



## American Restaurants and Cuisine in the Mid–Nineteenth Century

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GIVEN Americans' current fascination with celebrity chefs, Zagat ratings, and wine pairings, one might expect a certain level of curiosity about what our forebears ate when they dined away from home. Yet, although historians have investigated mid-nineteenth-century restaurants in terms of their sociability, social roles, and public (as opposed to private) spaces, they have given little attention to what diners actually consumed. According to foreign observers, upper-class American cuisine was pretentious but of poor quality. The French culinary terminology then in vogue did not mask Americans' seeming inability to rise above vulgar opulence. In her *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832), Frances Trollope summarized the food on offer as "abundant but not delicate." While praising canvasback ducks (game birds for which the United States was famous), she found "a great want of skill in the composition of sauces," a deficit compounded by a lack of interesting conversation at table.<sup>1</sup> Charles Dickens famously

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<sup>1</sup>Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans, 1827–1830* (rpt. New York: Knopf, 1960), chap. 38, pp. 297–99.

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disapproved of the United States, in part for its food. His first visit in 1842 was a culinary disaster. During his second trip in 1868, a dinner at Delmonico's went more smoothly than the huge 1842 banquet at New York's City Hotel. In remarks made at the 1868 event, Dickens retracted his criticisms of American habits, confessing himself moved by the kind consideration with which he had been received. Still, he couldn't quite bring himself to praise the food.<sup>2</sup>

Amused or dismissive comments concerning American cookery are hardly unique; they can be found for any year within the last two centuries and up through the present day. But although the United States' reputation for poor cuisine is longstanding, Americans have not been uninterested in their diet. Decades before the Gilded Age, they demonstrated an extravagant, if to us somewhat alien, set of taste preferences, preferences emblazoned on the period's menus, a surprising number of which have survived. I have compiled a list of the dishes served at eighty-five restaurants between 1838 (the date of the first extant menu from Delmonico's, generally considered to be the country's first fine restaurant) and the end of the Civil War (1865), after which communication with the culinary capitals of Europe increased and the presence of a spectacularly enriched upper class gave a more energetic and consistent French coloration to fine dining.<sup>3</sup> Drawn from a variety of archival and printed sources, my list includes over 1,500 discrete dishes, the most popular remaining consistent across time and

<sup>2</sup>Lately Thomas, *Delmonico's: A Century of Splendor* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), pp. 104–18. I think Thomas exaggerates the difference between the two dinners in favor of Delmonico's. The City Hotel 1842 menu was extremely lavish (a copy is preserved at the American Antiquarian Society and is printed by Thomas, pp. 109–10). Undoubtedly, the dishes were excessive and unimaginative but perhaps less silly than those of the 1868 affair, which featured edible tableaux depicting literary and patriotic themes ("La Loi du Destin" or "Temple de la Littérature") along with preparations such as "Côtelettes de grouse Fennimore Cooper" and "Agneau farci à la Walter Scott." The 1842 entrées were mostly standard items—duck with olives, canvasback ducks, stewed terrapin, grilled mutton chops—although there were thirty-eight of them.

<sup>3</sup>The 1838 Delmonico's menu is reproduced in the front matter of Thomas, *Delmonico's*, which also reports on Captain Frederick Marryat's description of a menu from the Astor House that same year (p. 34). Post-Civil War culinary advances are often overrated; over time, there was more continuity than change in American taste.

place.<sup>4</sup> The menus offer a glimpse into how a well-off but socially uncertain elite sought to express culinary discrimination in the quasi-public setting of the restaurant, a French invention of the mid- to late eighteenth century that did not take hold in the United States and Great Britain until well into the nineteenth.

Although the Gilded Age is generally set apart for its extravagantly huge meals, frenzy for French chefs, and fancy for elaborate and overstuffed display, the opulence that culminated in the 1890s was evident by midcentury, when American restaurants everywhere served what amounted to an aspirational national cuisine.<sup>5</sup> The prevailing culinary ethos of that earlier period is generally viewed as having aligned itself with the dictates of “Republican virtue,” as opposed to both European and American post-Civil War ostentation. To be sure, in the early nineteenth century, gourmandise could be identified with European decadence, whereas modest self-sufficiency was exalted as peculiarly American. Indeed, well-choreographed opposition to gastronomic pretentiousness influenced United States culture, nationalism, and politics.<sup>6</sup> During the 1840 presidential campaign, for example, Martin Van Buren was portrayed as eating *pâté de foie gras* served on a silver plate, followed by

<sup>4</sup>The principal collections I consulted are: Mrs. Frank Buttolph Menu Collection, New York Public Library; Culinary Museum, Johnson and Wales University, Providence, R.I.; Garson Menu Collection, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.; American Broadside and Ephemera database, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; Henry Voigt Collection of American Menus, Wilmington, Del.; Library Company of Philadelphia; Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford; Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; and Williams Research Center, Historic New Orleans Library. For a comprehensive and comparative look at menus over the centuries, see the extraordinary work of Janet Clarkson, *Menus from History: Historical Menus and Recipes for Every Day of the Year*, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, Cal.: ABC-Clio, 2009).

<sup>5</sup>On the cuisine, and especially the restaurants, of the Gilded Age, see Mark McWilliams, “Conspicuous Consumption: Howells, James, and the Gilded Age Restaurant,” in *Culinary Aesthetics and Practices in Nineteenth-Century American Literature*, ed. Monika Elbert and Marie Drews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2009), pp. 35–52; William Grimes, *Appetite City: A Culinary History of New York* (New York: Northpoint, 2009), pp. 101–32; Michael Batterberry and Ariane Batterberry, *On the Town in New York: The Landmark History of Eating, Drinking, and Entertainments from the American Revolution to the Food Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 110–95.

<sup>6</sup>See, esp., Mark McWilliams, “Distant Tables: Food and the Novel in Early America,” *Early American Literature* 38 (2003): 365–93.

*soupe à la reine* sipped from a golden spoon, in contrast to the plain habits of his opponent, William Henry Harrison, publicized as being content with unsalted raw beef. Even though Harrison was, in fact, from a wealthy Virginia family, he was able to exploit American anxiety about luxury and cultural inferiority.<sup>7</sup> Still, well in advance of the Civil War, middle-class gentility and the patterns of consumption that supported it flourished. The pursuit of refinement was not incompatible with democratic traditions; it arose out of shifts in aristocratic tastes and the diffusion of wealth that accompanied rather than contradicted the rhetoric of democratic affluence.<sup>8</sup>

Before the restaurant arose in the United States, friends and honored guests dined together in private homes. Inns and other lodgings served travelers' basic needs, and taverns offered casual dining for serious drinkers. The United States' oldest continuously operated restaurant, the Union Oyster House, was opened in Boston in 1826, but Delmonico's soon set a standard for elegance by which all other such establishments would be measured during the rest of the century. In the 1830s, the erstwhile New York coffeehouse expanded into a full-fledged restaurant, its French (or French-influenced) cuisine and punctilious service distinguishing it from the usual run of taverns, bars, chophouses, and inns. Notwithstanding its enduring fame, Delmonico's was by no means the nation's only serious restaurant in the era before the Civil War. Fine restaurants in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and throughout the United States offered citizens opportunities to display their wealth, status, and connoisseurship in a burgeoning consumer culture marked by the proliferation of stores, artifacts, clothes, and fashion.

Lavish, high-end dining was not, of course, for display alone; its pleasures were not just symbolic and cumulative but actual and immediate. Who can doubt the satisfaction of the thirty

<sup>7</sup>Waverly Root and Richard de Rochemont, *Eating in America: A History* (Hopewell, N.J.: Morrow, 1995), p. 113; Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), p. 11.

<sup>8</sup>Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1992). Bushman does not discuss restaurants per se.

gentlemen from New York and Philadelphia who arranged a culinary competition in 1851 between Delmonico's in New York and the Parkinson House in Philadelphia? Against expectations, the victory went to the Philadelphians. The City of Brotherly Love's "Empire and Keystone" banquet on 19 April featured seventeen courses, an extraordinary series of wines, including a 150-year-old Madeira, and edible sculptures (*pièces montées*), among which were a Moorish fountain and an Indian temple. The meal, a triumph for James B. Parkinson, lasted from 6:00 in the evening until after sunrise the next day.<sup>9</sup>

Even before the opening of Delmonico's, Americans were capable of elaborate catering for special occasions. An 1830 meal celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of the first settlement of Salem produced fourteen dishes for the first course (including Green turtle soup and Green turtle pie), followed by a second course of eleven varieties of roasted birds as well as roast beef and roast pig.<sup>10</sup> Near the beginning of General Lafayette's long farewell visit to the United States in 1824–25, a dinner held in Boston boasted twenty-four dishes for the first course and eleven for the second. Along with plain roasted meat and fowl were Pigeon en compôte (stewed in a thick sauce), Haricot de mouton (mutton stew with potatoes and turnips), "Le poulards fricassée" (chicken fricassée), macaroni, and "La vol au vent de Bouf" (beef in a small pastry basket, topped with a pastry "lid").<sup>11</sup> These dishes, along with the shaky rendering into French, would persist until deep into the nineteenth century.

Beyond the iconic Delmonico's (from which surprisingly few menus survive other than those for special banquets), numerous restaurants reflected the gastronomic preferences of the solidly, if not necessarily spectacularly, affluent class. The distinction between the very top restaurants—Delmonico's in New York, the United States Hotel in Philadelphia, or the Tremont House

<sup>9</sup>Described in James B. Parkinson, *American Dishes at the Centennial* (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1874), pp. 25–32.

<sup>10</sup>Broadsides, Small, 1830, Massachusetts Historical Society.

<sup>11</sup>Reproduced in Stanley J. Idzerda et al., *Lafayette, Hero of Two Worlds: The Art and Pageantry of His Farewell Tour of America, 1824–1825* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1989), p. 111.

in Boston—and those for which we currently have the most information—the Revere House Hotel in Boston and the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York—was slight but noticeable. The more elite establishments, reserved to a few individuals at the very zenith of the social universe, indulged in a greater use of French and a less thrifty set of practices: more beef and veal and less macaroni, croquettes, or game salmis (partially roasted then finished in a ragout); whole oysters rather than oyster patties. Still, all restaurants in my group of eighty-five were decidedly upper class.

Cuisine is, of course, notoriously resistant to objective measures of quality, and given the evolution of taste over a century and a half, many of our forebears' food choices will strike us as less than congenial. Mention of their prized stewed green turtle, game birds, or mutton with caper sauce are not likely to set our mouths watering. Yet all their chickens were free range, none of the fish was farmed, and our contemporary passion for local sourcing of basic ingredients was then unremarked and routine. The former abundance of American fish and game is striking, and the number of now unobtainable species cataloged on the myriad menus consulted demonstrates the essential poverty of the twenty-first century's natural, as well as its culinary, environment.<sup>12</sup>

### *Hotel Dining: A Brief Overview*

Delmonico's in New York or Antoine's in New Orleans—famous, free-standing, elegant restaurants—were rare; most mid-nineteenth-century fine dining took place in hotel dining rooms. American hotels included meals in the overall lodging charge (what used to be known as the “American Plan”) rather than separating the bill for the room from that for meals (“European Plan”).<sup>13</sup> It was of course common for persons not

<sup>12</sup>Andrew Beahrs's *Twain's Feast: Searching for America's Lost Foods in the Footsteps of Samuel Clemens* (New York: Penguin, 2010) is a lament for such forgotten native delicacies as prairie chickens, Lake Tahoe trout, Gulf of Mexico sheephead, and Chesapeake terrapin.

<sup>13</sup>A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Doris Elizabeth King, “The First-Class Hotel and the Age of the Common Man,” *Journal of Southern History* 23 (1957): 173–88.

staying at the hotel to dine there, but the menus do not usually indicate what the cost for a meal alone would have been, nor are specific items on the menu accompanied by a price. Wines constitute an exception: they were ordered and charged separately, often at considerable expense. For many fancy restaurants, the wine list was on the reverse of the daily menu, and each bottle was individually priced.

How dishes appearing on the menu were actually served and how clients chose among them is not easy to determine. At least half a dozen courses, and often several more, were presented and retired rapidly, with astonished foreign visitors commenting on both the immense quantity of food brought to table and the haste with which it was consumed.

The menus follow a format of service that was standard during the period. Every day, new menus were printed and precisely dated. While certain categories (such as roasted meats or desserts) were similar from day to day, items in other courses changed frequently. When a series of menus has been preserved over time, shifts and repeats in offerings can be traced.

The menus arrange courses partially by type of food (soup, fish, dessert), an order with which we are familiar, but also by manner of preparation (boiled, roasted), harkening back to medieval practice, which was derived from medical theories about how the stomach should be satiated.<sup>14</sup> A typical menu begins with two soups, two fish, a half dozen or so boiled dishes (ham, calf's head, leg of mutton, beef tongue, and the like), followed by cold dishes (lamb, tongue, lobster salad). The entrées, a middle course, are of most interest because they tended to vary daily and were more delicate and elaborately prepared than the other, plain-style courses. Usually half a dozen to as many as twenty entrées were listed on the menu.<sup>15</sup> After the entrées came roast dishes (ham, lamb, turkey, veal, beef) and

<sup>14</sup>Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge and Rochester: Boydell, 1995), pp. 41–51.

<sup>15</sup>According to Thomas J. Murray, author of *The Book of Entrées*, published in 1889, "Entrées are the middle dishes of the feast, and not the principal course, as many suppose; they are a series of dainty side dishes, in the preparation of which the cook demonstrates the extent of her capabilities" (quoted in Susan Williams, *Savory*

then game (wild birds of all sorts and venison). Vegetables were probably served as accompaniments, but they appear on the menus as if they were separate courses. There is a great variety of vegetables, but they are presented simply as “onions,” “beets,” or “turnips,” usually without any indication of how they were cooked.

The meal concluded with two separate sweet courses: “pastry,” involving what we would call desserts, not only pies but pudding, cake, and confectionary, followed by a final “dessert” course of nuts and fruit as well as ice cream.

*The Revere House Hotel, Boston*  
(est. 1847; menus 1862–65)

In 1847 the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association, a benevolent society for artisans and workers, built the Revere House Hotel at Bowdoin Square. The luxury hotel, intended for the financial benefit of ordinary workingmen, was not only an investment and a means of subsidizing a Mechanics’ Hall (built on the hotel premises) but also an expression of democratic participation in what had hitherto been an elite activity. The Revere House had a splendid, Corinthian-columned portico, two hundred bedrooms, marble-floored public rooms, and elaborate furnishings (see fig. 1).<sup>16</sup> Its dining room provides an important setting in William Dean Howells’s novel *A Modern Instance* (1882). Bartley Hubbard has eloped with Marcia Gaylord, and although both are from modest, small-town backgrounds, Bartley impresses the naive Marcia with his ability to maneuver within the refined milieu as he orders their meal with “nonchalant ease” and “dazzling intelligence.”<sup>17</sup>

The New York Public Library has two years’ worth of Revere House menus, from 1 November 1862 to 31 October 1863 and from 1 November 1864 to 31 October 1865. Twenty-four days are missing; thus, there are 706 menus. Each records

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*Suppers, Fashionable Feasts: Dining in Victorian America* [New York: Pantheon, 1985], p. 243).

<sup>16</sup>Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History*, pp. 71–73.

<sup>17</sup>As discussed by McWilliams, “Conspicuous Consumption,” pp. 45–46.



FIG. 1.—The Revere House at Bowdoin Square, c. 1865, by Josiah Johnson Hawes, Boston Streets Collection, 1855–1999. Image courtesy of the Bostonian Society/Old State House Museum.

7 or 8 “side dishes” (the equivalent of entrées), for a total of about 5,000 listings representing 516 distinct items, some included so frequently as to be considered standards. The definition of “distinct items” is ultimately somewhat arbitrary because the menus bear slight variations or inconsistencies. Clearly “Salmon croquettes” are not different from “Croquettes of salmon”; similarly, “Chicken fricasee” can be lumped together with “Fricasee of chicken.” The Revere House generally listed its entrées in English, unlike its Boston rival, the Tremont House, where the entrées were rendered in French while the rest of the menu was in English.<sup>18</sup> The use or

<sup>18</sup>On the peculiarities of menu French, see my “The Rhetoric of American Restaurant Menus and the Use of French,” in *Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2009: Food and Language* (Totnes: Prospect, 2010), pp. 129–36.

absence of words like “sauté” or “larded” (pork fat sewn into cuts of meat) is here treated indifferently, so that “Calf’s liver sautéed with onions” is taken as equivalent to “Calf’s liver with onions.” Garnishes such as parsley are also ignored: “Croquettes of chicken with parsley” is ranked together with plain “Chicken croquettes.”

The menus (see fig. 2) exhibit a great range of dishes with regard to animal species (especially birds) and body parts (organ meats and extremities) constrained by a limited vocabulary of preparation styles. The entrées tend to be meat or game, slowly cooked and accompanied either by traditional French sauces: Espagnole (basic brown sauce of nearly jellied consistency), poulette (a white butter sauce with lemon juice and parsley), bigarade (made with bitter oranges); by English sauces: pickle, jelly, Cumberland (currant jelly with mustard, Madeira, and citrus juice); or by wine sauces: Madeira, Claret, Port, and Champagne. There are some classic French offerings, such as Epigrammes of lamb (cutlets and breast slices breaded and fried) or Beef à la mode (beef larded and braised), but the dishes occurring most frequently among the entrées are not particularly French: cooked oysters and macaroni. In ranking the most common side dishes, oysters and macaroni occupy no fewer than seven places (the numbers in parentheses refer to how many times the dishes appear on the 706 menus):

- Macaroni au gratin (183)
- Escalloped oysters (156)
- Oysters baked in shell (144)
- Oyster patties (139)
- Fricassee of chicken (115)
- Macaroni and cheese (115)
- Salmis of duck, including Salmis of duck with olives (104)
- Baked macaroni (92)
- Macaroni au Parmesan (88)
- Beef à la mode (87)
- Baked beans with pork (87)
- Apple fritters (86)

*By the Press we speak to the Nations.*—*J. W. M. H. A.*

**BILL OF FARE.**

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SOUP.

Mock Turtle;                      Tomato.

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FISH.

Boiled Salmon, Shrimp Sauce;  
Baked Shad, Claret Sauce.

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<p style="text-align: center;">REMOVES.</p> <p>Boiled Leg of Mutton, Caper Sauce; Boiled Turkey and Oysters; Boiled Phipps's Ham.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">REMOVES.</p> <p>Roast Duffield Ham, Champagne Sauce; Roast Lamb, Mint Sauce; Roast Sirloin of Beef.</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE DISHES.</p> <p style="font-size: small;">Sweetbreads, Larded, with Green Peas;... Veal Cutlets, Larded, Tomato Sauce;... Vol au Vent, à la Financière; Calf's Head, Turtle Sauce;... Mutton Cutlets, Breaded;... Pigeons, in Cass;</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE DISHES.</p> <p style="font-size: small;">Filet of Beef, with Mushrooms;... Canton of Chicken, with Mashed Potatoes;... Filet of Fish, à la Chambord; Macaroni, à la Crème;... Ducks, on Croustade;... Oyster Patties;... Kidney, Champagne Sauce;</p>
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COLD ORNAMENTAL DISHES.

Galentine of Turkey, en Bellave;  
Boned Chicken, with Truffles;  
Aspic of Oysters, à la Royale;  
Pattie of Liver, in Jelly;  
Lobster Salad, Garnished;  
Mayonnaise of Chicken;

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GAME.

Teal;  
Brant;  
Plover;  
Widgeon;  
Rice-Birds;  
Black Ducks;  
Red-Head Ducks.

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**ORNAMENTS.**

Fancy Ices;  
Roman Punch;  
Vanilla Ice Cream.

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<p style="text-align: center;">PASTRY.</p> <p>Tapioea Pudding; Confectionery; Chantilly Baskets; Jellies; Charlotte Russe; Creams.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">DESSERT.</p> <p>Pecan Nuts; English Walnuts; Almonds; Raisins; Apples; Figs; Oranges;</p>
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COFFEE AND LIQUEURS.

FIG. 2.—Bill of Fare, Banquet Given in Honor of the National Typographical Union, by the Boston Printers Union, at the Revere House, Boston, May 5th, 1859. Image courtesy the American Antiquarian Society. The elaborateness of the menu's design (which draws attention to the typographer's art) and the number of offerings distinguish the banquet from a regular hotel meal.

If we extend the list somewhat, the variety increases:

- Haricot of mutton, including Haricot of mutton à la Française (85)
- Hashed turkey with eggs (57)
- Fried apples with pork (54)
- Blanquette of lamb (lamb cooked in a white sauce with egg yolks and cream) (45)
- Currie [*sic*] of lobster (43)

The inventory is intriguing, if slightly disappointing, for most of the dishes are rather ordinary. The oyster dishes and apple fritters can be found in British Victorian-era cookbooks. Baked beans and pork is a venerable, and rather humble, American dish. Yet some of the items noted above are more French in origin than one might think. We regard mutton as English, but Parisian restaurants in the early nineteenth century offered mutton cutlets, saddle of mutton, and mutton hash. The Beef à la mode is also Parisian.<sup>19</sup>

American cookbooks of the period generally include recipes for Apple fritters and Haricot of mutton, Anglicized French dishes that appear in, for example, William Verral's French recipes for English cooks of 1759.<sup>20</sup> Sarah Hale's *Ladies' New Book of Cookery* has a recipe for Oyster patties (in effect, stewed oysters in puffed pastry) as does J. M. Sanderson's *The Complete Cook* (here the oysters are chopped before being baked in pastry).<sup>21</sup> What the elegant hotel menus emphasized that is completely absent from the American cookbooks are the

<sup>19</sup>A menu from the Grande Taverne de Londres from 1803 (known at this time as the Grande Taverne de la République) is reproduced in a British description of Paris. It includes eleven beef and seventeen mutton entrées ([F. W. Blagdon,] *Paris As It Was and As It Is, or A Sketch of the French Capital*, vol. 1 [London, 1803], pp. 445, 447–48). An 1837 guidebook describes the menu at Véry as listing fourteen beef and thirteen mutton dishes (Edward Planta, *A New Picture of Paris, or, The Stranger's Guide to the French Metropolis* [London, 1837], pp. 101–2).

<sup>20</sup>William Verral, *A Complete System of Cookery . . .* (London, 1759), pp. 86–87, 202. Verral compiled his collection of recipes, he claims, under the guidance of M. de Saint Clouet, chef to the Duke of Newcastle.

<sup>21</sup>Sarah Josepha Hale, *The Ladies' New Book of Cookery: A Practical System for Private Families in Town and Country* (New York, 1852), p. 63; J. M. Sanderson, *The Complete Cook: Plain and Practical Directions for Cooking and Housekeeping* (Philadelphia, 1864), p. 144.

fancier French sauces and preparations. Wine sauces, sauce financière (Madeira sauce with truffles), demi-glace (extremely reduced and concentrated sauce), or sauce Robert (white wine, demi-glace, and mustard) are well represented among upper-level restaurants but do not figure in the self-described “practical” cookbooks. For the more elaborate salmis or fricandeaux (meat larded, sliced, and braised in its own juices), as with the more refined sauces, the models were clearly French.<sup>22</sup>

Macaroni is a special case. Boiled, then baked slowly with cheese and cream, the dish was twice represented in Verral’s 1759 *Complete System of Cookery* (as “Macaroons with cream,” and “Macaroons with Parmesan cheese”).<sup>23</sup> Macaroni, fairly well known in the British colonies, was a favorite of Thomas Jefferson, who popularized it in the United States. The first American pasta factory was established in Philadelphia in 1798.<sup>24</sup> The *Ladies’ New Book of Cookery* devotes a fair amount of attention to macaroni, including a soup and six kinds of main-course dishes (for example, à l’Italienne, cooked and then simmered again with cheese, milk, and cream; and Milanaise, cooked, layered with cheese, covered with milk, cream, and butter and baked) and two recipes for *Pâte de macaroni*, a pie. Angelina Collins’s plain cookbook for the New Harmony community provides instructions for a macaroni and cheese dish as well as a macaroni dessert, while Mary Randolph’s authoritative *The Virginia Housewife* offers recipes for Baked macaroni and Macaroni pudding (which combines boiled macaroni with beaten eggs and meat, a mixture then steamed in a

<sup>22</sup>The menu and recipe collection of Baron Brisse (1867) includes dishes that were standard for American restaurants such as Chicken fricassee, Beef à la mode, turkey wings in various sauces, Duck with olives, Macaroni en timbale, Salmis of woodcock, and Fricandeau of veal (366 *Menus and 1200 Recipes of the Baron Brisse in French and English*, trans. Mrs. Matthew Clark [London, 1882]).

<sup>23</sup>Verral, *A Complete System of Cookery*, pp. 214–16.

<sup>24</sup>The business was founded by Lewis Fresnaye. A broadside advertisement with vermicelli recipes is preserved in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia; see William Woys Weaver, 35 *Receipts from “The Larder Invaded”* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 28–29. See also Corby Kummer, “Pasta,” *Atlantic Monthly*, July 1986, pp. 35–47, and Marie Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson’s Cook Book* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), p. 80.

mold).<sup>25</sup> Despite preparation styles such as “au Parmesan” or “à l’Italienne” or “à la Napolitaine,” Italian dishes other than macaroni were not commonly adopted; indeed, virtually no other Italian food enjoyed prestige in the United States until well into the twentieth century.

Fish was occasionally listed as an entrée (for example, “Filet of fish à la normande,” i.e., with a white sauce based on fish stock with mushroom juice, egg yolks, and cream), but because it comprised a separate course, it was not usually offered as a side dish, although shellfish (especially oysters and lobster) certainly was. Yet this logic does not follow for game: although there was a separate game course, wild birds and venison were also often served as entrées. Evidently, there was less enthusiasm for finned fish than for meat and game.

In the United States as a whole, pork was probably the most frequently consumed meat, but it is underrepresented in the Revere House hotel menus, although by no means absent. Pigs’ feet were more popular than pork cutlets, interestingly enough. Pigs’ feet with parsley sauce appears thirteen times, while the most common pork dish, Pork cutlets with sauce Robert, was offered on six occasions.

The most common dishes, even at high-end restaurants, were either inexpensive to make (macaroni; beans and pork) or employed ingredients apparently left over from prior preparation of more elegant dishes (haricot of mutton; oyster patties). On any particular menu, some entrées are luxurious, but there are enough stews, fritters, and croquettes to suggest a practice of dressing up previously unused or otherwise unwanted meat.

One hundred dishes appear only once. Mountain oysters (calf’s testicles) fried in crumbs, Breast of veal à la Chipolata (with onions and chipolata sausages), and Vol au vent of chicken are a few examples.

<sup>25</sup>Hale, *The Ladies’ New Book of Cookery*, pp. 12–13, 252–53; Angelina Maria Collins, *The Great Western Cookbook* (New York, 1857), pp. 108, 111; Mary Randolph, *The Virginia Housewife* (Baltimore, 1838), pp. 84, 127–28. Eliza Leslie, *The Lady’s Receipt-Book, A Useful Companion for Large or Small Families* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 128, offers a sweet macaroni pudding with cinnamon and blanched almonds.

*The American Hotel, New York*  
(est. 1827; menus 1848)

The New York Public Library has a series of 173 menus from the American Hotel in New York, opened in 1827, continuous from 10 June through 29 November 1848, a unique and substantial run for this early period (other listings from the 1840s amount to only a handful of discrete items). Still, because the American Hotel run notes only four entrées per menu, on average, its 651 items (235 separate entrées) are significantly less imposing than the Revere House's roughly 5,000. The American Hotel entrées were presented in French, although often woefully incorrect. The dish served most often was Compôte of pigeon with olives (16), followed by Macaroni au gratin (14), Chicken mayonnaise (12), Macaroni with cheese (11), Tomatoes stuffed, au gratin (11), and Duck with turnips (10). Macaroni dishes appear 56 times, but lamb was the most common type of entrée (105), with cutlets dominating (à la bourgeoise, i.e., larded and braised, à la minute, au jus, au natural, with mashed potatoes, etc.).

*The Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York*  
(est. 1859; menus 1859–65)

A sizable number of menus from New York's Fifth Avenue Hotel have been preserved, the earliest contemporaneous with those surviving from the Revere House. The Fifth Avenue Hotel was built by Amos Eno in 1859 at Madison Square, then on the northern edge of the city's urban center.<sup>26</sup> Despite its frontier location, the hotel was immediately popular among New York's fashionable set. Not long after it opened, the social observer Reuben Vose wrote that within the precincts of the Fifth Avenue Hotel pass "more of the real beauty and wealth of the nation than in any other spot in the city."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Grimes, *Appetite City*, p. 104.

<sup>27</sup>Quoted in Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, pp. 358–59.

Each year's menus, one per day, have been collected into a separate volume, with the first book running from 23 August 1859 (the day the hotel opened) to 22 August 1860. Of the total twenty-two volumes, I have examined the first, the second (23 August 1861–22 August 1862), the third (23 August 1863–22 August 1864), and the 1865 portion of the fourth, the whole of which runs from 23 August 1865 through 22 August 1866. Menus have not survived for the August to August stretches of 1860–61, 1862–63, and 1864–65 nor for twenty other, scattered days; therefore, the total number of menus extant from this one institution for the period 23 August 1859 through 31 December 1865 is 1,206.<sup>28</sup>

Each menu carried between ten and fourteen entrées, for a total of over 15,000 entrées presented from the summer of 1859 to the end of 1865, which can be categorized into 982 separate dishes (see appendix). Entrées were generally listed in English but bore a number of French flourishes, more so than with the Revere House but stopping well short of the entirely French entrées at New York's Astor House Hotel or the entirely French menu of Delmonico's. Individual entrées at the Fifth Avenue Hotel were occasionally rendered more thoroughly in French, but usually the operative word was given in English; thus: "Chicken à la crapaudine" (chicken split, flattened to resemble a toad [*crapaud*], and grilled) versus "Poulet à la crapaudine," or "Chicken à la Marengo" (sautéed with white wine and veal gravy) versus "Poulet sauté à la Marengo."

The most popular, or at least the most frequently offered, entrées at the Fifth Avenue Hotel are quite similar to those of the Revere House. The top ten entrées between 1859 and 1865 are as follows:

Oyster patties à la Béchamel (178)

Baked beans and pork (165)

Macaroni au Parmesan (164)

<sup>28</sup>The bound volumes for the Revere House Hotel, the Fifth Avenue Hotel, and the American Hotel are part of the Buttolph Menu Collection in the Rare Books Collection of the New York Public Library. The annual volumes for the Fifth Avenue Hotel run, with some gaps, from August 1859 through August 1882.

Oysters baked in shell (160)  
 Macaroni au gratin (160)  
 Macaroni with cheese (159)  
 Fillet of beef, larded, with mushrooms (159)  
 Macaroni à la crème (152)  
 Haricot of mutton à la bourgeoise (145)  
 Apple fritters (137)

The entrée group that appears most often (1,065 times) is macaroni (of which there are eleven different kinds); thus, one or another form of macaroni was listed on about 88 percent of all Fifth Avenue Hotel menus.<sup>29</sup> Cooked oysters (795 mentions) were served fourteen ways, most commonly as oyster patties, escalloped, fried, or baked in their shells.<sup>30</sup> Other common categories include mutton (especially cutlets and haricot), beef (à la mode, tenderloin, fillets), curry (chicken being the most popular but also lobster, veal, and lamb curry), several kinds of fricandeaux, turtle (green turtle especially), calf's head (nine varieties), pigeon, duck, salmis (no less than sixty-four kinds, almost all involving game birds), rice dishes, and croquettes.

Four hundred fourteen entrées are mentioned just once, often because they deviate only slightly from more common items; for example, Breast of lamb with tomatoes is but one of several otherwise well-represented breast of lamb preparations. Calf's head à l'Italienne and Calf's head with Madeira sauce are unique, but Calf's head fried in batter or with sauce piquante (white wine sauce with chopped gherkins and parsley)

<sup>29</sup>In descending order of frequency: Macaroni au Parmesan (164), Macaroni au gratin (160), Macaroni with cheese (159), Macaroni à la crème (152), Baked macaroni with cheese (102), Timbale of macaroni (99), Macaroni à l'Italienne (92), Macaroni in a form (82), Macaroni à la Napolitaine (34), Macaroni à la Milanaise (17), and Macaroni à la Béchamel (4).

<sup>30</sup>In descending order of frequency: Oyster patties à la Béchamel (178), Oysters baked in shell (160), Oysters fried in crumbs (111), Oysters fried in batter (98), Escalloped oysters à la crème (85), Oyster patties (54), Escalloped oysters (43), Oyster patties à la Reine (25), Oyster patties à la crème (23), Escalloped oysters à la Béchamel (10), Oysters à la Béchamel (5), Oysters au gratin in shell (1), Oysters fried with pork (1), Oysters vol-au-vent (1). On the popularity of oysters, especially in New York City, see Mark Kurlansky, *The Big Oyster: History on the Half Shell* (New York: Random House, 2007).

is on offer relatively frequently. Still, the presence of so many single appearances speaks to the chefs' desire to experiment, or at least to create the impression that he was innovative. I cannot fail to record a few entrées that will strike the modern reader as odd: Robins in cases, Robins larded en croustade (in a pastry with sauce), Salmis of squirrel with Port wine sauce, and Stewed squirrel with claret sauce.

### *Other Restaurants*

*An Overview.*—For eighty-four other mid-nineteenth-century U.S. restaurants, I have compiled a list of approximately 1,000 different entrées or side dishes. The most common will be familiar from our previous consideration of hotels in Boston and New York:

- Macaroni au gratin (119)
- Fricassee of chicken (62)
- Baked beans and pork (59)
- Macaroni à l'Italienne (59)
- Oyster patties (54)
- Escalloped oysters (51)
- Apple fritters (49)
- Beef à la mode (47)
- Salmis of duck with olives (46)
- Currie of lobster (40)
- Oysters baked in shell (39)
- Fillet of beef with mushrooms (38)

All macaroni dishes combined account for 367 menu appearances; oysters weigh in at 193.

*Restaurants in the South.*—The Revere House and Fifth Avenue Hotel had little difficulty presenting lavish meals during the Civil War, but the food supply in the South was constricted even before the final phase of the conflict. Few restaurant menus survive for the South in general and for the Civil War era in particular. The Confederate states suffered from the naval blockade imposed as the war began, the collapse of the cotton exports on which they depended economically, an inadequate

internal transportation system, and eventually the devastation of war. In 1864 potatoes sold for as much as \$25.00 a bushel in Richmond, Virginia, while the average price in the North was less than a tenth of that cost.<sup>31</sup> A 13 March 1864 menu from Richmond's American Hotel betrays a rather futile attempt to maintain the niceties of refined dining.<sup>32</sup> The weekday meal offers only vegetable soup, boiled rock fish, stewed beef and potatoes, corned beef and turnips, ham and salad, cold corned beef, and a few vegetables. Under a "Roasts" category, nothing is listed. A Sunday dinner from a few weeks later is similar; the fish here is baked shad, and the "Roasts" are phantom: ham and salad is listed as a roasted dish along with "Fillet veal," which has, however, been crossed out. At Wendlinger's Saloon, also in Richmond, the price of chicken (fried or broiled) had reached \$4.00 by December 1863, with duck at \$5.00, astronomical prices even for a devalued Confederate currency. A cup of coffee, an extreme rarity, was \$2.00! A third Richmond restaurant, the Oriental, provided an extensive menu in December 1863, but all the meat, oysters, game birds, and even egg dishes were \$3.00, and coffee or tea cost \$2.50.<sup>33</sup> By contrast, in the summer of 1863 in Memphis, a Southern city held by Union forces, the Gayoso Hotel served the usual nine courses, including eight standard entrées such as Kidneys in Port wine, Breaded veal cutlets with sauce poivrade (a reduction of cooked diced vegetables and herbs with vinegar, cooked with demi-glace), and (somewhat less conventional) Calf's head curry "à l'Indienne."<sup>34</sup>

One might expect New Orleans to be an exception to the lack of regional variation in upper-class dining out. Certainly the way in which people cooked at home was locally inflected, but the so-called Creole style did not emerge as a distinct

<sup>31</sup>John Spaulding, introduction to *Civil War Recipes: Receipts from the Pages of Godey's Lady's Book*, ed. Lily May Spaulding and John Spaulding (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1999), p. 11.

<sup>32</sup>The Henry Voigt Collection of American Menus, Wilmington, Del.

<sup>33</sup>Menus at the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond. On the difficulties of the food supply in the South during the Civil War, see Richard J. Hooker, *Food and Drink in America: A History* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1981), pp. 200–207.

<sup>34</sup>Menu, 12 August 1863, box 1, Garson Menu Collection, Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

culinary identity until after the Civil War.<sup>35</sup> Certain Louisiana specialties appeared in nationally distributed cookbooks such as Sarah Josepha Hale's *The New Household Receipt-Book* of 1853 (Jambalaya) and Eliza Leslie's *Miss Leslie's New Cookery Book* of 1857 ("Filet gumbo").<sup>36</sup> Except for an occasional stewed crabs Creole fashion, however—not at all dissimilar from dishes available in Boston or New York—the food served at fancy New Orleans restaurants was the same as that served in New York or Boston: plenty of calf's head, lamb cutlets, sauce financière, and edible sculptures or tableaux.<sup>37</sup> If we had menus for the period from Antoine's, Victor's, or Moreau's, we might see more local cuisine on offer in New Orleans, but the evidence currently available will disappoint the historian hoping to find idiosyncratic regional taste preferences among elite diners.<sup>38</sup>

The language of the menu varies with the expected audience. Two 1859 menus from the Arcade Hotel, which appears to have served travelers almost exclusively, are entirely in English, including the entrées.<sup>39</sup> The grand St. Charles Hotel, on the other hand, hosted dinners for local citizens, and menus for these gatherings were entirely in French, including the soups,

<sup>35</sup>On New Orleans cuisine, its history, and traditions, see John D. Folse, *The Encyclopedia of Cajun and Creole Cuisine* (Gonzalez, La.: Chef John Folse and Co., 2004); *New Orleans Cuisine: Fourteen Signature Dishes and Their Histories*, ed. Susan Tucker (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009).

<sup>36</sup>See Williams, *Savory Suppers*, p. 246.

<sup>37</sup>Soft-shell crabs à la Creole appear on forty-two Fifth Avenue Hotel menus for the 1859–65 period. Hard-shell crabs and Stuffed crabs à la Creole make an occasional appearance. The Revere House served "Lobster à la Creole" often (50 times). What ingredients or method of preparation marked these dishes as "Creole" is not clear, but they probably involved tomato sauce and celery.

<sup>38</sup>There are seventeen antebellum menus in the Williams Research Center in New Orleans, and single menus are held by Duke University, the American Antiquarian Society, and the Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans. Menu descriptions from the St. Charles Hotel are in Robert C. Reinders, *End of an Era: New Orleans, 1850–1860* (New Orleans: Pelican, 1964), p. 152, and Martha Ann Peters, "The St. Charles Hotel: New Orleans' Social Center, 1837–1860," in *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History*, vol. 14, pt. A (Lafayette: Southwestern Louisiana University Press, 2005), pp. 458–59.

<sup>39</sup>Menu, 17 March 1859, Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center, and menu, 24 March 1859, Emergence of Advertising Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, N.C.

hors d'oeuvres, and fish course. Thus a birthday dinner for a Monsieur Pynchon (10 February 1849) is in three elaborate services, presenting a total of nine courses, from Potage à la Condé to Crèmes à la glace. Similarly, French is employed to describe a dinner given by the Odd Fellows lodge for Mr. G. W. Race on 3 December 1856.<sup>40</sup> The men being honored on each occasion were not necessarily Creole, but the distinction of the occasion and the norms of gastronomic culture dictated French.

The St. Charles, established in 1837, was fully as large and elegant as the best hotels in Boston or New York. Quickly rebuilt after a fire in 1851, the St. Charles constructed separate restaurants for women and men. At the bar downstairs, men could eat gumbo, a celebrated local specialty,<sup>41</sup> but the dining rooms featured routine, if luxurious, offerings. The 1850s entrées Robert C. Reinders lists in *End of an Era: New Orleans, 1850–1860*, could have been borrowed unaltered from Boston or New York: Beef à la mode, Calf's head with brain sauce, Rice croquettes with lemon sauce, Oyster patties, and Macaroni Italian style.

*Restaurants in the Midwest and West.*—Travelers venturing westward would have been pleased to discover that the better class of restaurants in Minnesota imitated the elegant national style, as is evident from twenty-eight menus from Minneapolis and St. Paul, dating from 1856 to 1865, held by the Minnesota Historical Society. None of the dishes is given in French, except for occasional touches (à l'Anglaise, à la Florentine, à la "Toulauce" for "Toulouse"). An 1864 meal at the International Hotel in St. Paul adopts the same format as those typically presented in New York. The entrées include modest but familiar items such as Baked pork and beans or Stewed giblets with rice, but diners would also have encountered slightly more elegant

<sup>40</sup>The menus are from the Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center.

<sup>41</sup>As mentioned in the rather hostile account of a visit by the journalist A. Oakley Hall, *The Manhattaner in New Orleans, or Scenes of Crescent City Life* (New York, 1851), p. 10, cited in Cynthia LeJeune Nobles, "Gumbo," in *New Orleans Cuisine*, pp. 106–7.

dishes, similar to those served in the grand eastern establishments: Breast of lamb, Macaroni, Fricassee veal. Among the side dishes served on 7 January 1857 during a Masonic dinner at the Fuller House in St. Paul were Rice croquettes, Calf's head with brain sauce, and Macaroni with cheese.<sup>42</sup>

Considerable, but not always successful, effort was devoted to reproducing an elegant, national standard of cuisine. A menu of 3 April 1865 from the Mississippi steamer J. H. Lucas illustrates the ambitious gastronomic territory being mapped out as well as the difficulties involved in following its plan. The order of courses is reminiscent of the finest hotels. Mock turtle soup begins the meal, and mallard and teal ducks are available under "Game," but some entrées are crossed out, notably Oyster patties, Larded sweetbreads, and Calf's head à la Pascaline (in a white sauce with mushrooms and shallots) in favor of "Pork chops Agratan" (au gratin?) and Larded beef hearts. Beef steak "pomdeter" (i.e., with "pommes de terre" [potatoes]) was another option.<sup>43</sup>

For the plains states and the West, it is best to move a little beyond the boundary of the Civil War to see the degree to which the newly settled regions imitated eastern models. In 1873 the proprietors of the Tefft House Hotel in Topeka, Kansas, offered a magnificent Christmas dinner, including seven varieties of oysters and canvasback ducks, but some strangely elaborate dishes as well, such as "Sweetbreads, larded, with Italian macaroni à la Creole" and "Chops of rocky-mountain goat with pineapple." The newspaper article reporting the feast boasted that the Grand Central Hotel in Chicago couldn't do better, but the prevalence of local game (prairie chicken, antelope, red mountain squirrel) and the inaccurate French tend to undermine that claim.<sup>44</sup>

Reports of banquets in the Midwest reveal some good-natured awareness of the cultural distance between the natural

<sup>42</sup>Reserve, folio, TX728 C64, Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>43</sup>From the collection of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln. I'm grateful to Laura Mooney for showing me this menu.

<sup>44</sup>"Christmas Dinner at the Tefft House," *Topeka Daily Blade*, 27 December 1873, p. 3, col. 4, Newspaper Collection, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

wealth of the western plains and the French culinary styles that the fashionable world demanded. An 1867 “pioneer supper” at the Wilder House in Fort Scott, Kansas, for example, sported classic (or at least plausible) dishes such as Civet of venison with Port wine and Sweetbreads à Toulouse, but it emphasized intentionally ironic juxtapositions such as “White Crane Salad à la Osage,” “Noix of fawn à la Balltown,” “Woodcock Fricassee à la Wolverine,” and “Boned partridge à la Pawnee.”<sup>45</sup>

Frontier restaurants catering to newly enriched miners and railroad men featured the same dishes that were popular among diners in pre-Civil War eastern cities. An 1853 Masonic Ball at the El Dorado Hotel in the gold-rush town of Placerville, California, the day after Christmas included several kinds of meat prepared “à la mode” along with oyster “paddies.”<sup>46</sup> The same tastes are evident in the 1880s: a 16 September 1883 dinner at Eppinger’s Restaurant in Portland, Oregon, to celebrate the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad line offered entrées of Tame duck braisée with olives, Vol au vent à la financière, and Noix de veau à la Bedeau (veal topside rump).<sup>47</sup> Calf’s head and Queen fritters (beignets resembling jelly doughnuts) were served at the Grand Central Hotel in Helena, Montana, in 1886.<sup>48</sup>

Tombstone, Arizona, boomed following the discovery of silver in 1879, and in the next decade its hotels and restaurants provided the same menu choices (often in fractured French) as Delmonico’s or the Revere House of twenty or thirty years earlier: Chicken sauté à la Marengo, Macaroni à l’Italienne, Veal fricandeau “au Meadere” (i.e., with Madeira sauce), and Queen fritters at the Russ House Hotel in 1881 and 1885; Beef à la mode and Apple fritters with wine sauce at the Grand Hotel

<sup>45</sup>“When Tables Really ‘Groaned,’” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 10 (1941): 325–27. My thanks to Debbie Greeson of the Kansas Historical Society for this reference and the one above.

<sup>46</sup>26 December 1953, box 1, Garson Menu Collection, Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

<sup>47</sup>MS 2942, Box A-F, Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

<sup>48</sup>Menu, 9 May 1886, Montana Historical Society, Helena. My thanks to Martha Kohl for this information.

in 1881. The Occidental Chop House featured some hard-to-interpret items such as “Glace Croquets de Voivale aux Asparagus Pointe” or “Vol au Bent des Fritters a la Maryland” but also more predictable luxury fare such as Fricandeau of veal with vegetables and Salmis (listed as “Salmes”) of duck with olives (two menus from 1881).<sup>49</sup>

### *The Dining Experience*

Going beyond the food on offer to evaluate the dining experience is a tricky endeavor whose results will necessarily be incomplete. Lord Acton’s “American Journal,” which describes a dinner at the St. Nicholas Hotel in New York in 1853, shortly after its opening, piques curiosity.<sup>50</sup> The dining room was impressive, with fine, large mirrors. Forty waiters were on hand to serve one hundred guests, and the meal was luxurious. A printed, ornamented menu was given to each diner. The price of the meal was \$1.00. Acton reports that on this occasion men and women dined together, which was not the common practice in the United States. Acton was not the only foreigner to observe that Americans like ice with their drinks. The food was plentiful, he said, but “unremarkable,” and it was eaten with unseemly haste, even voracity.

The maniacal speed with which Americans consumed their food in public places was observed by many others, from J. E. Alexander’s hilarious account of a Nashville hostelry in his *Transatlantic Sketches* (1833) to Kipling’s observation at the end of the century that Americans have no meals but rather stuff themselves for ten minutes three times a day.<sup>51</sup> Even the peerless chef Charles Ranhofer at Delmonico’s rushed diners despite, or perhaps because of, the elaborateness of his meals. He normally expected a fourteen-course meal to be served

<sup>49</sup>Sherry A. Monahan, *Taste of Tombstone: A Hearty Helping of History* (Ravia, Okla.: Royal Spectrum, 1998), pp. 134, 148, 159, 170, 210.

<sup>50</sup>Acton in *America: The American Journal of Sir John Acton*, ed. S. W. Jackson (Shepherdstown, W.Va.: Patmos, 1979), pp. 15–16.

<sup>51</sup>J. E. Alexander, *Transatlantic Sketches* (Philadelphia, 1833), p. 269; Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea and Other Sketches: Letters of Travel*, vol. 1 (London, 1900), chap. 24, p. 491.

in two hours and twenty minutes (figuring ten minutes per course), but occasionally he accelerated the pace to one hour and fifty-two minutes (allowing just eight minutes of eating time between each service).<sup>52</sup>

With regard to delivery, courses were not treated equally. Waiters served the soup, fish, and other early courses to everyone, but in the grand establishments, diners chose their own entrées. Waiters would typically carve or plate entrées at a sideboard and then bring to the customer what he or she had requested. From 1840 to 1880, which encompasses the period under discussion, Europe gradually shifted from a French to a Russian style of service, a key change in how food was brought to table.<sup>53</sup> Perfected under the ancien regime, the French style dictated that dishes be placed on the table before the diners sat down, thus creating a splendid display and involving fewer changes of service (courses). According to the Russian style, food was brought to the table in many different courses, with fewer items in each course. The waiters carved and then passed or served items around the table. Visual effects were supplied by flowers and other table decor rather than the French style's array of dishes, and the food tended to be hotter when served in the Russian fashion.

In the United States, *service à la russe* was favored earlier than in most other countries. In the 1840s, Boston's Tremont House pioneered a modified Russian practice. With military precision, waiters marched into the dining room in formation and then, on signal, delivered plates to the assembled diners.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup>Charles Ranhofer, *The Epicurean: A Complete Treatise of Analytical and Practical Studies on the Culinary Art* (New York, 1893), p. 4.

<sup>53</sup>On the transition from French to Russian service, see Cathy K. Kaufman, "Structuring the Meal: The Revolution of *Service à la Russe*," in *The Meal: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, 2001*, ed. Harlan Walker (Totnes: Prospect, 2002), pp. 123–33; William Blanchard Jerrold, "The Art of Laying the Table," from his *The Epicure's Yearbook and Table Companion*, reprinted in *Gusto: Essential Writings in Nineteenth-Century Gastronomy*, ed. Denise Gigante (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 256–58.

<sup>54</sup>Hooker, *Food and Drink in America*, pp. 141–42. Hooker also includes an English description from 1850 of the choreography of waiters' maneuvers in a Newport, Rhode Island, hotel and notes as well that at the International Hotel at Niagara Falls, a band played while the waiters executed the change of service. A detailed description

Yet as late as 1879, the first edition of *Our Deportment*, an etiquette book, still described *service à la russe* as new—“the latest and most satisfactory plan” for dinner parties.<sup>55</sup> In 1893, when Ranhofer published 3,700 of Delmonico’s recipes in a book he entitled *The Epicurean*, the French style of service could still be requested. Although acknowledging that *service à la française* was a rarity, Ranhofer outlined meals for twenty-four persons executed according to the old manner.<sup>56</sup>

Determining the cost of dining out is difficult at best. The European Plan, whereby lodging charges didn’t include meals, was not instituted in the United States until 1844, when the New York Hotel adopted it, but the practice did not spread quickly.<sup>57</sup> Even when it was separated from lodging, the price for the meal was all inclusive, and so the variable cost for discrete items cannot be determined. An 1861 menu for the Magenta Restaurant in Philadelphia, an establishment unconnected with a hotel, does give prices for a number of common items, but the establishment was not an especially prestigious one. Oyster patties are 13 ¢; Rice croquettes are also 13 ¢. Roasted oysters are 38 ¢, but all other oyster dishes are 13 ¢.<sup>58</sup> In 1868, the successor to this restaurant (the same owner and location), now known as Leach’s, was a bit more upscale and offered such dishes as Porterhouse steak at 75 ¢, Lobster salad for 50 ¢, and Terrapin to order at \$1.00 (ready dressed terrapin was only 40 ¢).<sup>59</sup> The fancier Metropolitan Hotel in New York had an à la carte menu with separately priced items in 1876, and although that date falls outside of our period of emphasis, the menu gives a sense of the relative cost of different typical

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of waiters serving in quasi-military formation is provided in Tunis Gulic Campbell, *Hotel Keeper, Head Waiters and Housekeepers’ Guide* (Boston, 1848), available at [http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/books/book\\_17.cfm](http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/books/book_17.cfm), accessed 5 December 2010. Campbell envisages a regime in which certain items are set on the table in advance, *à la française*.

<sup>55</sup>Williams, *Savory Suppers*, p. 152.

<sup>56</sup>Ranhofer, *The Epicurean*, pp. 8–10.

<sup>57</sup>Hooker, *Food and Drink in America*, pp. 142–43.

<sup>58</sup>Ephemera, Iu 15, 5763F.1, no. 56 (February 1861), Library Company of Philadelphia.

<sup>59</sup>Ephemera, Iu 15, 5763F.1, no. 55 (June 1868), Library Company of Philadelphia.

entrées. Macaroni à la Milanaise au Parmesan is 25 ¢, as are Rice croquettes flavored with vanilla. Curried breast of lamb is 40 ¢, while salmis of duck with olives are 60 ¢. The most expensive entrée is Entrecôte of beef à la jardinière (garnished with vegetables) at 80 ¢, while the most expensive dish on the menu is Whole spring chicken, which cost \$1.25.<sup>60</sup>

By contrast with the all-inclusive and relatively modest price of the meal, wines, as Lord Acton remarked, could be extravagantly expensive. Madeira, represented by a great variety of vintages and merchants, commanded the highest prices.<sup>61</sup> An 1841 Astor House menu features Madeira bottled twenty years earlier in Calcutta for \$5.00 and \$6.00, a 1798 Madeira imported into Philadelphia at \$5.00, and an even earlier bottle at \$12.00. Hock (Rhine wine) was also dear, reaching \$8.00 for an 1822 Schloss Johannisberger. Champagne and Bordeaux were comparatively inexpensive but still cost more than the entire meal. Of course, it is still true today that one pays only so much for food at even the most grandiose restaurant but that wine prices can easily climb into the stratosphere. Recently, at The French Laundry, a 1982 Pétrus was available for \$12,875.<sup>62</sup>

The hours established for dining varied considerably. At the Fifth Avenue Hotel in 1859, breakfast was served from 6:00 until 11:00 and lunch from 1:00 to 2:00. An à la carte dinner (the main meal) was offered from 2:00 until 5:00, with a table d'hôte served at 5:30. The table d'hôte, typically a set meal offering limited choice and served at a particular time, was characteristic of the earliest period in restaurant history, the late eighteenth century.<sup>63</sup> The evening repast was smaller: tea was offered between 6:00 and 9:00, and a more elegant supper was served from 9:00 to 12:00. Children and servants could

<sup>60</sup>Menu, 28 October 1876, box 1, Garson Menu Collection, Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

<sup>61</sup>On the popularity of Madeira in America, see David Hancock, *Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Emergence of American Trade and Taste* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

<sup>62</sup>Stan Sesser, wine column in *The Wall Street Journal*, 27 February 2010.

<sup>63</sup>There were notable exceptions. A St. Nicholas Hotel menu from 29 October 1858 in the Henry Voigt Collection is headed "Five O'Clock," thus representing a table d'hôte, but the meal is quite luxurious, with seventeen entrées rendered in French.

dine only at specific times: breakfast at 7:00, lunch at 1:00, tea at 6:00. The Swedish traveler Fredrika Bremer wrote that she endured boring dinners that lasted from 6:00 until 9:00, a report that runs counter to the common complaint about the haste of restaurant meals.<sup>64</sup> Around the onset of the nineteenth century, dinner was typically taken in mid-afternoon (George Washington dined at 2:00 in the country and at 3:00 in town).<sup>65</sup> By 1850 the English middle classes dined at 6:00 or so (the Dickens household, for example), and the upper classes later (Queen Victoria was served at 8:45), but these patterns were not immediately adopted in the United States.<sup>66</sup>

When they took in Paris restaurants, American and English travelers were impressed, not always favorably, by the sight of women and men dining together.<sup>67</sup> In the travelers' home countries, the sexes rarely mingled in public, and in New York and London, men tended not to dine out with their wives unless they were traveling together. Women, alone or in groups, did not dine openly, as they did in Paris. Elegant restaurants such as Delmonico's did not allow women in their public dining rooms unless escorted by a man.<sup>68</sup> When Taylor's, an ice-cream saloon and restaurant on Broadway and Franklin Street, closed in 1866, the *New York Times* wrote that it had been virtually the only place in the city where ladies could retreat unaccompanied by gentlemen to recover from the exertions of shopping.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup>Fredrika Bremer, *America of the Fifties: Letters of Fredrika Bremer*, ed. Adolph B. Benson (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1924), p. 35 (letter of 15 November 1849).

<sup>65</sup>Williams, *Savory Suppers*, p. 144.

<sup>66</sup>Sarah Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food* (London: V. Gollancz, 1989), p. 178.

<sup>67</sup>Rebecca L. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 198–200.

<sup>68</sup>The protocol was slightly relaxed when Charles Delmonico took over in 1881. Unescorted women were served up until the dinner hour but not at dinner. Lunch came to be dominated by ladies, it was widely reported (Thomas, *Delmonico's*, pp. 199–200, 239–40).

<sup>69</sup>Grimes, *Appetite City*, pp. 65–68. As it turned out, Taylor's hadn't closed definitively but rather relocated to Broadway and Eleventh Street, the southern end of what was starting to be known as "The Ladies' Mile," a series of grand shops and fledgling department stores. This information furnished by Henry Voigt.

Unlike taverns and restaurants, hotels, of course, were obliged to offer their traveling female customers some sort of dining facilities. With the opening of the Tremont House in 1839, the higher-class hotels began providing a special dining space, a “ladies’ ordinary” as it was called, whose stated purpose was to allow women to avoid the discomfort of taking their meals in predominantly male company.<sup>70</sup> Often there was also a parlor dedicated to ladies as well as a separate hotel entrance so that they would not have to endure the gaze of the sort of men who congregated in the public spaces and who crowded the doorways of hotels. Grand hotels catered to the country’s social elite, but because they could also attract dangerous sorts like prostitutes and gamblers, the partial sequestration of women was considered justified. Men were usually allowed to dine in the ladies’ ordinary if they were accompanying women, presumably their wives, daughters, or other relatives. Establishments without sufficient resources to offer a separate ladies’ dining room sometimes set aside a separate table for women. An 1857 menu from the Commercial Hotel in Memphis notes that men not accompanied by women are prohibited from sitting at the Ladies’ Table but then adds, oddly, that for an unspecified extra payment, the rule might be violated.<sup>71</sup> As the Memphis subterfuge suggests, segregated dining was not destined to last, and even elegant establishments seem to have dispensed with their separate facilities fairly early on. An illustration of the Fifth Avenue Hotel’s dining room shortly after it opened in 1859 shows its immense space occupied by both men and women in almost equal numbers.<sup>72</sup>

In those places and years in which dining was spatially segregated by gender, we cannot really assess differences between

<sup>70</sup>Carolyn Brucken, “In the Public Eye: Women and the American Luxury Hotel,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 31 (1996): 203–20; Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, pp. 167–73. Where a gentlemen’s ordinary was identified, it appears to have been firmly closed to women. Brucken, “In the Public Eye,” p. 216, notes that “public territory was divided with a patchwork of male and female homosocial and heterosocial regions.”

<sup>71</sup>Menu, 11 June 1857, box 1, Garson Menu Collection, Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

<sup>72</sup>Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, p. 170.

men and women's cuisine preferences, or at least how those preferences might have been interpreted. The menus for the men and women's sections are very similar in content if not always in style of presentation. Two menus survive from the gentlemen's and ladies' ordinaries at the Astor House Hotel, the first from 9 September 1841, the second from 24 August 1843.<sup>73</sup> The Astor House was opened with great fanfare in 1836. Financed by John Jacob Astor, it stood on Broadway facing City Hall Park, had 390 rooms, and was one of the first large buildings to use gaslight. Davy Crockett, an early guest, remarked in disgust that a lot of bears and beaver must have been skinned to create the hotel (Astor's fortune was derived from fur trading). What sets the ladies' and gentlemen's menus apart is the number of entrées (seventeen for the men, twelve "side dishes" for the women) rather than their elegance, style, or ingredients. In 1841, the French is not always accurate: "Cotelettes de mouton sauté dans leur glace" (mutton cutlets sautéed and lightly glazed), "Rognons sauté aux fines herbes" (kidneys with a French herb mixture), and "Canards aux olives" (duck with olives), all standard dishes. The inevitable macaroni (à l'Italienne) is represented. "Tomates au beurre" (Tomatoes with butter) and "Obergine marinée frite" (Fried eggplant) are unusual entrées, but hardly imposing. Inexpensive cuts of meat are featured (breast of lamb, veal tendons), and the soup is Mock turtle. The ladies' ordinary menu of 1843 lists side dishes in English rather than entrées in French, but the food closely resembles that offered to the gentlemen. We have the same Mutton cutlets (with "champignons"), Duck with olives, and Kidneys with fines herbes. Plain macaroni is an option, along with Calf's head with brain sauce or Stewed mutton with turnips.

Fifty years later, Ranhofer briefly remarked that ladies prefer lighter food, and provision was made for their tastes, at least at lunch (at Delmonico's by this time, women tended to predominate at lunches). According to Ranhofer, if a lunch is served to

<sup>73</sup>The 1841 menu is from the Henry Voigt Collection of American Menus; the 1843 menu is from the Buttolph Menu Collection, New York Public Library.

a group of gentlemen, there should be little in the way of ornamentation and the menu should be “more substantial.”<sup>74</sup> By 1893, when *The Epicurean* appeared, there were more types of eating establishments (ice cream parlors, tea shops, ladies’ clubs) where women could dine by themselves at ease on food they were thought to prefer.

### *Muted Regionalism*

Three decades ago, Richard J. Hooker observed that “by the middle years of the nineteenth century, regionalism in the diet stood out more clearly than would ever again be the case.”<sup>75</sup> Susan Williams has described in some detail the varied culinary geography of Victorian America.<sup>76</sup> The country had expanded to include many distinct ecological zones, and the limitations of climate could not yet be routinely overcome by rapid transport or preservation technology.

Little of the variation Hooker and Williams detect is, however, reflected in the menus of the more prestigious mid-nineteenth-century restaurants. Minimal effort was made to highlight dishes associated with a particular locality; in fact, a certain amount of ingenuity was deployed to bring fashionable foods far from their origins. With the development of the railroads, oysters were shipped from the East Coast to Chicago, while Florida’s early asparagus appeared in New York. At the extraordinary 1851 dinner James Parkinson mounted to outshine Delmonico’s, the disadvantages of the timing (19 April being between seasons) were overcome by the use of the telegraph and express messengers to convey lettuce, peas, and cauliflower from Georgia and reed birds from South Carolina; “the salmon of the occasion were,” Parkinson reported, “swimming the night before in the Kennebec in Maine.”<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup>Ranhofer, *The Epicurean*, p. 13.

<sup>75</sup>Hooker, *Food and Drink in America*, p. 168.

<sup>76</sup>Susan Williams, *Food in the United States, 1820s–1890* (Westport and London: Greenwood, 2006), pp. 97–151.

<sup>77</sup>Parkinson, *American Dishes at the Centennial*, p. 27.

To the extent that food was identified with region, it was in basic ingredients (animals, fish) rather than styles. The great cities drew from several parts of the country. At a ball held in honor of Lord Napier, the British ambassador, on 26 February 1859 at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C., an elegant supper brought together Potomac River terrapin, James River oysters, canvasback ducks from the Delaware, reed birds from Savannah, wild turkeys from Kentucky, prairie hens from Iowa, mutton from the Cumberland mountains, venison from North Carolina, “and other native American dishes,” according to an account in *Harper’s Weekly*.<sup>78</sup>

If the origin of specific foods conferred social distinction, their popularity drew them over a distance for the discrimination of connoisseurs and the socially well established. Two particularly prestigious dishes represented high-end American cuisine: canvasback ducks and diamondback terrapins. Both were featured at banquets, and neither tended to appear on everyday menus, although the ducks were sometimes listed under “Game.”<sup>79</sup> Canvasback ducks, popular in major culinary centers, were *de rigueur* in Boston and New York, and terrapins are on nearly every surviving banquet menu from mid-century Philadelphia. Both species came principally from Maryland and the Chesapeake Bay. Canvasbacks were reputed to obtain their flavor from feeding on wild celery growing by the Bay (but also along the Potomac, Susquehanna, and Delaware Rivers).<sup>80</sup>

Anthony Trollope, who visited Baltimore during his North American tour at the opening of the Civil War, heralded that city’s twin glories, canvasback ducks and terrapin (although he was, in fact, unimpressed with the turtles).<sup>81</sup> The eminent

<sup>78</sup>Williams, *Savory Suppers*, pp. 192–93.

<sup>79</sup>See James M. Sanderson’s encomium, “Above all Other Birds,” from his *Mirror for Dyspeptics* of 1844, reprinted in *American Food Writing: An Anthology with Classic Recipes*, ed. Molly O’Neill (New York: Library of America, 2007), pp. 37–40.

<sup>80</sup>Thomas F. De Voe, *The Market Assistant* (New York, 1867), pp. 149–51. In his essay extolling American ingredients and cuisine, the Philadelphia caterer, confectioner, and restaurateur James B. Parkinson says that the Chesapeake offers the best canvasbacks *and* terrapin because both feed off wild celery (*American Dishes at the Centennial*, pp. 10–11).

<sup>81</sup>Anthony Trollope, *North America* (Philadelphia, 1863), chap. 13, pp. 334–35. Colonel John W. Forney wrote in the *Epicure* in 1879 that while Baltimore,

English novelist of the sea and travel writer Captain Frederick Marryat held much the same opinion after his journey to America in 1837–38.<sup>82</sup> Americans, too, boasted about the two dishes. General Winfield Scott, the antebellum era's best-known gourmet, observed that canvasbacks and Maryland terrapin were the "supreme native delicacies."<sup>83</sup> In Edith Wharton's *The Age of Innocence*, written in the 1870s, the Lovell Mingotts serve canvasbacks, terrapin, and vintage wines, while the Newland Archers, in their first festive entertainment as a married couple, hire a chef and have gilded menus printed, both steps indicating inevitably that either terrapin or canvasbacks would be prepared.<sup>84</sup>

The fish course generally offered only one or two options, but the number of species represented is impressive by today's depleted standards. Blackfish, pike, pickerel, bass, and salmon were the most commonly offered choices throughout the year. Shad, a migratory fish that is caught in eastern rivers at the end of its life cycle, was highly regarded. It could be available as early as January and last into July, but normally it came into season in the early spring. Oysters were wildly popular and would seem to have been, by definition, regional. Certainly, as we have seen, they appeared frequently in Boston and New York restaurants as Oyster patties, Escalloped oysters, and Baked oysters; they were equally common in Philadelphia. Because of the popularity and prestige of oysters in particular, heroic measures to transport them had been devised long before refrigerated railroad cars were invented. Oysters and shad were on Minnesota menus in the 1850s. Shad shows up at a Helena, Montana, Christmas dinner of 1893, by which time

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Washington, and New York take pleasure in terrapin, only in Philadelphia is it a crime not to have a passionate attachment to the turtles (cited by Williams, *Food in the United States*, pp. 119–20). See also Beahrs, *Twain's Feast*, pp. 148–82, esp. p. 161.

<sup>82</sup>Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America with Remarks on Its Institutions*, ed. Sydney Jackman (New York: Knopf, 1962), chap. 42, p. 376: "but the great delicacies in America are the terrapin, and the canvasback ducks. To like the first I consider as rather an acquired taste . . . but the canvasback duck is certainly well worthy of its reputation."

<sup>83</sup>Thomas, *Delmonico's: A Century of Splendor*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>84</sup>Edith Wharton, *The Age of Innocence* (New York, 1920), chaps. 5 and 33.

railroad refrigeration systems were in place, but it's still hard to imagine that this out-of-season delicacy could have arrived in very good condition.<sup>85</sup>

Searching for an elegant uniformity, restaurants attempted to ignore seasonal and climatic variations except for those ingredients, primarily fish and vegetables, essentially available only at specific times of the year. In those cases where we can follow the entire year, as with the Revere House or Fifth Avenue Hotel, it is striking how similar the menus are in summer and winter. At neither establishment is there a sense that summer entrées, or indeed any aspect of the menu, should be lighter, colder, or simpler. The offerings are, to say the least, robust and hearty all year 'round, which is noteworthy for an era without air conditioning.

The use of local ingredients was not sufficient in itself to create anything approaching an orientation toward "terroir," at least not as represented by the menus. In 1857, a meal given by citizens of Baltimore in honor of a group described as their "Western Friends" seems to express local pride. The organizers of the event, held at the Monument House restaurant, stipulated a special "Maryland Course" featuring various preparations of soft- and hard-shelled crabs, duck (unspecified, probably domestic), goose, ham, and "Roast saddle of mountain mutton with currant jelly sauce." Except for the crabs, however, the menu essentially reflects the national repertoire, despite the Maryland rubric.<sup>86</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, a more explicitly self-conscious regional food identity started to emerge, and New England was its first object. The promotion of New England as the birthplace of America and the institutionalization of Thanksgiving lent a certain cachet to its cuisine.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup>Menus from the Winslow House Hotel, St. Paul, 24 June 1856, 22 December 1857, 27 December 1858, and 11 January 1859, Reserve, folio, TX728 C64, Minnesota Historical Society. For shad in Montana, see Dave Walter, *Christmastime in Montana* (Helena: Montana Historical Society, 2003), p. 73.

<sup>86</sup>Szathmáry Collection, Culinary Arts Museum, Johnson and Wales University.

<sup>87</sup>Keith Stavely, *America's Founding Food: The Story of New England Cooking* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 278–80; Williams, *Food*

Terms like “Yankee pot roast” were coined, and clambakes were organized by individuals other than fishermen; Boston baked beans and Indian pudding began to enter the national culinary lexicon. Creole cuisine also came to national attention at this time. The Cotton Centennial Exposition of 1884–85, which coincided with the publication of Lafcadio Hearn’s *La Cuisine Creole* and *Creole Cookery*, compiled by the Christian Women’s Exchange, brought considerable publicity to New Orleans, just as local color writers such as George Washington Cable were highlighting the city’s folkways and sensuality.

The most dramatic changes of the late nineteenth century were, however, in the technology of food production, storage, transport, and preparation. The industrialization of food destroyed much of what was best in American culinary traditions, and we are still trying to reverse this ecological and gustatory degradation. The food offered at restaurants in the period 1838–65 is not as unpalatable as is often supposed. What is most dramatically different between mid-nineteenth-century dining options and those of today is that the earlier era’s most fashionable foods would eventually become scarce, expensive, or unobtainable. By the 1890s, canvasback ducks were served only on very special occasions. Terrapin survived, but only as a shadow of its former gastronomic self.<sup>88</sup> Oysters, once the most popular food on the East Coast, would become suspect for reasons of health and so less common and more expensive after 1910.<sup>89</sup>

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*in the United States*, pp. 61–64, 89–90, 103–14, 144–47, 226–31. At the same time, New England was becoming a model for American cooking thanks to Fanny Farmer’s *Boston Cooking School Cookbook* and the promotion of what was considered to be a sensible, healthful, and efficient “national” cuisine to immigrants, whom social workers and home economists thought overly fond of excessively spicy, mishmashed, or simply non-American food. See Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 125–31.

<sup>88</sup>Joseph Mitchell, the renowned columnist for the *New Yorker*, wrote about the still-prized but endangered terrapin in his “Mr. Barbee’s Terrapin” (*New Yorker*, 28 October 1939), reprinted in *American Food Writing*, pp. 205–14.

<sup>89</sup>Kurlansky, *The Big Oyster*, pp. 259–65. For West Coast oysters, see Beahrs, *Twain’s Feast*, pp. 113–47.

### *Conclusion and Epilogue*

The standard culinary repertoire for most of the nineteenth century exhibited an exuberant character that was neither particularly French nor especially local. Its style was more English than French but betrayed a familiarity with French terminology and some knowledge of what was being served in Paris. Although not easy to label, the era's culinary aesthetic was clear, and it was replicated time and again, from region to region, across the country. One might hazard an attempt at classification and call the aesthetic Frenchified English: favorite English meat, game, and fish dressed with French sauces.<sup>90</sup>

The mid-nineteenth century represents a distinctive phase in the history of American cuisine, one that lasted a long time, as culinary trends and fashions go. Indeed, until about 1890, less altered over the course of the century than one might expect. The later menus in the Fifth Avenue Hotel series demonstrate continuity from the antebellum period into the Gilded Age, a period during which much in the country was undergoing wrenching transformation. For the calendar year 1881 (which is missing two days' menus), the Fifth Avenue Hotel offered 472 separate entrées. Only 6 entrées appeared on a given day's menu as opposed to the pre-war norm of 12. All of the most popular entrées in 1881 had been well represented as far back as 1859, when the hotel opened:

- Baked beans and pork (102)
- Macaroni au gratin with cheese (74)
- Sweetbreads larded, with green peas (57)
- Oysters baked in shell (51)
- Macaroni à la Napolitaine (48)
- Fillet of beef larded, with mushrooms (44)
- Oysters à la poulette (43)
- Oyster patties à la Béchamel (38)
- Queen fritters, lemon flavor (38)

<sup>90</sup>On English cuisine in relation to French, see Amy Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 42–51. For English cuisine of this era, see Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters*, and John Burnett, *England Eats Out: A Social History of Eating Out in England from 1830 to the Present* (Harlow and New York: Pearson/Longman, 2004).

Lamb cutlets with tomato sauce (37)

Codfish fried English style (37)

As before, macaroni was the most frequently offered entrée, with fully 328 appearances and 21 varieties. Mutton, oysters, calf's head, and bird salmis still dominated the meat, fish, and game entrées. Such new fashions as were forming merely adjusted longstanding tastes: Macaroni à la Cardinale (Macaroni with cream, cheese, and lobster butter, made with the lobster shells) was popular in 1881 but unknown before 1865; Beef à la mode was served as a cold dish in 1881 rather than as an entrée; plain oyster patties gave way to oyster patties à la Béchamel. From the order in which restaurants served courses to the culinary aesthetic that dictated diners' choices, however, little had shifted in four decades.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, several important changes occurred in Americans' experience of dining out: ethnic eating places began to cater to those outside the particular group represented by the cuisine; stand-alone restaurants supplanted hotels; a more genuine French influence reflecting provincial cuisine made itself felt; in restaurants, men and women were much less frequently consigned to separate locations; and regional food was gaining prominence. These developments did not fully manifest themselves, however, until between 1890 and 1910. Chinese and Italian food became popular with urban experimenters, self-described Bohemians, such as artists and journalists, in the 1890s.<sup>91</sup> The rapacious appetites of characters like Diamond Jim Brady and the rise of spectacular "lobster palaces," which combined luxury dining with entertainment and a less restrictive social environment, were popular culture phenomena that bracketed the turn of the century. Still, for all of its fresh flourishes, the dining experience of the Gilded Age was intimately tied to what had preceded it and, indeed, to traditions of American fine cuisine reaching back to the 1830s at least. And so, what here has been billed as

<sup>91</sup>Grimes, *Appetite City*, pp. 125–32; Clarence E. Edwards, *Bohemian San Francisco: Its Restaurants and Their Most Famous Recipes. The Elegant Art of Dining* (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Co., 1914), pp. 23–32, 50–59.

a description of the culinary taste of the mid-nineteenth century can, in the end, be extended to American dining from the early Republic to the eve of the Progressive era. Although that aesthetic may strike us as alien, it is not completely derivative; unfamiliar, it is nonetheless the basis for Americans' modern culinary tastes and long-lasting fashions of fine dining.

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## APPENDIX

### ENTRÉES SERVED AT THE FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, 23 AUGUST 1859–31 DECEMBER 1865\*

(Listed alphabetically, followed by number of times mentioned  
over the time period)

<b>A</b>			
Apple fritters	137	Beef à la mode	53
Apple fritters with pork	2	Beef à la mode with vegetables	17
Apples fried with pork	64	Beef à la mode, claret sauce	56
Arcade of partridges	1	Beef à la mode, jardinière	2
Atelettes of calf's liver	2	Beef braisée à la jardinière	5
<b>B</b>		Beef braisée au tomate	2
Baked beans and pork	165	Beef braisée with small onions	1
Baked macaroni with cheese	102		
Beef à la maître d'hôtel	1		

\*Menus available from the following time periods were consulted: 23 August 1859–22 August 1860; 23 August 1861–22 August 1862; 23 August 1863–21 August 1864; 23 August 1865–31 December 1865. Between eleven and thirteen entrées were listed per menu.

Beef braisée with vegetables	79	Blanquette of veal with	3
Beef braisée, claret sauce	1	mushrooms	
Beefsteak sauté à la	37	Border of rice à la financière	2
Lyonnaise		Breast of chicken, larded,	2
Beefsteak sauté à la vanille	1	green peas	
Beefsteak sauté with	4	Breast of duck with macaroni	1
mushrooms		Breast of lamb with mashed	1
Beefsteak with anchovy	2	potatoes	
butter		Breast of lamb with spinach	1
Beefsteak with onions	50	Breast of lamb with tomatoes	1
Beefsteak with small	20	Breast of lamb, breaded	21
potatoes		Breast of lamb, breaded,	1
Black duck sur croustade	2	piquante sauce	
Black duck with olives	3	Breast of lamb, breaded,	62
Black duck with turnips	2	tomato sauce	
Black duck, Bigarade sauce	8	Breast of lamb, tomato sauce	6
Black duck, orange sauce	3	Breast of mutton breaded,	10
Black duck, Port wine sauce	1	tomato sauce	
Blanquette of lamb	21	Breast of mutton, braisée	1
Blanquette of lamb à la	1	Breast of mutton, breaded	4
bourgeoise		Breast of mutton, tomato	1
Blanquette of lamb à la	12	sauce	
Reine		Breast of quail, Champagne	1
Blanquette of lamb with	17	sauce	
green peas		Breast of turkey, larded,	1
Blanquette of lamb with	1	green peas	
macaroni		Breast of veal à la Béchamel	1
Blanquette of lamb with	1	Breast of veal à la bourgeoise	45
mushrooms		Breast of veal à la jardinière	1
Blanquette of lamb, anchovy	1	Breast of veal stuffed	7
sauce		Breast of veal stuffed à	3
Blanquette of veal	28	l'Espagnole	
Blanquette of veal à la	1	Breast of veal stuffed,	4
bourgeoise		tomato sauce	
Blanquette of veal à la	1	Breast of veal, breaded	2
jardinière		Breast of veal, breaded,	8
Blanquette of veal à la Reine	7	tomato sauce	
Blanquette of veal à la	1	Breast of veal, stuffed, à la	1
Seine†		bourgeoise	
Blanquette of veal with	21	Breast of veal, stuffed, à la	7
green peas		jardinière	

†A la Seine was likely a misprint of à la Reine.

Breast of veal, stuffed, onion sauce	1	Broiled squab à la maître d'hôtel	115
Brochette of calf's liver	10	Broiled squab with green peas	3
Brochette of chicken livers	15	Broiled squab, parsley sauce	16
Brochette of lamb's liver	2	Broiled squab, tomato sauce	5
Brochette of lamb's liver, breaded	2	Broiled squabs, claret sauce	1
Brochette of liver	1	Brook trout à l'Américaine	1
Brochette of liver à l'Italienne	2	<b>C</b>	
Brochette of liver, breaded	2	Calf's brains fried in batter	10
Brochette of liver, sauce piquante	2	Calf's brains, sauce piquante	2
Brochette of liver, tomato sauce	7	Calf's feet à la maître d'hôtel	18
Brochette of oysters	1	Calf's feet à la Polonaise	1
Brochette of sweetbreads à la financière	3	Calf's feet à la poulette	74
Brochette of sweetbreads, tomato sauce	2	Calf's feet à la vinaigrette	19
Brochette of turkey livers	12	Calf's feet fried in batter	27
Brochette of turkey livers, tomato sauce	1	Calf's feet stuffed	6
Broiled chicken à la maître d'hôtel	2	Calf's feet stuffed, Madeira sauce	3
Broiled chicken with green peas	1	Calf's feet stuffed, sauce piquante	1
Broiled kidneys à la maître d'hôtel	42	Calf's feet stuffed, tomato sauce	11
Broiled kidneys with parsley	7	Calf's feet, Madeira sauce	5
Broiled pigeon à la maître d'hôtel	26	Calf's feet, pickle sauce	5
Broiled pigeon, green peas	1	Calf's feet, poivrade sauce	1
Broiled pigeon, tomato sauce	2	Calf's feet, sauce piquante	43
Broiled pigs' feet, stuffed	1	Calf's feet, stuffed, au gratin	1
Broiled plover with toast	1	Calf's head à la maître d'hôtel	1
Broiled quail à la maître d'hôtel	4	Calf's head à la poulette	1
Broiled quail with parsley	1	Calf's head à la vinaigrette	5
Broiled sea-bass à la maître d'hôtel	1	Calf's head fried in batter	26
Broiled snipe sur croustade	1	Calf's head, à l'Italienne	1
Broiled squab à la crapaudine	3	Calf's head, Madeira sauce	1
		Calf's head, pickle sauce	2
		Calf's head, sauce piquante	29
		Calf's head, turtle sauce	69
		Calf's liver	5
		Calf's liver à l'Italienne	77
		Calf's liver à la jardinière	1
		Calf's liver à la Lyonnaise	31
		Calf's liver fried with pork	48
		Calf's liver in cases	22

Calf's liver sauté, Champagne sauce	1	Casserole of rice à la financière	17
Calf's liver with claret sauce	1	Casserole of rice à la Polonaise	1
Calf's liver with mashed potatoes	1	Casserole of rice à la Toulouse	3
Calf's liver with mushrooms	1	Casserole of rice with chicken liver	1
Calf's liver with onions	1	Cauliflower au gratin	1
Calf's liver with pickles	1	Charlotte of apples	6
Calf's liver, en croustade	6	Chartreuse of apples	13
Calf's liver, larded, pickle sauce	12	Chartreuse of grouse	4
Calf's liver, larded, Port wine sauce	14	Chartreuse of partridges	6
Calf's liver, Madeira sauce	8	Chartreuse of pigeon	6
Calf's liver, sauce piquante	25	Chartreuse of quail	1
Calf's liver, tomato sauce	1	Chicken à l'Irlande	1
Calf's tongue à l'Italienne	1	Chicken à la crapaudine	26
Calf's tongue en papillote	1	Chicken à la crapaudine, tomato sauce	1
Calf's tongue, Bigarade sauce	1	Chicken à la crème	1
Calf's tongue, pickle sauce	1	Chicken à la Irean	3
Calf's tongue, sauce piquante	15	Chicken à la Marengo	111
Calf's tongue, sauce poivrade	4	Chicken à la Reine	10
Calf's tongue, sauce Robert	1	Chicken à la Tartare	45
Calf's tongue, tomato sauce	2	Chicken à la Toulouse	53
Caneton of lamb à la jardinière	1	Chicken braisée à la jardinière	6
Caneton of lamb with mashed potatoes	12	Chicken braisée with green peas	2
Caneton of mutton à la jardinière	1	Chicken fried in batter	85
Casserole of chicken	1	Chicken legs, stuffed, with green peas	1
Casserole of pork, breaded, tomato sauce	1	Chicken livers à la Lyonnaise	1
Casserole of potatoes	1	Chicken livers in batter	2
Casserole of potatoes à la financière	23	Chicken livers in cases	25
Casserole of potatoes à la Française	1	Chicken livers sauté with parsley	19
Casserole of potatoes à la Polonaise	41	Chicken livers sautée au tomate	2
Casserole of potatoes à la Toulouse	1	Chicken livers sautéed	1
		Chicken livers, Champagne sauce	29
		Chicken livers, claret sauce	1
		Chicken livers, Madeira sauce	6

Chicken livers, Port wine sauce	13	Compote of pigeon with green peas	10
Chicken patties	4	Compote of pigeon with mushrooms	6
Chicken pie	11	Compote of pigeon with vegetables	7
Chicken pie with mushrooms	1	Compote of pigeon, Port wine sauce	36
Chicken pie, American style	15	Cotelette d'agneau aux pointes d'asperges	1
Chicken sautéé, tomato sauce	4	Crabs stuffed à la Creole	2
Chicken sautéed with green peas	2	Cream fritters	57
Chicken sautéed with mashed potatoes	1	Cream fritters à la vanille	28
Chicken sautéed with mushrooms	39	Cream fritters, lemon flavor	10
Chicken sautéed with parsley	1	Cromesque of chicken with parsley	1
Chicken sautéed with tomatoes	32	Croquettes de dindon, sauce Robert	1
Chicken sautéed with turnips	1	Croquettes of bonito with parsley	1
Chicken sautéed, Champagne style	2	Croquettes of chicken	39
Chicken wings fried in batter	1	Croquettes of chicken, tomato sauce	1
Chicken with rice	6	Croquettes of fish	11
Chicken, breaded, with tomato sauce	1	Croquettes of fish à la Joinville	3
Chicken, marinated	1	Croquettes of hard shell crabs	1
Clams fried in crumbs	1	Croquettes of lamb	5
Codfish tongues à la Hollandaise	1	Croquettes of lobster	26
Codfish tongues à la maître d'hôtel	2	Croquettes of lobster à la Toulouse	1
Codfish tongues breaded	2	Croquettes of partridge	1
Codfish tongues fried with pork	1	Croquettes of pigeon	2
Compote of pigeon	17	Croquettes of pigeon with mushroom	2
Compote of pigeon à la bourgeoise	1	Croquettes of salmon	53
Compote of pigeon à la financière	2	Croquettes of salmon, tomato sauce	1
Compote of pigeon à la jardinière	27	Croquettes of sweetbreads	22
Compote of pigeon à la Lyonnaise	1	Croquettes of sweetbreads à la Duchesse	1
Compote of pigeon sur croustade	1	Croquettes of trout with parsley	1

Croquettes of turkey	83	Epigrammes of lamb,	1
Croquettes of turkey with eggs	1	tomato sauce	
Croquettes of veal with parsley	1	Escalope of green turtle,	1
Currie of breast of veal	1	tomato sauce	
Currie of chicken	5	Escalope of mutton, tomato sauce	1
Currie of chicken à la jardinière	1	Escalope of pork with	13
Currie of chicken wings with rice	6	apples	
Currie of chicken with rice	102	Escalope of pork with	1
Currie of lamb	1	mushrooms	
Currie of lamb with rice	65	Escalope of pork, braised	1
Currie of lobster	5	Escalope of pork, breaded	11
Currie of lobster with rice	54	Escalope of pork, breaded,	28
Currie of mutton with rice	5	tomato sauce	
Currie of rice à la financière	1	Escalope of pork, mustard sauce	1
Currie of turkey wings	7	Escalope of pork, pickle	3
Currie of turkey wings in a case	1	sauce	
Currie of turkey wings with rice	57	Escalope of pork, sauce	5
Currie of turkey with rice	47	piquant	
Currie of veal with rice	87	Escalope of pork, sauce	17
Currie with rice	1	Robert	
<b>D</b>		Escalope of pork, tomato sauce	8
Duck en croustade	8	Escalope of veal à la	2
Duck with olives	36	jardinière	
Duck with turnips	7	Escalope of veal fried with pork	33
Duck, Bigarade sauce	10	Escalope of veal with green peas	1
Duck, orange sauce	20	Escalope of veal, breaded	2
Duck, Port wine sauce	2	Escalope of veal, breaded,	3
<b>E</b>		tomato sauce	
Eels à la Tartare	4	Escalope of veal, sauce	11
Eels breaded à la Toulouse	3	demi-glacé	
Eels fried in crumbs	2	Escalope of veal, tomato sauce	3
Eels fried with pork	2	Escaloped oysters	43
Eels stewed, claret sauce	3	Escaloped oysters à la Béchamel	10
Eggplant fried, English style	1	Escaloped oysters à la	85
Eggplant stuffed à l'Italienne	1	crème	
Eggplant stuffed with chicken	1	<b>F</b>	
Eggplant stuffed, Spanish style	2	Fillet de veau	1
		Fillet of beef à la financière	1

Fillet of beef à la jardinière	2	Fillet of duck, Bigarade	22
Fillet of beef sauté à la Lyonnaise	4	sauce	
Fillet of beef sauté with onions	1	Fillet of duck, claret sauce	1
Fillet of beef sauté,	2	Fillet of duck, Port wine	2
Lyonnais potatoes		sauce	
Fillet of beef sautée,	3	Fillet of duck, sauce piquante	1
anchovy butter		Fillet of duck, sauce Robert	1
Fillet of beef sautée,	7	Fillet of duck, wine sauce	1
Champagne sauce		Fillet of fish à l'Anglaise	12
Fillet of beef, breaded, with mushrooms	1	Fillet of fish à l'Orley	3
Fillet of beef, larded	2	Fillet of fish à la Chambrois	6
Fillet of beef, larded, à la financière	16	Fillet of fish à la Hollandaise	28
Fillet of beef, larded,	18	Fillet of fish à la Joinville	1
Madeira Sauce		Fillet of fish à la Lyonnaise	1
Fillet of beef, larded, pickle sauce	3	Fillet of fish à la Tartare	86
Fillet of beef, larded, sauce demi-glace	2	Fillet of fish à la Toulouse	1
Fillet of beef, larded, sauce piquante	19	Fillet of fish, stuffed	1
Fillet of beef, larded, tomato sauce	13	Fillet of goose à la Lyonnaise	3
Fillet of beef, larded, with Italian paste	1	Fillet of goose with green peas	1
Fillet of beef, larded, with macaroni	1	Fillet of goose with mushrooms	2
Fillet of beef, larded, with mushrooms	159	Fillet of goose with olives	2
Fillet of beef, larded, with olives	26	Fillet of goose with onions	2
Fillet of beef, larded, with small potatoes	8	Fillet of goose with turnips	1
Fillet of black duck with mushrooms	1	Fillet of goose, Port wine sauce	1
Fillet of chicken à la jardinière	3	Fillet of goose, sauce piquante	2
Fillet of chicken with green peas	3	Fillet of green turtle with green peas	11
Fillet of duck with macaroni	1	Fillet of grouse with mushrooms	4
Fillet of duck with mushrooms	1	Fillet of grouse with olives	1
		Fillet of grouse, Bigarade sauce	2
		Fillet of grouse, orange sauce	1
		Fillet of grouse, Port wine sauce	1
		Fillet of lamb, larded, à la jardinière	2
		Fillet of mutton à la Polonaise	1
		Fillet of mutton au jus	1
		Fillet of mutton with spinach	7

Fillet of mutton, larded	5	Fricandean of green turtle,	1
Fillet of mutton, larded, à la jardinière	33	sauce demi-glace	
Fillet of mutton, larded,	9	Fricandean of green turtle,	1
tomato sauce		tomato sauce	
Fillet of mutton, larded,	7	Fricandean of green turtles,	1
with green peas		larded	
Fillet of mutton, larded,	1	Fricandean of turtle with	2
with turnips		spinach	
Fillet of mutton, larded,	1	Fricandean of veal	5
with vegetables		Fricandean of veal with	15
Fillet of pigeon sauté with	1	spinach	
mushrooms		Fricandean of veal, larded, à	15
Fillet of pork with apples	83	la jardinière	
Fillet of pork with olives	1	Fricandean of veal, larded,	32
Fillet of pork, Bigarade	1	green peas	
sauce		Fricandean of veal, larded,	30
Fillet of pork, breaded,	1	tomato sauce	
tomato sauce		Fricandean of veal, larded,	1
Fillet of pork, jelly sauce	1	with asparagus	
Fillet of pork, mustard sauce	2	Fricandean of veal, larded,	1
Fillet of pork, pickle sauce	10	with red cabbage	
Fillet of pork, sauce Robert	44	Fricandean of veal, sauce	6
Fillet of turtle, Champagne	1	demi-glace	
sauce		Fricassee of chicken à la	114
Fillet of veal fried with pork	1	chevalière	
Fillet of venison with jelly	1	Fricassee of chicken à la	1
sauce		financière	
Fillet of venison, Bigarade	1	Fricassee of chicken with	1
sauce		mushrooms	
Fillet of venison, sauce	1	Fricassee of chicken, Paris	2
piquante		style	
Fillets of grouse à la	1	Fricassee of frogs	1
Lyonnaise		Fricassee of frogs à la	1
Foie de dindon sauté aux	1	poulette	
champignons		Fricassee of frogs with green	1
Fricandean of chicken à la	1	peas	
Reine		Fricassee of green turtle	1
Fricandean of green turtle	2	Fricassee of turkey wings	1
with green peas		with mushrooms	
Fricandean of green turtle,	1	Fricassee of turkey with	3
Champagne sauce		parsley	
Fricandean of green turtle,	1	Fricasseed chicken	28
Madeira sauce		Fricasseed chicken à la Irean	1
		Fricasseed chicken à la Reine	21

Fricasseed chicken wings	5	Green turtle steak with green peas	23
Fricasseed turkey à la Reine	1	Green turtle steak with mushrooms	5
Fricasseed turkey wings	51	Green turtle steak, Champagne sauce	19
Fricasseed turkey wings à la Reine	3	Green turtle steak, Madeira sauce	3
Fried brook trout with pork	1	Green turtle steak, sauce demi-glace	1
Fried codfish, English style	92	Green turtle, larded, with spinach	1
Fried eels	2	Green turtle, Port wine sauce	2
Fried eels à la Tartare	1	Grenadine of veal à la jardinière	6
Fried fish, English style	1	Grenadine of veal fried with pork	1
Fried smelts with pork	15	Grenadine of veal with green peas	5
Fried veal with pork	1	Grenadine of veal with mushrooms	1
Frogs à la maître d'hôtel	4	Grenadine of veal, larded, with spinach	13
Frogs à la poulette	1	Grenadine of veal, sauce demi-glace	2
Frogs fried English style	1	Grenadine of veal, sauce tomate	4
Frogs fried in batter	37	Grouse à la Lyonnaise	2
Frogs fried in crumbs	20	Grouse sur croustade	2
Frogs, Fricasseed with mushrooms	1	Grouse with mushrooms	1
<b>G</b>			
Giblets in cases	1	Grouse, orange sauce	2
Giblets of turkey	4	<b>H</b>	
Giblets of turkey, claret sauce	2	Hard shell crabs à la Creole	3
Giblets of turkey, Madeira sauce	4	Hard shell crabs au gratin	2
Giblets of turkey, Port wine sauce	18	Hard shell crabs with border of shell	1
Giblets sautée à l'Italienne	1	Hard-shell crab stuffed à la Creole	1
Goose à l'Italienne	10	Hard-shell crabs, baked	4
Goose à la Bordelaise	1	Hard-shell crabs, stuffed	11
Goose à la bourgeoise	1	Haricot of mutton	23
Goose à la Flamande	1	Haricot of mutton à la bourgeoise	145
Goose à la Lyonnaise	38		
Goose livers au Matelote	1		
Goose sauté à la Robert	1		
Goose with olives	10		
Goose with turnips	31		
Goose, Bigarade sauce	1		
Goose, Port wine sauce	1		
Green turtle in cases, Champagne sauce	6		
Green turtle steak à la Jardinière	1		

Haricot of mutton à la Française	1	Lamb cutlets with cucumbers	1
Haricot of mutton à la jardinière	2	Lamb cutlets with green peas	58
Haricot of mutton with vegetables	5	Lamb cutlets with mashed potatoes	73
Hash de boeuf en crouton	1	Lamb cutlets with onions	1
Hashed beef sur croustade	1	Lamb cutlets with spinach	4
Hashed beef with eggs	47	Lamb cutlets, breaded	12
Hashed chicken with eggs	50	Lamb cutlets, breaded, tomato sauce	80
Hashed chicken with rice	1	Lamb cutlets, breaded, with green peas	1
Hashed ham with eggs	1	Lamb cutlets, plain	4
Hashed lamb with eggs	34	Lamb cutlets, poivrade sauce	1
Hashed lamb with mushrooms	3	Lamb cutlets, sauce piquante	1
Hashed mutton with eggs	6	Lamb cutlets, sautée au Madère	1
Hashed mutton with mushrooms	1	Lamb fries au gratin	9
Hashed turkey with eggs	126	Lamb fries in crumbs	7
Hashed turkey with mushrooms	1	Lamb fries, breaded, English style	1
Hashed veal with eggs	1	Lamb fries, sauce Italienne	1
<b>K</b>		Lamb fries, tomato sauce	1
Kidneys in cases	15	Lamb liver sautéed with onion	1
Kidneys sautée with parsley	13	Lamb tongue in cases	1
Kidneys sautée, Champagne sauce	19	Lamb's liver à l'Italienne	5
Kidneys sautéed with mushrooms	3	Lamb's liver à la Lyonnaise	8
Kidneys, Port wine sauce	19	Lamb's liver fried with pork	2
Kidneys, sautée, Madeira sauce	1	Lamb's liver larded, in cases	1
<b>L</b>		Lamb's liver with mushrooms	3
Lamb chops à la jardinière	1	Lamb's liver, Champagne sauce	1
Lamb cutlets à l'Italienne	1	Lamb's liver, Port wine sauce	1
Lamb cutlets à la financière	1	Lamb's tongue à la jardinière	1
Lamb cutlets à la jardinière	8	Lamb's tongue, breaded	1
Lamb cutlets à la Lorgnette	1	Lamb's tongue, sauce Bigarade	2
Lamb cutlets à la maître d'hôtel	1	Lamb's tongue, sauce piquante	6
Lamb cutlets à la Milanaise	94	Lobster à la Béchamel	12
Lamb cutlets à la Soubise	45	Lobster à la crème	39
Lamb cutlets à la Toulouse	1	Lobster à la Valencienne	12
Lamb cutlets en papillote	1		
Lamb cutlets with carrots	1		

Lobster à la vanille	2	Mutton cutlets à la Soubise	3
Lobster au gratin, in shell	1	Mutton cutlets with green peas	10
Lobster baked in shell	44	Mutton cutlets with mashed potatoes	5
Lobster, anchovy sauce	55	Mutton cutlets with mushrooms	3
Lobster, shrimp sauce	3	Mutton cutlets with onions	3
<b>M</b>			
Macaroni à l'Italienne	92	Mutton cutlets with spinach	7
Macaroni à la Béchamel	4	Mutton cutlets, breaded	28
Macaroni à la crème	152	Mutton cutlets, breaded, sauce piquante	3
Macaroni à la Milanaise	17	Mutton cutlets, breaded, tomato sauce	71
Macaroni à la Napolitaine	34	Mutton cutlets, Champagne sauce	1
Macaroni au gratin	160	Mutton cutlets, larded, tomato sauce	2
Macaroni au Parmesan	164	Mutton cutlets, Madeira sauce	124
Macaroni in a form	82	Mutton cutlets, pickle sauce	9
Macaroni with cheese	159	Mutton cutlets, plain	18
Matelote of fish	1	Mutton cutlets, poivrade sauce	2
Mutton braisée à la jardinière	1	Mutton cutlets, sauce piquante	126
Mutton braisée with green peas	1	Mutton kidneys, Champagne sauce	1
Mutton braisée with mashed potatoes	1	<b>N</b>	
Mutton braisée, tomato sauce	1	Noix of veal, larded, sauce demi-glace	1
Mutton chops à la jardinière	2	<b>O</b>	
Mutton chops with mushrooms	1	Orange fritters	17
Mutton chops with olives	1	Oyster patties	54
Mutton chops with peas	1	Oyster patties à la Béchamel	178
Mutton chops, pickle sauce	1	Oyster patties à la crème	23
Mutton chops, sauce Madère	2	Oyster patties à la Reine	25
Mutton chops, sauce piquante	4	Oysters à la Béchamel	5
Mutton cutlets à l'Italienne	2	Oysters au gratin, in shell	1
Mutton cutlets à la bourgeoise	1	Oysters baked in shell	160
Mutton cutlets à la financière	2	Oysters fried in batter	98
Mutton cutlets à la jardinière	48	Oysters fried in crumbs	111
Mutton cutlets à la Milanaise	5	Oysters fried with pork	1
Mutton cutlets à la Parisienne	1	Oysters vol-au-vent	1

<b>P</b>			
Pancakes au rhum	2	Plover en croustade	6
Pancakes with jelly	47	Plover in cases, Champagne sauce	1
Partridge à la jardinière	2	Plover sautée with parsley	1
Partridge en croustade	1	Plover with Champagne sauce	5
Partridge sautéed with green peas	5	Plover with green peas	1
Partridge with cabbage	10	Plover, Madeira sauce	1
Partridge with mushrooms	2	Plovers in cases	1
Partridge, Champagne sauce	8	Pork chop with apple sauce	1
Partridge, Madeira sauce	2	Pork chops with apples	3
Partridges	1	Pork chops with pickle sauce	1
Pattie à la financière	3	Pork chops, breaded, tomato sauce	2
Pattie à la Toulouse	1	Pork chops, mustard sauce	1
Peach fritters	2	Pork chops, piquant sauce	1
Petits patés à la Toulouse	1	Pork chops, sauce Robert	7
Pigeon à la crapaudine	4	Pork cutlets with apples	18
Pigeon à la jardinière	14	Pork cutlets, breaded	8
Pigeon au crapaudine, tomato sauce	2	Pork cutlets, breaded, tomato sauce	20
Pigeon in cases	2	Pork cutlets, pickle sauce	5
Pigeon stuffed à la jardinière	2	Pork cutlets, sauce piquante	4
Pigeon stuffed, Madeira sauce	6	Pork cutlets, sauce Robert	35
Pigeon stuffed, Port wine sauce	1	<b>Q</b>	
Pigeon stuffed, tomato sauce	1	Quail à la jardinière	14
Pigeon stuffed, wine sauce	1	Quail en croustade	4
Pigeon sur croustade	13	Quail en croustade, Champagne sauce	1
Pigeon sur croustade, Madeira sauce	1	Quail larded à la financière	1
Pigeon with green peas	3	Quail larded with mushrooms	2
Pigs' feet à la poivrade sauce	1	Quail stuffed à la jardinière	1
Pigs' feet à la vinaigrette	100	Quail stuffed, Madeira sauce	1
Pigs' feet breaded, tomato sauce	74	Quail with green peas	32
Pigs' feet stuffed, tomato sauce	1	Quail, Champagne sauce	19
Pigs' feet with pickle sauce	1	Queen fritters	71
Pigs' feet, breaded	8	Queen fritters à la vanille	3
Pigs' feet, Madeira sauce	55	Queen fritters au rhum	1
Pigs' feet, sauce piquante	48	Queen fritters, Genois sauce	1
Pigs' feet, sauce Robert	1	Queen fritters, lemon flavor	76
Pineapple fritters	17	<b>R</b>	
Plover braisée with mushrooms	1	Ragout of mutton à la bourgeoise	1
		Ribs of pork, piquante sauce	1

Rice birds in cases	9	Roulade of lamb with	1
Rice birds in cases with mushrooms	1	cucumbers	
Rice birds in cases, Champagne sauce	2	Roulade of lamb with	18
Rice birds in cases, Port wine sauce	4	mashed potatoes	
Rice birds with mushrooms	3	Roulade of lamb with	3
Rice birds with toast	2	mushrooms	
Rice birds, Champagne sauce	8	Roulade of lamb with spinach	3
Rice birds, larded, sur croustade	6	Roulade of lamb, sauce	3
Rice birds, Madeira sauce	1	tomate	
Rice birds, sautéée	3	Roulade of pork with apples	1
Rice cakes à l'Anglaise	1	Roulade of pork, sauce	1
Rice croquettes	36	Robert	
Rice croquettes à la vanille	94	Roulade of veal à la jardinière	3
Rice croquettes à la vinaigrette	1	Roulade of veal with spinach	2
Rice croquettes, lemon flavor	3	Roulade of veal, breaded	2
Rice in a form	58	Roulade of veal, breaded, tomato sauce	1
Rice in a form à la Béchamel	1	Roulade of veal, mushroom sauce	1
Rice in a form à la crème	15		
Rice in a form à la vanille	50	<b>S</b>	
Rice, sautéée, Madeira sauce	1	Salmis of beef with pickle sauce	1
Rissole à l'Italienne	1	Salmis of black duck	24
Rissole of chicken à l'Italienne	2	Salmis of black duck en croustade	1
Robins in cases	2	Salmis of black duck with olives	4
Robins, larded, sur croustade	1	Salmis of black duck, Port wine sauce	2
Roulade of beef à la jardinière	6	Salmis of Brandt duck	3
Roulade of beef with macaroni	1	Salmis of duck	18
Roulade of beef with vegetables	22	Salmis of duck au Parmesan	1
Roulade of beef, braised	1	Salmis of duck en croustade	16
Roulade of beef, sauce demi-glace	2	Salmis of duck in croquettes	1
Roulade of beef, tomato sauce	22	Salmis of duck with mushrooms	5
Roulade of lamb à la bourgeoise	2	Salmis of duck with olives	40
Roulade of lamb à la jardinière	4	Salmis of duck with turnips	15
		Salmis of duck, Champagne sauce	1
		Salmis of duck, claret sauce	3
		Salmis of duck, Madeira sauce	3
		Salmis of duck, Port wine sauce	32

Salmis of goose	6	Salmis of plover	1
Salmis of goose en croustade	1	Salmis of plover sur croustade	6
Salmis of goose with olives	16	Salmis of plover, Champagne sauce	3
Salmis of goose with onions	1	Salmis of plover, Madeira sauce	1
Salmis of goose with turnips	26	Salmis of quail	1
Salmis of goose, Port wine sauce	4	Salmis of quail sur croustade	2
Salmis of grouse	17	Salmis of quail with green peas	2
Salmis of grouse en croustade	17	Salmis of quail, Champagne sauce	5
Salmis of grouse in cases	1	Salmis of snipe	1
Salmis of grouse with mushrooms	3	Salmis of snipe in cases	1
Salmis of grouse with olives	7	Salmis of snipe sur croustade	4
Salmis of grouse with orange sauce	1	Salmis of snipe, Champagne sauce	6
Salmis of grouse with turnips	2	Salmis of snipe, Madeira sauce	1
Salmis of grouse, Champagne sauce	5	Salmis of snipe, Port wine sauce	3
Salmis of grouse, Port wine sauce	19	Salmis of squab with green peas	1
Salmis of partridge	13	Salmis of squab with mushrooms	1
Salmis of partridge à la chevalière	1	Salmis of squirrel, Port wine sauce	1
Salmis of partridge à la crème	1	Salmis of teal duck en croustade	1
Salmis of partridge en croustade	10	Salmis of venison	1
Salmis of partridge with green peas	5	Sausages with mashed potatoes	42
Salmis of partridge with olives	2	Sausages with rice	30
Salmis of partridge, Champagne sauce	15	Scallops à la Béchamel	1
Salmis of partridge, Madeira sauce	2	Scallops au gratin	47
Salmis of partridge, mushroom sauce	3	Scallops fried in batter	2
Salmis of partridge, sauce piquante	1	Scallops fried with pork	114
Salmis of partridges in cases	1	Shoulder of mutton with mashed potatoes	1
Salmis of pigeon en croustade	1	Shoulder of mutton, stuffed	1
Salmis of pigeon, claret sauce	1	Sirloin beef, larded, à l'Italienne	1
		Sirloin of beef, larded, à la financière	3

Sirloin of beef, larded, with mushrooms	3	Stewed kidneys with mashed potatoes	1
Small birds, Champagne sauce	1	Stewed kidneys with mushrooms	1
Smelts fried in batter	3	Stewed kidneys with parsley	8
Snipe in cases	4	Stewed kidneys, Champagne sauce	35
Snipe in cases, Champagne sauce	1	Stewed kidneys, claret sauce	1
Snipe, Champagne sauce	9	Stewed kidneys, Port wine sauce	120
Snipe, larded, en croustade	11	Stewed lobster à la Béchamel	1
Snipe, larded, with mushrooms	2	Stewed pigeon with green peas	4
Snipe, Madeira sauce	2	Stewed pigeon with macaroni	1
Snipe, stuffed, in cases	1	Stewed pigeon with mushrooms	1
Soft shell crabs à la Creole	42	Stewed pigeon with vegetables	1
Soft shell crabs, fried, breaded	1	Stewed pigeon, Port wine sauce	2
Soft shell crabs, fried, English style	3	Stewed plover sur croustade	1
Soft shell crabs, fried, plain	99	Stewed squirrel, claret sauce	1
Spring chicken with green peas	1	Stewed terrapin à la crème	1
Squab à la crapaudine	10	Stewed terrapin, Champagne sauce	2
Squab with green peas	2	Stewed terrapin, continental sauce	1
Squabs à la crapaudine, tomato sauce	3	Stewed terrapin, Port wine sauce	1
Squabs stuffed, Port wine sauce	1	Stewed veal à la bourgeoise	1
Squabs with mushrooms	2	Stewed venison with mushrooms	1
Stewed chicken with mushrooms	1	Stewed venison, claret sauce	5
Stewed chicken with tomato sauce	1	Stewed venison, jelly sauce	4
Stewed eels with small onions	1	Stewed venison, Madeira sauce	1
Stewed eels, Port wine sauce	1	Stewed venison, Port wine sauce	19
Stewed green turtle	1	Stuffed pigeons sur croustade	1
Stewed green turtle in cases	4	Stuffed squabs with green peas	2
Stewed green turtle with green peas	1		
Stewed green turtle with mushrooms	1		
Stewed green turtle, Champagne sauce	4		

Stuffed tomato with chicken	4	Tenderloin beefsteak sauté à la Lyonnaise	6
Stuffed tomatoes à l'Italienne	1	Tenderloin beefsteak sauté, Madeira sauce	1
Stuffed veal à la bourgeoise	1	Tenderloin beefsteak with mashed potatoes	2
Suprême of chicken with green peas	1	Tenderloin beefsteak with mushrooms	28
Sweetbreads au gratin	17	Tenderloin of beef à la jardinière	1
Sweetbreads au gratin, tomato sauce	23	Tenderloin of beef with tomato sauce	1
Sweetbreads breaded, tomato sauce	5	Tenderloin of beefsteak sauté, Champagne sauce	1
Sweetbreads English style	2	Tenderloin of beefsteak with anchovy butter	17
Sweetbreads fried in cases	1	Tenderloin of beefsteak, sauce Robert	1
Sweetbreads fried in crumbs	1	Tenderloin of pork with apple sauce	1
Sweetbreads in cases with green peas	1	Tenderloin of pork with apples	1
Sweetbreads larded, tomato sauce	13	Tenderloin of pork, breaded	2
Sweetbreads, breaded	1	Tenderloin of pork, sauce Robert	2
Sweetbreads, larded	1	Tenderloin steak with olives	1
Sweetbreads, larded with spinach	2	Tenderloin steak with onions	11
Sweetbreads, larded, à la financière	6	Tenderloin steak with small potatoes	2
Sweetbreads, larded, à la jardinière	11	Tenderloin steak with smashed potatoes	1
Sweetbreads, larded, Champagne sauce	1	Tendrons of lamb, breaded, tomato sauce	4
Sweetbreads, larded, green peas	62	Terrapin in cases, Champagne sauce	1
Sweetbreads, larded, sauce demi-glace	5	Timbale of macaroni	99
Sweetbreads, larded, with mushrooms	1	Tripe à l'Italienne	24
<b>T</b>		Tripe à la Béchamel	15
Tame duck à la Lyonnais	1	Tripe à la Bordelaise	3
Tame duck with mushrooms	1	Tripe à la crème	49
Tame duck with small onions	1	Tripe à la Lyonnaise	59
Tame duck with small potatoes	1	Tripe à la maître d'hôtel	70
Teal duck sur croustade	1	Tripe à la Milanaise	1
Tenderloin beefsteak à la financière	1	Tripe à la poulette	1
Tenderloin beefsteak à la maître d'hôtel	3		

Tripe breaded, tomato sauce	37	Turkey wings, larded, with tomatoes	1
Tripe fried in batter	2		
Tripe sauté au tomate	1	<b>V</b>	
Tripe, breaded	2	Veal à la bourgeoise	11
Tripe, breaded, sauce piquante	2	Veal chops, sauce tomate	1
Tripe, broiled, tomato sauce	1	Veal cutlets	1
Tripe, Webster style	1	Veal cutlets à la jardinière	32
Turbon of chicken garnished with truffles	1	Veal cutlets à la Milanaise	13
Turbon of fillet of fish	1	Veal cutlets breaded, tomato sauce	18
Turkey à la jardinière	2	Veal cutlets larded à la purée	1
Turkey livers in cases	13	Veal cutlets with mushrooms	2
Turkey livers sauté au Parmesan	1	Veal cutlets with turnips	1
Turkey livers sauté with pork	1	Veal cutlets, breaded	7
Turkey livers sauté, Champagne sauce	44	Veal cutlets, breaded, with tomatoes	1
Turkey livers sautéed with parsley	79	Veal cutlets, larded, green peas	10
Turkey livers with parsnips	1	Veal cutlets, larded, tomato sauce	19
Turkey livers, Madeira sauce	3	Veal cutlets, larded, with spinach	4
Turkey livers, mushroom sauce	1	Veal cutlets, sauce demi-glace	3
Turkey livers, Port wine sauce	18	Veal steak à la bourgeoise	1
Turkey wings	1	Veal stuffed à la jardinière	1
Turkey wings à la financière	1	Veal stuffed with spinach	2
Turkey wings à la jardinière	17	Venison cutlets with mushrooms	1
Turkey wings à la maître d'hôtel	41	Venison cutlets, Bigarade sauce	1
Turkey wings à la Valencienne	6	Venison cutlets, Champagne sauce	1
Turkey wings with olives	25	Venison cutlets, jelly sauce	25
Turkey wings with rice	4	Venison cutlets, orange sauce	1
Turkey wings, larded, green peas	13	Venison cutlets, pickle sauce	1
Turkey wings, larded, points d'asperges	1	Venison cutlets, poivrade sauce	3
Turkey wings, larded, tomato sauce	4	Venison cutlets, Port wine sauce	1
Turkey wings, larded, with spinach	1	Venison cutlets, sauce piquante	3
		Venison cutlets, sauce Robert	2
		Venison steak, jelly sauce	37
		Venison steak, plain	1

AMERICAN CUISINE

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Venison steak, sauce piquante	4		
Venison steak, sauce Robert	4		
Venison steaks with macaroni	1		
Venison steaks, poivrade sauce	1		
Vol-au-vent à la Financière	3		
		<b>W</b>	
		Wild squabs, Champagne	1
		sauce	
		Woodcock larded en	1
		croustade	