INTRODUCTORY READING

Eating has always been an important part of life in Brooklyn. By looking at historic menus from the turn of the century, we can learn about change in food culture and food cost. Types of restaurants and their locations can also shed light on neighborhood change, and leads us to ask questions about what caused those changes.

Some menus come from restaurants with long and fascinating histories. The exterior of Gage and Tollner, on Fulton Street in Downtown Brooklyn since 1892, was landmarked in 1974. The following year it became the third interior to be landmarked in New York City and the first dining room to snag the honor. The restaurant was famous for its Southern style, both in menu and presentation; for much of the restaurant’s history the wait staff was all African-American.

Brooklyn’s Oyster Industry

Long before today’s Brooklyn, the Lenape and other native communities ate huge amounts of oysters. Massive ancient shell mounds (called middens) have been excavated and dated, one as old as 6950 BCE. Some historians estimate that at the time of Dutch New Amsterdam (1614), New York Harbor contained half the world’s oysters. In Dutch times, settlers simply walked to the water’s edge and picked up their dinner. Until the late nineteenth century oysters were sold grilled, fried, stewed, or raw at large outdoor food markets.

Oysters were cheap, and it was said that the poor of New York City had nothing to eat but bread and oysters. Nevertheless, oysters were also popular with the wealthy and were often featured at extravagant New York City banquets and in grand restaurants.

As early as the eighteenth century New York oyster beds started showing signs of exhaustion. Eventually, centuries of dumping untreated sewage in water around the city forced oyster beds to close down because of health risks. Although environmentalists are working to clean up New York City’s waterways and cultivate more oyster beds, oysters from the waters around New York City remain unsafe to eat.

Sugar Refining in Brooklyn

Another important food industry for Brooklyn was sugar refining. In 1857, Havemeyer, Townsand, and Co. created a refinery on South Third Street in Williamsburg, where undeveloped land, a deep-water harbor, and abundant cheap labor soon attracted other sugar refineries. When it opened, Havemeyer’s refinery had a daily capacity of 300,000 pounds of raw sugar – more than all other New York City refineries combined. By the 1870s the figure was more than 1 million pounds a day, and Havemeyer’s was employing 1000 workers for each shift.

Sugar refining was the city’s most profitable industry from 1870 until WWI. 59 percent of the country’s raw sugar was processed there in 1872 and 68 percent in 1887. The American Sugar Refining Company (a company created by Havemeyer in 1891 and comprised of many smaller sugar companies) dominated the industry; its principal trademark was and is Domino. After the Great Depression, the sugar refining industry declined in the city as modern technology and alternatives to sugar were introduced.

Brooklyn’s Domino factory closed in 2004, ending a century of New York City’s domination of the sugar industry; it was the victim of changing food tastes, pressure for lower labor costs, high real estate prices, and foreign competition.
Beer in Brooklyn

By the 1820s, Brooklyn had a full-time brewer, William Johnson, located at 49 Front Street. Brooklynnites no longer had to get their beer ferried across the river from New York City where breweries had been thriving since the late 17th century. Small breweries followed Mr. Johnson, brewing ales and darker beers.

With Brooklyn's annexation of Williamsburg and Bushwick in 1855, both thriving communities of German immigrants, Brooklyn became a lager beer hotspot. The area, then known as the Eastern District, had a series of blocks known as Brewer's Row; 11 blocks, 12 large scale breweries. Brewer's row was located between Scholes and Meserole Streets and from Bushwick Place to Lorimer Street in the neighborhood of Bushwick.

Breweries across Brooklyn sported distinctly German names such as Frese and Urff, Burger and Hower, Edelbrew, Rheingold, Shaffer, and Piels. Output increased with new technology and in 1907 Brooklyn produced over 2,500,000 barrels of beer! America wasn’t always so keen on lager beer, passing multiple laws restricting consumption on certain days of the week. Eventually, the Volstead Act of 1920 would require all of the nation’s breweries to cease making “intoxicating liquors.” Breweries were given a choice: make near beer (a bland and only slightly alcoholic beverage), begin making and selling soda, or close down. Prohibition ended in 1933.

With massive Midwestern breweries like Budweiser and Pabst taking hold of the national market, Brooklyn’s hold began to weaken during the middle of the twentieth century and by the early 1980s all of the original breweries in the borough had closed. Brooklyn Brewery’s founding in 1988 called attention to Brooklyn’s lack of local breweries and started a trend that we can see in Brooklyn today.

Brooklyn's Dairies

As New York City grew during the nineteenth century, farmland and cattle became scarce in Manhattan. Dairy farmers moved to Williamsburg, other parts of Brooklyn, and Queens County. By the 1830s, large scale milk and cheese delivery was underway using horse drawn carts. One might also see ice cream wagons on street corners (a food popularized during the American Revolution).

Many dairies were connected to breweries. Dairies used brewery swill (a byproduct of beer) to feed their cattle who, lacking nutrients, produced a thin, bluish milk. The milk was cut with water (often unsafe in early New York), and additives such as chemicals and chalk were used to help kill its bad smell and to turn the milk white. In 1842, in special ice-cooled cars, milk began to be shipped by train to New York City from farms in Queens, Westchester, and Orange Counties to help meet the growing demand of a swiftly growing city. Smaller farms found it hard to compete with the production of larger organizations and often kept their cows in unsafe and unclean conditions in an effort to utilize their space for maximum production. Swill milk was banned in the 1860s, but persisted long after.

Brooklyn’s Canarsie and Cypress Hills had dairies up until the mid-twentieth century. As late as 1940 the federal census of agriculture counted six farms with 328 cows in Brooklyn. By the 1970s, all of Brooklyn’s farms had gone out of business as new technology and increasing land costs changed the way milk was produced and transported.
BECOME A MEMBER
EXECUTIVE DINNER TOURS

You Can Order Anything From the Ala-Carte Menu. First Two Cocktails For the Price of One, While Dining. Order Two Entrees, $8.00 or More, $8.00 Will Be Deducted. Order Two Entrees, $8.00 or Less, the Lower of the Two Will Be Deducted.

EXAMPLE A.         B.             C.
2 Cocktails $3.00 $1.50 $3.00 $1.50 $3.00 $1.50
1 ENTREE 10.00 10.00 8.00 8.00 10.00 10.00
1 ENTREE 8.00 OFF 6.00 OFF 10.00 2.00

$21.00 $11.50 $17.00 $9.50 $23.00 $13.50

YOU PAY

ATTENTION!
30 Pails of Golf Balls For The Price Of 15
at $2.25 a Pail — SAVE $33.75
AT GATEWAY • NELLY BLY • GOLF CITY

FOR ONLY $10.00 PURCHASE EDT MEMBERSHIP TOUR. DINE IN 8 RESTAURANTS, 9 TO CHOOSE FROM, SAVE APPROXIMATELY $9.50 IN EACH RESTAURANT. FOR $20.00 PURCHASE EDT, DINE IN 16 RESTAURANTS, 18 TO CHOOSE FROM, SAVE APPROXIMATELY $9.50 IN EACH RESTAURANT. YOU HAVE 8 MONTHS TO USE IT. TRY ANY OF OUR RESTAURANTS ONCE. IF NOT SATISFIED IN 7 DAYS, MONEY BACK GUARANTEE.

SEND $20.00 PER TOUR — Check or Money Order to:
EXECUTIVE DINNER TOURS
4115 AVE. U. BKLYN, N. Y. 11234
253-8707 8-9

Name
Address
City Zip
Phone

☐ Brooklyn Tour I ☐ Brooklyn Tour II ☐ S. L. Tour
☐ Manhattan Tour ☐ Queens Tour

QUANTITY ____________ Mini Tour ☐

BY DINING IN ONLY ONE RESTAURANT YOUR MEMBERSHIP WILL BE PAID FOR WITH YOUR SAVINGS. CALL 253-8707—OPEN 10 A.M. to 10 P.M.

1. Examine Document 1. What company does this invite you to become a member of? What benefits do members receive?

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2. According to Document 1, what are some of the restaurants you could eat at in Brooklyn?

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3. Read the names of these restaurants closely. What kind of food do you infer you would eat at these restaurants?

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4. Do the restaurants listed on Document 1 seem like the same types of restaurants you eat at today in Brooklyn? What is the same? What is different?

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1. Look closely at **Document 2**. What type of document is this? What year is it from?

   
   
   
   
   

2. Examine **Document 2**. What kinds of food seem popular at this restaurant?

   
   
   
   
   

3. Look at the food prices on **Document 2**. How do they compare to food prices today?

   
   
   
   
   

4. Imagine you had five dollars to spend on a meal at this restaurant. What would you order?

   
   
   
   
   


1. Examine **Document 3a**. According to the caption, what is the giant pile behind the workmen?

2. Observe **Document 3b** and **Document 3c**. These men are working with oysters. What do you observe about their working conditions?

3. Look carefully at **Document 3c**. What do you infer the large barrels were used for? Use observations to support your inference.

4. Based on **Document 3a, 3b, and 3c**, what would you infer about the foods people liked to eat when these photographs were taken? Would you infer that peoples’ tastes have changed, or have stayed the same?
1. Observe **Document 4**. This is an atlas page. What are the names of four streets shown on the atlas page?

2. Pink and yellow squares on the atlas page show buildings. Some of these buildings have names written on them. List three building names:

3. Scholes Street was also known as “Brewers Row.” Based on your observations of this atlas page, why do you think that was?

4. What do you imagine it was like to live in the area shown on this atlas page? Why do you imagine that?
Document 5a: [Howard & Fuller's Ale and Porter Brewery.] [190-?] Brooklyn Daily Eagle photographs, Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn Collection.

Image summary: Architectural rendering of Howard & Fuller's Ale and Porter Brewery located at the intersection of Bridge Street and Plymouth Street. Image includes 5 horse-drawn wagons.

Image summary: aerial view of Liebmann Breweries located at 36 Forrest Street in Bushwick
1. Examine Document 5a. According to the caption, what is this image of?

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2. List three observations about the neighborhood you see around this building.

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3. Examine Document 5b. According to the caption, what is this image of? What year is it from?

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4. How is the business in 5b the same as 5b? How is it different?

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Document 6a: “Distillery and swill cow stalls on Flushing Avenue and South Second Street, Williamsburg, Owned by Mr. Samuel Engle.” Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper. 3 July 1858. Prints Collection, Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn Collection.
1. Examine Document 6a. What do you observe about the buildings in this image? What do you observe about the area around the buildings?

2. Examine Document 6b. According to the caption, what was connected to the distillery?

3. Many dairies were connected to breweries. Dairies used brewery swill (a byproduct of beer) to feed their cows who, lacking nutrients, produced a thin, bluish milk. Would you infer that cows would enjoy living in the scene pictured in Document 6a and 6b? Why or why not?

4. The milk produced by cows who drank brewery swill was called **swill milk**. Would you infer that it was healthy to drink? Why or why not?
1. Examine Document 7. What kind of business is this document about?

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2. What is the location of the building in Document 7?

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3. According to the text on the left side of Document 7, what are some of the features of this new building?

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4. What impact do you think it had on Brooklymites, to have this kind of business in Brooklyn?

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1. A strike is to refuse to work as a form of protest. According to the headline of Document 8a, who was going on strike?

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2. Read Document 8a. How many people would be impacted by this strike?

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3. Look at the image in Document 8b. What do the signs say that men are wearing?

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4. Observe the people waiting behind a police barricade in Document 8b. Based on the context, what do you think they are waiting for?

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An Improvement to the Water Front.

Among the numerous improvements along the water front of this city, which have been and are being effected, none will surpass the work which is now being rapidly carried forward to completion, at the establishment of Messrs. Havemeyers & Elder, sugar refiners, on First street, between South Third and South Fourth streets, E. D. The already immense structure is being enlarged in the rear, in consequence of the increase of business, so that when completed it will be one of the largest, if not the largest of any similar establishment in the city, and furnish an improvement to the water front, the like of which is not visible at any point along the river.

The dimensions of the proposed addition to the main building are 130 by 97 feet; is eight stories in height and constructed of brick. On the site of the improvement stood formerly the engine and “retort” houses occupying a considerable space, but these have been removed to make room, and new ones erected to the northwest of the original building, in the rear of a set of new and extensive offices, built at the same time, on First street. The rear building will have two towers, at a given distance from each other, extending out eight feet towards the rear, one of which will be so constructed as to furnish a safe way of retreat in case of fire in the establishment. The new addition will be supported by iron columns; have 5,300 moulds for the sugar on each of the first four floors, which, together with those in the original building, will make the entire number 30,000; will be furnished with 17 “centrifugals” to separate the molasses from the sugar, and the river front of the structure bear the inscription, “Havemeyers & Elder.” When the work is completed, the dimensions of the entire establishment will be 180 feet water and street front by 150 feet in depth. Mr. Joseph Wesley is the architect, to which gentleman the Reporter of the EAGLE is indebted for the preceding facts.
1. Read Document 9. What is the reason that Messers. Havemeyers & Elder are expanding their factory?

2. According to Document 9, how will the changed factory impact Brooklyn’s waterfront?

3. What part of the new factory do you think would be the most impressive to Brooklyn’s residents? Why?

4. List two questions you have after reading Document 9.
1. Describe the image in Document 10.

2. Examine the boats in Document 10 that are bringing sugar to and from the factory. How are different or similar to boats you see today?

3. What types of sounds do you think you might hear if you worked on the waterfront in Document 10?
The citizens of Brooklyn should do everything in their power to maintain their established industries and employment. The loss of local business in recent years has left a long list of serious problems for this Borough to meet.

One of the best examples of a declining Brooklyn industry is cane sugar refining. Brooklyn has refined sugar since the Civil War and up to around 1925 the industry grew in size and importance. It has given employment to thousands of local men and women and has paid millions of dollars to the city in taxes and water bills. It has supplied business for many other groups in Brooklyn - fuel, building materials, bags, railroads, warehousing, trucking, stevedoring, and shipping.

Since 1925 the industry has lost ground steadily to the serious detriment of the economic life of this Borough; less refining means less work, less payroll, less local purchasing power. Practically all of these losses have been due to Federal legislation which has favored other sugar groups, refineries in the tropical islands and those in the western beet sugar states. Legislation is now before Congress which if enacted would further depress the local industry and would probably wipe it out in time.

It is the concern of every citizen in Brooklyn to see that any sugar legislation enacted in 1940 will be fair to our community, and not result in closed plants and lost jobs. With these facts in mind, I have decided to invite a group of leading Brooklyn citizens to discuss the problem of defending the legitimate interests of this community.

Will you kindly, therefore, meet with me in my Chambers, Borough Hall, on Friday, April 12th at 8:00 p.m. Representatives of management, labor, the consumer, and Brooklyn industry generally, will participate and will analyze the most appropriate steps which might be taken to safeguard industry and employment in Brooklyn's sugar refineries.

I sincerely hope you will find it possible to attend this important meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Borough President.
1. Read **Document 11.** What is the purpose of this letter?

2. In **Document 11,** what does Borough President Cashmore state is the largest reason for the decline in Brooklyn’s sugar refinery industry?

3. According to **Document 11,** what other industries thrived because of their connection to Brooklyn’s sugar industry?
The Last Grain Falls at a Sugar Factory

By WILLIAM YARDLEY

Richard Rednour spent the last week of his 26 years at the Domino Sugar plant in Brooklyn learning how to write a resume. “Not work” was among the other pieces of advice Mr. Rednour picked up this week at the employment classes the plant had offered to workers who will soon be re-entering the job market. Yesterday, the plant’s owner, American Sugar Refining, ended nearly all operations at the Williamsburg refining and packing plant, which has overlooked the East River since the 1890s.

Some workers, including Mr. Rednour, 56, a shipping and warehouse foreman, will be looking for work for the first time in decades. “I learned that last week that I’m a dinosaur,” Mr. Rednour said yesterday, taking a final drug during his final cigarette break outside the complex of brick and concrete buildings that stretches across more than 11 riverfront acres just north of the Williamsburg Bridge. “Having a job for a long time in one place is not necessarily a good thing. It meant I was reliable.”

More than 230 others who have reliably arrived for work for years will not return on Monday, leaving fewer than two dozen workers to operate the plant at a greatly diminished level — reduced to packaging sugar cubes and filling plant trucks with cinnamon sugar — until it closes permanently later this year. American Sugar, which bought the plant in 2001, announced in August that it would close because of failing demand for cane sugar in an age of beet sugar, high-fructose corn syrup and other competing sweeteners.

What will eventually become of the plant is unclear, but speculation among those standing outside it in the cold yesterday morning, shaking hands and saying goodbye, was that it would go the way of the soda factory, the knitting factory, the boot polish factory and so many other factories whose brick shells have been transformed into competing sweeteners.

Some will be looking for a job for the first time in decades.

In Brooklyn, the Domino refinery has overlooked the East River since the 1890s. A few workers will stay on to package sugar cubes.

The Last Grain Falls at a Sugar Factory

Richard Rednour spent the last week of his 28 years at the Domino Sugar plant in Brooklyn learning how to write a resume. “Networking” was among the other pieces of advice Mr. Rednour picked up this week at the employment classes the plant had offered to workers who will soon be reentering the job market. Yesterday, the plant’s owner, American Sugar Refining, ended nearly all operations at the Williamsburg refining and packing plant, which has overlooked the East River since the 1880’s.

“I learned this past week that I’m a dinosaur,” Mr. Rednour said yesterday, taking a final drag during his final cigarette break outside the complex of brick and concrete buildings that stretches across more than 11 riverfront acers just north of the Williamsburg Bridge. “Having a job for a long time in one place is not necessarily a good thing. It used to mean I was reliable.”

More than 220 others who have reliably arrived for work for years will not return on Monday, leaving fewer than two dozen workers to operate the plant at a greatly diminished level – reduced to packing sugar cubes and filling plastic toy figurines with cinnamon sugar – until it closes permanently later this year. American Sugar, which bought the plant in 2001, announced in August that it would close because of falling demand for cane sugar in an age of beet sugar, high-fructose corn syrup and other competing sweeteners.

What will eventually become of the plant is unclear, but speculation among those standing outside it in the cold yesterday morning, shaking hands and saying goodbye, was that it would go the way of the soda factory, the knitting factory, the boot polish factory and so many other factories whose brick shells have been transformed into housing and commercial space to make way for the gentrification rippling through Brooklyn.

Williamsburg has changed as the manufacturing plans that once defined it have declined. In Brooklyn as a whole, the average number of manufacturing jobs declined to 33,967 in June 2003 from 88,800 in June 1984. In June 1958, the figure was 222,200, according to date from the state and the United States Department of Labor.

Now, retailers on nearby Bedford Avenue trade on that industrial past. One store, Brooklyn Industries, sells clothing and bags, while another, Spoonbill and Sugartown Booksellers, includes an image of the Domino plant in some of its advertising materials. A spokeswoman for the Department of City Planning said the plant was not likely to be turned into housing. Under a proposed rezoning of the Williamsburg and Greenpoint waterfront, the Domino plant site would remain industrial or commercial, possibly with limited retail offerings like a hardware store, or office space.

“We really wish to keep the current mix of zoning uses, which are characteristic of the neighborhood,” said the spokeswoman, Matie Maccracken. “We have not been approached to change it.”
Florida Crystals, the Florida agriculture conglomerate that is a co-owner of American Sugar, does not have immediate plans for the site when it closes later this year, said its vice president Jorge Dominicis.

“This wasn’t a decision made because we’ve got some other plan,” Mr. Dominicis said in a telephone interview. “We’re not that far along.” He said that while the company was reluctant to lay off workers, a decline in sugar demand had forced it to close the plant, one of two the company owns in the New York area. Some workers may find jobs at the other plant, in Yonkers, he said.

The Brooklyn plant endured the boom and decline of Brooklyn’s sugar industry – New York was the nation’s largest sugar refiner in the late 19th century – and the end has not come easily. Intermittent strikes since the 1980’s increased tensions between labor and management, closing the plant for 20 months from 1999 to 2001, and yesterday several workers disputed the way American Sugar was interpreting their severance pay plan.

Brendan McPartland, the union representative for many of the machinists and mechanics leaving yesterday, said that the plant closing was “a tragedy” and that the union would challenge the company’s interpretation of the severance agreement.

Jack Lay, president and chief executive of American Sugar, said the dispute would have to be resolved through arbitration.

Mr. Lay, 74, a former manager of the plant’s refinery, said the distinctive neon Domino Sugar sign, long a landmark for the residents of downtown Manhattan, would no longer shine.

“I think the sign is pretty much out of business,” he said. “We would love to have it on for advertising purposes, but it’s just become too difficult” to maintain.
1. Read Document 12. When Mr. Rednour says that he is a “dinosaur,” what does he mean?

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2. According to Document 12, how many more factories were there in Brooklyn in 1958 than in 2003?

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3. According to Document 12, how are businesses in the neighborhood using Brooklyn’s history to sell products?

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4. What does Document 12 say will happen to the iconic Domino Sugar sign?

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GLOSSARY

Annex: To add territory to one’s own by taking it

Arbitration: To reach an agreement or settlement through the use of an independent decision maker

Conglomerate: A number of businesses grouped together into a large corporation

Distillery: A place where liquor is manufactured

Gentrification: The process of renovating and improving a house or neighborhood so that it conforms to middle-class taste

Lager beer: A kind of beer that is light in color

Landmark: A place that is designated as historic

Lenape: A Native American group that resided in the area today known as New York City.

Midden: A pile of garbage

Scarce: Not enough to meet demand; occurring in small quantities

Severance: Payment given to someone who is dismissed from employment

Sewage: Waste water conveyed in sewers

Speculation: Forming a theory without firm evidence; Investment in property or business with hope of a gain but risk of a loss.

Strike: Refuse to work as a form of organized protest

Swill: A liquid byproduct of making beer

Swill milk: Milk from cows that are fed swill

Volstead Act: A US law enacted in 1919, taking effect in 1920, which forbid the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages