe Line ("Fred Harvey"). Aside from creating restaurants to fit their needs, the middle class began to criticize the ways of the upper class.

The middle class measured wealth by a healthy appetite, not by the cost of the dinner. Dio Lewis, an advocate for health, wrote *Talks about People's Stomachs*, published in 1870. It told the story of two men: one who gave his life to making money and the other who gave his life to being healthy. At the end, Lewis called the rich "nervous, anxious, old, thoroughly unhappy" and the healthy "muscular . . . healthy, happy" (quoted in Haley, 64-65). A cartoon from *The New York Times Sunday Magazine* November 23, 1913, issue illustrated a plump man in a vest and bowtie with an unshaven scruffy man in a battered hat who both look hungrily through a restaurant's window. The caption reads, "two things interfere with the enjoyment of food, too much money and too little" ( I WILL FIND IT but Haley, 65-66). These criticisms along with the establishment of new types of restaurants put the middle class in a position with more cultural, social and economic control.

The middle class was not only inspired by differing values from the upper class, but also by immigration. From the end of the Civil War to when Congress passed laws restricting immigration in 1921 and 1924, millions of immigrants came to America (Wallach, Loc 1568). Between 1880 and 1920, over four million Italians came. They were fleeing poverty, which happened because of overpopulation, high taxes and concentrated land ownership. These Italians were surprised by the abundance and low price of food in America (Wallach, Loc 1597). Italians in America could afford to eat what Italian nobility ate in Italy. So, the Italian immigrants spent much of their income on food. Some families even spent eighty-five percent on it, buying many Italian imports and cooking frequently. The smells of garlic were new to the Americans, as well as other smells coming from the windows of Italian apartments (Wallach, Loc 1615). The middle class was inspired by these and other immigrants. A menu at "Maine Restaurant" in 1875 had choices such as "German Rolls," "German Pancakes," "Bouillon," "Beef à la mode" and "Indian Pudding" ("Maine Restaurant"). French cuisine was no longer the only option, and this culinary diversity represented a shift in culture away from the Gilded Age.

Not only did the middle class create its own restaurants, but other restaurants saw opportunity in the middle class. They lowered standards, made service faster and served more people. These methods were completely different from the old upper class restaurants, which charged high prices to a small number of people and emphasized luxury, exclusivity and crazy social rules (Haley, 17-18). Since restaurants did not advertise until the founding of the National Restaurant Association in 1919, the success of the changed restaurants was because of their patrons and not marketer's skill (Haley, 14).

Because of middle class patronage, restaurants stayed open later, improved service and catered to both genders, even unescorted women. In 1893, L. J. Vance in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* stated:

for the great army of men and women who must live on moderate incomes, who have long abandoned the dull cares of housekeeping, there is an abundant supply of good dinners, ranging in price from fifty cents for a table d'hôte with wine at Charlemagne's in Houston Street to the expensive à la carte restaurant at the Brunswick (quoted in Haley, 76).

There were now more than two types of restaurants; in fact, there were many types. Buffets and automats were introduced in New York and Philadelphia in the 1880's and 1890's. These did not improve the quality of food, but had better service and were more sanitary. Department store restaurants such as Wanamaker's in Philadelphia and Macy's in New York opened in the 1870's and attracted women shoppers with better food and a fair environment. Regional restaurants like barbecue in the South and lobster shacks in New England also opened around this time (Haley, 81). Coffee and cake saloons were open early for breakfast and late after dinner, serving cold cuts, beans and desserts. They were inexpensive to eat at, with a meal price around twenty-five cents. These attracted both men and women looking for a quick meal or snack. Beefsteaks and chophouses served great food through quick service and at a low price. Only men went, but men of all classes were welcome. These started catering to women in the twentieth century (Haley, 79). A *New York Times* article from 1881 reported about a chophouse, "it is doubtful whether Delmonico's serves better steaks or roasts" (quoted in Haley, 80). Table d'hôte restaurants had multi-course meals with wine for a fixed price. The menus had much to choose from, and some were even ethnic. Italian, German and French cuisine were the most popular. Table d'hôte restaurants were known for their large portions and low prices (Haley, 78). One table d'hôte called the "Maine Restaurant" had an 1875 menu with discounts all over. One bolded in red told patrons, "three 10 cent dishes to one person for 25 cents." Another read, "bread and potatoes served with meats FREE OF CHARGE" ("Maine Restaurant" menu). The fact that "free of charge" was capitalized shows that this restaurant wanted to emphasize the low price, rather than hide high prices with fancy menu items to be exclusive. Lunchrooms had table and counter service, and did fixed prices just like table d'hôtes. These were once the lower class "sties," but were considered respectable by the middle class in the late 1870's. In San Francisco, some even had delivery service (Haley, 77-78). The new variety of restaurants opening in America at the end of the nineteenth century represented an adjustment for and by the middle class in culture and society.

This shift also showed a drop in the upper class's influence. In May of 1929, the Waldorf-Astoria closed. It had been one of the fanciest hotels in New York, but its style was snobby and outdated (Kaplan, 175). A new hotel of the time, Hotel McAlpin, was the Waldorf-Astoria of its age. It had been established in 1912, and its dining room featured Chinese cuisine, appealing to the cosmopolitan middle class. The waitresses and cooks were Chinese, and served authentic dishes. Back in the mid-1800's, the only Chinese eateries were in the slums and the only patrons were Chinese. By the turn of the twentieth century, authentic Chinese restaurants could be found in New York's five boroughs (Haley, 1-2). This change showed that the middle class was now in control, replacing the upper class's style with a welcoming and versatile one.

The middle class not only changed the style of the restaurant scene, but also the size. Since more people were eating at restaurants, there were more of them. U.S. Census figures show that from 1880 to 1930, the number of restaurant, café and lunchroom owners increased by over four-hundred percent. These numbers grew faster than the population (Haley, 72-74). *Appleton's Dictionary of Greater New York and Its Neighborhood* summarized this change when it mentioned in 1892, "the habit of eating away from home is a very general one." A "wide range" of restaurants of "every grade" are serving "each class" (quoted in Haley, 68).

From the Gilded Age to the turn of the twentieth century, America experienced a major shift in restaurant culture. The rise of the American middle class was chiefly responsible for this change, and was the cause of a new age in dining. In the preface of *The Making of the English Working Class*, E. P. Thompson writes, "class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences feel and articulate the identity of those interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interest is different from . . . theirs" (Quoted in Haley, 6). In this instance, the middle class changed their identity and the identity of America through eating at restaurants. They made this practice more accessible, enjoyable and flexible. This middle class proved that much can be conveyed and accomplished through a simple action such as going to an eatery.

7/18/13

Bedar Summer US

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Bibliographic Reflection

I have always been interested in food and restaurants. I knew I wanted to write my junior thesis on something having to do with these or other interesting topics. I would not want to spend so much time and energy on research I did not enjoy. I did enjoy much of my research. It was fun to learn so much about one topic. However, I would not join a research-paper club. I would like to keep this a 'sometimes' activity.

It was exciting to start and finish this project. The middle parts were less exciting and more stressful. I began by searching "restaurants in america" on google, and seeing if any books came up. One by Andrew P. Haley which was called *Turning the Tables: Restaurants and the Rise of the American Middle Class, 1880-1920* became my bible for this paper. I'm pretty sure I cited it in at least every other paragraph. The problem with source was that it seemed to limit my research. It was about an extremely specific topic, and since it was the first source I used, I assumed I would adopt that topic and easily find other sources on it. I soon realized this strategy had many faults, which made me stressed out and hate all libraries. I found this topic very interesting, however, and actually ended up writing my paper on it. I am most proud of the fact that even though I used many of Haley's thoughts, I feel that I wrote a piece with an original take on those thoughts. I even added some thoughts of my own.

The other difficult part about my paper was the length. My rough draft had 4600 words, and somehow I killed enough important ideas and sentences to end up with under 3500. That was a miracle. But, I do wish the word limit wasn't so tight. I ended up killing strong arguments that would have improved my paper. This was also a stressful time.

I unfortunately could not find the citations for the *New York Times* cartoons I borrowed from Haley. I would have had to pay or had other library card numbers besides Newton North and Newton Free. While I was killing information, I tried to kill as much from Haley as I could, and it would have helped to cite those cartoons as primary sources. I did not, however, use the information in Haley to describe the cartoons. Those words and thoughts were all my own.

I cannot wait until my friends start this process during the school year. Not because I want to torture them, although I do, but because I cannot wait to see wait they choose and how they go about researching and learning. It is so interesting to me how I started with an extremely broad idea, tightened it, and then broadened it more. I have been writing down interesting thesis topics to suggest to them. One aspect of the process I wish I could spend longer on was choosing my topic. There were many points where I wish I had a different one. I am happy in the end with my paper, but the process would be less awful if I had that time.

7-16-13

Summer US History Bedar

Detailed Outline

INTRO

-18th century French Gourmand Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin : "Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are" (Wallach, Loc 79) My thoughts: people today would associate this with "You are what you eat," referring to diet. Because of the time period of the quote, the nationality of then speaker and the fact that he is "gourmand," I believe he is talking about social class. Social class has been and is still today, however less, a defining factor in people's diets. What they eat, but also WHERE they eat. see if you can fit in this quote as well, Hasia Diner (historian) : "Consumption of food has always been culturally constructed." (Wallach, Loc 79)

-In much of 18th century America, the upper class dictated the food culture (summarize in one sentence)… then there was a change and the rising middle class began eating at restaurants and replacing the upper class restaurant values with their own. **In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the American dining scene was transformed by the rise of the American middle class as well as other social, ethnic and economic changes. These changes were illustrated in restaurants and revolutionized American culture as a whole.**

BACKGROUND INFO

A.

-The restaurant as we know it is actually really young. Didn't come to America until 1820's (Haley, p.11)

-Before that were in Paris… not late 1700's (Spang, p.2)

-Before a restaurant was somewhere to go it was something to eat, a restorative broth….

in 1600's a recipe for a restaurant called for fresh-killed rooster to be cooked in a glass kettle with 60 gold pieces, which could be substituted for other types of special stones. In 1700's, many French cookbooks had long recipes of bouillon-based restaurants which would help invalids. These were very condensed, almost purely meat, and were easy to digest. Diderot and D'Alembert's Encyclopédie (1751-1772) said restaurant was a medical term (Spang, p.1)

-Beginning of modern restaurant in last 20 years of France's Old Regime, place one went to drink restaurants (the food). Advertized to invalids to come, b/c many were too weak to eat dinner alone. They were different from inns and taverns b/c they had individual tables. (Spang, p. 2)

-As the modern rest. evolved in Paris, foreigners were taken aback by it. Evidence of only in Paris: 1844 John Durbin (president of Dickenson College) wrote that restaurants were "in many respects peculiar to Paris." Evidence of foreigners being taken aback: 1856 children's book *Rollo in Paris* explained how in Paris people, surprisingly, did not stay at boarding houses, and instead stayed at hotels and dined away from them. (Spang, p.2) NOTE: before restaurants, other places DID serve food.

-Rests in America: the first rests in America were in the 1820's, but rest were not common until after the Civil War (Haley, p.11)

-Wallach (Loc 115) argues that the US has never had a single culinary identity… I agree and disagree. It does not have a SINGLE culinary identity… no nation does. There are always nuances between sections of a nation. However, what makes the US unique is that many different cultures, classes, traditions went into creating our culture.. mention great American melting pot. Haley: (p.13) we have a national restaurant culture. Spreading from coast to coast, yet (my thoughts) somewhere between the coasts and many other places, differences occurred and accidents happened and people changed this culture. Like Haley said, we have a national restaurant culture, but no single culinary identity.

-Major restaurant cities in America: San Francisco, Chicago, New Orleans, Boston, Washington and NEW YORK (dominant) (Haley, 13)

-Examples of New York being dominant: *The Dining Room Magazine* from Boston (short-lived) had an issue devoted to New York restaurants but did not survive long enough to have one on Boston restaurants. Also: Southern restaurants did not serve orange juice until *The Southern Hotel Journal 1* of 1911 said : "Sherry, Delmonico, Hostel Astor, The Knickerbocker, The Plaza, The Waldorf-Astoria, The Belmont and all other strictly first-class establishments [in New York] serve oranges exclusively this way." (Haley, 14)

-conclude that the states followed New York's lead in the transformation of dining culture. (Connection to thesis).

-In the late 1800's, America was in a "Gilded Age" where the wealth (and culture) was concentrated in a small group. During this time, the upper class controlled the restaurant scene with exclusively french cuisine. The rise of the middle class, immigration and industry caused the upper class to lose exclusive power, changing American culture forever. (include that the middle class had more people than the upper class and more money than the working class.. Haley 9)

-also add some more info about the gilded age in there. Scrap the definitions of restaurant from the rough outline.

THE UPPER CLASS

-Because of Gilded Age, Upper Class was in supreme economic power. Not only was this power economic, but social and cultural as well. The upper class started social and cultural trends, and others followed.

-They took after the aristocrats in Europe. Historian Lawrence W. Levine argued that arts such as opera, European painting and literature became exclusive to the upper class in the nineteenth century. In addition, by the mid-19th century, this class decided that french food would be at the cuisine of their class, eating like aristocrats made them aristocrats (supposedly) (Haley, 2-7)

-upper class separated itself from other classes by ordering dishes too expensive or unfamiliar for others. In their restaurants, the customs included formal manners, multi-course dinners, gender-segregated dining and French language menus. (Haley, 14-18)

-Samuel Ward McAllister, the self-professed arbiter of New York Society from 1860's to 1890's described in his 1890 memoir *Society As I Have Found It* how to cater dinner parties from home. Every menu item was in french. Ex: "mousse aux jambon," "pâté de foie gras en Bellevue," and "croute au Madère." (O'neill, 90-91)

-Even as the middle class rose and established its own restaurants, menu items had french in them. An 1883 dinner menu from a popular roadside restaurant for travelers had "Baked Lake Front aux Fines Herbes," "Tartelette of Fruit," and "Prime Ribs of Beef au Jus." ("Fred Harvey" Menu)

-The elite french restaurants were loyal to their upper class patrons, protecting the upper class culture and not wanting to cater to the needs of the middle class (Haley, 13)

-at Delmonico's, one of the most famous and well-respected restaurants in New York, if a patron got a bad reputation or someone came in who was not wanted, they would be seated and never ever served. Ex: this treatment was given to an amateur chef, Skipper Ben Wenberg, who was a friend of Charles Delmonico until the day he participated in a rude and loud political fight in public. (Batterberry, 141)

-Not only did the upper class dine at restaurants, they also hosted and attended incredibly extravagant dinner parties. "The eighties and nineties [of the nineteenth century] represent one of the most foolish periods in American Social History" (Batterberry 139)

-ex: C. K. G. Billingsworth's white-tie banquet for the New York Riding Club at Sherry's: all diners ate on horseback (trays were secured to pummels and champagne was sipped from lengthy straws from saddle bags) (Batterberry, 139)

-ex: At the end of the civil war, during a time where much of the country was living on five dollars a week, englishman Sir Samuel Morton Peto entertained 100 American Merchants at a $2,000 dinner with the help of Delmonico's. There were flowering trees in the restaurant and the menu was printed on satin in gold leaf (all in French, of course) (Batterberry 134-136)

-ex: most extravagant of them all, arguably. the "Swan Banquet" of 1873 when Edward Luckemeyer, an importer, gave a $10,000 tax rebate to Lorenzo Delmonico with the request of a "memorable" dinner. A huge oval table filled the ballroom with a 30 ft lake in the middle of it surrounded by flowers. 4 swans from Prospect Park floated on the lake. There was a golden cage, by Tiffany's, from the table to the ceiling to restrain the swans. The dinner went well, other than a pair of mating swans and it was hard to talk across the table. (Batterberry 137)

-During this time, everyone wanted to be in the upper class

SEGUE INTO MIDDLE CLASS IMITATION OF UPPER CLASS

-During the upper class domination, the growing middle class believed in social mobility, thinking about the "American Dream" of starting from nothing and making something of themselves. This translated into social life.

-Many of the celebrities were just famous because they were RICH. Everyone wanted to be like them. By the 1870's, 24 newspapers in New York were all about the lives of these people. Knowledge about rich people was common knowledge. in Toledo, all the housewives knew the number of stars on Mrs. Astor's tiara. In Atlanta, "Waldorf Salads" were very popular. Over 200 books were written about how to behave in high society were published between 1870 and 1917.

(Batterberry 134)

-These were called etiquette guides and made it seem like it was easy for members of the middle class to move to the upper class. Women learned how to set the table, arrange flowers, manage servants, get china, choose which fork to serve with. Men learned what to wear, which fork to use, how to read a menu, what/how to order on a budget. (Haley 51)

-1886 bestseller *American Etiquette and Rules of Politeness*, four of the authors went on to be college professors, stated "every young lady and gentleman should cultivate a love for society -–not as an end, but as a means . . . to regard it as a means to an end ––makes it a constant source of interest and profit." (Batterberry 134)

-The *Hills Manual of Social and Business Forms* of 1879 instructed men to "never allow butter, soup or other food to remain in your whiskers." (Batterberry. 135-136)

-Samuel Ward McAllister in 1890 memoir *Society As I Have Found It* recognized "the highest cultivation of social manners enables a person to conceal from the world his real feelings" and named entertaining "the ladder to social success. If successfully done, it naturally creates jealousy." (O'neill 99-100)

-during this time, middle class families were supposed to entertain often. Dinner parties became a central part of life. Luncheon and dinner clubs were popular where they met at members' homes. Each one tried to top the other. Hosts put thought into the table, flowers, silver, linens, china and glasses. Theme dinners were also popular. In 1890's, it was popular to have "white dinners" or "green dinners" where everything and the food had to be that color. (Levenstein, 61)

-Expectations for middle class women: large, elaborate breakfasts. feed husbands and children lunch. host tea for friends. Some women went t cooking schools which were taught by "domestic scientists" who taught overly complex methods of cooking which were time consuming. (Levenstein, 62)

have segue into the failure of this imitation

-To appear upper class, middle class couple would honeymoon internationally (Canada was popular, but a REAL upper class one would be a tour of Europe). Or, middle class businessmen would have a single meeting in the lobby of a fancy hotel then eat at its restaurant. The real upper class would do this all the time. (Haley, 48)

Servant problem: etiquette guides told women to hire servants, but it became increasingly harder to do that because of economic growth. i.e. working women wanted more money and industrial jobs. In New York in 1880, 188 servants for every 1,000 households. In 1900, 141 for every 1,000 and in 1920, 60 for every 1,000. One reason middle class ppl started going to restaurants was because they couldn't get servants to cook for them. (Haley, 71).

-Concluding sentence include: etiquette guides made it seem like it was possible, even simple, to go from the middle class to the upper class. However, it just was not that easy.

WHY MIDDLE CLASS RESTAURANTS WERE NECESSARY

-Not only did the middle class fail to embody the upper class, but the upper class excluded them. This was apparent in the restaurant world.

-the french restaurants were exceedingly snobby and overpriced, at least in the eyes of the middle class. Among the highest paid members of the middle class were those that worked in manufacturing, for the federal government and worked in finance. In 1900, the avg weekly salary of those in manufacturing was $19.44. For those who worked for the federal government, it was $18.08. For those who worked in finance, it was $20.00. At the french restaurants, it was a $20.00 dinner if a couple shared a meal, under-tipped, and did not order alcohol. (Haley, 57)

-the values that the middle class had in their later restaurants were diverse cuisines, menus in english, catering to unescorted women and prioritizing the health and happiness of customers over formality. (Haley, 2)

-Because of conflicting values and incomes, it was difficult and uncomfortable for the middle class to eat at upper class restaurants.

Examples: in the 1890's on New Year's Day, New York hotels served free lunches to bachelors. An anonymous reporter contrasted Murray Hill Hotel's (more modest) with the Hoffman House's (elite). For Murray Hill Hotel's, it served an English language menu "in thoughtful consideration of the few patrons of the house who do not understand French." For the Hoffman House's, "the chef did not deem it necessary to use English in naming his [productions]" in "recogn[ition] of the fact that the Hoffman House patrons all understand French." At the end of the article, the reporter noted, "no one who knows the ropes need start in hungry for the New Year." (Haley 44)

-in 1869, former war correspondent Junius Henri Browne published a comprehensive description of life in NYC. It was called *The Great Metropolis* and estimated that NY had "five or six thousand restaurants" with two types: the "elegance and costliness of Delmonico's and Taylor's" and "the subterranean sties where men are fed like swine, and dirt is served gratis in unhomeopathic doses" (Haley 68)

-A similar trend occurred in Paris half a century earlier. In the early 1800's, Joachim Nemeitz visited Paris and said, "wealthy people of quality feast deliciously, for they all have their own cooks." On the other end of the spectrum, the public inns for ordinary people "[do] not fare well at all, either because the meat is not properly cooked, or because they serve the same thing . . . and rarely offer any variety." (Spang 7)

RISE OF MIDDLE CLASS

-In the mid-1800's, "the term 'middle class' was achieving a quite stable form and a widely understood meaning within the American language." (Haley 45)

-This was because of the rise of the middle class. The industrial revolution created a need for jobs, and not just minimum wage factory jobs. There was a need for clerks, salespeople, professionals, lawyers, managers, administrators to organize the growing economy. Data from manufacturing firms show that daily wages of all employees doubled between 1860 and 1914, increasing by a quarter in the 1890's. Corrected for population increase, the number of professional jobs doubled between 1820 and 1920. Managerial jobs went from 161,000 to about 1,000,000 between 1880 and 1920 (more than double the percent of the population that had these before) and the number of male clerks grew 300% from 1880-1900. This data suggests that there was about 20% of the population in the middle class at the turn of the 20th century. The middle class at this time was wealthy enough to take vacations and most of their wives and children did not need to work. (Haley, 46-47)

-The Corporations at the end of the 1800's relied on the middle class for future economic growth. The middle class used much their disposable income in the consumer economy. In 1927, an article in the Denton Journal called the middle class "the dominant social body in America." (Haley, 9)

THE MIDDLE CLASS AND RESTAURANTS

Topic sentence involving the fact that the growing middle class became active in the dining world in a way that was accessible for them; it was DIFFERENT from the upper class french restaurants

-lowered prices in imported foreign food, technological innovations related to food including food preservation, food processing and new cooking tools made the middle class more aware of and interested in food (Levenstein 60) This also threatened the upper class' style.

-Around 1870 commercial growth and growth in public entertainment and department stores caused the middle class to be more publicly active in their cities. Not only were they interested in food, but restaurants too. Bachelors tired of boarding houses went to restaurants , young and working women went, shoppers went to the restaurants in department stores, people seeing theater went (Haley 71)

-The servant problem (already explained) also pushed middle class families to go. A cartoon in *The* *New York Times* from March 23 1913 (I WILL FIND THIS) showed a servant with a bayonet labeled 'bad service' who was pouching a middle class couple into a public restaurant. There was a welcome mat in front of the door of the restaurant. (Haley 73 BUT I WILL FIND IT) This hints that the servant jobs were not fun, and some of the time the servants were treated badly by their employers. So, there were less servants and more restaurants.

-At the time when restaurants were getting popular for the middle class, there were not as many restaurants FOR the middle class. There were the upper class ones and the lower class ones. Fed up by the upper class ones, the middle class dined at the lower class ones and changed them to meet their standards. This represented the democratization of dining. The values that these new restaurants reflected were good and quick service, a clean dining room, well-mannered staff. (Haley 69)

-also wanted places that stayed open late, yet payed as much attention to food as drink. Well-cooked meals at moderate prices (Haley 75)

-The members of the middle class began founded their own restaurants too. Fred Harvey, an immigrant from England who was middle class started a chain of decent restaurants for the train traveler. By the late 1880's, there was a Harvey establishment every 100 miles on the Santa Fe Line. ("Fred Harvey")

-The middle class also started criticizing the habits of the upper class. The MC measured a good restaurant by healthy appetite, rather than the cost of the dinner.

-Dio Lewis, advocate for health, wrote *Talks about People's Stomachs*, published 1870. It told the story of two men: one who gave life to making money, one who gave life to being healthy. At the end, Lewis called the rich "nervous, anxious, old, thoroughly unhappy" and the healthy "muscular . . . healthy, happy" He argued that it was hard for a rich man to be healthy. (quoted in Haley, 64-65)

-cartoon from *New York Times Sunday Magazine* November 23 1913 (I WILL FIND IT) illustrated a plump man in a vest and bowtie with an unshaven scruffy man in a battered hat who both looked hungrily through a restaurant's window. The Caption read "Two Things Interfere with the Enjoyment of Food, Too Much Money and Too Little" (quoted in Haley, 65-66)

COUNTERARGUMENT: C. Wright Mills said that the middle class made "what someone else has made into profit for still another." The someone is the upper class. This guy does not see the middle class as revolutionary, but they did create their own restaurant culture which changed America.

IMMIGRATION

-The middle class was not only inspired by the differing values from the upper class, but also by immigration.

-From right after the Civil War to when Congress passed laws restricting immigration in 1921 and 1924, millions of immigrants (mostly European) came to America. (Wallach, Loc 1568)

-between 1880 and 1920, over 4 million italians came. They were fleeing poverty (which was because of overpopulation, high taxes, and concentrated land ownership). These Italians were surprised by the abundance and low price of food (Wallach, Loc 1597)

-Italians in America could afford to eat what Italian nobility ate in Italy. So, the Italian immigrants spent a lot of their income of food. Some families spent almost 85% of their income on food.They would buy Italian imports. Plus, Italians cook a LOT. (Wallach, Loc 1615)

-These people were proud of their cuisine. One Italian boy said "Americans were people who ate peanut butter and jelly on mushy white bread." While, he ate for lunch a sandwich with imported Italian meats and cheeses (quoted in Wallach Loc 1634)

-The middle class drew inspiration from these immigrants. A menu from "Maine Restaurant" from 1875 had items such as "German Rolls," "German Pancakes," "Bouillon," "Beef a la mode," and "Indian Pudding." ("Maine Restaurant")

CHANGES IN THE RESTAURANT WORLD

-Not only did the middle class create its own restaurants, but other restaurants saw opportunity in the middle class. The changes these restaurants made to accommodate the middle class competed with the upper class restaurants. The growth of these restaurants were because of the middle class, not as much skill of the marketers. Restaurants did not advertise until the founding of the National Restaurant Association in 1919. (Haley 14)

-The middle class restaurants made money by lowering standards, making service faster, serving more people. It conflicted with the upper class ways of making money including charging high prices to not that many people. It emphasized luxury, exclusivity, and crazy social rules. (Haley 17-18)

-Because of middle class patronage, restaurants stayed open later, improved service and catered to both genders, even unescorted women. In 1893, L. J. Vance in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* stated: "For the great army of men and women who must live on moderate incomes, who have long abandoned the dull cares of housekeeping, there is an abundant supply of good dinners, ranging in price from fifty cents for a table d'hôte with wine at Charlemagne's in Houston Street to the expensive à la carte restaurant at the Brunswick." (Quoted in Haley, 76)

-Now there were many different types of restaurants: buffets and automats introduced in NY and Phily in 1880's and 90's but did not improve quality of food, only better service and more sanitary. Department store restaurants (Wanamaker's in Phily and Macy's in NY in 1870's) attracted women shoppers with better food and good environment. Regional restaurants (like in the south and NE) (Haley 81)

-"coffee and cake saloons" open early for breakfast and late after dinner. Served cold cuts, beans desserts. Inexpensive (25 cents bought a meal). Attracted both men and women (haley 81)

-also beefsteaks or chophouses. Only men went, but all kinds did. Wealthier, poorer. Cheap with rushed service and great food. A *New York Times* reporter in an 1881 article visiting a chophouse concluded "it is doubtful whether Delmonico's serves better steaks or roasts." These started catering to women in the 1900's. (Haley 79-80)

-Table d'hôte restaurants included multi-course meals (some with wine) for a fixed price. There was a lot of choice. Many were ethnic. Italian, German, French were popular. They were known for their large portions and low prices. (Haley 78) One table d'hôte called the "Maine Restaurant" had an 1875 menu with deals going up and down the menu. "Three 10 cent Dishes to One Person for 25 Cents" at the bottom of the menu, it said, "Guests will confer a favor by reporting to the Steward any insolence or inattention on the part of the waiters." Another quote was "Bread and Potatoes served with Meats FREE OF CHARGE."("Maine Restaurant") The fact that free of charge was capitalized showed that they wanted to emphasize the deals, rather than charge crazy prices like the upper class french restaurants.

-Lunchrooms had table and counter service. By late 1870's, they were considered respectable by the middle class. They often did deals like "three-for-two" where three dishes were served for the price of two. In San Francisco, some lunchrooms even had delivery service. (Haley 77-78)

FAILURE OF UPPER CLASS RESTAURANTS

-in May of 1929, the Waldorf-Astoria closed. It was one of the fanciest hotels in New York. Its style was snobby and outdated by the Jazz Age. (Kaplan 175)

-A new hotel of the time, Hotel McAlpin, was the Waldorf-Astoria of its age. It was established in 1912, and its dining room featured chinese service, appealing to the cosmopolitan middle class. The waitresses were chinese and the cooks were chinese. It was authentic. Back in the mid-1800's, the only chinese restaurants would not even be considered restaurants. They were in the slums, and only the Chinese went to them. By the turn of the century, authentic chinese restaurants were in New York's 5 boroughs. In Hotel McAlpin's dining room, Sam Robbins and the Hotel McAlpin orchestra performed "A Bowl of Chop Suey and You-ey" frequently. A quote from the tune is "All I want is a bowl of chop sue, a bowl of chop sue and you-ey . . . for a place that's very chinesey is nice for a hug and squeezy." (Quoted in Haley 1-2)

-A major change the middle class made to dining culture was the size. Because more people were eating at restaurants, the number of them increased. US Census figures of restaurant jobs show the increase. From 1880 to 1930, the number of restaurant, café and lunchroom owners went from 13,000 to 165,000. The number of restaurant, café, lunchroom owners went up over 400% from 1880-1930. These numbers increased faster than the population. (Haley, 72-74)

-*Appleton's Dictionary of Greater New York and Its Neighborhood* summarized this change when it said in 1892, "the habit of eating away from home is a very general one." A "wide range" of restaurants of "every grade" serve each class. (Quoted Haley 68).

CONCLUSION

-restate thesis

-discuss class… In the preface of *The Making of the English Working Class*, E. P. Thompson: "class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences feel and articulate the identity of those interests as between themselves, and us against other men whose interest is different from . . . theirs." (Quoted in Haley 6)

-discuss the middle class and how they strengthened their class and American culture by dining out and changing restaurants. Explain how you can evaluate a class by their eating habits. Connect to quote from beginning.