

“GO TO PFAFF’S!”

The History of a Restaurant and Lager Beer Saloon

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An Introduction to Charles Pfaff and His Cellar

On May 10, 1890, approximately three weeks after the death of Charles Ignatius Pfaff, the *Omaha Daily World-Herald* in Omaha, Nebraska, printed what is, perhaps, the most unusual obituary known to date for the New York restaurateur. The writer of the piece referred to Pfaff as “the Gannymede of Bohemia” in part because he was the bearer of countless cups of wine and mugs of lager beer for his literary and artistic clientele. But the most striking aspects of the obituary are the writer’s understated tone and his succinct assessment of Pfaff’s lifelong career in the restaurant and saloon business:

Pfaff is dead. He was not a bank president or a railway king and he had never been in politics, so the newspapers did not say much about his death. He was just a plain German who kept a saloon in a Broadway basement for over a quarter of a century. That is not much to become famous for, but it was all he could do and he did it well.¹

While it is true that Pfaff was never a prominent financier or a politician, the *World-Herald* obituary pays the restaurateur a somewhat backhanded compliment when it acknowledges the significance of the eating and drinking establishments in New York City that Pfaff presided over throughout his life. As it will soon become evident, this “plain German” was, in fact, a savvy saloonkeeper and businessman, and he was well respected by the many customers who visited one or more of his places.² Those who were familiar with him described him as a “rotund” man with “short, bristling hair” and “a large geniality of manner.” His friends and customers—many of whom contributed to a variety of newspapers and literary journals—ensured that Pfaff was known throughout the city and beyond as a “patron of letters” and a friend of “penniless scribbler[s]” because he “dispens[ed] vast quantities of beer and cheese” to the city’s professionals, French and German immigrants, soldiers, and laborers for nearly thirty years.³

In 1859, Charles Pfaff opened his most famous establishment—a wine and lager beer cellar located at 647 Broadway. Over the next two years, this address became a resort for a group of writers, artists, journalists, illustrators, and actors. These men and women are now regarded as the first group of “self-conscious and self-proclaimed” American bohemians.⁴ Dubbed “Pfaff’s” by these regular customers—who came to be known as Pfaffians—the beer cellar earned a reputation as “the trysting-place of the most careless, witty, and jovial spirits of New York” and as a basement haunt where “food and drink were cheap and good” and “habits of dress, speech, and thought, unconventional.”⁵

For the American bohemians, Pfaff’s cellar was not only their preferred meeting place, but it also became a significant site for their literary and artistic productions. Here, they composed and discussed their contributions to the *New-York Saturday Press*, a “saucy, clever, independent literary weekly,” edited by Henry Clapp, Jr., who was known

as the King of Bohemia among the Pfaffians.⁶ America's poet Walt Whitman received an incredible amount of attention—both positive and negative—in the *Press* since the paper published “no fewer than 46 items” that were either about or authored by the poet during the first year of its run.⁷ Whitman, one of the few members of the bohemian group who remains well known today, even composed his “Calamus #29” in the late 1850s, as well as a seemingly unfinished poem “The Two Vaults” in the early 1860s, while he was frequenting Pfaff's cellar. The American bohemians' articles and illustrations also appeared in *Vanity Fair* (1859-1863), a “humorous and satirical” weekly edited by William Allan Stephens that, according to Frank Luther Mott, was “born in Pfaff's cellar, bohemian gathering place of the wits of the fifties.”⁸ Julius Chambers, writing for the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* in 1906, explained that American literature owed a considerable debt to Clapp and his fellow bohemians because they “blazed the trail across the murky, unsurveyed heather of American Literary endeavor” as they sat at Pfaff's tables with their coffee and lager beer.⁹

But Pfaff's restaurant and lager beer saloon—with its strong ties to American literary history and nineteenth-century periodical culture—was neither the beginning nor the end of Charles Pfaff's reign as the proprietor of eating and drinking houses in the city. Although any history of Pfaff's is inextricably tied up with the development of the first American bohemia in antebellum New York, the story of Pfaff's saloons and restaurants began well before Henry Clapp, Jr. and his talented, but eccentric coterie discovered them and continued for many years after the group dissolved for good. After all, during his lifetime, Charles Pfaff opened and operated at least four—and possibly more—beer cellars and/or restaurants in New York, all of which, like the Bohemians' favorite haunt, have come to be called “Pfaff's.” It is easy to see how the existence of so many different places—all fondly referred to as “Pfaff's”—has led to confusion regarding both the distinctions between and the connections among the individual locations. Even though this book offers an account of the famous saloon at 647 Broadway, it aims to provide a detailed record—including physical descriptions of each of Charles Pfaff's establishments and an analysis of the clientele at each location. In doing so, this history of every known “Pfaff's” revises the narrative of American bohemia by examining the formation of the bohemian coterie at Pfaff's earliest locations and the complicated, but ultimately symbiotic relationships its members cultivated with the restaurants and with Charles Pfaff himself. This book also develops a story of Pfaff's that is separate from the rise of American bohemia. It considers the origins of Pfaff's before the American bohemians arrived and follows the restaurant through a series of moves in New York city, documenting changes in the appearance of the establishments and the customers they attracted once the group and, later, the owner himself left the famous cellar behind.

This project also brings to light previously unknown genealogical records for the bohemians’ “redoubtable host,” Charles Pfaff himself.¹⁰ It reveals for the first time the significant roles that Pfaff’s European heritage played in establishing and promoting each of his saloons and restaurants. Drawing on an extensive body of primary sources—including immigration documents, tax records, and newspaper advertisements—this book not only traces the history of Charles Pfaff, but it also charts the evolution of the various incarnations of “Pfaff’s,” which ranged from a tiny basement saloon in the late 1850s to a respectable hotel and restaurant from 1876 until Pfaff was forced to retire from the restaurant business in 1887.

Charles Ignatius Pfaff: Arrival in New York

According to the 1880 federal census for the city of New York, Charles Pfaff was born in Baden in Southwest Germany, in approximately 1819.¹¹ Certainly of German and, perhaps, also of Swiss origin, Pfaff spoke German and French “equally well, coming from . . . [a] section where the two languages are used.”¹² He also learned English; however, it is possible that he spoke with a noticeable accent or he may have found the vocabulary difficult since he “never . . . quite got used to the English language.”¹³ He had been a “caterer” by profession before joining the several hundred thousand who left Germany in the years following the revolution of 1848-1849.¹⁴ After leaving his native Baden behind, Pfaff moved to Switzerland, where he may have lived and worked for as many as six years before immigrating to the United States. Writing for the *Brooklyn Standard Union* in April 1887, immediately following the closing of Pfaff’s last restaurant, Amos J. Cummings reported that “More than thirty-two years ago Pfaff was a waiter in Basle, Switzerland” [sic].¹⁵ This means that prior to 1855, the future saloon owner was gaining valuable experience in the restaurant business and increasing his knowledge of wines and lager beer by serving customers in a Swiss restaurant or hotel. Pfaff’s time in Switzerland may help explain why some sources refer to him as “German-Swiss” while others dub him a “German from Switzerland.”¹⁶ Cummings’s timeline is consistent with multiple accounts that contend Pfaff arrived in New York in 1855, the same year that the poet Walt Whitman—a frequent visitor to Pfaff’s cellar in the late-1850s and the first year and a half of the Civil War—published his first edition of *Leaves of Grass*.¹⁷

According to Cummings, Pfaff came to the United States to pursue his dream of opening his own restaurant.¹⁸ It is possible that he traveled with his wife or with the young woman he would marry once they both arrived in the United States. In New York’s copious records of immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth-century, there are no shortage of German names such as “Karl” or “Carl” Pfaff or the

Americanized form: “Charles Pfaff.” At first glance, it appears that there are several potential candidates who could be the restaurant owner and probably many more whose records are no longer extant. Given the uncertainty of the exact date of Pfaff’s arrival and entry into the state, there are numerous biographies and genealogies that could be considered. In his recent book *The Antebellum Crisis & America’s First Bohemians*, Mark Lause notes that the “1880 U. S. census gives Charles’s birth as the same as one Karl Pfaff born to Michael Pfaff and Maria Anna Kohler on January 13, 1820, and christened the same day at Katholisch Elzach, Freiburg, [Baden].”¹⁹ However, an examination of “Karl’s” genealogical records reveals several biographical discrepancies between the two men. For example, this Karl Pfaff was married to Zaezilla Winterhalter also in Freiburg, Baden on September 28, 1854, and they are the parents of at least five children also christened in the same city, including Adelheid (December 9, 1846), Johanna (May 26, 1849), Fridericka or Fredericka (February 11, 1855), Franz Karl (November 14, 1857), and Maria (July 9, 1865).²⁰ In short, Karl and Zaezilla seemingly remained in Baden throughout the late 1840s and early 1850s, unlike Charles Ignatius Pfaff, who left Germany for Switzerland. The couple also appears to have had a child in Freiburg, Baden, as late as 1865, some ten years after Charles Pfaff came to the United States.

Even if Maria’s christening date or any other part of the vital information included happened to be recorded incorrectly, it seems implausible that this Karl Pfaff would have gone to the U.S. with or without his wife, while leaving the rest of their family behind. None of these children are mentioned as being associated with Charles Pfaff in New York. In fact, Pfaff was the father of only one or at least only one surviving child, Charles Pfaff, Jr., who, according to the same 1880 federal census, was born in New York in 1857 or 1858, not in Baden.²¹ Furthermore, at least by 1858, as I will show later, Pfaff had his own lager beer saloon in New York City, which makes it highly unlikely that the “Karl Pfaff” Lause points out is Charles Ignatius Pfaff.

I would now like to propose a previously unknown, and I would argue a stronger candidate that could be Charles I. Pfaff. Because this suggestion is based largely on genealogical research, an examination of several records will be necessary. Using information that is well documented—the April 1890 death of Charles Pfaff in Manhattan and his burial in Green-Wood Cemetery—to conduct searches of the records in both the *New York City Death Index* and Greenwood’s *Burial Search Database* turns up some surprising results.²² More specifically, searching the *NYC Death Index* for a last name that sounds like “Pfaff” with the first initial “C” and the known year of Pfaff’s death (1890) from his obituaries in New York newspapers turns up no viable results for “Charles” or “Carl” that could be the restaurant owner.²³ There are no “Karl Pfaffs” that

fit the known facts of Charles’s biography either. A search of Green-Wood’s records yields the same results: there is no one named “Charles,” “Carl,” or “Karl Pfaff” buried at the cemetery in 1890.

However, as it turns out, a reading of the entire list of deceased “Pfaff’s” in the *NYC Death Index* reveals that Charles Pfaff’s death certificate is seemingly filed under his “given name” and his “last name,” or “Ignatius Pfaff.” According to his record, Pfaff died on Wednesday, April 23, 1890, at the age of seventy-one, which is nearly consistent with the *New York Times* obituary that explains Pfaff died “in his seventy-second year” at his home. *The Times* suggests that Pfaff was, as some biographical data and census records indicate, born in 1819.²⁴ At the same time, reading through the list of persons with the surname Pfaff in *Green-Wood’s Burial Index* reveals that “Charles I. Pfaff” is listed here too as “Ignatius Pfaff,” probably because this is the spelling of the name supposedly included on the death certificate. According to Green-Wood’s records, Pfaff was interred at the cemetery on April 26, 1890, three days after his death.

This new information about “Ignatius Pfaff” may imply that he adopted the name “Charles” after entering the United States, adding it such that his given name of “Ignatius” became his middle name. One possible meaning of this discovery is that searching for “Carl” or “Karl” Pfaff in New York immigration records or in German genealogies and archives may not lead scholars to the restaurant owner in the U. S. or in his native Baden. It now becomes necessary to look for Pfaff’s early census and immigration records by using the Americanized “Ignatius” as found in the *NYC Death Index* and the German form(s) of the name including “Ignatz.” The results of such searches are particularly illuminating. In an 1855 New York State census record documenting the inhabitants of the fifth election district of the 14th Ward of New York City as of June 21, 1855, there is a listing for an “Ignatz Pfaff” and his wife “Sarah.”²⁵ At the time of the census, the Pfaff’s were living in a frame home valued at \$3000 with three other families, all of whom were immigrants from Ireland. Ignatz Pfaff is thirty-five-years-old, making his estimated birth year 1820 (1819 is also possible); his profession is recorded as “waiter.” His wife Sarah is thirty-years-old, making her estimated birth year 1825, and both are of “German” origin. The pair is also designated as “aliens” that have lived in the U. S. for only a short time. The slash marks in the census columns—intended to record the number of years an inhabitant has resided in the city—suggest that neither Ignatz nor Sarah has yet lived in New York City for a full year and that the pair arrived in the city during the census year.

Ignatz Pfaff is, therefore, approximately the right age, and he seems to have immigrated in 1855—the generally accepted date of arrival for Charles Pfaff. He had also worked as a waiter, which is the very career Pfaff is believed to have pursued in

Switzerland. A search of *Ancestry.com*'s "New York Passenger Lists Database, 1820-1957" for ship passengers with the same name or with names similar to those of "Ignatz" and "Sarah" Pfaff reveals that on January 6, 1855, a three-masted sailing ship called the "Corinthian" arrived at the Port of New York from Le Havre, France after 32 days at sea.²⁶ The ship's manifest lists the names of some 285 passengers, including two handwritten names, recorded one after the other: passengers 253 and 254, respectively, are "Ignaac Paff," age 35, from Baden and a "Sarah Ansler or Amster or Amsler" [illeg.] (sometimes transcribed as "Angler"), age 30 and here designated as "Suisse" (Swiss).²⁷

Given their identical ages, very similar names, and their shared intentions of remaining in New York, it seems likely that the Ignaac and Sarah on the ship's passenger list and the married couple Ignatz and Sarah that appear some five months later on the June 1855 census records are the same family, where "Ignaac" may be a mishearing or misspelling of "Ignatz," and "Sarah" is identified as "Swiss" rather than German. Even this discrepancy in Sarah's country of origin does not seem surprising given that, as previously mentioned, Charles Pfaff himself is frequently referred to as a German from Switzerland or German-Swiss. The possibilities that his wife might have been Swiss or that she, like Pfaff, might have left Baden for Switzerland, following her future husband to Basel during or just after the German revolution, all seem plausible. At any rate, Sarah's designation as "Swiss" only serves to further support the idea that "Ignaac Paff" is Charles Ignatius Pfaff since Switzerland was Pfaff's last known country of residence before he came to the United States. Ignatz and Sarah, therefore, should be counted among the leading candidates to be Charles Pfaff and his wife, who, with the help of Pfaff's skills as a waiter and the few supplies they could procure, would go on to open their own small eating establishment in New York at least by 1858 if not earlier.

While Charles Pfaff and his wife were setting up a restaurant and saloon, their first and seemingly only child, Charles Pfaff, Jr. was born in 1857 or 1858.²⁸ At approximately the same time, Charles Pfaff, Sr. was beginning the process of becoming a United States citizen. On March 11, 1857, he filed a "declaration of intent" or his "first papers" with the Superior Court of the City of New-York, a form that could be completed after he had lived in the U.S. for at least two years.²⁹ On October 6, 1860, some two or three years after his son's birth and a little more than five and a half years after settling in New York, Charles Pfaff became a naturalized citizen of the U. S. According to the *Index to Petitions for Naturalization filed in New York City (1792-1989)*, which contains a transcription of the original document. Pfaff described his occupation as "Merchant" and gave his address as "647 B'Way N. Y. C." The form, signed by Pfaff, certified that the bar-keeper was formally renouncing his allegiance to the "Grand Duke of Baden," that he had resided in the U.S. "for the continued term of five years at least," and that he

intended to remain in the country.³⁰ Again, Pfaff filed the form with the New York County Superior Court, and Andreas Willmann—who later became President of the German Republican Central Committee—served as a witness to Pfaff’s naturalization.³¹ The dates of both Pfaff’s declaration of intent and his petition for naturalization suggest that Pfaff could have immigrated to the U.S. in 1855. In fact, if the declaration of intent marks two years of residency for Pfaff, then he likely came to New York between January 1st and March 10, 1855, a window of time that closely coincides with the January 6, 1855, arrival of Ignaac Paff and Sarah Ansler/Amster/Amsler on the *Corinthian*.

Even though Charles Pfaff himself became a U.S. citizen, there may or may not be additional naturalization records for his wife, which is not unusual given that many nineteenth-century female immigrants did not become naturalized citizens of the U. S. even if their husbands did. In Wilk’s account, however, Pfaff and his wife opened their earliest eating house together, which would suggest that, much like Ignatz and Sarah, Charles Ignatius Pfaff would have come to the U.S. with his wife (or with his soon-to-be wife) such that they could set up their new business.³² Wilk even credits “Mütter Pfaff” (Mother Pfaff) with a talent for brewing “starke, schwarze Kaffee” (strong, black coffee) for the earliest customers.³³ As for her role in Pfaff’s later restaurants, no known newspaper articles or accounts written by Pfaff’s patrons ever mention Pfaff’s wife by her first name nor do any pieces—the exception being Wilk’s—indicate that she had any interactions with the American bohemian crowd.³⁴ She is not listed as one of the individuals living in Charles Pfaff’s household on the 1870 federal census, and Pfaff’s marital status is recorded as “widowed” on the 1880 federal census.³⁵ Although perhaps a stretch, given that Mrs. Pfaff’s origins and biography are so uncertain, the marked absence of her in almost all known writings about the cellar and in the 1870 and 1880 census records may suggest that she died before the American bohemians gathered at 647 Broadway and well before 1870. If Mrs. Pfaff did die before the bohemians became her husband’s regular customers, it is certainly possible that she may have passed away as early as 1857 or 1858 either during childbirth or sometime soon after the birth of Charles, Jr.

Even though Charles Pfaff Sr.’s identity is uncertain and some of his biographical information still remains a mystery, the saloonkeeper’s customers never forgot his striking appearance and his unmatched gentleness and liberality. The humorist Artemis Ward remembered Pfaff as a “bland and portly Teuton,” while other beer cellar patrons regarded him as a “jolly German.”³⁶ An obituary published in *The Daily Picayune* in New Orleans described Charles Pfaff as “a great, big, shaggy sort of a man, as hairy as Esau.”³⁷ The writer of the obituary went on to suggest that Pfaff left a lasting impression

on his clientele because “his heart was as big as his body, and his kindness made one forget his homeliness.”³⁸ Poet and editor Edmund Clarence Stedman, an occasional visitor to Pfaff’s, offered a similar portrait of the saloon owner as a “big, broad, large featured, shaggy browed man, with a heavy voice and the kindest gray eyes.”³⁹ Albert Parry noted that Pfaff was “rotund of form though devoid of excessive fat” and wrote that his “big head was crowned with short and bristling hair and lit up by a silent yet jovial smile,” while a writer for the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* pronounced him a “fat, cross looking German with one of the kindest hearts that ever beat in a human bosom. The *Eagle* writer also praised the restaurant owner’s generosity. He explained that regardless of Pfaff’s religious beliefs or lack thereof—“whether he was an agnostic or whether he drew his inspiration for life in the monkey development idea—those who knew him knew how kind and good he always was, especially to the men of literary calling.”⁴⁰

The First Pfaff’s

Despite Pfaff’s impeccable reputation for cheerfulness and generosity to writers, America’s poet, Walt Whitman offered a much less enthusiastic impression of the restaurateur, stating, “I took a dislike to him the first time I ever saw him.”⁴¹ But, like Pfaff’s other customers, the poet ultimately went on to praise the cellar’s proprietor, admitting that “he turned out to be a very agreeable, kindly man,” and “he was at that time the best judge of wine of anybody in the country.”⁴² It was this talent for selecting wines combined with Pfaff’s understanding of the arts of catering and cooking that helped him to establish himself in the restaurant and saloon business in New York. Pfaff and his wife are believed to have opened Pfaff’s first eating and drinking house on Broadway shortly after they settled in the city, at which time they had very little money, no more than a few kegs of beer, and some coffee.⁴³ There is some question as to whether the first Pfaff’s was opened at 685 Broadway near Amity Street, or if there was an even earlier eating-house. According to Cummings, Pfaff thought he had “realized the ambition of his life when he opened a restaurant of his own under the old Stevens House” immediately after coming to the city. Cummings contends that Pfaff struggled to make money in this location, so he “removed to a place on Broadway above Amity street,” a description that Cummings seems to use to refer to the cellar at 647 Broadway near Bleecker Street that the American bohemians patronized rather than the expected 685 Broadway, which was certainly a prior establishment and closer to Amity Street.⁴⁴ At the same time, because the Stevens House and the Amity Street Pfaff’s were some distance apart, it seems highly unlikely that Cummings has made the mistake of confusing the address of the Stevens House (25 Broadway) with the Amity Street saloon (685 Broadway).

It would not be beyond the realm of possibility, however, for Pfaff to have opened his first place in 1855 or 1856, beneath what would later come to be known as the Stevens House at 25 Broadway. After all, the Stevens House was going through a period of transition when Pfaff arrived. The Swiss-born restaurateurs Joseph and Lorenzo Delmonico had originally owned the hotel and restaurant. In 1855 Lorenzo Delmonico allowed his lease on the place to lapse, deciding to focus his efforts on a “more elaborate” establishment on the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street.⁴⁵ Approximately one year later, in 1856, the hotel at 25 Broadway was reopened as the Stevens House.⁴⁶ John O’Grady, Jr. is listed at this address as early as 1856 or 1857, and he was one in a succession of new proprietors for the hotel.⁴⁷ By 1858 the “Steven’s House (Late Delmonico’s)” advertised “Meals at all hours from 5 A. M. to 12 night,” “coaches in attendance for any part of the city,” and servants who spoke “French, German, Spanish, and English.”⁴⁸ Although there is no evidence beyond Cummings’s statement that Pfaff set up his own place near the Stevens House or that he was in any way associated with the hotel itself, it is easy to see why Pfaff—having just left his position as a waiter in Switzerland, and now seeking to establish his own eating house in the city—would have been attracted to this hotel. It is also tempting to speculate that Pfaff, who spoke German and French himself, might have found patrons among the hotel’s clientele and/or that the Stevens House might have presented Pfaff with other opportunities for employment as a waiter until he was able to afford and open his own eating establishment. Finally, given that Pfaff’s cellar restaurant at 647 Broadway was beneath the Coleman House Hotel, that the 653 Broadway location was also in a basement, and that even Pfaff’s final place consisted of a saloon with rooms to rent above it, it would not be unreasonable to think that he may have been similarly situated under the Stevens House early in his restaurant career.⁴⁹

Regardless of whether it was the first Pfaff’s or the second, it is certain that Charles Pfaff opened an eating and drinking house at 685 Broadway at least by 1858. In *Trow’s New York City Directory* printed in 1858 for the year ending on May 1, 1859, the entry for Charles Pfaff locates his “eating house” at this address, which was “two doors above Amity Street,” according to an October 1858 advertisement for another nearby business.⁵⁰ By setting up and operating an eating house, which was designated as a “restaurant, wine, lager” place in another city directory in 1859, Pfaff seems to have become one of the many German immigrants in New York who “specialized in beer halls and wine gardens” in hopes of attracting local customers “from particular neighborhoods, trades, vereins [Trans. organizations], or old country regions.”⁵¹ Together, Pfaff and his wife are believed to have managed the small cellar for “die Kutscher, Baurarbeiter, Handwerker und Botenjungen aus den Geschäftshäusern der Umgebung bedienten.”

[Trans. “the drivers, construction workers, craftsmen, and messenger boys from the surrounding business houses”].⁵²

A New York guidebook suggestively titled *The Night Side of New York: A Picture of the Great Metropolis After Nightfall* (1866) presents Charles Pfaff as a permanent fixture in this early establishment, constantly and carefully catering to the needs of his customers, and as an up-and-coming proprietor, responsible for a growing family. His young son, Charles Pfaff, Jr., could not have been more than one or two-years-old when he accompanied his father to the eating house: “You should have seen Pfaff himself, in those days, rushing about among his guests with a small child under his arm, just as if, in the hurry of the moment, he had mistaken C. Pfaff, Jr., for a napkin, and was going to wipe the table with him.”⁵³ Pfaff’s original circle of customers—those that witnessed him cleaning tables while proudly carrying his son around the cellar—likely included the aforementioned local laborers as well as European patrons of French and German origin that formed Pfaff’s “small and select clientele.”⁵⁴ However, “a knot of literary men and artists” soon discovered this cellar and made it their regular gathering place. This circle of writers and artists “‘drew’ and their channels for publishing a good thing carried round the name of Pfaff,” so that Pfaff’s tiny cellar was soon filled to capacity.⁵⁵

Henry Clapp, Jr. and the Discovery of Pfaff’s

It is possible that this burgeoning group of new customers at 685 Broadway was made up of some of the members of the first coterie of American bohemians who later gathered in Pfaff’s basement at 647 Broadway, including their leader, the New England writer and editor Henry Clapp, Jr. However, there are many versions of Clapp’s and the bohemians’ discovery of Pfaff’s, and there seems to be much confusion over which location (which address) this group patronized first. The author of *The Night Side of New York*, for example, suggests that a crowd of literary customers discovered Pfaff’s (685 Broadway) and followed Charles Pfaff when he moved to the subsequent (647 Broadway) location. Other accounts contend that it was Pfaff’s at 647 Broadway that the American bohemians found, but their authors propose dates, as many as three years apart, for the bohemians’ initial meetings in the beer cellar. According to historian Mark Lause, for example, Henry Clapp, Jr. and his friend—humorist and proto-science fiction writer Fitz-James O’Brien—entered Pfaff’s beer cellar located at 647 Broadway “at some point in 1856.”⁵⁶ In “The New York Bohemians,” Rufus Rockwell Wilson explains how, upon “lounging into Pfaff’s old place one day in 1856, in company with Fitz-James O’Brien,” Clapp was so impressed with Pfaff’s beer that the two men and several of their closest friends began gathering at the cellar on a regular basis.⁵⁷ Here, Pfaff’s “old place” also seems to mean 647 Broadway. William Winter, a former Pfaff’s patron and associate of

the American bohemian group, recalled, “Our place of meeting, in 1859-’60 was a restaurant, in a basement, on the west side of Broadway, a short distance north of Bleecker street, kept by a German named Pfaff.”⁵⁸ Winter suggests that Clapp “had been so fortunate as to discover that place soon after it was opened,” a statement that clearly points to the 647 Broadway location, meaning that, as Winter recalled it, Clapp’s earliest association with Pfaff’s had occurred there.

Because the American bohemians’ own accounts of their early days at Pfaff’s differ from that published in *The Night Side of New York*, it is difficult to determine precisely when and where they first came to an eating and drinking house owned by Charles Pfaff. Nevertheless, I can shed some light on their early years at Pfaff’s establishments. If Clapp and the men and women who would form the American bohemian coterie began going to Pfaff’s in 1856, it remains uncertain as to whether they went to the eating house at 685 Broadway or to the address of an even earlier and as yet unknown establishment. What is certain is that in 1856, these individuals could not have discovered the Pfaff’s at 647 Broadway, which they frequented just before the beginning of the Civil War, because the saloon did not yet exist and, indeed, Pfaff would not open a saloon at this address until three years later, in 1859, as a removal notice, published in the *New York Herald* confirms.⁵⁹ It is also worth clarifying here that the restaurant and saloon at No. 653 Broadway opened at an even later date, in approximately 1864; thus, the bohemians could not have gone to that address until the last years of the Civil War. In short, if the bohemians discovered Pfaff’s in 1859, they could have gone to the 685 establishment until approximately the end of March; afterwards, it would have been necessary for them to accompany Pfaff as he moved into his new saloon at 647 Broadway.

It may have been in 1856, then, approximately three years before Walt Whitman met the American bohemians at Pfaff’s, that Clapp—the leader or the “King” of that talented group—decided that an early version of Pfaff’s was an ideal location for men and women interested in practicing *la vie bohème* in New York. It may have also been as late as 1859, just months before Clapp’s coterie would make 647 Broadway famous, that he chose this particular address as the future home of American Bohemia. In either case, Clapp’s own travels in Europe no doubt influenced the place he selected and the men and women that he helped to bring together in a basement beer cellar in antebellum New York. When Clapp was in his early-thirties, he had lived and traveled abroad, spending three years in London before moving to Paris in 1849.⁶⁰ In Europe, Clapp, “the product of a New England reform tradition that almost always denounced sex, alcohol, tobacco, and coffee as physically harmful and spiritually sinful,” started smoking, consumed beer and other alcoholic beverages, and drank coffee with milk and sugar.⁶¹ In addition to

London, which Clapp referred to fondly as a “dear old fogie metropolis” that he knew “by heart,” he visited Oxford, Cambridge, Windsor, and Brighton.⁶² Yet what he recalled best were not England’s cities, but rather, its places of entertainment. As Clapp put it in an article for the *Saturday Press*, “I supped at Evan’s, bowled at Kilpack’s, heard “Sam Hall” at the Cider Cellars, [and] played chess at the Cigar Divan.”⁶³

After leaving England, Clapp went to Paris, and while he was there, he frequented a Coffee Concert located about ten minutes’ walk from his room at the Hôtel Corneille.⁶⁴ Although Clapp estimated there were at least fifty such coffee concerts in Paris, he felt that only this one—his “favorite place of amusement”—was worth describing in such vivid detail to the *Press*’s readership. According to Clapp, the establishment was “a queer multiangular-shaped hall, abounding in mysterious alcoves and corners, and capable of holding from four to five hundred persons.”⁶⁵ The room itself contained “about a hundred deal-wood tables,” each of which could seat about four persons. Each patron placed his or her order and then settled in to watch the singers and performers on the Concert Room’s richly decorated stage. Clapp enjoyed the performances and the place’s conversational atmosphere, and the Coffee Concert became part of the “realm of bohemians,” where Clapp and crowds of young students (among others) gathered to smoke, drink coffee, and talk.⁶⁶

When Clapp returned to New York in the winter of 1853-54, he longed for hangouts like the Coffee Concert and the English cider cellars he had visited in Europe, or like those establishments with atmospheres conducive to conversation that the writer Henry Mürger had then only recently described in his book *Scènes de la Vie de Bohème* (1851).⁶⁷ Some time later, as early as 1856 or as late as 1859, Clapp may have stumbled upon the perfect place to found an American Bohemia: Pfaff’s cellar. One account suggests that Clapp discovered Pfaff’s when he was living in Broadway, near Bleecker. At the time, he was searching the nearby establishments for an inexpensive cup of coffee. By chance, he descended into Pfaff’s cellar, where he found coffee as well as food and lager bier at cheap prices.⁶⁸ As previously mentioned, Lause and Wilson state that both Clapp and Fitz-James O’Brien found the beer cellar and subsequently recommended it to their friends because of the taste and the quality of Pfaff’s beer and/or his other drink offerings, particularly his coffee.⁶⁹ In an article for *Harper’s Magazine*, George Parsons Lathrop maintains that three contributors to late 1850s periodicals had planned to meet to discuss ideas for a new weekly paper, perhaps, the *Saturday Press*, the newspaper that Clapp edited and to which several of the American bohemians made significant contributions throughout its brief run. When it began to snow, the men decided to take cover in a “dingy resort below the level of the sidewalk, where beer was sold in a room

screened off from the domestic department by a calico curtain. This was Pfaff’s; and thus arose the ‘Pfaff group.’”⁷⁰

Still another account credits Fitz James O’Brien with introducing the American bohemian group to Pfaff’s. In the *Brooklyn Standard Union*, Amos Cummings details how O’Brien went to Pfaff’s and ordered coffee even though “he had been drinking cognac, and to one who has crucified his appetite with cognac the best coffee tastes insipid.” O’Brien sampled his steaming beverage, then he “cursed his coffee and declared that he would never again visit Pfaff’s, but he did, and the next day, when he quaffed the Teuton’s coffee, it addressed itself so strongly to his palled palate that he was delighted.” Indeed, O’Brien was so pleased with Pfaff’s coffee that he wrote an article about the cellar for a New York periodical and, as a result, “the honest German suddenly found himself famous.”⁷¹

But regardless of whether the discovery of Pfaff’s came as a result of Clapp’s thirst for coffee, an unexpected snow shower, or a combination of O’Brien’s taste for cognac and his journalistic skills, the establishment, with its dark vault, selection of European spirits, and French and German fare, almost certainly reminded Clapp of the years he spent socializing with other writers and artists in the Bohemian cafes and underground rathskellars of Paris and London. It was this European cultural and social scene that Clapp aimed to recreate on American soil—in the presence of and in an establishment owned by Charles Pfaff. After all, it was Clapp’s “effort and influence that made Pfaff’s into something like a Bohemian restaurant of the Latin Quarter.”⁷²

When Henry Clapp and/or Fitz James O’Brien praised Pfaff’s drinks in the pages of the *Saturday Press* and among their acquaintances, other writers, artists, and actors joined them at the cellar:

Then the old cellar was found to be inadequate to the increasing custom of the place, and for years, Pfaff located himself in a larger one, on Broadway, near Bleecker street. This cave became quite a celebrated resort for artists, critics, actors, and the literary brotherhood at large, having, besides, its large entourage of German, French and other foreign custom, which gave a somewhat European character to the place.⁷³

In this scenario, Pfaff’s beer cellar—that “celebrated resort”—located at 647 Broadway is not Charles Pfaff’s first place, but it is at least his second, one that opened only after the first members of the American bohemian group patronized an earlier site and their crowd grew too big for the space. In other words, the presence of this new literary and artistic clientele, who were fast making Pfaff’s their regular meeting place, are precisely what prompted Pfaff to move to 647 Broadway. Pfaff’s faithful customers followed him to his new place and resumed their gatherings at a slightly larger Pfaff’s—a cellar that attracted

French and German-speaking patrons and, by extension, cultivated a distinctly European ambiance that appealed immensely to Clapp and an American bohemian group fascinated by international travel, foreign languages, and the world news of the day.

Pfaff's "New Wein and Lager Bier Saloon and Restauration"

What this sequence of events means is that when Walt Whitman climbed down a narrow staircase into the subterranean space of Pfaff's cellar at 647 Broadway in the winter of 1859, the place was still very new. It had only been open at this location for approximately six months—since the end of March 1859.⁷⁴ In a removal notice that appeared in *The New York Herald* on March 31, 1859, Charles Pfaff described the cellar as a "New Wein and Lager Bier Saloon and Restauration" (See Figure 1, Appendix A).⁷⁵ In addition to his announcement about this move to a larger and better space, Pfaff includes a message to all his previous customers as part of the notice: "CHARLES PFAFF having removed from 685 to 647 Broadway, begs leave to thank his friends and the public generally for past favors, and most respectfully solicits a continuance of the same at his new and elegant saloon."⁷⁶ This notice, therefore, not only signals the closure of his former eating house, but it also functions as the first advertisement for what would soon become his most famous cellar.

The *New York Herald* removal notice offers evidence both of Pfaff's proficiency in multiple languages and of his desire to attract customers of German and French origins because he includes the German spellings of "bier" and "wein" and the French word "Restauration." Pfaff's use of "Restauration," a term closely related to "Restaurant" may reflect his interest in French wines and cuisine, as well as his time as a waiter in Switzerland since, as Karen Karbiener points out, "Restauration" is "still used today to designate less formal eateries in Switzerland and France."⁷⁷ But even more significantly, the notice provides approximate dates for Pfaff's move in late March from 685 Broadway to the basement location at 647 Broadway, an address where Pfaff was already operating his business by March 31, 1859. Pfaff's saloon would remain here during the three years that Walt Whitman frequented it before he left New York for Virginia and then the Civil War hospitals, and it continued at this location until 1864, the year before the Confederate surrender at Appomattox.

An article published in the *New-York Saturday Press* described the location of Pfaff's new saloon and gave instructions for getting there as follows:

On the shore of that sea which is always troubled, and tossing in a madness of omnibuses and target-shooters, and men, women, and children who are too late for something—Broadway—but far enough removed to catch only the hoarse echoes of its multitudinous thunder . . . there is a saloon.⁷⁸

Pfaff’s, then, was on the shoreline; it was a liminal space of shifting sands and constant flux, where the tumultuous sea of Broadway stopped and the dry land upon which the shops and restaurants stood, began. Here, Pfaff’s seems to be a place outside of time, away from the omnibuses and people who are forever rushing on to their next destination or appointment. In fact, because it was situated below street level, the cellar could also offer a welcome respite for writers, artists, and tourists alike to hide out in between attempts to navigate the city streets.

Recent studies of international and American bohemias, respectively, define the very concept of “bohemia” in language that is similar to the *New-York Saturday Press* reporter’s attempts to describe Pfaff’s and its location. Daniel Cottom, for example, points out that bohemia is “outcast in time as well as geography,” while Joanna Levin shows how American bohemia “functioned as a liminal terrain,” a site from which to re-examine “bourgeois work and leisure ethics, gender roles and spiritual commitments.”⁷⁹ In effect, by mapping Pfaff’s onto the shoreline, the reporter positions the cellar as a locus within and simultaneously separate from New York City. As a result Pfaff’s becomes a site where Clapp and the American bohemian coterie could rethink and ultimately challenge some of the aforementioned “habits of dress, speech, and thought” that characterize the lives of those families—those men, women, and children passing overhead on Broadway.

Yet, according to the *Press*, Pfaff’s was not simply positioned at the intersection of sand and ocean; entering it was like venturing into an undersea realm. The writer goes so far as to equate the cellar’s rooms to “some coral home of happy mermaids, right below the distracted main.” Here, the reporter presents the cellar as a well-kept secret locale, where patrons drank and conversed in their own underground society, just below the “chaotic” city and the “distracted” crowds. Nothing of “light-house alluring significance” directed patrons to the cellar. There was merely a “modest” sign posted outside the building on which the words “Pfaff” and “Restauration” were only “faintly” discernable.⁸⁰ To put it mildly, Pfaff’s was not the easiest place to find or access. But those literary and artistic patrons who were in the know, so to speak, were quite familiar with how to steer themselves through the crowds, and nightly, they set a direct course for the saloon. Once prospective customers saw the sign and descended a set of steps leading from the street above to the basement below, they found themselves, at last, inside Charles Pfaff’s basement. One of the first persons they likely met when they entered was the proprietor himself.⁸¹ Pfaff could most often be found behind the bar, where he kept “a watchful eye on the few uneven stairs, which led to the crowded sidewalk, ready to greet a distinguished visitor” with the offer of a meal or a drink.⁸²

Even though the aforementioned newspaper writer discussed Pfaff's in decidedly oceanic terms, the 647 Broadway location was most often referred to as "the cave." It was modeled on underground rathskellers and grottos—popular drinking and eating-houses in Europe.⁸³ The journalist and novelist Joseph Lewis French called the New York nightspot the "American Mermaid" and also compared it to Ben Jonson's "Apollo," where the "mighty men of Elizabeth" had gathered during the English Renaissance.⁸⁴ Bayard Taylor, a poet and occasional visitor to the beer cellar, thought the "dim, smoky, confidential atmosphere" of Pfaff's was more like Auerbach's cellar in Leipzig.⁸⁵ With its low ceilings, stone walls, and even a few barrels and hogsheads scattered throughout the rooms, it is not surprising that the beer cellar's literary patrons would liken it to taverns in England and Germany, where gifted writers had gathered in centuries past. It also seems fitting that the newspaper editor Charles Congdon would see Pfaff's, the center of American bohemia, somewhat romantically, as "quite mediæval and gypsy-like."⁸⁶ Congdon's words connect the American bohemians and their gathering place to the young artists, also referred to as bohemians, in Paris in the 1830s who adopted medieval dress and speech to express their opposition to tradition.⁸⁷ The Old World atmosphere at Pfaff's, then, might be attributed both to the décor of the cellar and to the lifestyle of the French bohemians and artists whose practices the American bohemians subsequently imported.

Charles Pfaff took great pride in his "mediæval" saloon, but the cellar's interior provided a stark contrast to larger restaurants and to some of the popular New York oyster cellars, which were furnished in far more luxurious and updated styles. According to Artemus Ward, nearly all of the fashionable oyster cellars had a marble countertop, where customers could order drinks and another counter where oysters were served. He recalled, "[At the oyster cellar] there are sure to be about a dozen boxes or alcoves, each furnished with its little table and well stuffed seats, to exclude the occupant from view of other customers." Some oyster cellars even had "one or two, if not more, cabinets or private rooms for parties wishing to sup quietly."⁸⁸ Charles McKay, editor of the *Illustrated London News*, reported: "In Walking up Broadway by day or by night—but more especially by night—the stranger cannot but be struck by the great number of 'Oyster Saloons,' 'Oyster and Coffee Saloons,' and 'Oyster and Lager Beer Saloons.'"⁸⁹ He also took notice of New York's numerous drinking houses, observing that many were "like the drinking saloons in Germany, situated in vaults or cellars, with steps from the street." In contrast to the earlier German cellars upon which they are based, the city's American versions were often located in "underground stories of stately commercial palaces of granite, brown stone, or white," a statement that seems at least partially

applicable to Pfaff’s establishments in the sense that he operated a series of basement saloons situated beneath other businesses.⁹⁰

Although Pfaff called his newest establishment “an elegant saloon,” it was more often remembered for its food and drinks, the sounds of loud voices and laughter, and the smell of smoke from the kitchen and from customers’ pipes than for its decor. As poet and Whitman admirer Richard Henry Stoddard explained, Pfaff’s, unlike the oyster saloons, was not such a “spick-span” place; it did not sport white walls, and it had tables rather than a section of stalls.⁹¹ The same writer that located Pfaff’s deep beneath the “sea” of Broadway also deemed the beer cellar “a plain place . . . unhung with the pictures of masters [and] unsoftened by carpet.” Pfaff’s lacked “perfumed rooms,” and there was no “elegant music” playing while its customers drank and dined.⁹² Unlike the modern restaurants and barrooms that were clean, carefully decorated, and well lit, Pfaff’s had no “mirror-lined walls, richly carved apartments, carpeted floors, [or] flashing electric lights.”⁹³ In the words of one Pfaffian, the beer cellar “was a hole beneath the surface of the street, ill-lighted, ill-ventilated, and ill-kept.”⁹⁴

Once patrons stepped into Pfaff’s cellar, they found themselves inside a large apartment beneath the Coleman House Hotel. According to Karen Karbiener, “the distinguishing feature of the interior of Pfaff’s was the division of its space into two distinct rooms: the main room of the saloon and an area below the vaulted sidewalk of Broadway.”⁹⁵ The dimly lit main room was furnished with a bar and a few tables and chairs.⁹⁶ Even Artemus Ward, who was quite fond of Pfaff’s, admitted that the “furnishings were rough . . . a counter, shelves, [and] some barrels.”⁹⁷ Likewise, William Winter, another associate of the bohemian group, recalled that Pfaff’s had “dirt floors” and similarly noted that the “cellar’s rooms were roughly and rather sparsely furnished.”⁹⁸ Several former beer cellar patrons, presumably referring to the main room, report that it contained “a barroom counter that was perpetually covered with suds, a few shelves, some barrels and a single clock.”⁹⁹ Beyond the bar, the vault “stretched lengthwise to the right of the staircase.”¹⁰⁰ This arrangement allowed customers to order their drinks at the bar before taking a seat in the main room of the saloon or, as was the case with Whitman and the American bohemians, before retiring to the vault.

The vault at Pfaff’s was “a special room, arched at the top” with “a weird, dull, and gloomy appearance” that extended under the sidewalks of Broadway. In the middle of the space, Pfaff had installed a large table that was reserved especially for the use of the American bohemian group.¹⁰¹ This table accommodated between fifteen and thirty persons, and Henry Clapp, Jr., could often be found sitting at the head of it.¹⁰² In her novel, “A Long Journey” (1867), Rebecca Harding Davis offers a detailed portrait of the vault portion of Pfaff’s, characterizing it as a small alcove with wine barrels against the

walls and the a pine table around which the bohemians assembled. She went on to explain that the entrance to the vault opened into the outer room, offering “a glimpse of similar tables about which were gathered some quiet Dutch workmen.”¹⁰³ This description is strikingly similar to the barroom scene Whitman presents in *Calamus* #29:

ONE flitting glimpse, caught through an interstice,
 Of a crowd of workmen and drivers in a bar-room,
 around the stove, late of a winter night—And
 I unremarked, seated in a corner;
 Of a youth who loves me, and whom I love, silently
 approaching, and seating himself near, that he
 may hold me by the hand;
 A long while, amid the noises of coming and going
 —of drinking and oath and smutty jest,
 There we two, content, happy in being together,
 speaking little, perhaps not a word.¹⁰⁴

Whitman gives his readers a single, brief look at a barroom through the eyes of the poem’s persona (the “I”) who appears to be one of its male patrons. The poet’s lines suggest that the persona is seated in one room or corner of a barroom, which could be Pfaff’s cellar, and hears the usual sounds of “coming and going” as he watches the other beer-cellar regulars, trying to get a look, even if only briefly, at the workers and drivers enjoying an evening of drink and conversation in another area of the bar. The vantage point that Whitman gives his poetic persona is consistent with both Harding-Davis’s fictional portrait of Pfaff’s and with the fact that Pfaff’s may have consisted of both a vaulted space reserved for the bohemians and another main seating area with a bar. If there was, indeed, a curtain separating the two spaces, then it is tempting to speculate that Whitman’s “one flitting glimpse” through an interstice might have been what the poetic persona could see of a group of workmen congregating around a stove through the gap in that curtain. In either case, it seems as if the persona is looking out from one room of Pfaff’s in an attempt to see what is happening in the other.

Even though the bohemians may have had seats reserved for them in the vault portion of the restaurant, it is quite certain that Pfaff’s rooms were not as clean nor were the chairs as comfortable as some customers might have liked. Since the cellar was but “ill-ventilated,” the rooms would have been filled with smoke because food was constantly being prepared and many of the customers enjoyed Pfaff’s cigars.¹⁰⁵ The *Eastern State Journal* described the most prevalent odor of that “queer Bohemian land”

at Pfaff’s as “the fragrance of tobacco smoked in pipes of every style, from the red-clay to the meerchaum.”¹⁰⁶ Journalist John Swinton, an occasional visitor at the beer cellar, went so far as to nickname it “Pfaff’s privy” because it “smelled atrociously” and even Artemus Ward acknowledged that parts of the cellar looked “somewhat unsavoury.”¹⁰⁷ At the same time, because Pfaff’s was below street-level, it “was always very nearly dark, even in the daytime”; one account suggests that the establishment was lit only by a “single gaslight.”¹⁰⁸

It is also unlikely that Pfaff’s was the kind of place that offered the American bohemians and the other beer cellar patrons much peace and quiet since, according to Whitman; the Pfaffians were rowdy and loud themselves. However, they also heard far more than what the *New-York Saturday Press* writer had called the “hoarse echoes” of the city above while they sat at Pfaff’s tables.¹⁰⁹ Whitman’s poem the “The Two Vaults” points out the boisterousness of Pfaff’s patrons as they “eat and drink and carouse,” and the poet even implies that visitors to Pfaff’s are expected to “Drink wine—drink beer—raise [their] voice,” in order to call out greetings that would be audible to fellow Pfaffians as soon as they appear on the upper step and begin their descent into the cellar (See Figure 1, Appendix B). Whitman also emphasizes the non-stop noise of the “continual crowds” walking on the street above when he writes, “overhead, pass the myriad feet of Broadway.” Lloyd Morris offers a similar interpretation of what the Pfaffians might have been able to hear from the streets above: “The noise of the afternoon promenade on Broadway drifted down into the cave, and at night, it echoed [with] the Niagara roar of omnibuses.”¹¹⁰

Given the smell, the noise, and the rough furnishings at Pfaff’s, it is hard not to wonder what it was that actually drew both a literary and a French and German speaking crowd to this particular cellar. After all, Charles Pfaff’s basement was one among many establishments on Broadway. In 1859, the very year that Pfaff moved to the 647 address, there was no shortage of saloons for Henry Clapp, Jr., Fitz James O’Brien, and the American bohemian group to choose from. They could have become regulars at Taylor’s Saloon at 555 Broadway, an establishment Walt Whitman had visited with the writer Bronson Alcott.¹¹¹ They could have gone to Thompson’s Saloon located on the lower floor of 359 Broadway, which also housed Brady’s Daguerreotype Gallery.¹¹² There were more than ten oyster and/or lager bier saloons within walking distance of Pfaff’s, including Antonio Cabrol’s lager bier saloon, (422 ¼ Broadway), William H. Skinner’s Oyster Saloon (426 Broadway), Jahr & Fiedler’s lager beer saloon (418 Broadway), and Joseph Riley’s saloon and eating house at 600 Broadway.¹¹³ And it is likely that many of these saloons would have actually been more convenient to enter and patronize than Pfaff’s. After all, Karen Karbiener notes that because Pfaff’s was beneath the Coleman

House, the beer cellar's American bohemian clientele may not have allowed to walk through the hotel's "elegant main floor" at all hours. She suggests that they could only enter the beer cellar after 5PM via the set of stairs that descended from the sidewalk and into the vault.¹¹⁴ Yet, even though entrance to the cellar may have required putting up with this inconvenience, Pfaff's soon became the bohemians' favorite New York hangout.

Pfaff's, as Clapp and the bohemians soon learned, had much to recommend it. The cellar's location on Broadway near Bleecker Street meant it was in the heart of a rapidly expanding American city, but this address also contributed to the "European character" of the place since at least by the 1860s and 1870s this area was "more characteristic of Paris than of New York . . . it remind[ed] one strongly of the Latin Quarter."¹¹⁵ Furthermore, Pfaff took pride in offering his customers imported products such as German beer and Cuban cigars. According to an advertisement published in both the *Saturday Press* and in the humor magazine *Vanity Fair*, Pfaff's had "the best viands, the best lager bier, the best coffee and tea, [and] the best Havana cigars" (See Figure 2, Appendix A). The bar owner also provided his patrons with up-to-date reading material, namely a wide selection of local periodicals and international newspapers, which contributed to the "worldliness" of the establishment.¹¹⁶ In other words, he not only offered customers copies of *The Press* and *Vanity Fair*, but he was also known to grant them access to news in German, French, and Italian, as well as British and American English.¹¹⁷ According to the *New York Evening Express*, by 1867, Pfaff obtained at least some of these papers from Austrian-born newspaper dealer August Brentano: "[T]he most famous foreign newspapers are always to be had of Brentano—and he has among his subscribers not only the leading residents of Fifth avenue and his vicinity, but the principal Hotels and restaurants, from the New York to the Brevoort, and from Delmonico's to Pfaff."¹¹⁸

It is important to point out, however, that even though Pfaff offered a selection of foreign newspapers in several European languages, it is clear that he actively sought out and attempted to maintain a French-speaking clientele. As early as 1862, he began what would become a long-standing advertising relationship with the *Courrier des Etats-Unis*, a French language newspaper published by French immigrants in New York. In January 1862 he promoted his "Café et Restaurant De PFAFF 647 Broadway (BASEMENT)."¹¹⁹ In this advertisement he draws attention to his stores of wine and beer, the selection of French cuisine served in the cellar, and to the French newspapers that his customers might peruse while drinking coffee or eating a hot meal (See Figure 3, Appendix A). He also promised his patrons that the cellar's foods and drinks were available at "Prix Modérés" or "Moderate Prices." In 1864 and 1865 notices and/or ads for his next place

at 653 Broadway also appeared in the *Courrier*, and even his final location, at 9 W. 24th Street was advertised in the paper as a “Restaurant Francais” [trans. French Restaurant] rather than a German one in the late 1870s.¹²⁰

Pfaff’s advertising practices and his efforts over many years to keep reading materials in a variety of languages on hand in his establishments suggest the diversity, multiculturalism, and multilingualism of his regular patrons. It is likely a visitor to Pfaff’s would hear conversations in several languages taking place among other customers and/or between Charles Pfaff himself and his staff and patrons on a daily basis. Any patron of Pfaff’s, then, might expect the cellar to have the reading material, as well as the ambiance and conversation of a European salon. Pfaff’s would also come to embody its proprietor’s own European cultural background and work experiences since it functioned as both a German lager cellar and a restaurant with French cuisine and imported wines that likely reflected his time and training in Switzerland. It is not surprising that, upon visiting Pfaff’s, Henry Clapp was inspired to form an American bohemian group since Pfaff’s place seemed designed to appeal to just such a crowd of writers, actors, and artists who favored French bohemianism. The worldliness of Pfaff’s almost certainly endeared the cellar to the future King of Bohemia. And it was this vibrant environment—with its hint of Old World mystery, its foreign atmosphere, its eccentric American bohemian community, and its congenial host—that attracted an out-of-work, out-of-luck, and probably curious Walt Whitman along with many other literary and artistic patrons in 1859.

“The Best Viands, The Best Lager Beer”: Food, Drink, and Service at Pfaff’s

In addition to offering a space for Walt Whitman and the American bohemians to have conversations about the latest national and world news with other patrons, another main attraction of Pfaff’s was the menu. Pfaff’s seems to have featured German fare, but clearly included French dishes at some locations.¹²¹ Charles Pfaff was an incomparable owner, and he had earned a reputation among his patrons for being “a model host” because he “personally looked after the comfort of each of his guests.”¹²² Pfaff promoted the dishes that he and/or his cook prepared by posting several placards, positioning them so as to draw “attention to the exquisite quality of the roast beef,” and he served some “traditional German specialties.”¹²³ His cook made delicious German pancakes or “pfanne-kuchen” as well as beefsteak with onions and salted herring.¹²⁴ The cook likely also prepared Pfaff’s “famous liver and bacon,” and served up “Schweitzer kase [Swiss Cheese], Schwarz brod [Black Bread], Frankfurtur wurst [Frankfurter wurst], and even sauerkraut.”¹²⁵ The American bohemians might have ordered fried breakfast fish, eggs and/or sweetbreads at the beer cellar.¹²⁶ They would have been able to sample Limberger

cheese, German sausages, “Welsh-rarebit,” and bean soup.¹²⁷ Fitz James O’Brien paid tribute to Pfaff and his menu in a spirited toast he may have composed at the beer cellar, writing, “And here’s to Pfaff, our redoubtable host, / who’s equal to cutlet to soup and to roast.”¹²⁸ One writer for *Vanity Fair* even credited Pfaff with serving fresh vegetables in the cellar: “Early in May, I ate radishes and asparagus. Did I get those esculents in the Country? Not any. At PFAFF’S in New York.” The writer went on to explain that the vegetables “were grown by the little-two penny gardeners, about Ninetieth street on . . . Manhattan Island,” a statement that suggests Pfaff favored locally grown foods and/or a farm-to-table approach to cooking at least when it came to these particular vegetables.¹²⁹ And after a dinner of the aforementioned French and German cuisines with sides of recently harvested produce, Pfaff’s patrons could order slices of pie, thereby finishing their meals with the restaurant keeper’s delicious desserts.¹³⁰

On the opening night of the equestrian play *Mazeppa* in New York in June 1861, Walt Whitman and the bohemians may have been present at the 647 Broadway location of Pfaff’s for an even more elaborate series of feasts. The meals were meant to honor Adah Isaacs Menken, a fellow bohemian, who became “the reigning female celebrity actress of the Civil War period.”¹³¹ Menken had already received considerable attention in the national press, in 1860, the year before the dinner at Pfaff’s, when she claimed to have married the pugilist John Heenan. But when Heenan denied the marriage, journalists labeled Menken a bigamist and prostitute.¹³² Therefore, by 1861, Menken was already “a sensationalist actress, the victim of love and unethical journalism, and . . . one of a self-selected group of New York literati, a bohemian.”¹³³ On the night Menken first took the stage in the role of the Tartar prince in *Mazeppa*, a play that involved “faux nudity, war, and horse stunts,” Pfaff himself is said to have prepared “a platter of clams on the half shell, a tureen of chicken soup, a trencherman’s sirloin steak, and a deep-dish pie of mixed fruit” for her before she went onstage.¹³⁴ Pfaff then provided Menken with a “thick turkey sandwich to tide her over during intermission” at the theater. Following the performance, Menken, accompanied by Whitman, Fitz James O’Brien, and her director, returned to Pfaff’s, and the group enjoyed “a hastily arranged celebration supper”—the second of its kind that Pfaff had prepared for the bohemians that day—and, this time, for Menken, the meal included a gumbo of shrimp and oysters and a “slab of roast beef.”¹³⁵

A description of a casual lunch that might have also taken place at 647 Broadway offers further insight into the establishment’s usual daytime fare. In 1874, a writer for the *Utica Daily Observer* recalled having visited an unspecified location of Pfaff’s years earlier, at midday, where he saw the actresses Getty Gay and Ada Clare—whom the Pfaffians had dubbed the “Queen of Bohemia”—having lunch.¹³⁶ The writer estimated that Clare was then approximately twenty-five years old and in love with the pianist

Louis Moreau Gottschalk, which suggests that the sighting of Clare occurred in the late 1850s. He went on to write that the young woman was then “glittering in the literary firmament,” and “she bore signs in her dress and jewelry that she was yet a favorite of fortune.” The reporter admits that finding these actresses at the beer cellar in the middle of the day was unusual; nevertheless, the pair was “seated at the table . . . enjoying their salt herring, black bread, and lager beer.”¹³⁷ With this wide selection of German dishes available at the beer cellar for daily lunches and seemingly a more extended menu—both for regular dinners and special celebratory suppers—it is not surprising that on several occasions Thomas Donaldson recalled listening to Walt Whitman talk about how much he enjoyed having his evening meal “at the old Pfaff’s [where] the food was well cooked, German method, and cheap.”¹³⁸

To accompany the international cuisine, Charles Pfaff offered a wide selection of drinks, including beer and brandy and a selection of European wines.¹³⁹ The cellar was well known for its lager beer, which had become popular by the 1850s in New York saloons.¹⁴⁰ Lager beer was first produced in Bavaria in 1420; its name is from the German for “store.”¹⁴¹ The beer is made only from bottom-fermenting yeast, which Bavarian brewer John Wagner brought to America for the first time in 1842.¹⁴² Frederick and Maximilian Schaefer, immigrants from Prussia, were among the pioneers who introduced German lager beer to New York City that same year.¹⁴³ George Gillig, also an early brewer, began producing lager beer in New York City as early as 1844. A tavern-keeper named Schwalbe, who had a small establishment in Chatham Street may have been the first person to sell lager beer in New York; it cost four cents per glass.¹⁴⁴ By 1860, when the American bohemians went every night to Pfaff’s cellar, forty-six breweries were in operation in New York City.¹⁴⁵

Before brewers and sellers introduced New Yorkers to lager beer, barroom patrons were accustomed to English top-fermented ales, and porters, which could spoil in the hot American summers. Lagers were more highly carbonated, less heavy and less intoxicating, and they kept better.¹⁴⁶ Because they required a slower fermentation process than ale, when properly aged, they had a “tangy, effervescent taste” that was like “a valuable wine; a malt wine.”¹⁴⁷ James Ford praised Charles Pfaff as “one of the first men in New York who thoroughly understood the art of drawing and keeping beer.”¹⁴⁸ Whitman himself proclaimed “the ale (beer was but coming in then) good, and other liquid refreshments healthy,” while a writer for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* said the restaurant’s “foaming beer . . . tasted as beer never tasted before and never will taste again.”¹⁴⁹ One of Pfaff’s preferred brands of beer in his Broadway establishments might have been “prime Speyers’ lager,” which was sometimes served to his patrons in “big old-fashioned glasses with handles.”¹⁵⁰ This lager seems to have been one of Pfaff’s best

sellers; in fact, the same writer that praised Pfaff's "foaming beer" went on to claim that "[b]eer was the favorite beverage" of this [American bohemian] coterie. The writer even goes to far as to state that the Bohemian club "became quite an important factor" in making the fairly new lager beer "the popular beverage, a revolution which forever drove away the daily brandy tipping, which was the practice of men of those times."¹⁵¹

While it was more expensive than his lager bier, Pfaff also sold wine, and a writer for the *Daily Graphic* claimed that the sight of Pfaff and his well-stocked bar frequently filled patrons "with reverential awe" as they glanced "from the bland face of this unfathomable German to the colored bottles, which [stood] in potential rows behind him."¹⁵² To his customers, Pfaff presented sound ales, red clarets, and coll champagnes.¹⁵³ The colored bottles that filled Pfaff's shelves were "white and red burgundies, Graves and Haut-Graves, Clos Regent and Bonnes Sauternes, Beaune and Volnay, Bonnes-Mares and Romanée, sherries and madeiras, Malvoisie Royal, and Cama de Lobos de Joa Vicente de Silva."¹⁵⁴ Having fine champagne at a dinner late in his life, Walt Whitman reminisced about his favorite New York hangout: "It took me back to Pfaff's. What a judge of wines that fellow was! He made no misses." Later, speaking of a favored supplier of brandy, Walt is again reminded of Charles Pfaff:

When I would go to see Pfaff after an interval from absence he would say, 'First of all, before anything else, let us have a drink of something,' and would go down in his cellar and bring out from his cobwebs a bottle of choice champagne—the best. Cobwebs are no discount for champagne! . . . And Pfaff never made a mistake—he instinctively apprehended liquors—having his talent, and that talent in curious prolixity. Almost. Often I would wonder—*can he go wrong?*¹⁵⁵

Whitman was impressed by Pfaff's knowledge of wines, and Pfaff was proud to show the poet that he had not lost his touch during the times when the two friends were unable to see each other regularly at the restaurant. Pfaff's imported wines and spirits offered the poet a taste of Europe, and the cellar's international atmosphere was as close to the European travel and dining experiences as Whitman came during his lifetime.

Pfaff was also quite adept at selecting and training the wait staff that would serve the aforementioned drinks and dishes because he had worked as a waiter in Basel himself, and "Switzerland [was] noted for its waiters."¹⁵⁶ There are few references to Pfaff's servers, and when their presence is acknowledged, it is usually with regard to his later establishments, which were larger than 647 Broadway and, no doubt, required more staff members to meet the needs of his growing clientele. Albert Parry claims, "Buxom saxon girls served the guests" at Pfaff's, and that "there were also a few male waiters."¹⁵⁷ But Parry and those who cite him seem to be the only sources to specifically mention female servers. In fact, although their work is usually praised, the few brief references to

Pfaff's employees are limited almost exclusively to Pfaff's male waiters and his cook, presumably, also a man.

But regardless of whether Pfaff's staff included men or women or whether he employed both sexes, the cellar's cook and its waiters ensured that the food at Pfaff's was "served so nicely that it gave one an appetite to look at it." The staff was responsible for carrying German and French cuisine presented on the "good china" and alongside the "solid silver" that Pfaff liked them to use when they brought glasses of prime lager to the tables.¹⁵⁸ Pfaff's waiters may have even arranged napkins at each place at the table. At the very least, they brought white cloth napkins to their customers, which Pfaff himself sometimes went to great lengths to preserve. In an 1860 diary entry, Thomas Butler Gunn recounted a row between fellow American bohemians Fitz James O'Brien and Edward House at the beer cellar that ended on a humorous note: O'Brien mistook one of Pfaff's table napkins for his adversary's handkerchief and tried to return it to him. When House refused to accept it, Pfaff, who had been watching the scene unfold, hurried over to the American bohemians to ensure the safety of his table settings: "And Pfaff rescuing the napkin, walked off with it!"¹⁵⁹

While Pfaff seemingly prevented the American bohemians from destroying his dinner napkins, Pfaff's waiters were the peacemakers who played an important role in soothing the riled tempers of tipsy American bohemians in the barroom. In Jay Charleton's (pen name for Jay Goldsmith) account, Walt Whitman and George Arnold were having their "after dinner punch" one night at Pfaff's when they became angry enough to throw punches of a very different sort. The Civil War was a frequent topic of conversation among the bohemians, and this night was no exception. Arnold was for the Southern rebellion and reportedly raised the toast, "Success to the Southern Arms!" The poet was an advocate of the Union cause (for which his brother George was then fighting) and, more broadly, for the national unity he envisioned in his poetry.¹⁶⁰ The rest of Charleton's story is a blur of action, with Walt's "mawler" being thrust close to George's ear, Arnold's bottle of liquor coming within inches of Walt's head, and the bewildered Charles Pfaff exclaiming in a heavy accent, "Oh! mine gots, mens, what's you do for dis?" and condemning such displays of violence in his establishment.¹⁶¹ At least one account reveals how "Pfaff and his white-apron brigade came trembling forward with olive branches in their musical Heidelberg voices" to sooth Arnold and Whitman, a task at which they soon succeeded.¹⁶² Here, Pfaff's wait staff are portrayed as a "brigade," a well-drilled unit of peacekeepers all wearing the same uniform and fully prepared to keep customers from making a scene and disturbing others in the cellar. For performing these duties, the waiters received their "principal" salary directly from Pfaff himself since at this time and even by the time the proprietor opened his final restaurant, "the custom of

‘tipping’ had not . . . attained its present proportions.” Although Pfaff did not prohibit his waiters from receiving tips, it was clear that he “regarded the practice with disfavor.”¹⁶³

Most of Pfaff’s patrons came to the cellar, then, because they could eat traditional German and French dishes, taste the proprietor’s “best Rhine wine,” and drink the lager beer that Pfaff was so adept at keeping and his waiters so skilled at serving.¹⁶⁴ With his German beer and his wines from France and Portugal among other countries in combination with his foreign newspapers, Pfaff offered the American bohemians a European barroom on American soil. He made a real effort to establish and maintain what Joanna Levin has called a “foreign ambiance” to the extent that visiting the beer cellar “simulated foreign travel.” In other words, a trip to the saloon was also a journey through Germany, France, and even Switzerland, all of which were part of the barkeeper’s own past.¹⁶⁵ Pfaff’s dedication to his European roots and his central location on Broadway certainly appealed to the men and women who declared themselves America’s first Bohemian group. Pfaff’s atmosphere and the American bohemians it attracted made the beer cellar “a landmark as familiar as . . . Castle Garden, Tammany Hall, and P. T. Barnum’s museum.”¹⁶⁶ But there were two even more practical reasons why the Bohemian crowd came to Pfaff’s and stayed so late into the night: the low prices and “the genial host’s leniency in the matter of collecting bills.”¹⁶⁷

Pfaff permitted his “odd customers to carry a tab,” and he sold food and beverages at low costs.¹⁶⁸ A. L. Rawson, one of the Pfaffians’ biographers, reported that at Pfaff’s “[A] dinner could be had for half a dollar, or a substitute for a dime or rather for shillings or sixpences, as money was reckoned then. A good cup of coffee was three cents, and other things in proportion.”¹⁶⁹ Julian Chambers explains that Pfaff’s was the place where “a dinner with [beer?] could be bought with two York shillings.”¹⁷⁰ In fact, Pfaff sold his food and drink “at the lowest price which [would] stand the mathematical test of a close calculation of profit and loss,” and a writer for the *New-York Traveler and U.S. Hotel Directory* called Pfaff’s “the cheapest and most agreeable place to dine, sup, or imbibe lager at in Gotham.”¹⁷¹ One reporter went so far as to declare that at Pfaff’s, “the cooking was abominable and the table linen wasn’t of immaculate purity,” so the men and women of American Bohemia did not “assemble in a beer cellar by choice . . . they met there because they were poor.”¹⁷² Many of the American bohemian group made their living by writing for the newspapers: “one night the party would be flush and again it would be without a cent,” depending on whether or not they had sold their articles, stories, or other writings to New York periodicals.¹⁷³ They ordered Pfaff’s lager instead of his wine because it was less expensive.¹⁷⁴ But Pfaff often refilled their glasses free of charge. He always “[took] the eccentricities of genius into consideration when he came to

make up his books,” and he “refused to turn a group of customers that attracted so many other patrons to the cellar away hungry.”¹⁷⁵

While there is no denying Pfaff’s generosity to the men and women of Bohemia, there is considerable disagreement as to how much credit they were actually given. On the one hand, Pfaff had a reputation for being very lenient, offering “plenty” of credit and allowing the Bohemians to pay their debts when they could.¹⁷⁶ Pfaff may have given so much food and so many free drink refills to the American bohemians that it might “have taken a goodly share of the profits on his general custom to cover his generousities to his impecunious literary friends.”¹⁷⁷ In contrast, Julian Chambers indicates that Henry Clapp had originally gone to Pfaff’s because the restaurant owner “gave him a small and brief credit,” and noted that Pfaff continued to limit the Bohemians’ tab: “The amount rarely exceeded \$5 and settlement was expected at the end of every week.”¹⁷⁸

When they were not buying refreshments on credit or paying cash to settle a debt, the American bohemians and other Pfaff’s patrons also had the option of using scrip notes or gift certificates, and, potentially tokens as well, to pay for their meals. In 1862, if not before, Pfaff offered gift certificates in the amounts of 25 and 50 cents: the former read, for example, “CHARLES PFAFF RESTAURANT PROMISE TO PAY TWENTY FIVE CENTS IN REFRESHMENTS AND MEALS at No. 647 Broadway, N. Y.” (See Figure 4, Appendix A).¹⁷⁹ The twenty-five cent note is illustrated with a nature scene featuring two deer, a male and a female, in the foreground, while in the background is a waterfall, and a large tree on a hill overlooking the deer. A man who may be a hunter appears to be standing behind the tree in order to watch and/or quietly take aim at the deer. This may signal that venison is on the menu for the hunter, and, perhaps, at Pfaff’s as well.

During the Civil War, Pfaff also dispensed tokens that may have been used as currency at his restaurants. In fact, Pfaff “was a well-known issuer of Civil War tokens,” and produced them for both his 647 and 653 Broadway locations.¹⁸⁰ The most easily recognizable token for the cellar was issued from 1862 to 1864. It included Pfaff’s address, “CHES. PFAFF, RESTAURANT / 647 / BROADWAY, N. Y.,” on the obverse or front side of the token, and it had a full-length monk on the reverse (See Figure 5, Appendix A).¹⁸¹ A writer for a stamp and coin magazine known as “Nemo” described the monk as a “big-bellied fellow in canonicals” and quipped, “if Mr. Pfaff had given us a *frier* instead of a *friar*, it would have been a much better sign.”¹⁸² The image of the monk on the back of the token likely comes from the surname Pfaff, which may derive from the German word “Pfaffe,” meaning “pope” or “priest.”¹⁸³ Nemo’s linguistic play here draws on the religious associations with Pfaff’s surname and on his status as a restaurateur. Nemo is suggesting that Pfaff ought to have used a “frier”—a young chicken or other

meat for frying—to as a symbol of his cellar rather than a “friar” or religious figure on his token.

Pfaff had at least two additional tokens produced for his 653 Broadway location. Both of them had a gilt brass “1776” double eagle obverse. The reverse of one was a yellow cardboard insert printed with “CHAS. PFAFF’S RESTAURANT, 653 BROADWAY.” The reverse of the second coin was a blue cardboard insert with the aforementioned name and address, as well as pictures of two food items, presumably from Pfaff’s menu (See Figure 6, Appendix A).¹⁸⁴ Both illustrations appear to be of meats or main courses, possibly a ham and a beefsteak, respectively. These images, no doubt, advertised Pfaff’s fare while the tokens were in circulation since customers could carry in their pockets a visual reminder of what they might have for dinner at the restaurant. These tokens may have also helped to ensure that Pfaff’s customers had several options or forms of payment available to them when they were ready and/or able to discharge their debts. They may have allowed Pfaff himself an alternative way to accept payments and make change in his restaurant since there was a shortage of government-issued currency during the Civil War.

But the American bohemians were not always eager to pay their checks. An anonymous member of the “old crowd” of Bohemians that frequented Pfaff’s wrote that Richard Grant White, a musical critic and a Shakespearean scholar, often jokingly disputed with Pfaff both over payment for food and drinks and the proprietor’s grasp of the English language: “Old Pfaff, when he wanted the beer bill settled would always say, ‘You *will* pay me my monish;’ and R. G. W. stoutly insisted that the bill would remain unsettled until the Dutchman said *shall*.”¹⁸⁵ But seemingly, Pfaff never said “shall” and R. G. W. prided himself on this “linguistic triumph.”¹⁸⁶ Edmund Clarence Steadman, however, recalls that Pfaff not only paid for many of the American bohemians’ orders at the cellar, but he actually provided financial support to some of them in their old age.¹⁸⁷ At the same time, it seems that Pfaff “was easily moved to sympathise with any one who was in trouble and was generous with his money” when it came to any of his patrons not just the American bohemians.¹⁸⁸ Even though some of the beer cellar’s customers took advantage of Pfaff’s willingness to give, and owed him money for food that they were never going to or would never be able to compensate him for, he did not hesitate to help the “beggars and tramps” that made regular visits to his cellar.¹⁸⁹ He would almost always give packages of food, “a huge hunk of bread” or even a few coins to those in need.¹⁹⁰

Numerous accounts insist that Pfaff would not refuse the Bohemians credit, in part, because he “was too fond of their companionship for that” and he “loved dearly to hear them compare notes and exchange compliments and witticisms.”¹⁹¹ Indeed, Pfaff,

who is most often characterized as a friendly and perpetually jolly host, may have enjoyed the company of Clapp, Clare, and their friends. The American bohemians and their gatherings likely proved a form of entertainment for Pfaff and his customers. But even if Pfaff did not always find their antics amusing, the American bohemians were, to put it simply, good for business. Although Pfaff was not as learned or as literary as his bookish and cosmopolitan clientele, he was an intelligent businessman, and he understood that the bohemians would bring an audience of inquisitive customers to his establishment.¹⁹² Pfaff, therefore, continued to serve the bohemians, and that “little group of poets and humorists attracted as much custom to good Mr. Pfaff’s beer-saloon as did his fresh, cool lager.”¹⁹³ It was, in part, because of Pfaff’s kindness and his willingness to allow the bohemians to meet in his cellar and to run up a tab, that his clientele grew, and the business was profitable enough to support the bar-owner and his son.¹⁹⁴

The American bohemians may not have always settled their debts with their host, but Pfaff’s business did profit in yet another way from their presence: their connections with New York magazines and newspapers. The American bohemians, for example, were among the major contributors to Henry Clapp, Jr.’s *New-York Saturday Press*. Beginning on September 10, 1859, and ending more than one year later on December 15, 1860, the previously mentioned advertisement instructing customers to “Go to Pfaff’s” for “The Best of Everything at Moderate Prices” and for reading material in a variety of foreign languages, appeared almost every week in the paper. Although certainly an exaggeration, in 1886, Hugh Farrar McDermott claimed that, in Clapp’s paper, “There was always space found for half a dozen of grand puffs for Charley Pfaff’s Bohemian cellar.”¹⁹⁵ It is true that Clapp published at least twelve pieces that mentioned “Pfaff’s” by name and two articles with the title of “Pfaff’s” before the paper ceased publication for the first time in December 1860. The first article named after the beer cellar appeared on December 3, 1859. Here, the writer praised Pfaff’s as “the womb of the best things that society has heard for many-day.”¹⁹⁶ The second piece on “Pfaff’s” was printed on March 3, 1860, and described the place as a saloon “extensively patronized by young literary men, artists, and that large class of people called Germans,” who may have been attracted to the beer cellar, at least in part, because of Charles Pfaff’s own German heritage and his menu that included several German dishes.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, as Mark Lause has pointed out, Germans in the United States “eventually attained the reputation as the most radical of the émigré groups,” and the “cosmopolitan radicalism” of antebellum New York “continued to inform bohemianism.” Thus, the American bohemians and the German and French patrons who gathered at Pfaff’s may have also found some common ground in terms of their social and political beliefs.¹⁹⁸

Although the *New-York Saturday Press* ceased publication in December 1860 due to a lack of funds, Clapp resumed printing the paper nearly five years later, on August 5, 1865. In the first issue of the paper's new series Clapp would seemingly pick up where he left off by renewing his advertising relationship with Pfaff. Here, Clapp published an advertisement for Pfaff's, then located at "No. 653 Broadway." The advertisement for the new location no longer mentioned Pfaff's cigars or his French and German newspapers, but rather the ad promoted the establishment by calling it "the most celebrated restaurant in the country" and reminding new customers of the literary and artistic men and women that had made Pfaff's name and reputation in New York and well beyond. The advertisement presents Pfaff's as the place to visit in the city, announcing that the "grounds [are] crowded day and night."¹⁹⁹ Pfaff would continue placing various advertisements for the restaurant in the *Press* through the week of June 2, 1866, the very date that the newspaper permanently ended.

While it is possible that Pfaff may have paid for the ads to run on a weekly basis, the *Press* certainly reached an audience of literary and artistic men and women—the kind of American bohemian crowd that would have felt right at home at Pfaff's, and who, in turn, would have drawn even more customers anxious to see them in the cellar. At the same time, it is tempting to speculate that Henry Clapp, could have easily written any of the articles that applauded Pfaff's while he was sitting at the head of the table in the vault or on one of the many nights he returned to his room after having had his dinner and smoked a pipe at Pfaff's. Yet, Clapp would have had no problem giving Pfaff's bad press if he had not liked the owner or its menu, which, as I will show later, is precisely what happened when Pfaff's at 653 Broadway temporarily came under new management.

Just as the members of the American bohemian group were among the primary contributors to the *New-York Saturday Press*, they were, as previously mentioned, also largely responsible for *Vanity Fair*, a humor and literary magazine that ran the same advertisement for the 647 Broadway location of Pfaff's as the *Press*. The advertisement announcing Pfaff's cigars and his moderate prices appeared on a weekly basis in *Vanity Fair* beginning on December 31, 1859, and ending after the March 17, 1860, issue. The fact that the Bohemians were instrumental in publicizing the cellar both by word of mouth and in the press might explain why Pfaff was generous to them since it suggests that Pfaff and his artistic clientele had a symbiotic relationship, exchanging food, drinks, and payment for publicity and praise in periodicals. Amos Cummings, writing for the *Brooklyn Standard Union*, goes so far as to suggest that it may have been an article about Pfaff's written for a paper by Fitz James O'Brien that brought customers to the cellar in the first place. A writer for the *Chatham New York Courier* tells a similar story, only this time the writer credits Clapp with making Pfaff and his saloon famous in the press:

Clapp used to lunch [at Pfaff’s], and one day the coffee and eggs so impressed the famous Bohemian, that he then and there, wrote a column about a puff of the caravansary, but, although a puff it was in Clapp’s best style, and he could make the rankest kind of a puff so witty and interesting, that it would be acceptable to any journal.”²⁰⁰

Clapp’s article, along with pieces by some of the other Bohemian journalists, “made Pfaff famous, and he became rich.”²⁰¹ As Cummings points out, it became the “fashion” among the Bohemians “to puff him [Pfaff] and his coffee and veal cutlets, and other culinary triumphs.”²⁰²

Because of the publicity the Bohemians’ gave Pfaff’s and because of the proprietor’s efforts or, as a writer for *The Fireside Companion* put it best, in “doing [his] business not only well, but better than anybody else,” Pfaff, like “Delmonico or Stewart, or Tiffany, or any of our most successful tradesmen . . . work[ed] their names into the very literature of the country.” Indeed, Pfaff’s name would appear not only in advertisements in periodicals, but in Whitman’s poetry and in Harding-Davis’s novel among other literary works. As a result, it became “as natural to speak of DELMONICO, of PFAFF, of STEWART, or of TIFFANY, as when, writing of banking matters, to speak of BARING or ROTHSCHILD.”²⁰³ Here, Pfaff receives very high praise; as a result of his talent and hard work as a proprietor, as well as the praise he received in print, his name appears alongside that of the Delmonico family, the owners of “Delmonico’s,” which became the “most important U. S. restaurant of the nineteenth century.”²⁰⁴ In return, Pfaff “was wise enough to appreciate his guests and advertisers,” and the bar-owner “never forgot that he owed his success to the advertising that newspaper men had given him.”²⁰⁵

The American bohemians at Pfaff’s

The coterie of writers, artists, and actors that promoted Pfaff’s saloon met in that Broadway basement to form “a true Bohemian association, containing in its informal organization more genius and more of that brilliant lawless talent which we look for in Paris, than any association of writers that has since been formed” in the U.S.²⁰⁶ These self-proclaimed “American bohemians” came to Pfaff’s in the evenings after the theatre or opera performances were over; after all, “the Tivoli Theater and the Vauxhall Garden Theater were two blocks east” of the cellar, “Niblo’s Garden was a few blocks south . . . and the Astor Place Opera and Cooper Institute were a short walk north.”²⁰⁷ Pfaff’s was, therefore, ideally located for those American bohemians who wanted to take in a few performances and then to discuss and review them for the city newspapers.²⁰⁸ After making their rounds at the opera and the various neighborhood theaters, the bohemians

dropped in at the cellar, sometimes as late as midnight. There, “they would eat frightfully indigestible things, drink their beer, smoke their pipes” and “enjoy the . . . free conversations until the late hours of the morning.”²⁰⁹ As soon as the Bohemians arrived, Pfaff would ask any patrons that happened to be sitting in the “cave” or vault portion of the cellar to take a seat in another part of the restaurant.²¹⁰ Pfaff’s vault was the home of the American bohemian crowd, and he ensured that they had access to the space. Although barrels lined the walls of the cave, Pfaff set up a round table in the middle of the room with enough chairs to seat that sizable group, whose members he referred to as “literary fellers.”²¹¹ An illustration published in the *Sunday Inter Ocean* on August 12, 1888, seems to capture some of the elements of this cellar scene (See Figure 7, Appendix A).²¹² Here, the set of stairs that descend from the street into the basement saloon are partially visible, and they lead into a room that appears to be lined (at least on one side) with enormous barrels for storing beer. Above the barrels and extending the length of the room is an arched ceiling, while on the right side of the illustration, there is a round table, which is occupied by at least one man seated in a chair. Near the bottom right corner is a seated figure that appears to be a female patron, while one other customer is visible in the distance just beyond her head.

The persons in the illustration may represent any of the American bohemian crowd or, even Charles Pfaff himself since he often interacted with his customers. Among the members of the American bohemian group that gathered at least once and sometimes several times a day were: Fitz James O’Brien, William Winter, Artemus Ward, Walt Whitman, Ned Wilkins, George Arnold, Nat Sheppard, Nathan D. Urner, Joe Otterson, Ada Clare, Charles D. Gardette, Caleb Dunn, Henry Clapp, Jr., and Fitz Greene Halleck.²¹³ Clapp, Jr., as the leader of the group or the King of Bohemia, had his own special seat at the head of the round table at Pfaff’s in addition to a hole in the wall that had been created especially for his pipe.²¹⁴ The other “presiding genius” of the “Bohemian club” was the young actress and journalist, Jane McElhenney, better known as Ada Clare or the Queen of Bohemia.²¹⁵ Pfaff, unlike other proprietors in the city, readily accepted and served female patrons in his saloon and restaurant—especially the women of the American bohemian group—regardless of whether they were escorted by men. Pfaff had little time for or patience with the “gossip on the street”; instead, he merely gave actresses Adah Menken and Dora Shaw, and the writer Jennie Danforth (a friend of Fitz James O’Brien) a “bland smile” when he saw them enter the cellar. After all, Pfaff was “a respectable man of business,” and as one of his customers put it best, “the Germans are not shocked when a woman enters a restaurant.”²¹⁶ Pfaff also understood that regardless of their sex, Menken and Clare were well known among New

York's theatrical circles and would attract a crowd of actors/actresses, drama critics, and theatergoers to the beer cellar.

At Pfaff's, the American bohemians would place their orders and "argue upon the light topics of the day, more particularly those with dramatic subjects which were at the time uppermost." They were also known to debate "politics, literature, the arts and sciences . . . and the philosophy of life," and these topics were "loudly discussed over beer as the Latin Quarter discusses them over its *vin ordinaire*."²¹⁷ The writers and journalists of the group would sit at Pfaff's table and "write their articles, commenting on the performances of the evening, relating anecdotes, [and] exchanging *bon mots* and witty sallies."²¹⁸ In the vault at Pfaff's, they drafted many of their contributions to *Vanity Fair* and the *New-York Saturday Press* among other New York publications. Looking back on the newspaper writers whose "lines of poetry and pure prose literature" had "illuminated the then Bohemian press between sittings at Pfaff's," *The Wayne County Herald* reported that during Clapp and the American bohemians' time at the cellar, "genius sat enthroned [there]. . . with a glass in its right hand and a pen in its left."²¹⁹ Ned Wilkins, one of the bohemian crowd and a theater critic for the *New York Herald*, for example, would go to Pfaff's and call for a newspaper, which he used to examine the cast listing for the city's operas. He would use this information to write a criticism of the performances that numbered several pages in length. Then he would give the piece to one of Pfaff's waiters along with a small payment and instructions for the waiter to hurry as fast as possible to the office for the *Herald* and deliver the critique.²²⁰ The role of the cellar in the production of articles for the *New-York Saturday Press* as well as other New York periodicals prompted a reporter for the *World* to jest that "Mein Herr was really the managing editor" of the *Press*, while a writer for the *New York Traveller* referred to the cellar and its menu as "the most infallible source of inspiration" for its patrons' creativity.²²¹

When the American bohemians were not dashing off dramatic critiques or other articles to sell immediately to the newspapers, they held writing workshops at the cellar to aid one another in their other literary endeavors. In effect, they formed what has been referred to as "the first trade union of intellect." Every man would bring "a new poem, editorial, or idea for a magazine sketch" to these occasions.²²² The women of the coterie may or may not have joined the men in this particular activity; however, it is certainly possible that the female bohemians were present at least as a part of the audience when new pieces were composed or shared. As early as 1860, *The Chicago Press and Tribune* suggested that the women writers and actresses who joined the American bohemian crowd at Pfaff's were as boisterous and witty as the men in Clapp's circle. Writing for the paper, an author referred to only as "Launcelot" stated that these "pretty modern literary

women” come to the beer cellar nightly in order to show their scorn for all propriety; they “rap on the table for their steaks, smoke cigarette, sing opera refrains . . . jest, revel, poetize, laugh and weep, and so tarry long beyond the midnight hour, with their harum-scarum brothers of the pencil and quill.”²²³ In other words, whether the American Bohemian group was debating current events or staging a writing workshop, Launcelot suggests that both the men and women were active participants in the “laughter, song, and wit run riot” that took place around the long table at Pfaff’s.²²⁴

Approximately twice per week, the poet Walt Whitman took part in the aforementioned workshops by bringing rough drafts of his poems to share with the group. He would arrive at the beer cellar, hang his jerkin on a nail, and sit down, with a recent poem, or what he referred to as a new “barbaric yawp” written on a piece of paper that he had tucked carefully into his pocket—a pocket that he always felt contained “a great surprise” for his American bohemian audience.²²⁵ After dinner, which at Pfaff’s “was always as good as one at Delmonico’s”—a reputable, higher-end drinking and eating establishment—Whitman would present his “half written ‘yawp’” or short poem to the Bohemians.²²⁶ Henry Clapp, Jr., encouraged the poet to read his work aloud by urging, “Come, Whitman, you savage, open a page of nature for us.”²²⁷ At least two accounts of Whitman’s participation in the Pfaffians’ versions of writing workshops and poetry readings suggest that the poet often talked about himself and his work “oh, so earnestly and well!”²²⁸ Some of the American bohemians, especially Clapp, developed a fascination with Whitman’s unconventional poetic style. After all, if, as the *New York Times* put it in 1858, “the true Bohemian has either written an unsuccessful play, or painted an unsalable picture, or published an unreadable book, or composed an unsung opera, then the other bohemians would have understood and, perhaps even sympathized both with Whitman’s disappointment in the sales for the first two editions of *Leaves of Grass* and in his attempts to find a publisher for the third volume.”²²⁹

Because many of the literary bohemians frequently wrote against conventional themes or established forms, most were talented if struggling writers much like Whitman himself. But they were often unable to find permanent employment, and, therefore, depended upon “poorly compensated chancework” and “precarious contributions to the story papers” for their livelihood.²³⁰ The articles, reviews, and poems that they composed at Pfaff’s or presented to their peers there were a source of income that these writers depended on in order to pay their rent and to repay Pfaff for the credit he so generously extended. To that end, the American bohemians were contributors not just to the *New-York Saturday Press*—which could offer them little compensation for their work—but also to many other newspapers and magazines that were part of the burgeoning periodical culture of the mid-nineteenth century United States. A writer whom the *Saturday Press*

identified only as “M” explained that each day a true literary bohemian could be seen “flitting amongst the various newspaper offices: “Now he has an article for the Daily Wailer, and now a story for the Weekly Mummy, and again a sketch for the Family Gossip.”²³¹ This emphasis on periodical writing is what led one Pfaffian to conclude that because many of the literary bohemians at Pfaff’s had published pieces in *Vanity Fair*, the *New York Leader*, and *Harper’s*, “these men really controlled the periodical press and public opinion” in antebellum New York even though they met in a beer cellar.²³²

The fact that the American bohemians wrote articles, composed poems, and read aloud to one another at Pfaff’s not only drew customers who wanted to watch the proceedings, but also ensured that Pfaff’s was associated with increased literary production. A few months after Pfaff’s opened at 647 Broadway, a writer from the *New-York Traveler*; and *United States Hotel Directory* praised the cellar, noting “The choice spirits meet here; and the artist, poet or litterateur, who has not drunk and eaten at Pfaff’s, knows not the most infallible source of inspiration nor the best cheer of life. Go to Pfaff’s!”²³³ The writer’s reference to the meeting of “choice spirits” at Pfaff’s refers to both the proprietor’s well-known stores of quality wine and beer as well as the exceptionally talented American bohemian writers and artists that collaborate on their literary and dramatic productions in the cellar. He or she asserts that other writers and artists should come to Pfaff’s if they are in need of encouragement or motivation, while also implying that the most dependable sources of it are the menu and the atmosphere at Pfaff’s itself. There can be no doubt that these claims are intended to serve as an advertisement for the beer cellar because the writer ends with the phrase “Go to Pfaff’s!” These three words became a kind of advertising slogan for the beer cellar, and they accompanied advertisements in the *New-York Saturday Press* throughout 1859 and 1860. In fact, one of the very advertisements that includes the phrase—seemingly the ad from the *Saturday Press* that champions Pfaff’s Havana Cigars and international newspapers—also appears in the *New-York Traveler*, on the same page as the aforementioned short piece in which the writer insists that the cellar inspires the American bohemians’ creative pursuits.

It is not surprising then that Pfaff came to value his American bohemian customers and advertisers so much that he often “kept his cellar open into the dawn for the sake of a handful of Bohemians engaged in a verse-making contest.”²³⁴ Even so, Pfaff had a rule that the closing time for his cellar should be one in the morning. He “frequently, though mildly endeavored” to enforce this policy, but the American bohemians quickly discovered that they could talk him out of calling it a night so early:

Upon these occasions, which became rarer and rarer, it generally occurred that it required about one hour to get the proprietor into a proper frame of mind to

humbly apologize for having dared to suggest that he wished to close his doors upon the Princes of Bohemia, and when this amend had been made it was Pfaff himself who was most reluctant to end the proceedings.²³⁵

Once the American bohemians had convinced Pfaff to allow his establishment to remain open and/or even perhaps to join their conversations and activities, they knew at this point that they could stay for as long as they liked. According to Louis Megargee's 1890 *Philadelphia Inquirer* article that detailed some "Reminiscences of Bohemia Revived by the Death of Pfaff," when the American bohemians sat in Pfaff's vault "[w]ith Pfaff's beer and Pfaff's pipes and tobacco and Pfaff's rarebits" as well as their own preoccupation with "wit and humor and poetry and prose, time passed so quickly at the round table in the cellar alcove that all too frequently the sun rose upon the close of the session."²³⁶ At last, Pfaff was able to shut down the saloon in the early morning hours and rest after a long workday, during which he had served the American bohemians at least twice; once for dinner before they went out to the play or the opera and again when the performance was over. By the time Pfaff closed in the early hours of the morning, he had, at least on some occasions, been hosting this particular group some eight to ten hours since their arrival at dinner the previous evening with only a brief respite from their company between the end of the evening meal and the close of the show the bohemians had chosen to see that night.

The End of the American bohemian Group at Pfaff's

The coterie of American bohemians drank beer and wrote poetry at the 647 Broadway location throughout the Antebellum years; however, as early as 1861, the year that marked the start of the Civil War, the group may have begun to go their separate ways. The new restaurants and saloons that opened near Broadway meant Pfaff's customers now had more establishments to choose from, and Megargee insisted that "the first blow delivered at Pfaff's" both to the proprietor and to the Bohemian group occurred in 1861 when "a man named Garrad opened a rival chop house in Bleecker street next to the Savings Bank, which was also graced with a round table."²³⁷ According to *The New York Times*, this chop house had begun as a saloon known as "Shades" in 1860, which was located at 71 Bleecker Street and belonged to A. S. Pentin. Pentin sold the place to a "burly, jovial mutton-chop-whiskered Londoner" named William Garrard the following year.²³⁸ Garrard named the place the De Soto, and he served a number of house specialties including "chops, port wine, brandy, and English ale." Within a few months of opening, Garrard had a booming business on his hands, and customers "had to wait their turn in front of the little cubby hole of a bar which would barely hold the stalwart Boniface and his assistant."²³⁹ Interestingly enough, at about the same time as Garrad

was gaining popularity with New York saloon patrons, the *Wilson’s Business Directory for 1861-1862* listed Pfaff’s establishment as a “Porter House,” presumably a reference to the dark style of English beer of the same name.²⁴⁰ Even though Pfaff may have been serving porter as well as lager beer at that time, in the evenings, writers, artists, and journalists came to the De Soto along with actors and drama critics, a crowd very similar to that which frequented Pfaff’s.²⁴¹ Garrad’s patrons would later include Southern sympathizers and the actors and actresses from both Laura Keen’s Theatre and the Winter Garden. This may have marked the beginning of the end of the American bohemian circle. The new saloon, so very close to Pfaff’s place, became popular among Pfaff’s loyal customers; it “caused a division in the Bohemian circle, and from that time the fame of the cellar alcove began to pale.”²⁴²

The start of the Civil War in 1861 also played a role in the dissolution of the bohemian social circle since Fitz James O’Brien and Miles O’Reilly would both serve as Civil War soldiers, and even Walt Whitman left Pfaff’s in December 1862 and went on to become a volunteer in the wartime hospitals in Washington. Pfaff’s would, from time to time, attract new customers, especially at the beginning of the Civil War, when young, middle and upper class men like Whitman’s comrade and New York native Fred Gray and his group of friends—a set of bachelors and young men-about-town—visited the cellar while they waited to see if the war would continue before they enlisted. But young soldiers and their commanding officers soon began to patronize Garrad’s: “Among those who delighted in the place in those days were Gen. John A. Dix, his staff officers, Gen. Canby, Superintendent John A. Kennedy, Inspectors Daniel Carpenter and James Leonard, Col. Whitley of the United States Secret Service, [and] Capt. John Young of the Police Headquarters detective force.”²⁴³ Both this new competition and the changes that the Civil War brought with respect to Charles Pfaff’s patrons may have been factors in his decision to move to 653 Broadway in 1864, a place that was a bit farther away from Bleecker Street, but closer to Bond Street, and a move in the direction of the theaters as well. Pfaff’s competition from Garrad may also have played a role in his efforts to turn his new restaurant and saloon into a summer garden that would retain the interest of any former patrons that had not yet gone off to other circles and who were not then involved in military service outside the state, while also attracting many New York tourists.

Charles Pfaff’s Restaurant at 653 Broadway

Following approximately five years in the basement of 647 Broadway, Charles Pfaff seems to have relocated his successful saloon business in 1864 partly in an effort to follow the drama crowd as the theatres headed uptown.²⁴⁴ He moved a few doors north to another basement space located at 653 Broadway.²⁴⁵ While it is difficult to determine the

precise date when Pfaff closed 647 Broadway and opened his new, larger establishment, it is possible to deduce an approximate window of time for the change. Pfaff was assessed excise licensing fees of \$30.00 as of May 1, 1864, that permitted him to operate as an “eating house keeper” and “retail liquor Dealer” at 653 Broadway. He was also taxed in the amount of \$4.80 for his purchase of 12 gallons of “imported spirits” to sell at the new location during the same month of May 1864; therefore, he was then likely preparing to open the doors to this latest version of Pfaff’s.²⁴⁶

By June 1864, Pfaff informed some of his clientele about his new restaurant through a removal notice, similar to the one printed in the *New York Herald* when he relocated from 685 to 647 Broadway. Only this time, the removal notice, the only one of its kind that has come to light thus far, appeared in French, again in the *Courrier des Etats-Unis*: “Chs. Pfaff. [A] l’honneur d’informer sa nombreuse clientèle qu’il a transféré son RESTAURANT au n. 653, Broadway.” [Trans. “Charles Pfaff has the honor to inform his numerous customers he transferred his Restaurant to No. 653 Broadway”] (See Figure 8, Appendix A).²⁴⁷ The rest of the notice functions as an advertisement for the attractions that await customers at a much improved Pfaff’s restaurant, including its “Vaste local ben aéré, Bonne cuisine, and Vins et Liqueurs de choix” [Trans. “Spacious location, good food, and choice wines and liquors”]. Again, as he did in prior advertisements for his former basement establishment, Pfaff emphasizes his stock of newspapers, including “Journaux illustrés et autres en français, anglais et allemand” [Trans. “Illustrated newspapers and others in French, English, and German”]. It seems then that by June 1864, the new restaurant was open for business.

Pfaff continued to advertise his cellar at 647 Broadway in the *Albion Magazine* from May 7th through July 9, 1864.²⁴⁸ It is possible then that the two Broadway locations were open simultaneously for a short period of time during the spring and summer of 1864 until the transition to 653 Broadway could be completed. Approximately one year later, by August 1865, advertisements for the restaurant at the new address proclaimed Pfaff’s “the most celebrated restaurant in the country” and promised “The Best Waiters, The Best Company, and The Best of Everything.”²⁴⁹ These ads served to further distinguish the new place from the old because the term “restaurant and dining rooms” was used to describe 653 Broadway instead of the former “wein and lager bier saloon,” a move perhaps indicative of Pfaff’s efforts to expand his business and appeal to a broader clientele.

Whereas the cellar in which the Bohemians met was often called “the cave” or the “vault,” Pfaff named his new restaurant “Löwengrube,” or the Lion’s Den, a name that may have been related to the fact that his former American bohemian patrons were sometimes referred to as “the lions of Bohemia,” depending on when and where the

group’s nickname originated.²⁵⁰ The name for the restaurant may have also come from Pfaff’s seeming preference for Speyers lager bier because the beer’s home was the Lion Lager Brewery.²⁵¹ *Night side of New York* described the premises at 653 Broadway as still a cellar but a “much larger and more convenient” one than before, and noted that Charles Pfaff continued to bring his nine-year-old son to the restaurant, who had by then “blossomed into a handsome boy, of whom his father [was] justly proud.”²⁵²

In the summer of 1865, Pfaff came up with the idea to add another feature to the restaurant, which, in later advertisements, would be referred to as a “summer garden.” According to the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, a so-called German garden was “generally compressed in a currant bush stuck in a fig box, a titled keg of lager, and a gutter at the back door” or amounted, according to Junius Browne, to little more than “a hole in a roof, a fir-tree in a tub, and a sickly vine or two in a box.” Pfaff’s “summer garden,” however, was not one of the aforementioned typical “German gardens.” In fact, James Ford saw several green vines and an attractive awning at Pfaff’s.²⁵³ But the best description of these features comes from *Night Side of New York*, which explains how Pfaff turned an open yard into a version of “an intramural garden with wonderful trees and shrubs, some of which are real from the root to the height of a foot or so.” At this point the plants “were then continued by brush of scenic artist to any height, upon the wall.” A notice in the *Saturday Press* proclaimed that Pfaff’s had been much improved by this “beautiful landscape,” as well as by the garden.²⁵⁴ This “landscape” was actually the work of an artist from the Winter Garden theatre on a wall “up which . . . Pfaff’s climbing plants never could have made their way, but for the illusion wrought by the same magic touch.” In other words, the artists from the nearby theater painted Pfaff’s plants to much fuller heights, creating the impression that a large “summer garden” was planted out back. It is likely that Pfaff’s customers came to his restaurant even if only to see this unique combination of greenery and artistry, particularly when the weather was warm.

With these attractions, Pfaff managed to turn his restaurant into a resort, the perfect place to gather on spring and summer evenings. Pfaff even installed a canopy over the garden area with a canvas awning to protect customers and staff from unexpected summer thunderstorms:

[I]t is a curious scene to behold Captain Pfaff, when a heavy thunder shower is coming up from leeward, giving the word, as if from the quarter-deck, for all hands to hoist sail, and to see the German waiters going up rigging, and belaying, and hauling in slacks, and letting go sheets, and doing fifty other very salt and maritime things, with a view to getting the piece of canvas into a position for staving off the storm.²⁵⁵

Here, Pfaff's waiters are again portrayed as an efficient brigade, even the crew of the tight ship that Pfaff ran, (one can almost hear him calling for all hands on deck) in order to enable customers to continue enjoying their meals, rain or shine. In addition to the garden and the awning, James Ford pointed out another attraction that would have certainly amazed Pfaff's guests. Ford claims that in one corner of Pfaff's outdoor garden there was "an American Eagle that was tethered to one of the posts in the rear of the saloon." According to Ford, Pfaff fed the bird "the standard German fare of pretzels and sauerkraut" so that "the National bird received the same nourishment as American arts and letters, and was fed with the same generous hand."²⁵⁶

Advertisements during the second run of the *New-York Saturday Press* in 1865 do not mention the eagle if it ever existed; however, they did promote the new garden, suggesting that everyone who "comes to town goes at once to Pfaff's" because it has "the coolest and pleasantest summer garden in the city."²⁵⁷ At that time, Pfaff's attracted its regular customers, including a "large foreign element" and "a number of dramatic critics, and people connected with the neighboring theatres," particularly the Winter Garden.²⁵⁸ The theater crowd, after all, would have been eager to see the "landscape" created by one of their own artists.²⁵⁹ In addition to these men and women from the theaters, a few "literary lights" from the American bohemian crowd continued to patronize the place along with "French refugees and artists."²⁶⁰ It is clear then that during the middle and late 1860s Pfaff's became known for its summer garden, and the cellar restaurant became a must-see tourist attraction, a place with a reputation good enough to make one want to stop in for a drink even if he or she was merely passing through New York.

"Let's Go To Cruyt's": Selling Pfaff's

Then, suddenly, in 1866, only two years after Pfaff moved to 653 Broadway and only a little more than a year after he had likely dedicated time, effort, and expense to adorning the place with the attractive summer garden feature, the advertisements for Pfaff's Restaurant printed in Henry Clapp's *New-York Saturday Press* announced what seems to have been an unexpected change. Now, a new line appeared on each ad beneath Pfaff's name: "C. Cruyt & Co., Successors," thereby indicating that Pfaff was leaving his restaurant and Cruyt (also spelled Kruyt) would be taking over (See Figure 9, Appendix A).²⁶¹

Why Pfaff decided to get out of the restaurant business at this particular time remains a mystery. The notice about Cruyt's succession first appeared on March 24, 1866, just over four and half months after the last Confederate surrender to Union forces on November 6, 1865, and at a time when Civil War soldiers were in the process of returning or had recently arrived home. Artist and Pfaff's regular Elihu Vedder suggested

that the then forty-seven-year-old restaurateur simply may have wanted to enjoy the financial success he had experienced at his Broadway establishments: “The time came when [Pfaff] retired to the country well off; but then the time also came when he returned and started another place further up-town.”²⁶² A surprised and angry Henry Clapp, Jr. wrote in the *Press*, “Well, I suppose he’s got rich and wants to lay off for a while.” The new owner Charles Cruyt was well known as either a manager or a chef de cuisine at Delmonico’s for more than a dozen years.²⁶³ In spite of his anger, Clapp admitted, “We shall sadly miss the genial face of dear old Pfaff, and the habitués of the place will drink to his memory as long as the house stands.”²⁶⁴ Since Pfaff spent so much time with the American bohemians and had been so generous to them, it makes sense that Clapp and any other remaining members of the former Pfaff’s group would be particularly upset about the change. After all, the bohemians had benefitted significantly from Pfaff’s generosity over the years, and the restaurant’s new proprietor would likely not have the same relationship with Clapp and his associates—at least not right away.

Yet, Pfaff seemed to have second thoughts about the business deal almost immediately. He did not really appear to leave entirely, preferring to remain a presence in the beer cellar even as the time approached for the business to change hands. According to Clapp, “Pfaff, by the way, still lingers about the place, welcome as ever to his old habitués, and half regretting that he is to be separated from them.” However, even with Pfaff in the background, the nature of the beer cellar and restaurant changed as the new owner took over. Cruyt arranged to have some repairs done, and Clapp informed the *Saturday Press*’s readership that “the place is being newly painted and decorated, and will soon be one of the nicest-looking restaurants in town.”²⁶⁵

Clapp also indicated that just as Pfaff remained, seemingly holding fast to his establishment, Cruyt too, from the very beginning, had mixed feelings about Pfaff’s place: Cruyt, on the other hand, turns a wishful eye now and then back to Delmonico’s (where he was chef de cuisine for so long), but is getting gradually used to his new quarters, and maintains their prestige so well that soon it will be as natural to say “Let’s go to Cruyt’s,” as it has been for this ten years to say “Let’s go to Pfaff’s.”²⁶⁶ Clapp, if his dates are correct, indicates that he has had some connection to the restaurant for the previous decade, or since 1856, which lends support to the earlier discovery myths. Yet, Clapp expresses mixed feelings about Cruyt’s ability to replace Charles Pfaff as proprietor since he praised Cruyt, but also wrote, “[Pfaff’s] name still remains to us—a name known, now, all over the land—and it will be a long time before the establishment will be known by any other.”²⁶⁷ Clapp even went so far as to criticize Cruyt’s ability to manage the restaurant, telling his readers that soon after the deal was made with Cruyt, “Some people to be sure, don’t like the place, because, you know, some people have been

kicked out.”²⁶⁸ Is this an indirect way of saying that Clapp himself has been asked to leave Cruyt’s? Perhaps it suggests that the American bohemians or their associates are no longer welcome in the cellar at all hours. At any rate, this bad press from Clapp, particularly his implication that significant changes were being made in the way the needs and requests of customers were handled, was almost certainly the beginning of the end of the arrangement between Pfaff and Cruyt.

Clapp was at least partly right, as Pfaff’s place does not seem to have been known as “Cruyt’s” for very long since Pfaff’s absence from the restaurant business was not an extended one. By mid-October 1867, two years after having “sold out,” Captain Pfaff was back at the helm of his 653 Broadway establishment.²⁶⁹ A notice in the *Courrier des Etats-Unis* confirms Pfaff’s return: “C. PFAFF, RESTAURANT, 653 BROADWAY, Prévient sa nombreuse clientèle qu’il a repris la gérance de son ancien établissement” [Trans. [C. Pfaff] informs his large clientele that he has resumed the management of his old establishment]. Here, Pfaff points out that now he has regained control of the restaurant, and he reassures his customers that he will again offer “VINS, LIQUERS ET CIGARES de première qualité” [trans. Wines, Liquors, and Cigars of the best quality], just as he did before the establishment changed hands.²⁷⁰

An article entitled “The Secret of Success,” published in *The Fireside Companion* in February 1868 helps shed even more light on Pfaff’s dealings with Cruyt. First, the author praises Pfaff as a skilled businessman and describes the restaurateur’s success, noting that Pfaff’s “name has become as familiar from Maine to Georgia, as that of DELMONICO, and is extensively known even on the other side of the Atlantic.”²⁷¹ According to this piece, Pfaff had begun his business in a “little under-ground place” approximately “ten or twelve years ago,” a statement that, much like Henry Clapp’s, seems to indicate an opening date as early as 1856 or a slightly later one of 1858 for the first establishment. Pfaff’s “secret,” or the reason his restaurants have been so profitable despite being “similar in appearance” to many cellar saloons in New York during this period, then, is Pfaff himself. Pfaff’s business model, the author contends was simply this:

“[B]y attending personally to every department of the business, and having everything a little better than could be found in any other place of the kind, [Pfaff] succeeded, almost before knowing it, in accumulating a fortune, and achieving a reputation, which, to-day, is of itself worth half-a-dozen fortunes more.”²⁷²

The author confirms that two years prior, Pfaff retired and sold his restaurant at 653 Broadway, “a much finer one than he commenced with, but still a basement,” leaving his business in the hands of “parties who, not having his tact, so reduced the custom, that the place finally reverted back to him again.”²⁷³

In this light, it seems that Clapp was right when he wrote about the modifications with regard to Pfaff’s clientele, including the statement that some former customers were no longer welcome in Cruyt’s. Even the renovations that Cruyt made to the place could not compensate for a seeming lack of customer service skills. One also has to wonder if Cruyt was as generous in allowing customers to run up tabs, as Pfaff was known to have been. As a result of the new owner’s rules and practices, however, “Cruyt’s” fast became “Pfaff’s” again, and by the time this story explaining the incident appeared, Pfaff had returned to the restaurant, and was, “conducting it on the original plan, doing better than ever.”²⁷⁴

A Pfaff’s Restaurant at 696 Broadway?

There is also some evidence that, during and seemingly prior to 1869, Pfaff may have managed or at least been associated with yet another restaurant in addition to that at 653 Broadway: this time the establishment was located at 696 Broadway. In 1869, an article in the *New York Herald* places a “Charles Pfaff” in the restaurant business at this previously unknown location on Broadway—which may or may not be an erroneous address—and details a court case that links a Charles Pfaff as a restaurant proprietor to a “bohemian” named Edward Lingham, who had failed to pay for a morning meal consumed at Pfaff’s establishment.²⁷⁵ Up until this point, Pfaff, the ever-genial host of Clapp and his friends, has been portrayed as generous in extending to his customers—especially the American bohemians—at least a small credit. Yet, Pfaff’s employee, a barkeeper named Edward de Brauwere was clearly not feeling as much sympathy or kindness toward Lingham, whom the paper describes as a member of “a well known class of eccentric fellows that abound in this city” who expected to eat for free at a restaurant where “professional men” often gathered.²⁷⁶ The clear distinction between “eccentric fellows” and “professional men” suggests that undesirable bohemian customers as well as a highly regarded regular clientele of businessmen patronized 696 Broadway. Lingham was accused of ordering a pancake and a cup of coffee, for which he owed the sum of 35 cents. But he refused to pay the check because he claimed he had no money with which to settle the debt. In his defense, Lingham argued that on several occasions Pfaff had willingly granted him credit and the ability to carry a tab; however, the barkeeper De Brauwere wanted the young man prosecuted, and so he, serving as the representative of Mr. Pfaff, brought Lingham before Justice Dodge at the Jefferson Market Police court.²⁷⁷ As the case was heard, de Brauwere, explained that “a great number of persons, particularly those called ‘Bohemians,’ come to the place and obtain their meals just as the prisoner did, and he [presumably Mr. Pfaff this time] wanted to have the thing stopped.”²⁷⁸ The barkeeper went on to charge that Lingham ordered the

food that he could not pay for and “consumed the same with intent to cheat and defraud in violation of an act to prevent frauds and fraudulent practices by hotel keepers,” &c.”²⁷⁹ At least at this time, “the prisoner was committed.”²⁸⁰

I cannot say for sure this is Charles Pfaff, but the story sounds plausible, even if a bit out of character given Pfaff’s reputation for catering to the bohemians’ desires, a philosophy of customer service that de Brauwere apparently did not share. Yet, a commentary in the *New York Herald* not only provides further evidence that this restaurant owner was, indeed, the former host of the American bohemians, but it also suggests that Pfaff’s generous attitude may have been changing at this time: “Dreadful news in Bohemia! Pfaff has come out for the ready money principle.”²⁸¹ In other words, Pfaff had begun to choose profit or cash payment over bestowing credit upon bohemians who might not ever be able to pay. Yet, as the writer implies with a pointed rhetorical question that alienating the few remaining bohemians might put the beer cellar out of business: “Does he [Pfaff] expect to shut up shop, then?” the writer quips, thereby expressing doubts about Pfaff’s change of heart with respect to his most famous customers. This sounds more like the attitude adapted by the unsuccessful Kruyt than Pfaff himself. Even so, the writer then considers another possibility, wondering, “And will this desperate step drive the said Bohemians to labor for the sake of pancakes and coffee?” In doing so, the writer seems to ascribe to the view of the American bohemians as lazy, unmotivated men and women who will refuse to work for their meals, at least until Pfaff decides to stop providing them with food and drink. Pfaff may, however, be purposefully attempting to distance himself from the vestiges of the Bohemian crowd that had gathered at his establishment. Just three months earlier, after all, in December 1868, a writer for the *Utica Observer* remarked, “Bohemia, as it existed in New York, eating and drinking at Pfaff’s and taking no thought for tomorrow, is nearly broken up.” The writer asserted that Pfaff had already lost much of his former clientele and described the restaurant as “a banquet hall deserted,” and, this attempt to prosecute customers who refuse to pay may have been aimed at drawing more “professional men” to Pfaff’s establishments.²⁸²

It is important to note here that there are no known advertisements for a Pfaff’s located at 696 Broadway. Nevertheless, it is certainly possible that this place was known by another name since the barkeeper seems to be in charge, while Pfaff, as proprietor—uncharacteristically, I might add—does not appear to direct the day-to-day operations. But if Pfaff’s finances were already beginning to suffer from his previous willingness to give credit to the Bohemians (and it is certain that Pfaff’s liberality with respect to money early in his career resulted in financial hardships by the end of his life), this scenario is certainly possible and is perhaps even a way to start to collect on debts that were owed to

the proprietor. Furthermore, the sequence of events also makes sense if Pfaff is intent on dissociating himself from his former American bohemian customers in an effort to establish a reputation among the kind of business professionals and international travelers who seemed to be the type of clientele that would be most interested in the restaurant and hotel that he would establish in 1876, some seven years after this legal action against Lingham.

Pfaff and the Restaurant in the 1870s

The 1870s seems to have marked a period of change for Charles Pfaff, his family, and his restaurant. In 1870, Charles Pfaff and his son are listed on the census twice, each time in a different location, which suggests they may have moved within the year. On July 2, 1870, fifty-year-old Charles Pfaff and his thirteen-year-old son are living in the same dwelling as J. Zimmerman, a hotel keeper, and his eighteen-year-old son, a store clerk named Robert Zimmerman in the third election district of New York City’s 15th Ward.²⁸³ There are several noteworthy pieces of information contained in this census record. First of all, Pfaff’s surname is spelled “Paff” (although it could also be and is transcribed on the genealogy website *Family Search* as “Raff”). While it is likely just a coincidence, it is interesting that Pfaff becomes “Raff” or “Paff” here since the latter was the spelling used on the Corinthian’s manifest for Ignaac Paff. There is no mention of Pfaff’s wife on this record; however, the year 1870 seems to be the beginning of a close and lasting friendship between the Pfaffs and the Zimmermans. Members of the Zimmerman family not only live in the same dwelling as Pfaff and his son, but persons with that last name (and presumably members of the same family) share a home with Pfaff according to the 1880 census as well. By December 23, 1870, the Pfaff and his son are listed at an address located in the 10th district of the 15th Ward, on Greene Street between Bleecker and Amity Streets. Here, “Pfaff” is spelled “Phaff,” and this time, it is Catharine Zimmerman, age 40 and Robert Zimmerman, age 18 that live in the same house as the Pfaffs.²⁸⁴ It is also worth mentioning that in the July 1870 census entry for Charles Pfaff, Sr., there is a check mark in the box reserved for “Male citizens over 21 whose right to vote is denied or abridged for reasons other than rebellion or other crime”; however, in December 1870, there is no such notation on the line for Pfaff’s name.²⁸⁵

Another important event for the Pfaff family that occurred in the early 1870s was that Charles Pfaff, Jr., then approximately thirteen years of age, was sent away from his father’s beer cellar and from New York to continue his education. Charles Pfaff, Jr., entered a Moravian School known as Nazareth Hall in 1871, a boarding school for young men located in Nazareth, Pennsylvania. His entering class contained seventy members (including Pfaff himself), and his name is listed in a catalogue of pupils simply as “Pfaff,

Charles, New York.”²⁸⁶ Given that Pfaff, Sr. was a native of Germany, it is not surprising that he would want his son educated at the school. Nazareth Hall was advertised in periodicals such as *Harper’s Weekly*, and the *New York Morning Courier* in the 1860s.²⁸⁷ Given Charles Pfaff’s reputation for keeping periodicals in his cellar, he might have easily seen such advertisements for Nazareth Hall. On September 2, 1873, when Pfaff, Jr. would have been entering his third year at Nazareth, The *New York Tribune* printed a profile of the school under the headline “Suggestions for Parents,” as part of a series of descriptive columns on private educational institutions.²⁸⁸ At that time, Pfaff was one of 130 students that were taught by Nazareth’s thirteen teachers. Room and board and tuition would have cost Charles Pfaff, Sr. \$280? [illegible] per year, and for this sum, his son could have studied “the common English branches,” as well as mathematics (algebra and geometry), the sciences (astronomy, physics, chemistry, geology), and industrial drawing. For an extra fee students received instruction in foreign languages and/or music. Pfaff, Jr. would have also been encouraged to participate in athletic sports, gymnastics, and/or military drills.²⁸⁹ Although his favorite recreational activities at Nazareth are uncertain, it may have been here that he developed or at least increased his love for athletic contests, like the speed skating competitions held on various frozen lakes that he frequently entered when he returned to New York following the completion of his education. By that time Pfaff, Jr. had acquired the skills necessary to pursue a position in a Mercantile house, which he would do in 1876.

At the same time, the early 1870s saw the emergence of new, creative advertising strategies for Pfaff’s restaurant. One such advertisement that appeared in *The American Enterprise* in January 1872 was written in the form of a poem, entitled “RHYMES AT A RESTAURANT.”²⁹⁰ The poem has a subtitle, printed in italics, that provides the name and address of the “Restaurant” in question: “*C. Pfaff’s, 653 Broadway, New York.*” Although certainly humorous in tone, the poem also functioned as a menu that gave potential customers insight into the foods and beverages available at Pfaff’s. The poet draws attention to Pfaff’s tea and his rhein wine and to the lager beer and coffee that helped make Pfaff famous since those are among the items that the American bohemians had praised at 647 Broadway more than a decade earlier. Here, the poet also chooses to point out primarily the meats or the “beef,” the “Schinken” (ham), and the “mutton” that likely make up the main dinner courses at the cellar. There may even be a reference to the American bohemians in the second line of the poem since Pfaff’s customers are designated as “Herr, Ritter, and Graf,” which can be translated from the German as “Man, Knights, and Count.” The American bohemians were sometimes referred to as the “Knights of the Round Table,” and this word choice may suggest that the remaining

members of the group are responsible for or at least associated with the creation of this poem.

Even though the poem could substitute for the restaurant’s menu, it is perhaps even more important for its language and its rhyme scheme. The poem makes use of words from German, French, and English, all of which are languages that Charles Pfaff was known to speak. The writer’s linguistic ability and affinity for word play suggests that the intended audience for such a poem would know the meaning and pronunciation of the words from at least one and, ideally, more of the three languages that appear in the piece. Thus Pfaff seemingly continues to market his restaurant to a French and/or German speaking clientele. In addition to switching languages throughout the poem, another of the writer’s impressive linguistic feats is that the word at the end of each line ends in “aff.” All of the lines, therefore, are intended to rhyme or nearly rhyme with one another. The repetition of the “aff” sound throughout the poem constantly reminds the reader of the name of the proprietor and of the restaurant itself. The name “Pfaff” also actually appears four times throughout the poem. The “C. Pfaff” at the end of the poem is both the name of the proprietor and an encouragement for readers to “See Pfaff” for dinner and drinks.

Another feature that might attract customers is the poem’s mention of the restaurant’s staff. Once again the staff is presented as a veritable brigade of “nimble-foot[ed]” men that “wait” insofar as they serve the customers and are “waiting” or remaining in the establishment in anticipation of more patrons arriving at “THE RESTAURANT PFAFF.” Because these words are printed in capital letters, the reader’s eye is immediately drawn to the end of the poem and, of course, to the name of the restaurant. Even the title “Rhymes at a Restaurant” could be meant to suggest that this poem was composed at Pfaff’s cellar. Readers, therefore, not only imagine a group of patrons around a table writing these lines in the cellar, but they also learn that they can go and see for themselves the location the poet praises and, perhaps, even the very site where this combination of literature and advertising was created.

On the same page as the poem, another particularly unique ad for Pfaff’s appears, containing the words “CHARLES PFAFF” in capital letters (see Figure 10, Appendix A).²⁹¹ Above, below, and between the letters of Pfaff’s name, the advertisement is illustrated with small comical sketches of Pfaff’s customers and possibly even Pfaff himself. Given that some of the American bohemian group were also artists and illustrators, it is hard not to speculate that the advertisement may have been designed by one of the former members of Clapp’s crowd. In the far left, surrounded by the “C” that begins “CHARLES,” is an image of a large, stocky man with a beard shoveling food into a huge mouth, that appears where one would expect an oven to be depicted. This man

may be Charles Pfaff since the illustration seems to match physical descriptions of the bar-owner.

If this is the case, then Pfaff appears several times throughout the ad performing tasks ranging from cooking to serving drinks in glasses and from holding a ladle for soup to staggering under the weight of a bottle of wine that seems to be as big as Pfaff himself. When he serves the drinks, he holds a wine glass on a tray so close to the head of one male customer that it seems he is literally playing “Ganymede” insofar as he seems to offer the cups so that the patrons could drink from them while he continues to hold them in place. On the far right—in what is perhaps the strangest and most graphic illustration of the advertisement—Pfaff’s own head, having been separated from the rest of his body, is offered up to the reader on a platter carried by a servant or a waiter. Pfaff’s head, particularly the lines of his face, gradually become through a series of slightly altered or morphing portraits the name of the street where Pfaff’s is located. At the end of the advertisement, therefore, Pfaff’s face has become the word “BROADWAY,” which curls around the last remaining lines of Pfaff’s head. This suggests that Pfaff and his restaurant are synonymous with the famous New York Street since this is at least his third restaurant on Broadway. Pfaff’s head on the platter may symbolize the bar-owner’s sacrifice, that is, his efforts to satisfy his customers by managing each aspect of the business himself. It was this hard work and determination that Pfaff had been praised for years earlier when he again stepped into the position of owner following the unsuccessful changes Cruyt made in his business model. In short, what patrons get at Pfaff’s and, indeed, the reason why they go to the restaurant is Pfaff himself and his impeccable customer service.

One of the most noteworthy and humorous illustrations that accompany the advertisement shows Pfaff carrying a large, living frog around the restaurant on a platter as if to serve the animal to a guest or to drop it into a cooking pot. The frog stares gloomily back at Pfaff as if it knows and, with good reason, dreads its fate. The frog may be a reference to the restaurant’s menu, especially if it included frogs’ legs and/or it may signify French cuisine and, by extension, the French immigrants and/or French-speaking clientele that frequented the place. It could also have literary connotations, which would not have escaped the notice of the American bohemians. After all, Henry Clapp, Jr. first published Mark Twain’s story “Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog” (later “The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County”) in the *Saturday Press* in 1865, a time when Pfaff’s would have only just opened at the 653 location.²⁹² In addition to the frog, the ad features at least one more potential tribute to the American bohemian group. Although, perhaps a bit of a stretch, from a distance, when a reader examines the advertisement, the letters do not simply appear to spell out “CHARLES PFAFF.” Because some parts of the letters are half-hidden by the illustrations of Pfaff and his

patrons, they almost seem to spell “SHAKESPEARE.”²⁹³ The name of the bard would have held particular significance for the actors, actresses, and drama critics that came to Pfaff’s. Even more importantly, however, “SHAKESPEARE” might also be interpreted as a reference to the “Shakespeare Tavern,” which “opened in 1808 at the corner of Nassau and Fulton streets and was for the next thirty years the rendezvous of New York literati.”²⁹⁴ The owner of the tavern was Thomas Hawkins Hodgkinson, who was an actor himself, and during this time, the place was especially well known as a “resort for the actors, the artists, the writers, the talkers of the town.”²⁹⁵ The tavern’s impressive reputation could also be attributed to “the excellence of its wines and for the quaint style and quiet comfort of its suppers.”²⁹⁶ Like the Shakespeare Tavern, Pfaff’s, in its most famous days at 647 Broadway boasted a largely literary and dramatic clientele, and it makes sense that the restaurant at its 653 Broadway location would remind its customers of the heyday of American bohemia and of a rich history of a similar gathering place in early nineteenth-century New York.

The Move to 9 West 24th Street

Charles Pfaff continued to operate his restaurant at 653 Broadway for four more years. Pfaff, Sr. retained the place, in other words, for the entire time that his son was at Nazareth Hall. But by 1875, Charles Pfaff, Jr., had seemingly finished his classes at Nazareth and headed home to New York City. Later that same year, Pfaff, Jr. may have taken additional courses at Packard’s Business College that would have prepared him for an entry-level position as a clerk and for advancement within whatever business he chose to enter.²⁹⁷ It is easy to see how Silas Sadler Packard’s (S. S. Packard) business college would have appealed to both Charles Pfaff, Jr. and his father. Packard’s was popular among students from Germany and England. The college was located nearby at 805 Broadway, and its curriculum included courses such as “Business Customs and Habits,” and “Correspondence” in addition to optional foreign language classes in French and/or German.²⁹⁸ Pfaff, Sr. certainly might have encouraged his son in this course of study given that he himself was well respected for his knowledge of the restaurant business. An entry for “Pfaff, Charles . . . New York” appears in Packard’s catalogue for 1876, and provided this is Pfaff, Jr., it indicates that he would have been in daily attendance at the school in 1875.²⁹⁹ It is worth noting that a Robert Zimmermann from New York, possibly the young clerk who resided in the Pfaff household on the 1870 census, was also taking courses at Packard’s at the same time as Charles Pfaff, which seems to offer evidence that the latter was indeed the son of the restaurant owner.³⁰⁰

In February 1876, likely after the younger Pfaff, then approximately nineteen years old, had completed or simply ended his studies at Packard’s, a notice appeared in

the *New York Herald*, stating “Wanted—BY A YOUNG MAN, A GRADUATE OF the Moravian School of Nazareth, Pa., a situation in a first class mercantile house; salary no object. Address C. Pfaff, 653 Broadway.” Four years later, on the 1880 census, the young man’s profession was recorded as “clerk,” which suggests that, at least by that time, Pfaff Jr., had obtained a position that was presumably outside his father’s restaurant, but within which he would utilize his business training.³⁰¹ In the intervening years, however, Pfaff, Jr. assisted his father with the family’s restaurant. With a son ready to enter a business career of his own, Charles Pfaff, Sr. may have seen this as an ideal opportunity to rent a space that would make it possible for him to expand the family business such that, as I will show later, he was not simply concerned with food and drinks, but also with the establishment of a hotel. According to the *New York Tribune*, Charles Pfaff opened this new place “in connection with his son.”³⁰² The *Goulding’s New York City Directory* for the year ending May 1, 1878, reveals that there is a “Charles Pfaff” working as a “cook” and living in a house at 176 W. 30th Street. Also living in this same residence is a “Robert Zimmerman,” who is employed as a “bartender.”³⁰³ It seems quite likely that this is Charles Pfaff, Jr., as well as the same Robert Zimmerman who appeared in the Pfaffs’ home in the 1870 census, who studied at Packard’s Business College, and who would return to Pfaff, Sr.’s home on W. 25th Street by 1880.³⁰⁴

In May of 1876, therefore, with the help of his son and possibly also Robert Zimmerman, Pfaff’s restaurant and saloon moved for the final time to a building Pfaff had rented, located at 9 W. 24th Street, opposite the Madison Square Theater and the Fifth Avenue Hotel. Charles Pfaff the elder then became, as Rufus Rockwell Wilson put it in the *Elmira Telegram*, “the presiding genius of a little beer shop on Twenty-fourth street almost within a stone’s throw of the Hoffman house”³⁰⁵ A notice in the May 12, 1876, issue of the *Courrier des Etats-Unis* announces Pfaff’s move: “L’établissement sera transféré, a partir du 1er Mai, au n 9, Ouest 24me rue, près de Broadway” [trans. “The establishment will be transferred from May Day [the first of May] to No. 9 W. 24th Street near Broadway”] (See Figure 11, Appendix A).³⁰⁶ Another removal notice suggests a slightly later opening date for Pfaff’s last restaurant. On May 7, 1876, the *New York Herald* published a notice that declared, “REMOVAL—PFAFF’S RESTAURANT, FORMERLY AT 685, 647, and 653 Broadway, will open in a few days in the spacious building No. 9 West 24th st., near Broadway.”³⁰⁷ This time the notice recorded not only the new address, but also the three earlier locations, and in doing so, Pfaff ensured that any customer who had visited one of these previous establishments would now know where to find the familiar proprietor and his French and German fare. However, Pfaff’s new restaurant would prove to be a very different kind of business than any of the cellars

he operated on Broadway over the previous two decades since it was to become both a restaurant and hotel, offering rooms to gentlemen.

Although Pfaff’s 9 W. 24th Street restaurant, or as it would later be dubbed, “Pfaff’s Hotel,” looked ostensibly like a lager beer saloon when customers entered on the lower level, the building had multiple floors, several of which were utilized by Pfaff and his patrons.³⁰⁸ Above the saloon was a large dining room, and in the upper stories, there were furnished apartments that the proprietor rented to overnight guests.³⁰⁹ Besides the additional guest rooms, at least one of the larger rooms on the upper floors of Pfaff’s had a “nicely furnished parlor floor” that the proprietor allowed political and social clubs to rent when they wished to hold celebrations or events at the restaurant.³¹⁰

Newspapers across the United States noticed how Pfaff’s had changed from its origins in a tiny cellar to a more upscale hotel and restaurant at its new location. A writer for the *Galveston Daily News* explained, “His [Pfaff’s] establishment is not a dingy cellar, as of yore, but a somewhat fashionable restaurant above ground.”³¹¹ In other words, Pfaff’s had moved “uptown to respectability.”³¹² As the *Chicago Tribune* put it best in 1881, the former beer cellar was “not a bit like . . . the pretentious Hotel Pfaff of today.”³¹³ However, the writer also admitted, that Pfaff still “gripp[ed] the beer-faucet as proudly as if it were the helm of the Ship of State” even though “he had grown more dignified and abdominal.”³¹⁴ One of the most noticeable changes to the former saloon was the sign out front welcoming patrons to Pfaff’s. At 647 Broadway, the sign read only “Pfaff” and “Restauration.”³¹⁵ But in the 1880s Pfaff acquired a “gilded and eminently aristocratic-looking signboard,” and he had “a new lease on life, the ownership of a brown-stone front, and the possession of altogether impressive and high-toned surroundings.”³¹⁶ In addition to more space and a fancy signboard, Pfaff also had a sanitation system installed at the restaurant and hotel: he used the “Germicide Preventative System, from Germicide Co.”³¹⁷ The name of Pfaff’s restaurant appeared in an advertisement listing known users of this “apparatus which supplies a constant flow of chloride zinc through the closets to the sewer” and “purifies the air of the closets,” thereby ensuring that this new place was far more sanitary than the not so-spic-and-span cellar at 647 Broadway.³¹⁸

It is certain that Pfaff was happy with his new location, but the multi-floored establishment could never have the same atmosphere as the cellar vault on Broadway where the “Princes of Bohemia nightly assembled to quaff the seductive lager, while the very cobwebs were shaken by peals of merry laughter inspired by jovial jest, epigrammatic wit, and sparkling repartee.”³¹⁹ Even though Pfaff continued to target French and German speakers with his advertising, as I will discuss later, the clientele were no longer American bohemians. In fact, “Pfaff’s patronage was decidedly

different,” so much so that even Pfaff himself recognized that “his ‘cellar’ friends had gradually disappeared and he had . . . lived long enough to find genuine Bohemianism a thing of the past.”³²⁰ After all, quite a few of the members of the American bohemian group died before Pfaff moved his business to 9 W. 24th Street in 1876. Fitz James O’Brien succumbed to his Civil War injuries in 1862, and the dramatic critic Ned Wilkins and the poet George Arnold, who had nearly come to blows with Whitman at Pfaff’s, both died in the 1860s. In the two years before Pfaff’s opened what would be his last restaurant, American bohemia lost both its King and its Queen. In 1874 Ada Clare passed away after contracting rabies as a result of being bitten on the nose by a friend’s dog.³²¹ In 1875, Henry Clapp passed away; as Whitman put it, “Poor fellow, he died in the gutter—drink—drink took him down, down.”³²² Pfaff likely mourned the loss of Clapp; by this time, the bar owner had been giving Clapp money and/or food for years in part due to the publicity and the customers that Clapp had brought to Pfaff’s places over the years.³²³

Of the American bohemians that remained when Charles Pfaff was moving into his new brownstone front and, therefore, closer to “respectability,” most of them had, according to Rufus Rockwell Wilson, “outlived their former irregular and reckless habits.” T. B. Aldrich, for example, became the “serious-minded” editor for the *Atlantic Monthly*, and William Winter had become “discriminating and scholarly.”³²⁴ Edmund Clarence Stedmund, a journalist and literary critic took up a career in the banking industry.³²⁵ According to a writer for the comic paper titled *The Funniest of Awl & the Phunnyest Sort of Phun*, this transition to respectability had happened for some of the bohemians as early as 1864: “Some of the leading Bohemians it was understood got married, and became ‘regular’ critics, others bought a house, and a few acquired the absurd habit of paying their tailors’ and washerwomen’s bills.”³²⁶ Here, the author is pointing to the fact that some of the former American bohemians became decidedly more mainstream than radical following their time at Pfaff’s even as s/he is also having a laugh at the American bohemians’ attempt to trade in their eccentric dress for more sophisticated, tailored clothing and, arguably, proper comportment to accompany those new looks. The author went on to suggest that these changes in the former American bohemians’ appearance and behavior might have been among the reasons that the bohemian coterie had dissolved in the first place: “This last proceeding [the paying of tailors and washerwomen], so entirely at war with the instincts and habits of the class to which they were supposed to belong, broke up the organization.” In effect, with many members of the former group either no longer alive and those that were in careers and lives that seemed far removed from their bohemian past, it is no wonder that Pfaff felt the loss of his former clientele deeply even as he was marketing the restaurant to a clientele

that would have been much closer to the serious writers and businessmen than some of Clapp’s coterie had become than to the young bohemians they had once been. Elihu Vedder, however, who had known Charles Pfaff for years, could see that the owner missed his basement vault and its frequent inhabitants: “I really believe Pfaff himself loved the Boys . . . I saw him in his new place and asked him about it . . . but then he said, ‘It isn’t the same thing; dere’s no more poys [boys] left enny more.’”³²⁷

Although all the members of the American bohemian coterie would never gather at Pfaff’s new establishment, Pfaff was reunited with a former patron of 647 Broadway when Walt Whitman paid him a visit on August 16, 1881. The poet took the railroad and the eight o’clock stage, a journey of some ten miles, in order to arrive in time for what he described as “an excellent breakfast” at Pfaff’s restaurant.³²⁸ Upon seeing Whitman, Pfaff immediately welcomed him and opened a “big fat bottle of the best wine in the cellar” so the two old friends could, as Whitman put it, “talk about ante-bellum times, ’59 and ’60, and the jovial suppers at his then Broadway place.” Reminiscing with Pfaff about the American bohemians, Whitman recalled, “Ah, the friends and names and frequenters, those times, that place. Most are dead—Ada Clare, Wilkins, Daisy Sheppard, O’Brien, Henry Clapp, Stanley, Mullin, Wood, Brougham, Arnold—all gone.”³²⁹ As Whitman lists the names of their friends who have passed away, it becomes painfully clear that the poet and the bar owner are fast becoming the only remaining members of the group who know what it was like to see and experience so many bohemian writers and artists gathered in Pfaff’s most famous Broadway cellar. Sitting across from each other at a small table, the poet and Pfaff honored the memory of their friends “in a style they [the American bohemians] would have themselves fully confirm’d, namely big brimming, fill’d-up champagne-glasses, drain’d in abstracted silence, very leisurely, to the last drop.” It was this meeting with Pfaff—over some bottles the restaurant owner had likely saved for just such an occasion—that prompted Whitman to declare that Pfaff was the “best selector of champagne in American.”³³⁰ In spite of the reunion and the chance to discuss old times with Pfaff, Whitman was never a regular at Pfaff’s 24th Street restaurant. Thus, Pfaff may have come to consider Whitman as one of the “Boys” that he missed.

There were certainly fewer “Boys” at the 24th street hotel, but a few of Pfaff’s former customers did follow him to the new location, and James Ford observed, “a dozen old beggars and pensioners, whom he [Pfaff] had helped for years,” (just as he had done for Henry Clapp) continued to patronize the establishment.³³¹ There was also at least one “coterie of gay old chaps” that consisted of “twelve jolly old sports” who gathered at “Bohemian Pfaff’s place” every New Year’s Eve. Even though American bohemia had dissolved many years earlier, Pfaff’s reputation and his business, for better or for worse, were still associated with Bohemianism at least in the eyes of some of his customers and

in the press. This group of “old chaps” established their own yearly ritual at Pfaff’s. As a joke, one of the members divided a dollar bill into twelve pieces, keeping one for himself and “dividing eleven of them among his comrades.”³³² From that time on, each New Year’s Day they returned to Pfaff’s place with the understanding that “at the appointed hour on the first day of the year the jolly old cronies [would] meet and crack jokes and bottles as they put that old dollar bill together.” The absence of a piece of the dollar would indicate to the rest of the group that its owner had passed away. By 1882, the first piece went missing, and according to the writer of the article, at least one more was gone when he had last seen this group, which was just before Pfaff went out of business.

Pfaff’s may have appealed to “jolly old sports,” but his advertising in English, French, and German suggests that the hotel and restaurant still sought to maintain or to rekindle that international ambiance Pfaff had succeeded in establishing on Broadway in the late 1850s. However, Pfaff’s Hotel may have aimed to appeal to gentlemen on business in New York and/or to middle and upper class European travelers rather than recent immigrants or laborers like his early restaurants. Some of the hotel’s offerings are also reminiscent of those advertised by the Stevens House Hotel that Pfaff may or may not have been associated with when he first arrived in New York City. For example, in the restaurant in 1877, Pfaff provided a Table d’Hote for \$1 from 5PM to 8PM, while breakfast was priced at 50 cents and served from 7 AM to 12 PM.³³³ By 1879, the hours of the Table d’Hote were 6-8PM and the \$1 price now included ½ bottle of wine.³³⁴ Pfaff also retained his reputation for being a wine expert since *Cook’s Excursionist and Home and Foreign Tourist Advertiser* boasted to its readership that the restaurant had “one of the best wine cellars in the city.”³³⁵ Pfaff also seems to have maintained a steady commitment to the aforementioned prices throughout the late 1870s since, as previously noted, he had built his reputation on affordable food and drink.

Pfaff placed advertisements for the restaurant and hotel in both French and German language publications in the late 1870s. In 1877, for example, in a French directory to New York City, Pfaff dubbed his place a “GRAND RESTAURANT FRANCAIS” or a “great French Restaurant.”³³⁶ He also promised an “a la Carte” menu from 7AM until 8PM along with a well-served table, and liquors of the first quality.³³⁷ In that same year, in a German language version of *Puck* magazine, Pfaff again offered breakfast for fifty cents, but here, he also makes mention of the hotel part of his business, offering “Möblirte Zimmer zu vermieten” or “Furnished rooms to let” (See Figure 12, Appendix A).³³⁸ He had placed a similar advertisement for “Appartements Meubles A Louer”—also referring to the furnished rooms available for rent in his establishment—in the *Courrier des Etats-Unis* as early as October 4, 1876.³³⁹ These rooms on the floors above the restaurant, however, were available exclusively to gentlemen boarders,

according to the *New York Evening Express*.³⁴⁰ The rooms were described in a *New York Herald* posting under the headline "Boarders Wanted" as "handsomely furnished" and were available to men who wanted to rent them either with or without board.³⁴¹ Although it would be difficult to determine how much Pfaff profited from renting out the upstairs rooms in the W. 24th Street building, the aspect of the hotel that attracted the most customers was still Pfaff's beer and wines, or the downstairs bar-room.

An Interview with Charles Pfaff

It was precisely because this barroom attracted so many customers that, on November 23, 1877, a writer for the *New York Daily Tribune* talked with Pfaff about his reaction to the Excise Commission's process of licensing proprietors to keep hotels and his opinion on Sunday laws, which forbade the sale of alcohol on that day of the week.³⁴² This was, of course, a concern for hotelkeepers, who often received requests for liquor on Sundays from paying guests and would want to find ways of accommodating them even if the establishment's barroom remained closed to the public on that day. The *Daily Tribune* writer explained that he wanted to hear from Pfaff on these matters because his basement was virtually a lager bier saloon, and "the beer custom contributes largely to the revenue of the establishment."³⁴³ This is one of only two known times when a conversation with Pfaff about his business appears in print, and his thoughts on licensing and Sunday blue laws are particularly revealing. Before addressing Pfaff's comments, however, the rather complex procedure for licensing hotels should be explained here. According to the first part of the article, in order to obtain a license to keep a hotel, inn, or tavern in New York City, it was necessary for a person desiring a license to apply to the Excise Commission by writing a statement proposing to keep a hotel and showing the need for a hotel in a particular location. The statement was also supposed to serve as a testament to a proprietor's ability to run the business, to his "good moral character," and to assure the commission that the place provided at least three spare beds. An applicant also had to confirm that the establishment was not to be used for gambling or other immoral activities, such as prostitution. An affidavit must be obtained testifying to these facts, the licensing fee must be paid, and a sum of \$250 must be filed with each of two bondsmen. An inspection of the hotel in question would then take place and, afterwards, a report was presented to the board; the Commission then decided whether or not the license would be granted. Businesses not receiving licenses for whatever reason could not continue to operate, and the police, therefore, "quietly closed them up."³⁴⁴

On the day of his conversation with the writer for the *Tribune*, it was this complex process that had left Charles Pfaff "perfectly convinced he had been ill-treated by the Excise Commissioners." Pfaff's complaint was that his license had expired a little more

than three months earlier, on August 1, 1877, but on the day before the expiration date he had paid the fee and received a receipt. This receipt, according to the Excise Commissioners, did not substitute for a license nor did it promise one would be granted since all of the other steps in the process had to be fulfilled as well. Pfaff, on the other hand, believed the receipt should have some validity: “[W]hy should I not have some rights? I can’t get my license, and they say I must not carry on my business without it,” a clearly frustrated Pfaff told the writer. Pfaff’s Hotel and his basement bar-room and, of course, its wine cellar were his primary if not his only sources of income, and he certainly did not want to risk having his then unlicensed establishment shut down by police. In fact, Pfaff wanted to stay as far away from legal trouble as possible, a view he expresses quite adamantly when he compares the liquor laws of the United States to those of England:

They [New York police] might have a law as they have in England, that liquor should not be sold during the hours of church service. Then they make their arrests here in an indecent way. In England if a man violates the Sunday law, he receives a notice to appear on the following day. Here he is arrested and locked up over night. I don’t want to be arrested in that way. I had plenty of it seventeen years ago, in the days of the old Bohemians.³⁴⁵

Pfaff suggests that New York should follow England’s example when it comes to Sunday Laws; however, his thoughts on the arrests resulting from the city’s stringent policies on alcohol sales are even more significant because they shed new light on Pfaff’s relationship to his former American bohemian clientele. Pfaff does not portray the Bohemians as his best and most beloved customers, but rather he implies that their behavior caused him legal troubles and/or may have resulted in his arrest for violating the Sunday laws or for other unspecified activities.

This interview with the *Tribune* is the first time Pfaff explicitly indicates that he may still harbor some anger at the American bohemians, and he firmly asserts that he is fed up with legal troubles. His sentiments are reminiscent of the desire of a “Charles Pfaff” at 696 Broadway who seemingly wanted to put a stop to any remaining American bohemians’ antics in 1869 when the barkeeper Edward de Brauwere had Edward Lingham arrested for failure to pay his check.³⁴⁶ The implications here are that although the Bohemians may have drawn customers to Pfaff’s, they may have landed the proprietor in legal difficulties or even in jail overnight on more than one occasion, and one has to wonder what they did at his old cellar given that he appears to have a strong reaction to the incidents when recalling them so many years later. Pfaff’s statements suggest that his relationship to his former American bohemian clientele was more complicated than previously imagined and that he may not have always been the group’s

willing, genial host. In this light, it makes sense that Pfaff would want to publicly dissociate himself not only from the American bohemians of the past, but also from any records of his arrest if, indeed, such documents existed; after all, Pfaff was at the time of this interview the owner of a recently expanded restaurant and hotel business that needed licensing approval and paying customers. At the same time, the situation that Pfaff describes with regard to the Excise Commission begs the question of why Pfaff had not yet been granted his new license since he had certainly obtained similar licenses that allowed him to sell alcohol and operate eating houses for many years prior to 1877. Regardless of the reason for the licensing issue, it seems to have been only a temporary problem, and it must have been resolved to Pfaff’s satisfaction since his hotel remained open, and he proceeded with the operation of his business until he was forced, seemingly through no fault of his own, to give it up.

The Loss of 9 W. 24th Street and the Death of Charles Pfaff

Charles Pfaff remained in the restaurant business until April 1887, three years before his death.³⁴⁷ He retired only when he lost his lease on the space at 9 W 24th Street. Amos Cummings, writing for the *Brooklyn Standard Union*, reported on Pfaff’s reaction to the loss of his restaurant. Cummings visited the “veteran restaurateur [sic]” and described a sobering scene during which Pfaff, now a “stocky man with a full gray beard, trimmed in the Prince of Wales style” came to his meeting with Cummings and immediately “threw down his hat with an air of despair” and “began to talk about the day days of the past.”³⁴⁸ Pfaff had tears in his eyes as he recalled better days, namely the years when the Bohemians patronized his place. Pfaff was clearly heartbroken over his loss, but he almost certainly felt anger and frustration over the incident as well. He explained that in April 1887, Mrs. Benson, who owned the space that he rented for his business, came to Pfaff and “demanded an advance of \$500 per year on his rent, making it \$4,500 [illegible].” Pfaff was unable to pay the additional money, and, therefore, the contents of his place were to be sold at auction.³⁴⁹

On Monday, April 25, 1887, a notice appeared in the *New York Herald* by Richard Walters’ Sons Auctioneers, announcing a sale that very day at 10:30AM at “Pfaff’s Hotel”; the items listed for sale at the auction included, restaurant supplies such as a “Bar and Back Bar, Tables, Chairs, Glassware . . . Table linen, Ranges, Kitchen Ware” along with furnishings, presumably from the hotel rooms, including “Wardrobes, Bedding, Tables, Parlor furniture, Brussels Carpets.”³⁵⁰ In their conversation, Pfaff revealed to Cummings that he believed the reason for the sudden demand for additional rent and the subsequent auction was that F. I. Stokes [illegible] was anxious to obtain the

property Pfaff leased in order to utilize it as an annex to the nearby Hoffman House.³⁵¹ Pfaff's suspicions that the Hoffman House was interested in the 9 West 24th Street property do not, in retrospect, appear unfounded. In September 1877, a notice appeared in *The New York Herald* promising that the "Parlor Floor" inside the establishment—likely the same floor Pfaff himself had previously rented to social clubs—was again available as were the living quarters on the third floor; application could be made for either "at the office of the Hoffman House."³⁵² In part, as a result of this successful bid to expand the Hoffman House Hotel, Pfaff, who had long operated a series of largely successful cellars and restaurants lost nearly everything and believed, seemingly with good cause, that he had deliberately been put out of business.

Following the sale of the furnishings from Pfaff's restaurant and hotel, all that remained of the famous location was two barrels "of ashes and rubbish upon the sidewalk."³⁵³ In late June 1887, nearly three months after the auction, Abram Hewitt—then Mayor of New York—and former mayor Edward Cooper were walking toward the New Amsterdam club when they came across "two barrels filled with debris from Pfaff's once-famous hostelry, which ha[d] migrated from that vicinity" sitting on the sidewalk. Mayor Hewitt and Cooper moved the barrels, pulling them "toward the depressed area of Pfaff's." The remnants of Pfaff's were thus secured against a wall, and the two men proceeded to the club "with the consciousness of a duty well done." Some three years later, the last trace of Pfaff's hotel seems to have been removed. James Ford, presumably on a walk down W. 24th Street, noticed that sometime after the proprietor's death, the "gilded signboard" that had directed customers to "Pfaff's" had been taken down, and the place was long since closed.³⁵⁴

Although Charles Pfaff was devastated by the loss of his business, it is also true that the earlier fame and fortune that had been associated with his Broadway locations had not followed him to 9 W. 24th Street.³⁵⁵ Whereas Pfaff had many customers and earned "hundreds of dollars in daily custom" on Broadway, he actually lost money at his last hotel and restaurant.³⁵⁶ After his death, *The New York Times* emphasized Pfaff's financial woes and even went so far as to imply that it was Pfaff's generosity, the fact that he "lent and spent it [money] as freely as he made it" that may have contributed to his financial difficulties and, by extension, his inability to pay for the increase in rent. Also, by 1887, since many of the Bohemian crowd had already died, "he found it next to impossible to call in his loans" even though he had given these men and women credit or even supported them in their last years.³⁵⁷ These financial circumstances may have also prohibited him from leasing "cheaper quarters farther uptown and open[ing] a new resort" after he lost his hotel.³⁵⁸ The stress of these financial circumstances was, no doubt, a terrible burden for Pfaff to bear. At that time, his son, Charles, Jr., may have

been helping his father with the hotel or he may have already secured a position as a clerk. In either case, even if Pfaff, Jr. was earning a clerk’s salary at the time, it was not likely that he would have had the financial means to ensure that the family could continue in the hotel business. Charles Pfaff Sr.’s friends were even convinced that the extended financial worries and the ultimate loss of his restaurant and hotel “had much to do with hastening his death.”³⁵⁹

Charles Pfaff spent the last three years of his life in retirement. “Papa Pfaff,” as his customers liked to call him, died on Wednesday, April 23, 1890 of acute gastritis or “gastric hemorrhage in his 72nd year.”³⁶⁰ Pfaff died at home, and he was, at that time, residing at the Kenilworth, a set of apartments located at 326 W. 36th Street.³⁶¹ This obituary does not mention Pfaff’s family, but it is certain that Pfaff lived longer than his wife, and it appears that he never remarried. It also seems that he outlived most of the men and women of American bohemia. In fact, “after Pfaff’s day until 1893, there wasn’t any true Bohemia in New York” because, even at the time of Pfaff’s death, “that brilliant galaxy [had already] married, died, or settled into slow-paced workers, and Pfaff’s had become a part of “the literary history of New York before the present generation was born.”³⁶² According to Pfaff’s obituary in the *Omaha World-Herald*, the disappearance of Bohemia explained “why the press [did] not teem with biographies of him and reminiscences of his customers” after he passed away, meaning that there were few surviving members of the American bohemians left then that might have written a remembrance for Pfaff.³⁶³ Although, specific details about Pfaff’s origins and the first thirty years of his life may have been scarce even then precisely because, by this time, there were seemingly few family members or friends who were old or enough or who had known Pfaff well enough to give accounts of the restaurateur’s early years in New York.

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that several newspapers did print obituaries for the once-famed proprietor.³⁶⁴ An examination of the extant obituaries for Pfaff, however, suggests that the *World-Herald* writer was correct to point out that, following Pfaff’s death, few newspapers provided extensive biographical information about Pfaff or even related the circumstances surrounding his retirement from the restaurant business. *The Cambridge Tribune* reported in its “Library Chat” column, “That an obscure restaurant keeper died last week in New York does not seem at first thought a matter for library mention.” The writer continues, “That this obscure feeder of the people was Charles Pfaff, who once kept the only Bohemian restaurant in that city, will not rouse sentimental memories in the minds of many, if any, of our readers.”³⁶⁵ Yet, the writer must have believed that a brief history of Henry Clapp and Ada Clare would strike a chord with the paper’s readers since they feature more prominently in the article about Pfaff’s death than the proprietor himself. Like *The Cambridge Tribune*, several other

newspaper writers chose to focus on the literary and artistic patrons who frequented Pfaff's once thriving establishments, while providing a broad, retrospective view of the proprietor's career as a whole. In short, although newspaper readers were at least able to learn about Pfaff's final illness and his death, there was a clear lack of information about his *life*, and there is only one known obituary that mentions the fact that the proprietor was survived by a son, Charles Pfaff, Jr.³⁶⁶

Charles, Jr., who was likely still living in New York when his father passed away, may have been one of the restaurateur's few surviving family members; he is certainly the only direct descendent to be mentioned by name in an obituary for Pfaff, Sr.³⁶⁷ The former restaurant and saloon owner's funeral was held on Saturday, April 26, 1890. The conductor of the funeral services was the Reverend John Godson from the Jane Street Methodist Episcopal Church.³⁶⁸ The only people who attended the funeral, presumably according to Pfaff's wishes, were his son, other "members of Mr. Pfaff's family and their most intimate friends."³⁶⁹ None of the individuals in attendance are named in *The New York Times*. Pfaff was buried in Green-wood cemetery on the same day, and his burial record and seemingly his death certificate are filed under the name of "IGNATIUS PFAFF." There was no will, so Charles Jr., had to write to obtain a letter of administration in order to take over his father's affairs, which, according to New York City probate records was granted to the younger Pfaff and recorded on May 21, 1890.³⁷⁰ After this date, Charles Pfaff, Jr., then approximately thirty-three years old, presumably settled any of his father's business affairs and went on to establish himself in a series of careers in New York.

Life after the Restaurant Business: Charles Pfaff, Jr., Amateur Athlete

Charles Pfaff, Jr. was seemingly the only surviving child of the restaurant owner. Although he had assisted his father at the 9 W. 24th Street location of "Pfaff's," he either could not afford to or simply chose not to continue in the restaurant and hotel business—at least not as a proprietor—after his father lost his last restaurant. Pfaff, Jr.'s biographical information has proven difficult to trace because there is no evidence that he ever married or had a family, and his name is, of course, not unusual. With the exceptions of *Night Side of New York's* description of Pfaff, Sr. carrying young Charles around the bar-room and a brief mention of him in a biography of the actress Adah Isaacs Menken, Charles, Jr., much like his mother (although perhaps for different reasons) does not appear in the writings of the cellar's regular customers. Yet, it is certain that, on some occasions, he did go with his father to the restaurant. Even so, the only time Pfaff, Jr.'s association with American bohemia is explicitly acknowledged is when Menken's biographer, Noel Bertram Gerson credits Charles Pfaff, Jr., with telling him that "Miss

Menken reacted with pleasure when they notified her that Menken had divorced her, saying in the hearing distance of many, “Now thank the Lord, I am free.”³⁷¹ If Pfaff, Jr. did relate this story to Gerson, it is likely that he was offering up a version of events that had been recounted by other Pfaff’s patrons after Adah’s marriage to Alex Menken ended since the official divorce petition was filed in 1860, when Pfaff, Jr. was, at most, only three-years-old.³⁷²

Pfaff, Jr. seems to have spent most of his childhood and much of his adult life in New York except for approximately five years—in the early and mid-1870s—when he attended Nazareth Hall in Pennsylvania. He worked first in connection with his father’s last restaurant and hotel and, later, he appears to have been employed in a series of jobs, where he likely utilized his skills as a clerk. Unlike his father, Pfaff, Jr.’s name was not known in New York as a result of his business savvy. But Charles Pfaff, Jr., would have certainly been familiar to some sports fans because the son of the famous proprietor was an avid participant in various athletic events and contests in the world of amateur sports. For example, he participated in the Knickerbocker Athletic Club’s amateur championship walk of twenty-five miles.³⁷³ But Pfaff, Jr. was primarily a speed-skater affiliated with the Manhattan Athletic Club, and he skated in races on the ice in his native New York and as far away as Canada.³⁷⁴ In addition to one victory on the ice, as of March 21, 1885, Charles Pfaff, Jr. held several amateur skating records in the United States, including one for “Running long jump on skates,” with “73 yards, 1 foot straightaway, with flying start and with the wind.”³⁷⁵

With the exception of the sports pages of newspapers and/or gentleman’s magazines that covered the speed-skating competitions Pfaff entered, he seems to have lived his life largely outside the press, the family’s restaurant fame, and the American bohemian crowd that had been associated with his father. The descriptions of Pfaff—as an “amateur skater” and the “smallest” in stature among the competitors—present a young athlete who must have stood in stark contrast, at least physically to his “rotund,” “broad,” and “shaggy” father.³⁷⁶ Pfaff, Jr. did not receive the kind of press coverage his father and the restaurants had either. There are census records, however, that may shed some light on Pfaff, Jr.’s life. In 1920, the U. S. federal census for New York lists Charles Pfaff as a “lodger,” age 63, single, and a “stock broker.” At the time, he was residing in a boarding house on West 92nd street, managed by Ms. Hattie S. Parsons. The birthplace of both of Pfaff’s parents is recorded as “Germany.”³⁷⁷ According to the New York State census records for 1925, there is a Charles Pfaff, age 68, a salesman, who is residing as a lodger at a Fort Washington Avenue home, and the 1930 federal census, includes a record for a Charles Pfaff age 70, who is working as a clerk in a hotel and boarding at the Manhattan home of Antonio Faval and his wife Ilma.³⁷⁸ The last U.S.

federal census record that appears to include this Charles Pfaff is dated April 5, 1940, and at that time, Pfaff is an “inmate” of the Manhattan State Hospital at Ward’s Island, where he had begun residing sometime between the years of 1935 and 1940. According to this final record, he is 82, single, unable to work and is seemingly confined to the hospital room due to his advanced age and/or because he had no spouse, children, or other family members to care for him.³⁷⁹ Given what is known about Pfaff, Jr.’s life—that he was born in 1857 or 1858 and that no wife or children were ever mentioned in connection with his name—these listings for a “Charles Pfaff,” who boarded in others’ homes until he was hospitalized, may be among the only extant records of Pfaff, Jr.’s life.

There is a death record for Charles Pfaff, however, who passed away on July 11, 1940, at the age of 83, which would mean he was born between April 5th and July 11, 1857, the approximate year that is consistent with most census records for the son of the famous restaurateur.³⁸⁰ If this is indeed Pfaff Sr.’s son, it means that Charles Pfaff, Jr. not only lived through the Civil War during his early years (only being around eight-years-old when the War officially ended), but that he also saw World War I (he would have turned fifty-seven in 1914), and he was still alive at the beginning of World War II, although by this time he may not have been aware of the news and events taking place outside of the State Hospital. At the same time, because the aforementioned Charles Pfaff seems to have passed away while he was a patient in the hospital, and since there does not seem to be any evidence that he married, it is tempting to speculate that he had no wife or children to provide information about his life on the occasion of his death. Furthermore, at the age of 83, he had likely outlived most if not all of his friends who might have had memories of him as a young man. Therefore, despite his early years as an amateur athlete and, perhaps, even because of his long life there may be few if any obituaries or records of memoriam following his death. His place of burial is also uncertain. His name does not appear in the online index of interments at Green-Wood Cemetery, where his father was buried, and the location of his mother’s grave is unknown.

The Legacy of Pfaff’s

Just as Charles Pfaff, Sr.’s death meant the end of his involvement with the hotel and restaurant business, the death of Charles Pfaff, Jr., marked the passing of the last surviving member of the Pfaff family in New York City. All that remains of the proprietor and his son are a series of genealogical documents and a fragmented history of their restaurants and saloons, which I have attempted to reconstruct here. The basement at 647 Broadway, where the Pfaff family lived and thrived and where the American bohemians composed poems and drank lager beer—remained long after the father and

son moved uptown. Even as late as the 1870s, some ten years after Charles Pfaff opened a new restaurant a few doors down, the American bohemians’ former cellar retained a literary connection. By then it had become one of the “loafing place[s]” of Don Seitz, the biographer of Artemus Ward, who, as a boy, was “fascinated with books,” especially those he encountered at 647 Broadway. James Miller, a bookseller and publisher, then owned “a fine book-store” located at that familiar address, which Seitz “had the run of and where [he] spent many days of delight.”³⁸¹ Miller used the basement for storing and packing books, and although Seitz was a frequent patron of Miller’s establishment, he did not realize, at the time, that this cellar had been the gathering place of the American bohemians.³⁸²

Theodore Wolfe, reporting on the “Literary Shrines of Manhattan,” wrote that by 1919, “the recesses” of the Pfaffian basement that “once resounded with the wit and merriment of bright souls are now stored with senseless and sordid merchandise.”³⁸³ As Karen Karbiener points out, today, 647 Broadway is the home of the shoe store Zigi Soho, and the manager of the business has turned the basement into a storage space.³⁸⁴ The cellar’s vaults collapsed due to the stress placed on the structures by what Whitman called the “myriad crowds of Broadway” in his poem “The Two Vaults,” but even now, employees still use the original set of stairs “descending from the Broadway sidewalk.”³⁸⁵ Even though the vaults at 647 are no longer intact, the basement vault beneath 645 Broadway, now the address of Han’s Deli, still survives. This subterranean cave, which now serves as the deli’s warehouse, provides the best idea of what the space of Pfaff’s cellar might have looked like in the American bohemians’ day.³⁸⁶ In 2011, there was an attempt to recreate a cellar bar “in Pfaff’s image”—at 643 Broadway; it was called The Vault at Pfaff’s, also after a line from Whitman’s “The Two Vaults.” The menus for the establishment were designed to resemble the American bohemians newspaper, the *New-York Saturday Press*. The owner of the Vault at Pfaff’s installed several pieces of period furniture, and added a 150-year-old oak bar.³⁸⁷ As of 2014, however, the barroom has already been closed, and the space is being converted in preparation for a new establishment.³⁸⁸

Even though current businesses like Zigi Soho may be located above the very subterranean space in which Henry Clapp and his fellow American bohemians drank and dined with Charles Pfaff in the antebellum years, and even though Han’s Deli operates above a cellar that gives us an idea of what Pfaff’s might have looked like, there are, at the time of this writing, no markers to detail the rich history of any of the four locations of Pfaff’s. Yet, there was a time when Pfaff’s cellar restaurant and its American bohemian crowd attracted “all the great men of the time who visited New York.” Then, “nobody of any note, from anywhere, came to New York without hearing of it, and

desiring to get there.”³⁸⁹ Late in his life, when Walt Whitman was reminiscing about Pfaff’s, he stated, “‘Bohemia’ comes but once in one’s life. Let’s treasure even its memories.”³⁹⁰ The same might be said about the memories of each of Pfaff’s restaurants and saloons; after all, it is through the writings of those who saw for themselves what Pfaff’s was like in its heyday that we can best attempt to as—they so often and so fondly put it—“Go To Pfaff’s!”

Appendix A: Images

RESTAURANTS.

**NEW WEIN AND LAGER BIER
SALOON**
AND
RESTAURATION, 647 BROADWAY.
CHARLES PFAFF having removed from 685 to 647 Broad-
way, begs leave to thank his friends and the public generally
for past favors, and most respectfully solicits a continuance of
the same at his new and elegant saloon.

Figure 1. Removal Notice for Charles Pfaff from 685 Broadway to a "New Wein and Lager Bier Saloon" at 647 Broadway. Reprinted from *New York Herald*, March 30, 1859, whole no. 8242, 8.

GO TO PFAFF'S!
AT PFAFF'S RESTAURANT
AND
Lager Bier Saloon,
No. 647 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.
YOU WILL FIND
THE BEST VIANDS.
THE BEST LAGER BIER.
THE BEST COFFEE AND TEA.
THE BEST WINES AND LIQUORS.
THE BEST HAVANA CIGARS.
IN FINE,
THE BEST OF EVERYTHING
AT
Moderate Prices.
N.B.—You will also find at PFAFF'S the best German,
French, Italian, English, and American papers.

Figure 2. Advertisement for Pfaff's "RESTAURANT AND LAGER BIER SALOON" published in both the *New-York Saturday Press* and *Vanity Fair*. Reproduced from the *New-York Saturday Press*, September 10, 1859, 3.



Figure 3. Advertisement for the "Café et Restaurant De PFAFF 647 Broadway (BASEMENT)." Reproduced from *Le Courrier des Etats-Unis*, January 21, 1862, 4.



Figure 4. A 25-cent scrip note for Charles Pfaff’s Restaurant at 647 Broadway. Reprinted from Wayne Homren, Ed., “Scrip Notes of Charles Pfaff, New York,” *The E-Sylum* 15, no. 46 (November 4, 2012): Article 20.

<http://www.coinbooks.org/esylumv15n46a20.html>. (accessed December 18, 2014).



Figure 5. Civil War Token for “Ches. Pfaff Restaurant” 647 Broadway. Reproduced from Coin and Currency Collections in the Department of Special Collections University of Notre Dame Libraries. <http://www.coins.nd.edu/>.



Figure 6. Blue Cardboard Insert, Reverse of Token for Charles Pfaff's Restaurant at 653 Broadway. Lot #6166, The March 2013 Baltimore Auction. <http://stacksbowers.com/Auctions/AuctionLot.aspx?LotID=452738>. (accessed June 20, 2013).



Figure 7. Illustration depicting Pfaff's beer cellar at 647 Broadway (Enlarged from original). Reprinted from *Sunday Inter Ocean*. August 12, 1888, 16.

HOTELS ET RESTAURANTS

Chs PFAFF.

a l'honneur d'informer sa nombreuse clientèle qu'il a transféré son RESTAURANT au n. 653, Broadway. Vaste local bien aéré. Bonne cuisine. Vins et Liqueurs de choix. Journaux illustrés et autres en français, anglais et allemand.

3012-11jn-3m-tj

Figure 8. Notice of the transfer of Charles Pfaff's restaurant from 647 Broadway to 653 Broadway. Reproduced from *Le Courrier des Etats-Unis*, June 20, 1864, 4.

RESTAURANTS:
PFAFF'S!
NO. 653 BROADWAY, NEW YORK
[C. CRUYT & Co., Successors.]

—

**THE MOST CELEBRATED RESTAURANT IN THE
COUNTRY**

—

THE BEST WINES.
THE BEST LAGER BEER.
THE BEST VIANDS
THE BEST WAITERS.
THE BEST COMPANY
THE BEST OF EVERYTHING

—

**EVERYBODY WHO COMES TO TOWN GOES AT
ONCE TO
PFAFF'S,
No. 653 BROADWAY.**

Figure 9. Notice of the transfer of Pfaff's restaurant at 653 Broadway to C. Cruyt & Co. Reproduced from the *New-York Saturday Press*, March 24, 1866, 8.



CHARLES PFAFF'S

AT 653 BROADWAY—BEST MEATS, BEST COOKS, BEST WINES, BEST COMPANY IN NEW YORK—AT CHARLES PFAFF'S

Figure 10. Illustrated Advertisement for Charles Pfaff's Restaurant at 653 Broadway. Reproduced from *American Enterprise*, January 1872, 7. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.

CHARLES PFAFF.
RESTAURANT FRANÇAIS A LA CARTE.
 Ouvert de 7 h. du matin à 8 h. du soir, 653 Broad-
 way. L'établissement sera transféré, à partir du 1er
 Mai, au n. 9, Ouest 24me rue, près de Broadway.
 p - lav - 3fps

Figure 11. Notice of the transfer of Charles Pfaff's Restaurant from 653 Broadway to 9 W. 24th Street. Reproduced from *Le Courrier des Etats-Unis*, May 12, 1876, 4.

C. PFAFF'S RESTAURANT,
 9 West 24. Str., nahe Broadway, New York.
 Frühstück von 7—1 Uhr 60 Cts. — Table d'hôte von 6—8
 Uhr \$1.25, mit ½ Flasche Wein. — Es kann stets à la Carte
 gespeist werden. — Möblirte Zimmer zu vermieten.

Digitized by Google

Figure 12. Advertisement for "C. Pfaff's Restaurant, 9 W. 24. Str." in German. Reproduced from *Puck, Illustriertes, Humoristisches – Wochenblatt*, January 1877, No. 15, 15. Digitized by Google Books.

Appendix B: Poems

1.

The Two Vaults Subject—Poem

The vault at Pfaffs where the drinkers and laughers meet to eat and drink and carouse
While on the walk immediately overhead pass the myriad feet of Broadway
As the dead in their graves are underfoot hidden
And the living pass over them, recking not of them,
Laugh on laughers!
Drink on drinkers!
Bandy the jest!
Toss the theme from one to another!
Beam up--Brighten up, bright eyes of beautiful young men!
Eat what you, having ordered, are pleased to see placed before you--after the work of the
day, now, with appetite eat,
Drink wine--drink beer--raise your voice,
Behold! your friend, as he arrives--Welcome him, where, from the upper step, he looks
down upon you with a cheerful look
Overhead rolls Broadway--the myriad rushing Broadway
The lamps are lit--the shops blaze--the fabrics vividly are seen through the plate glass
windows
The strong lights from above pour down upon them and are shed outside,
The thick crowds, well-dressed--the continual crowds as if they would never end
The curious appearance of the faces--the glimpse just caught of the eyes and expressions,
as they flit along,
(You phantoms! oft I pause, yearning, to arrest some one of you!
Oft I doubt your reality--whether you are real--I suspect all is but a pageant.)
The lights beam in the first vault--but the other is entirely dark
In the first ³⁹¹

2.

RHYMES AT A RESTAURANT

C. Pfaff's, 653 Broadway, New York.

AT HIS RESTAURANT, PFAFF,
 For Herr, Ritter, and Graf,
 Provides beef, and mutton, and youngling shaf,
 Schinken, schweinefleisch, flesh of calf,
 With fowler fare, and with fish right brav,
 From sturgeons in rows to the daintiest raff,
 And schnapps, and lager, and shandy-gaff,
 Rhein wein by the schoppen or bottle (or half
 For the swallow that's smaller than—say a giraffe),
 And tea and coffee—French thé and caf—

Eh?—Paff!

Hock and moselle: —And it makes one laugh,—

But an Aff'

Sparkles up a Seraph
 nen the Pfaff'

Wields his wit-welcome waff

Exorcising each laff'

In the place of our straf'

Where we drink, smoke, and chaff,

Nor care for the shlaf

Of the nimble-foot staff

That waits at THE RESTAURANT PFAFF.

For Pfaff,

In his behalf,

His heart-grateful SKLAV.

C. PFAFF.³⁹²

About the Author

Stephanie M. Blalock is an M.A. student in the School of Library and Information Science at the University of Iowa. After completing her Ph.D. in Nineteenth-Century American Literature at the University of Iowa, she accepted a position as a Guest Lecturer at the Technical University of Dortmund in Dortmund, Germany, where she taught courses in American Literature and Academic Writing. Her research focuses on Walt Whitman and Pfaff's Beer Cellar and the reprinting and circulation of Whitman's short fiction. Her articles on Walt Whitman's friendship with Fred Gray and her bibliography of newly discovered reprints of Whitman's fiction in periodicals have appeared in the *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*. Her essay “‘Tell What I Meant by *Calamus*’: Walt Whitman's Vision of Comradeship from Fred Vaughan to the Fred Gray Association” was published in *Whitman Among the Bohemians* (2014), a collection of essays edited by Edward Whitley and Joanna Levin. She is a contributing editor for *The Walt Whitman Archive* and an associate editor for *The Vault at Pfaff's: An Archive of Art and Literature by the Bohemians of Antebellum New York*.

Notes

¹ *Omaha Daily World*, "The Ganymede of Bohemia," *Omaha Daily World-Herald*, May 10, 1890, 4, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>.

² Parts of this history, including the following descriptions of Charles Pfaff, appeared previously, in a different form, in my doctoral dissertation. See Stephanie M. Blalock, "Walt Whitman at Pfaff's Beer Cellar: America's Bohemian Poet and the Contexts of *Calamus*" (PhD diss., The University of Iowa, July 2011).

³ Hamilton W. Mabie, "From Bayard Taylor, Adventurer," *The Bookman: A Review of Books and Life* 43, no. 1 (March 1916): 55.

⁴ Mark Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis and America's First Bohemians* (Kent, OH: Kent State UP, 2009), vii.

⁵ *New-York Saturday Press* "Pfaff's [from the N. Y. correspondent of the Boston Saturday Express]," December 3, 1859, 2. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman; *Syracuse Journal*, "Old-Time Bohemianism," September 8, 1903, 7, <http://fultonhistory.com/>. All articles from the *New-York Saturday Press* are from *The Vault at Pfaff's*, unless otherwise noted.

⁶ *New York Tribune*, "The New-York Saturday Press Is published EVERY SATURDAY MORNING," February 25, 1860, [1], <http://fultonhistory.com/>. In 1865, the *Press* published Mark Twain's short story, "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog," later titled "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County." See Mark Twain, *New-York Saturday Press*, November 18, 1865, 248, *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.

⁷ Amanda Gailey, "Walt Whitman and the King of Bohemia: The Poet in the Saturday Press," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 25, no. 4 (Spring 2008): 144.

⁸ Frank Luther Mott, "Vanity Fair," in *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865*, vol. 2 (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 520. In the preface of the first issue of *Vanity Fair*, the editor proclaimed the publication would be "A pleasant tonic to be taken once a-week by the public. [...] Our road lies straight through VANITY FAIR, and we mean to do considerable execution among the dwarfs, and jugglers, and wicked giants of that institution. All that is good and pure we shall salute as we go by, and we fell convinced that by being always fearless and sincere we will pass through all places of peril unharmed, and reach in safety that triumphal arch which lies at the end of our journey." See *Vanity Fair*, "Preface," vol. 1, no. 1 (December 31, 1859), iii-iv.

⁹ Julius Chambers, "Do Lovers of Literature Recognize Debt to Bohemia?: A Recalling of the Roll Tells Its Own Story of the New York Bohemian Club," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 13, 1906, 5, <http://fultonhistory.com/>.

¹⁰ Fitz James O'Brien, "At Pfaff's," In the Thomas Butler Gunn Diaries, vol. 13, (June 1, 1860 to September 22 1860), Missouri History Museum, St. Louis. "At Pfaff's" can be found between the pages that are numbered 72 and 73, respectively.

¹¹ "Charles Pfaff," U. S. Census, New York 1880 Census Records, Family History Library NA Film Number T9-0880, pg. 171A, [Familysearch.org](http://familysearch.org), <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/MZ6Z-B3J>. An obituary for Charles Pfaff, printed in the *New York Times*, reports that he was "in his seventy-second year" at the time of his death, which means Pfaff was likely born in 1819 or 1820. See, *New York Times*, "In and About the City Death of Charles I. Pfaff. Something about the Proprietor of the Once Famous 'Bohemia,'" April 26, 1890, 2,

<http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/>.

¹² *New York Herald*. "[Declares?] That Augustus Saint-Gaudans was a Real American," May 3, 1908, Section 3, pg. 4, <http://fultonhistory.com/>.

¹³ Amos J. Cummings, “‘Bohemians’ and ‘Tips.’ The Gay days of Old in a Cheap Beer Saloon in New York,” *The Brooklyn-Daily Standard-Union*, April 30, 1887, 3, <http://fultonhistory.com/>.

¹⁴ “Charles Ignatius Pfaff,” *Appleton’s Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events for the year 1890*, vol. 15 (New York: Appleton and Company, 1891), 660; Gerald H. Wilk, “Pfaff’s Romantischer Keller,” *The American-German Review* 32, no.5 (June/July 1966): 27-28.

¹⁵ Cummings, “‘Bohemians’ and ‘Tips,’” 3.

¹⁶ It is also possible that Pfaff had a parent of Swiss descent, but at the time of the writing of this history, the names of Pfaff’s parents are unknown. See Albert Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders: A History of Bohemianism in America* (New York: Covici, Friede, Publishers, 1933), 23; James L. Ford, “Good By Bohemia,” *New York Tribune*, October 1, 1922, Part 2 pg. 1, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>. David Reynolds indicates that Pfaff was “a native of either Switzerland or southwest Germany.” See *Walt Whitman’s America: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 376; Gay Wilson Allen also describes Pfaff as a “German-Swiss.” See *The Solitary Singer: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman* (Washington Square: New York University Press, 1967), 228.

¹⁷ “Charles Ignatius Pfaff,” *Appleton’s*, 15:660; Vidette, “Gotham Gossip: Charles Pfaff at Rest in Greenwood—He Was a Good Friend to Struggling Writers,” *Daily Picayune*, May 1, 1890, 2, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>; Wilk, 27.

¹⁸ Cummings, “‘Bohemians’ and ‘Tips,’” 3.

¹⁹ Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis*, 141n12.

²⁰ “Deutschland, Heiraten 1558-1929,” [trans. Germany, Marriages] Index, *FamilySearch*, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/J4Y3-HG8>; “Deutschland, Geburten und Taufen 1558-1898,” [trans. Germany, Births and Baptisms, 1558-1898] Index, *FamilySearch*, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/NFFH-55N>.

²¹ “Charles Pfaff,” U. S. Census, New York 1880 Census Records.

²² *New York Times*, “In and about the City,” 2; *New York Times*, “Charles Pfaff Buried,” April 27, 1890, 13, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>; The Green-Wood Cemetery’s *Green-Wood Burial Search Database*, Greenwood Cemetery, http://www.greenwood.com/burial_search/.

²³ *New York City Death Index*, New York City Death Records Search 1891-1948, Italian Genealogical Group, italiangen.org/records-search/deaths.php.

²⁴ *New York Times*, “In and about the City,” 2; “Charles Pfaff,” U. S. Census, New York 1880 Census Records.

²⁵ “Ignatz Pfaff, New York, State Census, 1855,” Index and Images, *FamilySearch*, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/K678-JQN>.

²⁶ The ship was scheduled to leave Le Havre on December 2, 1854. However, the steam-tug did not have enough power to pull the ship out to sea. It went aground between two jetties. But on December 4, 1854, the ship “was floated off with the tide, without damage.” See *New York Daily Tribune*, “Marine Journal: Per Washington—Additional,” December 26, 1854, 8, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

²⁷ “Ignaac Paff,” *New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1891*, Images 578-588, Microcopy 237, Roll 149, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy No. 237, Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1820-1897, Roll 149, December 15-30, 1854 (List Nos. 1653-1741) and January 1-11, 1855 (List Nos. 1-30), The National Archives. National Archives and Records Service General Services Administration, Washington: 1957, *FamilySearch*, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1-16940-51670-38?cc=1849782&wc=9370262>; “Ignaac Paff” and “Sarah Amster,” Year: 1855, Arrival: *New York, New York*; Microfilm Serial: M237; Microfilm Roll: 149; Line: 11 and Line: 12; List Number: 16, Ancestry.com, *New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957*, Provo, UT, USA. Ancestry.com Operations, Inc.,

2010, <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>.

²⁸ “Charles Pfaff, [Jr.],” United States Census, July 1870, Index and Images, Charles Pfaff in household of Charles Raff [sic], New York, United States; citing p. 51, family 489, NARA microfilm publication M593, FHL microfilm 552492, *FamilySearch*, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/M8FW-N49>.

²⁹ According to the National Archive’s introduction to the “two-step” immigration process, an alien could file a declaration of intent after two years of U.S. residency, and after three more years, he or she could then file a petition to become naturalized, after which a certificate of citizenship would be issued. See the National Archives website for a further explanation of the two-step process and for exceptions to these “general rules” for naturalization. “Naturalization Records: General Rule: The Two-Step Process,” National Archives,”

<http://www.archives.gov/research/naturalization/naturalization.html>;

“Charles Pfaff,” 11 Mar. 1857, Superior Court of the City of New York (1-597), New York, New York, New York, USA, Superior Court of the City of New York (084-086), Ancestry.com, *New York, Naturalization Petitions, 1794-1906* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013, Original data: *Petitions for Naturalization, 1793-1906*. ARC ID: 5324244, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Record Group 85, National Archives at New York City, New York City, New York, U.S.A., <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>.

³⁰ “Charles Pfaff,” 6 Oct. 1860. Superior Court of the City of New York (1-597), New York, New York, New York, USA, Superior Court of the City of New York (111-112), Ancestry.com, *New York, Naturalization Petitions, 1794-1906* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013, Original data: *Petitions for Naturalization, 1793-1906*, ARC ID: 5324244, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85, National Archives at New York City, New York City, New York, U.S.A., <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>.

³¹ Ibid. See also “Charles Pfaff,” *Index to Petitions for Naturalization filed in New York City, 1792-1989*, New York, Index to Petitions for Naturalization filed in New York City, 1792-1989, Original data: Soundex Index to Petitions for Naturalization filed in Federal, State, and Local Courts located in New York City, 1792-1989, New York, NY, USA: National Archives and Records Administration, Northeast Region. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2007, <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>; “Charles Pfaff,” New York, County Naturalization Records, 1791-1980, Naturalization Petition Index, no date, Per-Polzt. N Yr 1-059 D, Roll Number 60, Image 1938, *FamilySearch*, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1961-27277-49420-93?cc=1999177&wc=MMR6-LKF:n690557977>.

³² Wilk, “Pfaff’s Romantischer Keller,” 27.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Wilk suggests that it was Mother Pfaff’s coffee that may have attracted American bohemians like Henry Clapp and Fitz James O’Brien. However, Wilk states incorrectly that after two years, Pfaff opened a restaurant at No. 653 Broadway. He also suggests that Clapp and O’Brien discovered Pfaff’s in 1856, and, as will become clear, it is not possible for Clapp and O’Brien to have discovered this “Pfaff’s” in 1856. See Wilk, “Pfaff’s Romantischer Keller,” 27.

³⁵ “Charles Pfaff.” U. S. Census. New York 1880 Census Records; “Charles Pfaff, [Jr.],” United States Census, July 1870.

³⁶ Edward Peron Hingston, *The genial showman, reminiscences of the life of ‘Artemus Ward,’* Vol. 1 (London: John Camden Hotten, Piccadilly, 1870), 149; J. W. “Watson, New York Bohemians, The Men and the Women Who Used to Meet in Pfaff’s Cellar,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, August 12, 1888, 16, <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>.

³⁷ Vidette, “Gotham Gossip: Charles Pfaff at Rest in Greenwood,” 2.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ *New York Herald*, “Bohemian Days at Pfaff’s,” April 26, 1890, 8,

<http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

⁴⁰ G. J. M., “Bohemianism,” *Brooklyn Eagle*, May 25, 1884, 9.

<http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org/>.

⁴¹ F. B. S., “A Visit To Walt Whitman,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 11, 1886, 10,

<http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org/>.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Wilk, “Pfaff’s Romantischer Keller,” 27; “Charles Ignatius Pfaff,” *Appleton’s*, 15: 660; William Winter, *Old Friends: Being Literary Recollections of Other Days by William Winter* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1909), 64.

⁴⁴ Cummings, “‘Bohemians’ and ‘Tips,’” 3.

⁴⁵ Peter and John Del Monico came to the United States from Switzerland, and in 1827, they opened a confectionary shop. In 1832, their nephew Lorenzo came to New York and joined their partnership. *New York Times*, “Death of C. C. Delmonico: He Was Manager of the Restaurants Bearing His Name,” September 21, 1901, 7; <http://search.proquest.com/docview/>; *New York Times*, “Broadway Landmarks.; Lions Disappear from Ancient Building Below Old Stevens House,” February 7, 1915, XX3,

<http://proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>.

⁴⁶ I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, vol. 3 (New York: Hobert H. Dodd, 1915-1928), 980.

⁴⁷ Betty O’Grady Matiskella, *Descendants of Patrick O’Grady and Mary Steele, 1757-2005*, (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2013), 50; *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 29 (1925), “c. 1860. Stevens House, 25-27 Broadway,” Eno Collection of New York City Views, New York Public Library, 399.

⁴⁸ “Stevens House,” Advertisement for Hotels, *Dunigan’s American Catholic Almanac and List of the Clergy for the Year of Our Lord 1858* (New York: Edward Dunigan & Brother, James B. Kirker, 371 Broadway, 1858), 63.

⁴⁹ Karen Karbiener points out that “the elegant main floor of the Coleman House Hotel [was] directly above it [Pfaff’s cellar]” at 647 Broadway. See “Whitman at Pfaff’s: Personal Space, A Public Place, and the Boundary-Breaking Poems of *Leaves of Grass* (1860) in *Literature of New York*, ed. Sabrina Fuchs-Abrams (Newcastle upon Tyne, U. K.: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 15.

⁵⁰ *Trow’s New York City Directory*, for the year ending May 1, 1859, Compiled by H. Wilson (New York: John F. Trow, Publisher, 1858), 635; An advertisement for a watchmaker at the same address reads, “685 BROADWAY. LOUIS ANRICH, watchmaker, from Copenhagen, respectfully informs the public that he, for the sum of \$2, will repair and clean the finest watches, including main and hair spring glasses for 12 months, without any other charges. Having employed the best watchmaker from Europe, he can assure the public that he will give every one satisfaction. LOUIS ANRICH, 685 Broadway, Two doors above Amity street.” See *New York Herald*, “685 Broadway, Louis Anrich,” Advertisement, October 24, 1858, 7,

<http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

⁵¹ “Pfaff, Charles, 685 B’way, Restaurant, Wine & Lager Bier,” *Eating Houses, New York City Business Directory, 1859: 90, U.S. City Directories, 1821-1989 (Beta)* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011, *Ancestry.com*; <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>; Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1383.

⁵² Wilk, 27; Translation mine.

⁵³ *The Night Side of New York: A Picture of the Great Metropolis After Nightfall By Members of the New York Press*, Illustrated by Frank Beard (New York: J. C. Haney & Co. 109 Nassau Street, 1866), 71.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis*, 47.
- ⁵⁷ Rufus Rockwell Wilson, "The New York Bohemians" *Elmira Telegram*, July 15, 1888, [illegib. 3 or 8?], <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>; Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *New York: old & new. Its story, streets, and landmarks*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1903), 140-141.
- ⁵⁸ William Winter, *Old Friends: Being Literary Recollections of Other Days*, 63.
- ⁵⁹ I will explain this assertion in the coming pages by using notices that provide clues to the dates of Pfaff's removal from one saloon to the next.
- ⁶⁰ Henry Clapp, Jr., "A New Portrait of Paris: Painted from Life," *New-York Saturday Press*, November 13, 1858, 1. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.
- ⁶¹ Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis*, 15-16.
- ⁶² Clapp, Jr., "A New Portrait," November 13, 1858, 1.
- ⁶³ Ibid.
- ⁶⁴ Henry Clapp, Jr., "A New Portrait of Paris: Painted from Life," *New-York Saturday Press*, November 20, 1858, 248. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.
- ⁶⁵ Henry Clapp, Jr., "A New Portrait of Paris: Painted from Life," *New-York Saturday Press*, December 25, 1858, 1. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.
- ⁶⁶ Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis*, 15-16.
- ⁶⁷ Carl Benson (Charles Astor Bristed) translated Henri Mürger's *Scènes de la Vie de Bohème* for *The Knickerbocker* magazine, which published it serially under the title of "Gypsies of Art" from January 1853 to May 1854.
- ⁶⁸ J. W. Watson, "Lairs of Old Bohemia: Resorts Formerly Frequented by New York Journalists and Authors," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, October 28, 1888, 17, <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu>.
- ⁶⁹ Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis*, 49-50; Wilson, *New York: old & new*, 140-141.
- ⁷⁰ George Parsons Lathrop, "The Literary Movement in New York," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 73, no. 438 (November 1886), 813-833.
- ⁷¹ Cummings, "'Bohemians' and 'Tips,'" 3.
- ⁷² *The Cambridge Tribune*, "Library Chat," Obituary of Charles Pfaff, May 10, 1890, 5, <http://cambridge.dlconsulting.com/>.
- ⁷³ *Night Side of New York*, 71.
- ⁷⁴ *New-York Saturday Press*, "Pfaff's [from the N. Y. correspondent of the Boston Saturday Express]," 2.
- ⁷⁵ *New York Herald*, "New Wein and Lager Bier Saloon," Removal Notice, March 31, 1859, 8, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷⁷ Karbiener, "Whitman at Pfaff's," 14.
- ⁷⁸ "Pfaff's [from the N. Y. correspondent of the Boston Saturday Express]," 2.
- ⁷⁹ Joanna Levin, *Bohemia in America, 1858-1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 7; Daniel Cottom, *International Bohemia: Scenes of Nineteenth-Century Life* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 186. The *New-York Saturday Press* description also seems to present Pfaff's as what Ray Oldenburg refers to as a "third place." Oldenburg writes, "The third place is a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work." But the third place is not just about escaping these realms. The third place offers "experiences and relationships afforded there and nowhere else," which is,

I would add, is in part why the American bohemian group became regulars at Pfaff’s and why many other customers came to the cellar to meet and/or watch them. See Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, coffee shops, community centers, beauty parlors, general stores, bars, hangouts, and how they get you through the day* (New York: Marlowe & Company, 1997), 16, 21.

⁸⁰ “Pfaff’s [from the N. Y. correspondent of the Boston Saturday Express],” 2.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 22-23.

⁸³ In *Pioneer of Inner Space*, his biography of the Bohemian writer Fitz Hugh Ludlow, Donald Dulchinos contends that the Bohemians also referred to themselves as “the Cave Dwellers” because they so often occupied Pfaff’s cave-like vault. See Donald P. Dulchinos, *Pioneer of Inner Space: The Life of Fitz Hugh Ludlow; Hasheesh Eater* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 1998), 92; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 711.

⁸⁴ Joseph Lewis French, “Looking Backward,” *The Bookman, a Review of Books and Life* 63, no. 4 (June 1926), 445-450. The Mermaid was located in lower Bread Street, near the Thames. Fran C. Chalfant, *Ben Jonson’s London: A Jacobean Placename Dictionary* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 66. It was the meeting place of “a group of writers, politicians, lawyers, courtiers, and business men in the early seventeenth century.” Adam Smyth, Introduction to *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2004), xxii. Michelle O’Callaghan argues that the societies that met at the Mermaid not only discussed politics, but they also made poetry and were “characterized by their wit and versifying.” “Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London” in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*. Edited by Adam Smyth. (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 42. The phrase “Ben Jonson’s Apollo” may refer to the “Apollo Room” of Devil Tavern, located on Fleet Street in London, where Jonson and his friends met regularly. Chalfant, *Ben Johnson’s London*, 66.

⁸⁵ During his student days, Johanne Wolfgang von Goethe frequented Auerbach’s Cellar, a restaurant with a wine bar, in Leipzig, Germany. He would later set some of the scenes of *Faust* in Auerbach’s Cellar. Dr. Charles Haeseler, who visited the cellar during his tour of Europe in 1867 writes that Auerbach’s was then a “dingy old cellar, with a dank, subterranean smell, with arched ceiling and massive walls, covered interiorly with faded frescoes, illustrating the friendly intercourse between Doctor Faustus and the devil.” See Kuno Fischer, *Goethe’s Faust*. Vol. 1: *Faust Literature Before Goethe* (Manchester, IA: H. R. Wolcott, 1895), 133, 261.

⁸⁶ Charles Taber Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1880), 338. It is interesting to note that here Congdon also calls refers to the cellar as “Paff’s.”

⁸⁷ Jerrold Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830-1930* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 17-18, 21.

Both the American bohemians and their French predecessors may have been attempting to adopt what they thought were aspects of “Bohemian” culture or a gypsy lifestyle. According to Joanna Levin, the term “Bohemian” dates to the “fifteenth-century, when the gypsies (erroneously thought to have migrated from the central European kingdom of Bohemia) began to settle in regions of Western Europe. See *Bohemia in America, 1858-1920*, 16. According to Siegel, in the 1830s, Félix Pyat described as bohemians those young artists who donned medieval costumes, wore long hair, and attempted to identify themselves with early gypsy culture, putting themselves ““outside the law, beyond the reaches of society.”” See Félix Pyat, “Les artistes,” *Nouveau tableau de Paris au XIX^{me} siècle*, Vol. IV (1834), 9, quoted in Jerrold Siegel, *Bohemian Paris*, 17.

⁸⁸ Hingston, *The genial showman*, 146.

⁸⁹ William M. Thackeray, the author of *Vanity Fair* (1848), patronized an oyster cellar like those Charles McKay described, when he made his own trip to New York. Artemus Ward relates that Thackeray was on Broadway, when he came across a sign that promised, "Oysters cooked here in thirty-six different ways." Thackeray is said to have entered the establishment and immediately asked for his oysters to be prepared in the thirty-six advertised ways, an order which certainly surprised the waiters and the kitchen staff. Hingston, *The genial showman*, 145-146. For McKay's impressions of New York's Oyster cellars, see Charles McKay, "New York as Seen by a Foreigner," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, March 8, 1858, 1, <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>; Karbiener, "Whitman at Pfaff's," 6.

⁹⁰ McKay, "New York as Seen by a Foreigner," 1.

⁹¹ Walt Whitman, *Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts*, Ed. Edward F. Grier, 6 Vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 2:525. Hereafter *NUPM*.

⁹² "Pfaff's [from the N. Y. correspondent of the Boston Saturday Express]," 2.

⁹³ Charles Hemstreet, *Literary New York: its landmarks and Associations* (New York G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1903), 215.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Karbiener, "Whitman at Pfaff's," 16.

⁹⁶ It is not always possible to determine which of Pfaff's restaurants and saloons is being described even if an address is given. During the years of Whitman's patronage, for instance, "Pfaff's" was located at 647 Broadway, but by 1865, "Pfaff's" had moved to a new location, at 653 Broadway, which Whitman could not have visited on a regular basis since he was then in Washington. It is possible, however, that Whitman did seek out the new beer garden when he returned to New York to visit his family. The address (653 Broadway) does appear in one of his notebooks (*NUPM* 1:840). In *Garrets and Pretenders*, Albert Parry gives the address of Pfaff's as "653 Broadway," and then states that this was the space Whitman frequented. It is difficult to determine if Parry gives an account of the 647 cellar, but gives the wrong address, or if he describes the 653 location and states, incorrectly, that Whitman and the bohemians were regulars there. Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 21. In an effort to portray, as accurately as possible, Pfaff's at 647 Broadway, I have turned not simply to accounts with addresses (since some of these record the incorrect location for the cellar), but rather I have looked for accounts of Pfaff's that resemble Karen Karbiener's description of the vault at 645 Broadway, a nearly identical cellar that still survives next door to the Pfaff's (647 Broadway) that Whitman patronized. Furthermore, it is important to note, that some of the confusion over the address of Pfaff's occurs because the Pfaff's at 653 Broadway also had a cellar that Charles Pfaff used. It would, therefore, have been easy for patrons to confuse the locations. See Karbiener, "Whitman at Pfaff's," 16-17.

⁹⁷ John J. Pullen, *Comic Relief: the life and laughter of Artemus Ward, 1834-1867* (New Haven, CT: Archon Books, 1983), 36.

⁹⁸ Winter, *Old Friends: Being Literary Recollections of Other Days*, 64; Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis*, 63.

⁹⁹ Winter, *Old Friends: Being Literary Recollections of Other Days* 64; James L. Huffman, *A Yankee in Meiji, Japan: The Crusading Journalist Edward H. House* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 22; Pullen, *Comic Relief*, 36.

¹⁰⁰ Karen Karbiener, "Whitman at Pfaff's," 16.

¹⁰¹ Hingston, *The genial showman*, 38.

¹⁰² William Shepard Walsh, *Pen Pictures of Modern Authors. Volume 2 of Literary Life* (City: G. P. Putnam, 1882), 2:161; Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *New York: old & new*, 2:140-41.

¹⁰³ Rebecca Harding Davis, "Chapter XI: The Den of the Bohemians. A Long Journey," *Peterson's Magazine* 51, no. 4 (April 1867), 273.

¹⁰⁴ Walt Whitman, "Calamus 29." *Leaves of Grass* (Boston: Thayer and Eldridge, 1860), 371.

¹⁰⁵ Karbiener, "Whitman at Pfaff's," 15.

- ¹⁰⁶ *Eastern State Journal* (White Plains, NY), “Personal Paragraphs,” December 3, 1887, 7, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.
- ¹⁰⁷ Qtd in Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 22; Hingston, *The genial showman*, 149.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Utica Daily Observer* (Utica, NY), “The Bohemians of Former Days,” March 21, 1874), 3, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.
- ¹⁰⁹ “Pfaff’s [from the N. Y. correspondent of the Boston Saturday Express],” 2.
- ¹¹⁰ Lloyd Morris, *Incredible New York: High Life and Low Life from 1850 to 1950* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 74.
- ¹¹¹ Bronson Alcott, *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*. Vol. 2. Ed. Odell Shepherd (New York: Kennikat Press, 1966), 293.
- ¹¹² William Henry Boyd, *Boyd’s Pictorial Directory of Broadway: in which will be found an alphabetical, a business, and a numerical or street directory, giving the names of the occupants of every building on Broadway* (New York: William H. Boyd: 1859).
- ¹¹³ *Boyd’s Pictorial*, 44-58; *Trow’s New York City Directory* (1859), 27.
- ¹¹⁴ Karbiener, “Whitman at Pfaff’s,” 15.
- ¹¹⁵ By 1872, Bleecker Street was well known as what James Dabney McCabe has termed the “headquarters of Bohemianism.” In the late 1840s and early 1850s, the area north of Bleecker Street (the northern end of Broadway) and to the south near Bond Street had been among New York’s wealthiest and most refined aristocratic neighborhoods. But twenty-five years later, the old mansions had been turned into boarding houses and restaurants. As McCabe puts it, “Mrs. Grundy now shivers with holy horror when she thinks it was once her home.” He goes on to describe Bleecker as the home of the “long-haired, queerly dressed young man” who is an “artist” and to the young woman with the “flashy dress” and “traces of rouge on her face,” who can be seen performing at the local theatres. See James Dabney McCabe, *Lights and Shadows of New York Life; or, the Sights and Sensations of the Great City. A Work descriptive of the City of New York in all its Various Phases* (Philadelphia: The National Publishing Co., 1872), 386-387.
- ¹¹⁶ *New-York Saturday Press*, “Pfaff’s Restaurant and Lager Bier Saloon,” Advertisement, September 10, 1859, 3. *The Vault at Pfaff’s*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman; *Vanity Fair*, “Advertisement 1—[Pfaff’s: At Pfaff’s Restaurant and Lager Bier Saloon],” January 7, 1860, 31. *The Vault at Pfaff’s*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman; Karbiener, “Whitman at Pfaff’s,” 20.
- ¹¹⁷ *Vanity Fair*, “Advertisement 1,” 31; *Vanity Fair*, “Advertisement--5 [Pfaff’s: At Pfaff’s Restaurant and Lager Bier Saloon],” March 24, 1860, 194, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/americanperiodicals/>.
- ¹¹⁸ *New York Evening Express*, “Literary,” February 9, 1867, 1, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.
- ¹¹⁹ *Courrier des Etats Unis*, “Café et Restaurant De Pfaff,” January 21, 1862.
- ¹²⁰ See, for example, *Courrier des Etats Unis*, Chs. Pfaff,” June 20, 1864; *Courrier des Etats Unis*, “Avis. Charles Pfaff,” December 13, 1865; *Courrier des Etats Unis*, “Charles Pfaff, Restaurant Français A La Carte,” December 4, 1876.
- ¹²¹ It is not always possible to know whether these menu items would have been served in Pfaff’s cellar at 647 Broadway, the restaurant and beer garden at 653 Broadway, or even “C. Pfaff’s Restaurant” in its last location, 9 W. 24th Street. This time, I have included those foods and drinks that were described in remembered accounts of “Pfaff’s” and/or in periodical sources regardless of address. I have also included the wine list provided by Albert Parry since Pfaff’s wines were what attracted many of his customers, and it makes sense that he would maintain a fairly consistent, if ever-expanding menu of offerings. See *Garrets and Pretenders*, 22-23.
- ¹²² *New York Times*, “In and About the City,” 2.

¹²³ *Daily Graphic*, “Bohemia: The New York Bohemians—Who They Were and What Became of Them,” October 13, 1873, 723, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>; Karbiener, “Whitman at Pfaff’s,” 20.

¹²⁴ Francis Wolle, *Fitz-James O’Brien: A Literary Bohemian of the Eighteen—Fifties*, University of Colorado Studies Series B, Studies in the Humanities, Vol. 2. no. 2, May 1944 (Boulder, Colorado: 1944), 129; *New York Times*, “In and about the City, 2; E. D. P., “New York Sketches: Old Pfaff and a Rare Bohemian Reminiscence,” *Chicago Tribune* 41, November 20, 1881, 22, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpchicagotribune/>; Launcelot, “Our New York Letter... Some Account of the Bohemians of New York [. . .],” *The Chicago Press and Tribune*, April 6, 1860, 2. <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

¹²⁵ Louis N. Megargee, “Round Table Knights: Reminiscences of Bohemia Revived by the Death of Pfaff,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 4, 1890, 9, <https://sslvpn.uni-dortmund.de/iw-search/we/HistArchive/>; *NUPM* 2:528.

¹²⁶ Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 23; Luther S. Harris, *Around Washington Square: An Illustrated History of Greenwich Village* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 53.

¹²⁷ *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*. “Town Gossip,” June 9, 1866, 178, <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/itw/infomark/>; Michael and Arianee Batterberry, *On the Town in New York: The Landmark History of Eating and Drinking, and Entertainments* (London: Routledge, 1998), 95; *Chicago Tribune*, “The ‘Bohemians’ of New York,” January 31, 1864, 1. <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpchicagotribune/>.

¹²⁸ Fitz James O’Brien, “At Pfaff’s,” In the Thomas Butler Gunn Diaries, vol. 13, between pgs. 72-73.

¹²⁹ The Undersigned, “The Country. Opinions of the Undersigned,” *Vanity Fair* 5, no. 127 (May 31, 1862), 261.

¹³⁰ A. L. Rawson, “A Bygone Bohemia,” *The American Magazine* 41, no. 1 (January 1896): 107.

¹³¹ Renée Sentilles, introduction to *Performing Menken: Adah Isaacs Menken and the Birth of the American Celebrity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8.

¹³² Menken may have been married and divorced as many as four times, and she may have had earlier marriages. There remains some question as to whether her marriage to Alexander Isaac Menken was legally contracted even before she claimed marriage to John Heenan in January 1860. Sentilles, introduction, 7.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 7; Batterberry, *On the Town in New York*, 95; Karbiener, “Whitman at Pfaff’s,” 22.

¹³⁵ Batterberry, *On the Town in New York*, 95.

¹³⁶ This account suggests that at least sometimes the Bohemians did enter the beer cellar during the day. *Utica Daily Observer* (Utica, NY), “The Bohemians of Former Days,” 3.

In a diary entry written in late 1860, just after the death of Getty Gay, Thomas Butler Gunn called her “one of the literary – unfortunate females and Bohemians.” He recorded her maiden name as “Gertrude Louise Vultee” and stated that her married name was “Wilmshurst.” She and her husband may have both lived with Ada Clare. According to Gunn, N. G. Shepherd had even told him that “the Bohemians had a whispered rumor that the affection between these women was of a Parisian, Sapphic character.” Gunn speculates, “[I]t may be so, or only a monstrous canard originating in the depraved minds of such men as Clapp and O’Brien. Judging from “Ada’s” writings, one might credit it.” *Thomas Butler Gunn Diaries*, vol. 14, (September 23, 1860 to December 31, 1860), 12-13, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis.

In 1860, a writer identified only as Launcelot wrote in *The Chicago Press and Tribune’s* “New York Letter” that Ada Clare was a “tall, magnificently beautiful blonde.” The writer went on to report that the pianist Louis Moreau Gottschalk fathered Clare’s son and that Clare “boldly avows that a woman has the right to choose the father of her own child, and that she has nothing

to regret.” In fact, even though Clare never married her son’s father, Launcelot claims that she “proudly shows her little one to those who are introduced to her, pointing out its resemblance to its sire, which are displayed in a breastpin that she always wears.” “Our New York Letter... Some Account of the Bohemians of New York,” *The Chicago Press and Tribune*, 2.

¹³⁷ *Utica Daily Observer* (Utica, NY), “The Bohemians of Former Days,” 3.

¹³⁸ Thomas Donaldson, *Walt Whitman the Man* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1896), 206.

¹³⁹ Rawson, “A Bygone Bohemia,” 107; Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 22-23; Launcelot, “Our New York Letter... Some Account of the Bohemians of New York [. . .],” 2.

¹⁴⁰ Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 754.

¹⁴¹ Caryn Neumann, “Beer,” in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*, ed. Thomas Adam and Will Kaufman (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO: 2005), 132.

¹⁴² Neumann, “Beer,” 132; Hermann Schlüter, *The Brewing Industry and the Brewery Worker’s movement in America* (Cincinnati, OH: International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America, 1910), 51.

¹⁴³ Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham* 741; Julia Solis, “Breweries, Speakeasies, and Wine Cellars,” *New York Underground: The Anatomy of a City* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 207.

¹⁴⁴ Schlüter, *The Brewing Industry*, 53, 53n1.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁴⁶ Neumann, “Beer,” 132.

¹⁴⁷ “Observations on Brewing and Beer: With an Analysis and Scientific Testimony Relative to the Lager Beer of the Speyers’ Lion Brewery” (New York: Speyers’ Lion Brewery. 18??) Pamphlet, New York Historical Society, PDF, 12; Neumann, “Beer,” 132.

¹⁴⁸ James L. Ford, “New York’s Bohemia: A Kingdom Which Still Exists, Although Pfaff’s Restaurant is No More,” *Philadelphia Inquirer* 127.150, November 27, 1892, 14, <https://sslvpn.uni-dortmund.de/iw-search/we/HistArchive/>.

¹⁴⁹ Donaldson, *Walt Whitman the Man*, 206; Megargee, “Round Table Knights,” 9.

¹⁵⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, “The ‘Bohemians’ of New York,” 1; G. J. M. “Bohemianism,” 9. According to a pamphlet produced by Albert Speyer, one of the owners of the brewery, Speyers’ lager was brewed and went through the “malting and every following process on the premises” of “The Speyers’ Lion Brewery” located in the “upper section” of the city of New York, occupying sixteen acres of ground “between 8th and 10 Avenues, and 107th and 109th streets.” Speyers “Observations” 13. *Trow’s New York Directory* for 1859 lists Albert Speyer and James Speyer as merchants with a brewery at “W. 108th c Ninth Avenue.” *Trow’s* (1859), 757. The Speyer brothers’ Lion Brewery was the first steam brewery in New York George Derby and James Terry White, eds., “Simon Bernheimer,” in *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Volume 5 (New York: James T. White & Company, 1894), 375. The brewery, home of Speyer’s Lion Lager Bier, burned to the ground on October 2, 1859; the whole establishment was destroyed. *New-York Times*, “News of the Day,” October 3, 1859, 4,

<http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/>. The Speyer brothers lost \$40,000 worth of barley, and the loss of property amounted to \$278,000. The fire was believed to have been the work of an incendiary. *New-York Times*, “Burning of the Lion Brewery,” October 4, 1859, 5, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/>. In 1860, Simon W. Bernheimer, the son of Emanuel Bernheimer—a pioneer in the brewing of lager bier in the United States—formed a partnership with James Speyer, and they rebuilt the Lion Brewery, now under the name of Speyer and Bernheimer. An article published in the *New York Times* in 1861, locates the newly rebuilt beer brewery at the corner of 109th Street and Ninth Avenue *New York Times*, “General City News,” January 7, 1861, 8, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/>. Speyer and Bernheimer remained in business together for two years, when Mr. Speyer sold his shares. Derby and White, “Simon Bernheimer,” 375.

docview/91614834/D3E455E3246F42CDPQ/1?accountid=14663; *New-York Times*, "Burning of the Lion Brewery," October 4, 1859, 5,

<http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/>.

¹⁵¹ Megargee, "Round Table Knights," 9.

¹⁵² *Daily Graphic* "Bohemia: The New York Bohemians—Who They Were and What Became of Them," 723.

¹⁵³ Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 22-23.

¹⁵⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, "The 'Bohemians' of New York," 2; Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 22-23.

¹⁵⁵ Gary Schmidgall, ed. *Intimate with Walt: Selections from Whitman's Conversations with Horace Traubel 1888-1892* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001), 245.

¹⁵⁶ Cummings, "'Bohemians' and 'Tips,'" 3.

¹⁵⁷ Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 23.

¹⁵⁸ G. J. M., "Bohemianism," 9.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Butler Gunn Diaries, vol. 13, (June 1, 1860 to September 22 1860), 72. Missouri History Museum, St. Louis.

¹⁶⁰ William Sloane Kennedy, *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman with Extracts from his Letters and Remarks on his Writing*. Volume 3. London: Alexander Gardener: 1896. Albert Parry maintains that George Arnold did not really have Southern sympathies, but rather "took sides with unpopular issues merely for the fun of it." In effect, Parry asserts that Arnold "made his patriotism secret and came out with challenging speeches in defense of the South," presumably for the sheer pleasure of debating the topic with other Pfaffians and Union supporters. Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 41.

¹⁶¹ Walsh, *Pen Pictures of Modern Authors*, 166.

¹⁶² Hugh Farrar McDermott, "The Ghosts of Bohemia," *New York World*, June 27, 1886, 12, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>

¹⁶³ *New York Sun*, Obituary for Charles Pfaff, April 26, 1890, 3,

<http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>

¹⁶⁴ *New York Times*, "In and about the City," 2; "Town Gossip," 178; Wolle, Fitz James O'Brien, 129.

¹⁶⁵ Levin, *Bohemia in America, 1858-1920*, 44.

¹⁶⁶ Parry, 23, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 44.

¹⁶⁷ *The Critic: A Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts*, "[Response to death of Charles Pfaff]," Announcement under "The Lounger" heading, vol. 13, no. 331 (May 3, 1890): 224.

¹⁶⁸ Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis*, 49.

¹⁶⁹ Rawson, "A Bygone Bohemia," 32.

¹⁷⁰ Julius Chambers, "Do Lovers of Literature Recognize Debt to Bohemia," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 13, 1906, 5, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

¹⁷¹ G. J. M., "Bohemianism," 9; *New-York Traveler And United States Hotel Directory* 11, no. 33, "Our Secret Told, December 3, 1859, 5, <http://search.ebscohost.com/>.

¹⁷² Chambers, "Do Lovers of Literature Recognize Debt to Bohemia," 5.

¹⁷³ Cummings, "'Bohemians' and 'Tips,'" 3.

¹⁷⁴ Chambers, "Do Lovers of Literature Recognize Debt to Bohemia," 5.

¹⁷⁵ *Omaha World Herald*, "The Gannymede of Bohemia, 4"; Cummings, "'Bohemians' and 'Tips,'" 3.

¹⁷⁶ *New York Herald*, "Bohemian Days at Pfaff's," 8.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Chambers, "Do Lovers of Literature Recognize Debt to Bohemia," 5.

¹⁷⁹ Charles Pfaff Restaurant, 647 Broadway, 25-cent scrip note, Lot #4311, Obsolete Notes, New York, New York City, Charles Pfaff Restaurant. NY-630-BF, 647 Broadway, 25-Cent Scrip. Note With Red Overprint, Punch Canceled Remainder, Uncirculated, The November 2012 Baltimore

Auction - Us And World Lots - Live And Internet Only Sessions, in Wayne Homren, Ed. “Scrip Notes of Charles Pfaff, New York,” *The E-Sylum* 15, no. 46 (November 4, 2012): Article 20, http://www.coinbooks.org/esylum_v15n46a20.html.

¹⁸⁰ “Description: Lot #14059, New York—New York, Chas. Pfaff’s Restaurant, Rulau-515, B-NY-3740. Very Choice About Uncirculated,” From the Stephen L. Tanenbaum Estate, Earlier ex: Ralph Mitchell; Jess Peters, 1978 ANA, Stack’s and Bowers, The January 2013 Americana Sale, <http://stacksbowers.com/auctions/AuctionLot.aspx?LotID=430928>.

¹⁸¹ “Copperheads. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Copper and Base Metal Currency issued in the several States of the United States commencing in 1862 and ending in 1864,” *American Journal of Numismatics and Bulletin of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society* 2, no. 5, Whole No. 17 (September 1867): 52, <http://search.ebscohost.com/>.

¹⁸² Nemo, “The Comic Side of Numismatology,” *American Stamp Mercury and Numismatist* 2, no. 22 (August 1869): 86, <http://search.ebscohost.com/>.

¹⁸³ Adolf Sonnenschein and James Steven Stallybrass, *German for the English: No. I. First Reading Book* (London: David Nutt, 1857), 75. Google Books, <https://books.google.com/>.

¹⁸⁴ Chas. Pfaff’s Restaurant. Rulau-515, The March 2013 Baltimore Auction, Lot #6166, New York—New York, Very Choice About Uncirculated, <http://stacksbowers.com/Auctions/AuctionLot.aspx?LotID=452738>.

¹⁸⁵ There is no evidence that Pfaff is a Dutchman; although, he is sometimes described as such. One of the Old Crowd, “Remembrances of the Bohemian Club,” *The Arcadian*, May 8, 1875, 12, <http://search.ebscohost.com/>.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *New York Herald*, “Bohemian Days at Pfaff’s,” 8.

¹⁸⁸ G. J. M., “Bohemianism,” 9”; F. B. S., “A Visit To Walt Whitman,” 10.

¹⁸⁹ G.J.M., “Bohemianism,” 9.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*; Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 9.

¹⁹¹ Vidette, “Gotham Gossip,” 2.

¹⁹² Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 23.

¹⁹³ H.C. Bunner, “The Bowery and Bohemia,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 15, no. 4 (April 1894): 452-460.

¹⁹⁴ *Daily Graphic*, “Bohemia. The New York Bohemians—Who They Were and What Became of Them,” 723.

¹⁹⁵ Hugh Farrar McDermott, “The Ghosts of Bohemia,” 12.

¹⁹⁶ “Pfaff’s [from the N. Y. correspondent of the Boston Saturday Express],” 2.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*; *New-York Saturday Press*, “Pfaff’s,” March 3, 1860, 3. *The Vault at Pfaff’s*.

<http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.

¹⁹⁸ Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis*, 23 & 68. For a history and an analysis of the American bohemians’ relationship to French and German émigré groups and the internationalist coalitions in antebellum New York, see especially chapters two and four of *The Antebellum Crisis & America’s First Bohemians*.

¹⁹⁹ *New-York Saturday Press*, “Pfaff’s!! Pfaff’s!!,” Advertisement, August 5, 1865, 15. *The Vault at Pfaff’s*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.

²⁰⁰ *The Chatham Courier* (Chatham, Four Corners, NY)—*Supplement* 23.5, “Bohemians in Literature,” April 30, 1884, 9, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Cummings, “‘Bohemians’ and ‘Tips,’” 3.

²⁰³ *Fireside Companion* 1, no. 16, “The Secret of Success,” February 15, 1868, [2].

<http://search.ebscohost.com/>.

- ²⁰⁴ Mark McWilliams, "Conspicuous Consumption: Howells, James, and the Gilded Age Restaurant," in *Culinary Aesthetics and Practices in Nineteenth-Century American Literature*, eds. Monika Elbert and Marie Drews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 36.
- ²⁰⁵ Cummings "'Bohemians' and 'Tips,'" 3.
- ²⁰⁶ One of the Old Crowd, "Remembrances of the Bohemian Club," 12.
- ²⁰⁷ Karbiener, "Whitman at Pfaff's," 13.
- ²⁰⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁰⁹ Mann Hatton, "Sought, Seen, Heard," *New York Evening Post*, June 20, 1925, 8. <http://fultonhistory.com/>; Ebenezer Clapp, *The Clapp Memorial: Record of the Clapp Family in America: Containing Sketches of the Original Six Emigrants, and a Genealogy of Their Descendants Bearing the Name: with a Supplement and the Proceedings at Two Family Meetings* (Boston: David Clapp & Son, Publishers, 1876), 40.
- ²¹⁰ F. B. S., "A Visit To Walt Whitman," 10.
- ²¹¹ Chambers, "Do Lovers of Literature," 5; "'Bohemians' and 'Tips,'" 3.
- ²¹² *Sunday Inter Ocean*. "[Image of Pfaff's Beer Cellar]," August 12, 1888, 16. <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>.
- ²¹³ G. J. M., "Bohemianism," 9.
- ²¹⁴ *New York Herald*, "Bohemian Days at Pfaff's," 8.
- ²¹⁵ G. J. M., "Bohemianism," 9.
- ²¹⁶ Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 21.
- ²¹⁷ *New York Herald*, "Old Days at Pfaff's," November 2, 1890, 28. <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>; *Chicago Tribune*, "The 'Bohemians' of New York," 1; *Cambridge Tribune*, "Library Chat," 5.
- ²¹⁸ *New York Herald*, "Old Days at Pfaff's," 28.
- ²¹⁹ *The Wayne County Herald* (Honesdale, PA), "Newspaper Salaries," July 2, 1891, 1. <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.
- ²²⁰ McDermott, "Ghosts of Bohemia," 12.
- ²²¹ Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 32; *The New-York Traveler; And United States Hotel Directory*, "Our Secret Told," 5.
- ²²² Chambers, "Do Lovers of Literature Recognize Debt to Bohemia," 5.
- ²²³ Launcelot, "Our New York Letter... Some Account of the Bohemians of New York [. . .]," 2.
- ²²⁴ Ibid.
- ²²⁵ Hugh Farrar McDermott, "The Good Gray Poet: Walt Whitman and How He Chose His Career," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, February 16, 1890, 4. <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>.
- ²²⁶ Walsh, *Pen Pictures of Modern Authors*, 163.
- ²²⁷ Rawson, "A Bygone Bohemia," 106.
- ²²⁸ Ibid; Wolfe, "Some Literary Shrines of Manhattan, II," 857.
- ²²⁹ Since the first two editions of *Leaves of Grass* had not sold as well as Whitman hoped and since his writings consisted of lists and long, unrhymed lines that caused some readers to wonder if they were even poetry, he easily satisfied the Bohemian pre-requisite of having written an unsuccessful and, in the opinions of some, an "unreadable" book. See *New York Times*, "Bohemia in New-York," January 6, 1858, 4. <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/>.
- ²³⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, "The 'Bohemians' of New York," 1.
- ²³¹ M., "Life in a Bar-room [for the Saturday Press]." *New-York Saturday Press*, January 13, 1866, 26. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.
- ²³² Watson, "New York Bohemians," 16.
- ²³³ *The New-York Traveler; And United States Hotel Directory*, "Our Secret Told," 5.
- ²³⁴ Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 23.

²³⁵ Megargee, "Round Table Knights," 9.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ *New York Times*, "Stories of Old New York, The Manhattan Bank and De Soto Chop house," April 28, 1889, 20, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/>.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ The listing for Pfaff's cellar establishment is "Pfaff, Charles, 647 B'way" in the section labeled "Porter Houses." See: *Wilson's Business Directory of New York City* (New York: John F. Trow, 1861-62), 400.

²⁴¹ *The Night Side of New York*, 67-68.

²⁴² Megargee, "Round Table Knights," 9.

²⁴³ *New York Times*, "Stories of Old New York," 20.

²⁴⁴ Pfaff's was established at its new location at 653 Broadway by August 5, 1865, because on that day Charles Pfaff began advertising his newest place in the *NYSP* as a saloon with a "summer garden." See *New-York Saturday Press*, "Pfaff's!! Pfaff's!!," 15.

²⁴⁵ Martin Hyman, "Where the Drinkers and Laughters Meet: Whitman's Literary Lair," *Seaport: the magazine of the South Street Seaport Museum* 26 (Spring 1991): 61.

²⁴⁶ "Pfaff, Charles. Retail Liquor Dealer and Eating House Keeper," Division 12, Collection District No. 6 of the State of New York, May 1, 1864, Ancestry.com, *U.S. IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2008; "Pfaff, Charles, 653 Broadway, 12 gallons, Imported Spirits," Division 12, Collection District No. 6 of the State of New York, May 1864, Ancestry.com, *U.S. IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2008, <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>.

²⁴⁷ *Courrier des Etats Unis*, "Chs. Pfaff. a l'honneur d'informer [. . .], Notice, June 20, 1864, 4.

²⁴⁸ See, for example, "Charles Pfaff's Restaurant, 647 Broadway, N. Y.," Advertisement, *The Albion, A Journal of News, Politics, and Literature*, June 11, 1864, 288.

²⁴⁹ See, for example, "PFAFF'S!! PFAFF'S!! NO. 653 BROADWAY," Advertisement, *New-York Saturday Press*, August 5, 1865, *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.

²⁵⁰ *New York Times*, "In and About the City" 2; Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 33.

²⁵¹ Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, 33. The writer of "In and About the City" claims that "[H]undreds of people used to visit his place to taste these edibles, drink his famous 'best' Rhine wine, and get a look at the lions of Bohemia." *New York Times*, "In and About the City," 2.

²⁵² The writer even goes so far as to suggest that young Charles Pfaff, Jr. "may yet be President of the United States." See *The Night Side of New York*, 71.

²⁵³ James L. Ford, "New York's Bohemia," 14; Junius Henry Browne, *The Great Metropolis, a Mirror of New York. A Complete History of Metropolitan Life and Society, with Sketches of Prominent Places, Persons, and Things in the City as They Actually Exist* (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1869), 159; "Milwaukee Daily Sentinel," "Metropolitan Gossip Vanderbilt and Drew, a Contrast--The Easter Festival--Sunday Music--The Opera--Female Manias--Suicide ... *Ariel*. Subtitle is "Jardin Mabille," April 18, 1868, n. p., <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>.

²⁵⁴ *New-York Saturday Press*, "C. Pfaff's.—This Famous Bohemian resort [. . .]," August 5, 1865, 9. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.

²⁵⁵ *The Night Side of New York*, 71.

²⁵⁶ James L. Ford, "In Bright Bohemia," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, Illustrated Supplement, November 13, 1892, 2, <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>; G. J. M., "Bohemianism," 9.

- ²⁵⁷ See, for example, *New-York Saturday Press*, "PFAFF'S!! PFAFF'S!! No. 653 BROADWAY," Advertisement, August 5, 1865, 15. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.
- ²⁵⁸ *The Night Side of New York*, 71.
- ²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶⁰ Cummings, "'Bohemians' and 'Tips,'" 3.
- ²⁶¹ *New-York Saturday Press*, "C. Cruyt & Co., Successors," March 24, 1866, 8. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.
- ²⁶² Elihu Vedder, *From The Digressions of V.: written for his own fun and that of his friends*. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1910), 226.
- ²⁶³ William Pembroke Fetridge, *The American Traveller's Guide. Harper's Hand-Book for travelers in Europe and the East*, "ROUTE No. 14." Volume 4; Volume 8; Volumes 11-12. (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1873), 303.
- ²⁶⁴ Figaro, "Dramatic Feuilleton," *New-York Saturday Press*, March 24, 1866, 5. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.
- ²⁶⁵ Figaro, "Dramatic Feuilleton," *New-York Saturday Press*, April 7, 1866, 4. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.
- ²⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Clapp may also be referencing the advertising slogan "Go to Pfaff's" here.
- ²⁶⁷ Figaro, "Dramatic Feuilleton," *New-York Saturday Press*, March 31, 1866, 4-5. *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.
- ²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶⁹ *Courrier des Etats-Unis*, "C. Pfaff, Restaurant, 653, Broadway," Notice, October 18, 1867. I was able to obtain a scan of the same notice, as it appeared at a later date, in the November 7, 1867, issue of the *Courrier des Etas-Unis*.
- ²⁷⁰ *Courrier des Etats-Unis*, "C. Pfaff, Restaurant, 653, Broadway," Notice, November 7, 1867.
- ²⁷¹ *The Fireside Companion*, "The Secret of Success," [2].
- ²⁷² *Ibid.*
- ²⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷⁵ *New York Herald*, "A Restaurant 'Beat,'" March 19, 1869, 5, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/>.
- ²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷⁸ *New York Herald*, "The News," March 19, 1869, 6, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/>.
- ²⁷⁹ *New York Herald*, "A Restaurant 'Beat,'" 5.
- ²⁸⁰ *New York Herald*, "The News," 6.
- ²⁸¹ *New York Herald*, "The Bohemians and their Host," March 20, 1869, 6, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/>.
- ²⁸² *Utica Observer*, "Tea Table Gossip," December 17, 1868, 4, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.
- ²⁸³ "Charles Raff," United States Census, July 1870, Index and Images, New York, United States; citing p. 51, family 489, NARA microfilm publication M593, FHL microfilm 552492, *FamilySearch*. <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/M8FW-NWB>.
- ²⁸⁴ "Charles Phaff." U. S. Census. Year: December 1870; Census Place: *New York Ward 15 District 10 (2nd Enum)*. *New York, New York*; Roll M593_1033; Page: 277B; Image: 558, Family History Library Film: 552532; Ancestry.com, Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2009, <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>.
- ²⁸⁵ "Charles Raff," United States Census, July 1870, New York, New York; "Charles Phaff," United States Census, December 1870, New York, New York.

²⁸⁶ H. H. Hacker, (Instructor at Nazareth Hall), *Nazareth Hall: an Historical Sketch and Roster of Principals, Teachers, and Pupils, Instructors at Nazareth Hall* (Times Publishing Co Bethlehem, P.A. 1910), 154.

²⁸⁷ See, for example: “Nazareth Hall Boarding School for Boys,” *Harper’s Weekly*, August 9, 1862, 511, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>; *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, “Schools: Nazareth Hall,” October 13, 1860, 2, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

²⁸⁸ *New-York Daily Tribune*, “Suggestions to Parents,” September 2, 1873, 2, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *American Enterprise*, “Rhymes at a Restaurant,” January 1872, 7.

<http://search.ebscohost.com/>.

²⁹¹ *American Enterprise*, “Charles Pfaff’s Restaurant, 653 Broadway,” January 1872, 7,

<http://search.ebscohost.com/>.

²⁹² Mark Twain, *New-York Saturday Press*, November 18, 1865, 248.

²⁹³ I would like to thank the graduate student faculty of the Technical University of Dortmund for pointing out this possible interpretation of the image during the question and answer session that followed my presentation of an excerpt of this book project in November 2012.

²⁹⁴ Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 416.

²⁹⁵ Hemstreet, *Literary New York*, n. p.

²⁹⁶ W. Harrison Bayles, *Old Taverns of New York* (Franklin Allaben Genealogical Company c. 1915), 429.

²⁹⁷ “Pfaff, Charles,” *Announcement, for the Year of 1876, of Packard’s Business College, 805 Broadway*. New York: S. S. Packard, 1875: 21. Announcement from the American Antiquarian Society. Ancestry.com. *U.S., School Catalogs, 1765-1935* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012, <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>.

²⁹⁸ *Announcement, for the Year of 1876, of Packard’s Business College, 805 Broadway*. 8, 13.

²⁹⁹ “Pfaff, Charles,” *Announcement, for the Year of 1876, of Packard’s Business College, 805 Broadway*. 21.

³⁰⁰ “Zimmerman, Robert,” *Announcement, for the Year of 1876, of Packard’s Business College, 805 Broadway*. 22.

³⁰¹ Hacker, *Nazareth Hall*, 155.

³⁰² *New York Tribune*, “Charles Pfaff of ‘Bohemia’ Fame,” April 25, 1890, 1,

<http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁰³ “Pfaff, Charles,” and “Zimmermann, Robert,” *Gouldings New York City Directory For the year commencing May 1, 1877, ending May 1, 1878*. Published Annually, Vol. III. (New York, Lawrence G. Goulding & Co. Publishers, 1877), 1122 & 1563.

³⁰⁴ “Charles Pfaff,” U. S. Census, New York 1880 Census Records.

³⁰⁵ Rufus Rockwell Wilson, “The New York Bohemians,” [illegib. 3 or 8]; Hyman, “Where Drinkers and Laughers Meet,” 61.

³⁰⁶ *Courrier des Etats-Unis*, “CHARLES PFAFF. RESTAURANT FRANÇAIS A LA CARTE,” Notice, May 12, 1867.

³⁰⁷ *New York Herald*, Removal Notice, May 7, 1876, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁰⁸ *New York Daily Tribune*, “The Excise Excitement: Views of Hotel and Saloon Keepers,” November 23, 1877, 8, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ *New York Herald*, “To Let—A Nicely Furnished Parlor Floor,” Notice, January 26, 1886, 2, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³¹¹ *Galveston Daily News*, “Our New York Letter,” May 5, 1885, 5, <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>.

- ³¹² William Grimes, *Appetite City: a Culinary History of New York* (Macmillan 2009), 98.
- ³¹³ E. D. P., "New York Sketches: Old Pfaff and a Rare Bohemian Reminiscence," 22.
- ³¹⁴ Ibid.
- ³¹⁵ "Pfaff's [from the N. Y. correspondent of the Boston Saturday Express]," 2.
- ³¹⁶ E. D. P., "New York Sketches: Old Pfaff and a Rare Bohemian Reminiscence," 22.
- ³¹⁷ *New York Herald*, "Germicide Preventative System," Advertisement, November 28, 1880, Section D, pg. 14, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.
- ³¹⁸ Ibid. Charles Pfaff is listed in the ad as a user of the Germicide Preventive System, from Germicide Co., which "protects from the evil effects of the constant and unnoticed entrance of Sewer Gas." The Germicide "purifies the air of the closet by Thymol Vapor and requires no attention, except monthly from the company's uniformed inspectors, and is acknowledged to be the most perfect refinement of sanitary science to prevent the hurtful constituents of sewer and soil pipe gas."
- ³¹⁹ E. D. P., "New York Sketches: Old Pfaff and a Rare Bohemian Reminiscence," 22.
- ³²⁰ Vidette, "Gotham Gossip," 2.
- ³²¹ Rufus Rockwell Wilson, "The New York Bohemians."
- ³²² Horace Traubel, With Walt Whitman in Camden, vol. 8, ed. Jeanne Chapman and Robert MacIsaac (Oregon House, CA: W. L. Bentley, 1996), 312, *The Walt Whitman Archive*. Ed. Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price. http://www.whitmanarchive.org/criticism/disciples/traubel/disciples_credits_8.html.
- ³²³ Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis*, 116-117.
- ³²⁴ Rufus Rockwell Wilson, "The New York Bohemians."
- ³²⁵ Robert J. Scholnick, *Edmund Clarence Stedman* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1977), 30.
- ³²⁶ *The Funniest of Awl & the Phunnyest Sort of Phun*, "The Bohemian War," December 1864, issue 1. <http://search.ebscohost.com/>.
- ³²⁷ Vedder, *From the Digressions of V*, 226.
- ³²⁸ Walt Whitman, *Complete Prose Works* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1892), 188.
- ³²⁹ Ibid.
- ³³⁰ Ibid.
- ³³¹ James L. Ford, "New York's Bohemia," 14.
- ³³² *Evening World*, "Keeping a Death Record: A Queer Custom Kept up by Twelve Jolly Old Sports," November 8, 1887, 3, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030193/1887-11-08/ed-2/seq-3/>.
- ³³³ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, "Chas. Pfaff's Restaurant 9 West 24th Street," December 29, 1877, 283, <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/itw/infomark/>.
- ³³⁴ *Puck*, "C. Pfaff's Restaurant, 9 W. 24th St.," February 12, 1879, 14. <http://books.google.com/>.
- ³³⁵ *Cook's Excursionist and Home and Foreign Tourist Advertiser*, 26th Series – No. 3, "Pfaff's Celebrated Restaurant," June 1, 1876, 32, <http://search.ebscohost.com/>.
- ³³⁶ *Courrier des Etats-Unis*, "CHARLES PFAFF. RESTAURANT FRANÇAIS A LA CARTE," May 12, 1876, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.
- ³³⁷ "Charles Pfaff Grand Restaurant Français," *Almanach Du Commerce Et De L'Industrie Des États-Unis* (1877), 238, <http://books.google.com/books?id=Ygo0AAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- ³³⁸ *Puck*, *Illustriertes, Humoristisches – Wochenblatt, [Illustrated. Humorous Weekly]*, "C. Pfaff's Restaurant, 9 West 24. Str., nahe Broadway, New York," German Language Version. No. 15 (January 1877): 15, Google Books, <http://books.google.com/books?id=KQFCAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- ³³⁹ *Courrier des Etats Unis*, "CHARLES PFAFF, RESTAURANT FRANÇAIS A LA CARTE," October 4, 1876, 4.

³⁴⁰ *New York Evening Express*, “Restaurants. C. Pfaff’s Restaurant, No. 9 West 24th Street,” May 22, 1876, n. p, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁴¹ *New York Herald*, “9 West 24th St.—At Pfaff’s Handsomely furnished Rooms,” January 29, 1877, 2, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁴² *New York Daily Tribune*, “The Excise Excitement: Views of Hotel and Saloon Keepers,” November 23, 1877, 8, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ *New York Herald*, “A Restaurant ‘Beat,’” 5.

³⁴⁷ “Charles Ignatius Pfaff,” *Appleton’s*, 15:660.

³⁴⁸ Cummings, “‘Bohemians’ and ‘Tips,’” 3.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁰ *New York Herald*, “Richard Walters’ Sons Auctioneers . . . at Pfaff’s Hotel,” April 25, 1887, 11, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁵¹ Cummings, “‘Bohemians’ and ‘Tips,’” 3.

³⁵² *New York Herald*, “Furnished Rooms and Apartments to Let: A Few Magnificent Rooms,” September 22, 1887, 2, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁵³ *Troy Daily Times* (Troy, NY), “Two Mayors and an Ash Barrel,” July 1, 1887, 2, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁵⁴ Ford, “In Bright Bohemia,” 2.

³⁵⁵ *New York Times*, “In and about the City,” 2; *New York Sun*, Obituary of “Charles Pfaff,” 3.

³⁵⁶ *New York Times*, “In and about the City,” 2.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ Cummings, “‘Bohemians’ and ‘Tips,’” 3.

³⁵⁹ *New York Times*, “In and about the City,” 2.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*; *New York Sun*, “[Obituary for Charles Pfaff],” 3.

³⁶² Julius Chambers, “Walks and Talks,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 10, 1908, Picture Section, 2, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>; *Cambridge Tribune*, “Library Chat,” 5.

³⁶³ *Omaha World Herald*, “The Gannymede of Bohemia,” 4.

³⁶⁴ See, for example, Vidette, “Gotham Gossip,” 2; *New York Times*, “In and About the City,” 2; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Obituary, “[Acute Gastritis, which carried off Charles Pfaff],” April 27, 1890, 10, <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org/>.

New York Sun, “[Obituary for Charles Pfaff],” 3; *Themis*, “[When Charles Pfaff was buried],” May 17, 1890, 3, <https://sslvpn.uni-dortmund.de/iw-search/we/HistArchive/>, “Charles Pfaff, of ‘Bohemia’ Fame, Dead, 1.

³⁶⁵ *Cambridge Tribune*, “Library Chat,” 5.

³⁶⁶ Only the *New York Sun* mentions Pfaff’s son, Charles Pfaff, Jr. However, *Appleton’s Annual Cyclopaedia* offered what is seemingly the most detailed biographical sketch of Charles Pfaff, which was published the year after his death. See “Charles Ignatius Pfaff,” *Appleton’s*, 15:660.

³⁶⁷ Charles Pfaff, Jr. may be the “Charles Pfaff,” born in 1857 in New York, who, at the age of sixty-three, was seemingly living in a boarding house or occupying a room in an apartment building, according to the United States Census for New York in 1920. See “Charles Pfaff, Age 63.” U. S. Census. Year: 1920; Census Place: *Manhattan Assembly District 9, New York, New York*; Roll T625_1202; Page: 9A; Enumeration District: 700; Image: 529, *Ancestry.com, 1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2010, <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>.

³⁶⁸ *New York Sun*, Obituary for Charles Pfaff, 3; *New York Times*, "Charles Pfaff Buried," April 27, 1890, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/94843137/5B533C095FA2472DPQ/1?accountid=14663>.

³⁶⁹ *New York Times*, "Charles Pfaff Buried," April 27, 1890.

³⁷⁰ "Pfaff, Charles." New York, Probate Records, 1629-1971," images, *FamilySearch*, New York, Letters of administration index 1743-1910 M-R, image 416 of 640, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1942-28617-4285-51?cc=1920234&wc=MQNP-N6X:213306101,221218702>.

³⁷¹ Noel Bertram Gerson, *Queen of the Plaza: a Biography of Adah Isaacs Menken* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1964), 104.

³⁷² "Saturday, April 7: Divorce of Adah Isaacs Menken," *Vincent's Semi-Annual United States Register: A work in which the principal events of every half-year occurring in the United States are recorded, each arranged under the day of its date*. Volume containing events transpiring between the 1st of January and 1st of July, 1860 (Philadelphia: Francis Vincent, 1860), 269.

³⁷³ *New York Herald*, "Knickerbocker Athletic Club," January 8, 1879, 10, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁷⁴ *New York Herald*, "Skating Champions. Making Headway with Difficulty Against a Strong Northwest Wind," January 29, 1885, 9, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>; *Spirit of the Times: The American Gentleman's Newspaper*, "Skating. An Irish Yankee in Montreal: What Mr. Pfaff thinks," February 23, 1884, 99, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

Pfaff took part and was ultimately beaten in a unique race against then champion runner L.E. Myers. Pfaff skated for 115 yards while Myers, ran on the ice in shoes equipped with short spikes for a distance of 120 yards, and Myers bested Pfaff by about four feet. See *Long Island City Daily Star*, "A Novel Race," 9.2698 (January 23, 1885): 1. The *Daily Star* incorrectly refers to L. E. Myers as "S. E. Myers." But on January 17, 1885, at Van Courtlandt Lake, Pfaff took to the ice and finished first in the quarter mile race and, later, set a new record in the quarter-mile trials. See *New York Clipper and Theatrical Journal*, "Skating Against Time. Phillips and Pfaff Create New Records," January 24, 1885, 717, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

In 1884, Pfaff, Jr., then approximately twenty-seven years old, traveled from New York to Montreal to compete against Canadian skaters at the Victoria Rink. After the race, the *American Gentleman's Newspaper* printed an excerpt from a private letter Pfaff wrote about the skating competition. In his letter, the young skater described his defeat and his desire for a second race with the Canadian athletes:

I was beaten before the start, for almost any boy up there could turn the corners better than I, and why shouldn't they on the only place they skate on, the rinks? But I was beaten fair enough, only under disadvantages. [. . .]. I am the first American amateur who ever visited Canada to skate a race, and I was fairly beaten . . . I acknowledge they are great skaters, but I do not agree with THE SPIRIT that the best five men in Montreal could beat the best five in New York, on New York ice, and I would like to be one of the five to try it.

Even though Pfaff was outpaced by at least a mile on the Victoria Rink, he seems proud to have been afforded the opportunity to skate in a race in Canada, and he appears to see himself as a pioneer, an amateur skater competing on Canadian ice for the first time. He goes on to say that "[a]ltogether it was very enjoyable trip" because he felt welcome and was "splendidly treated" by gentlemen from the various athletic clubs who attended the event. See the *Spirit of the Times: The American Gentleman's Newspaper*, "Skating. An Irish Yankee in Montreal: What Mr. Pfaff thinks," 99. Pfaff, Jr.'s letter also reveals his competitive spirit, and he seems eager for a rematch between Canadian and American skaters in his native New York, where he might have the advantage of a race in a venue where he had previous experience and practice. When Pfaff was not competing, he enjoyed skating at the Manhattan grounds in Eighty-sixth street and Eighth

avenue, and he and his fellow skaters sometimes demonstrated “fine fancy skating” moves including “grapevines and spread eagles,” much to the delight of on-lookers.³⁷⁴ See *New York Herald*, “Sporting Notes,” December 26, 1884, 7, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

³⁷⁵ *Spirit of the Times*, “Amateur Athletic Records: Amateur Skating Records. Corrected up to March 21, 1885,” March 28, 1885, 254, <http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html>.

Four years before the last Pfaff’s closed, in January 1883, Charles Pfaff, Jr., was one of three young men—the others were William G. Brokaw and Louis Reyford—to compete in a ten-mile skating contest. At the start of the event, “[T]he crowd screamed, ‘Go it, Charley,’ and ‘go it, Billy,’ and the three skaters bounded vigorously forward for the lead. Pfaff, the smallest of the three, obtained it.” *New York Times*, “Racing Ten Miles on Skates,” January 24, 1883, 3, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/>. Pfaff remained in first place for the initial five miles of the competition before Brokaw passed him; however, on the final lap of the last mile, “Pfaff shot ahead, and Brokaw, in spite of all his efforts was unable to close with him. Pfaff came in the winner in 44:34 3-5. After his “most desperate effort” earned him the win, Pfaff “sank to the ice from exhaustion, but was quickly revived when taken to the dressing-rooms.” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, “Sporting Sawyer Vanquished by Donovan at Straight Billiards (Sports): Skating. A Ten-Mile Race,” January 26, 1883, 7, <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>.

³⁷⁶ *New York Times*, “Racing Ten Miles on Skates,” 3.

³⁷⁷ “Charles Pfaff [Jr.],” *1920 United States Federal Census*.

³⁷⁸ “Charles Pfaff [Jr.],” New York State Archives; Albany, New York; *State Population Census Schedules, 1925*; Election District: 11; Assembly District: 23; City: New York; County: New York; Page: 14, Ancestry.com, *New York, State Census, 1925* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012; “Charles Pfaff [Jr.]”; Year: 1930; Census Place: Manhattan, New York, New York; Roll: 1578; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 1064; Image: 883.0; FHL microfilm: 2341313, Ancestry.com, *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2002, Original data: United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1930. T626, 2,667 rolls, <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>.

³⁷⁹ “Charles Pfaff, [Jr.?],” Year: 1940; Census Place: New York, New York, New York; Roll: T627_2663; Page: 10B; Enumeration District: 31-1649, Ancestry.com. *1940 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012, Original data: United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1940. T627, 4,643 rolls, <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com/>.

³⁸⁰ *New York City Death Index*, New York City Death Records Search 1891-1948, Italian Genealogical Group, italiangen.org/records-search/deaths.php

³⁸¹ Don C. Seitz, *Artemus Ward a Biography and Bibliography* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1919), 96-97.

³⁸² *Ibid*, 97.

³⁸³ Theodore F. Wolfe, “Some Literary Shrines of Manhattan, II” 857-864.

³⁸⁴ Karen Karbiener, “Whitman at Pfaff’s,” 15.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 15, 17; Walt Whitman, Unfinished Poem, “The Two Vaults,” *NUPM*, 1: 454-455.

³⁸⁶ Eileen Reynolds, “Under the Traffic, Where Whitman Drank and Dreamed,” About NYU, News Publications, and Facts, NYU Stories, <http://www.nyu.edu/about/news-publications/nyu-stories/karen-karbiener-at-pfaff-s.html>.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid*; Tim McKeough, “A New Bar, with a Nod to Whitman,” *New York Times*, June 8, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/09/garden/a-new-bar-with-a-nod-to-whitman.html?_r=0.

³⁸⁸ Eileen Reynolds, "Under the Traffic, Where Whitman Drank and Dreamed."

³⁸⁹ J. W. Watson, "New York Bohemians: The Men and Women Who Used to Meet in Pfaff's Cellar," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, Aug. 12, 1888, 16, <http://infotrac.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/>.

³⁹⁰ Donaldson, *Walt Whitman the Man*, 209.

³⁹¹ Walt Whitman, "The Two Vaults Subject—Poem," *The Vault at Pfaff's*. <http://lehigh.edu/pfaffs>. Ed. Edward Whitley and Rob Weidman.

³⁹² *American Enterprise*, "Rhymes at a Restaurant," 7.