The Bronx Was Brewing: A Digital Resource of a Lost Industry

Michelle Zimmer
The Graduate Center, City University of New York

How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!

Follow this and additional works at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds

Part of the American Art and Architecture Commons, Cultural History Commons, Digital Humanities Commons, Ethnic Studies Commons, European History Commons, European Languages and Societies Commons, Food Studies Commons, History of Science, Technology, and Medicine Commons, Interdisciplinary Arts and Media Commons, Jewish Studies Commons, Labor History Commons, Liberal Studies Commons, Other American Studies Commons, Other History Commons, Other Languages, Societies, and Cultures Commons, Science and Technology Studies Commons, United States History Commons, and the Urban Studies and Planning Commons

Recommended Citation
https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/2550

This Capstone Project is brought to you by CUNY Academic Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Dissertations, Theses, and Capstone Projects by an authorized administrator of CUNY Academic Works. For more information, please contact deposit@gc.cuny.edu.
THE BRONX WAS BREWING:
A Digital Resource of a Lost Industry

by

MICHELLE HOPE ZIMMER

A master’s capstone project submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts,
The City University of New York

2018
The Bronx Was Brewing:
A Digital Resource of a Lost Industry

by

Michelle Hope Zimmer

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in satisfaction of the capstone project requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date

Dr. Cindy R. Lobel
Thesis Advisor

Date

Dr. Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis
Executive Officer
The Bronx Was Brewing: A Digital Resource of a Lost Industry

by

Michelle Hope Zimmer

Advisor: Dr. Cindy R. Lobel

The Bronx: a bucolic oasis laden with history, a suburb within city-limits, an urban warzone, and thanks to the recent renaissance, a phoenix of progress rising from the proverbial ashes of the fires that burned through the borough in the 1970’s. But many people are unaware that the Bronx also brewed.

Uncovering the brewing industry of the Bronx tells not only the story of the lost industry, but it also communicates the narrative of the development of the Bronx. The brewers were German immigrants who developed a thriving industry by introducing lager beer to the United States by taking advantage of the natural landscape, as well as the modernizing infrastructure.
The Bronx Was Brewing: A Digital Resource of a Lost Industry was created because the Bronx needs more online scholarship available for the general audience. It explains the industry through summaries and photo-essays on Bronx Immigration and Industrialization, Failure and Renaissance, including scores of historical maps, original and archival photography, statistics, and illustrations.

For a time, the Bronx was known for its parkland, zoo, Botanical Gardens, schools, the Grand Concourse, and most of all, its industry. But, it is the burning Bronx that has offered the most indelible image of the borough.1 The Bronx is no longer burning; tenements have been restored, streets cleaned-up, subway cars washed clean of the graffiti, new suburban ranch homes built where rubble and trash used to litter the South Bronx; the Grand Concourse has even been declared a Historic District inspiring people to move uptown to a neighborhood they would not have even considered visiting, let alone living in. Yet, it is the image of the Bronx of over thirty-five years ago that is still summoned-up when urban decay is discussed in Detroit, or even in Paris –never the brewing industry.

Society did not so much forget Bronx history: most people are completely unaware of it – including New Yorkers. Especially, the brewing industry of the South Bronx where there were approximately 17 German breweries within a 10-block radius. There were several reasons why the brewing industry was successful in the Bronx: prospectors were attracted to the cheap land which beckoned pioneering manufacturing businesses that did not require a lot of investment capital; the era's surplus wealth enabled entrepreneurs to take rewarding business risks; modernizing transportation systems linked the Bronx to Manhattan making the area prime real estate for an industrial center and the rail and waterways provided access to the hops and barley

being farmed in upstate New York; scientific development geared towards protecting raw materials and water in the Bronx also benefited the breweries. And of course, the Bronx provided a huge source of immigrant laborers.

For much of the nineteenth century, beer was deemed a lot safer to drink than water. For most Americans, alcohol, and especially beer, was a reliable beverage clear of the pollutants found in local wells. Urban water supplies were often unsafe and could spread diseases such as cholera. Before modern sewer systems were implemented, contaminants from local businesses and people’s homes were dumped in lakes and rivers. Thus, even children would drink beer as the distillation process killed the germs found in the polluted water.

The Bronx’s geography was perfect for lager fermentation and industry. Surrounded by fertile land (with natural ridges, perfect for cave-fermented lager), creeks, canals, rivers, rails, the German brewers could cart in clean Adirondack water on the Croton Aqueduct, ice from upstate lakes, and grain from upstate. The industrialization and modernization of the Bronx helped the industry thrive, and was also a catalyst in its demise, as the industry eventually moved to the mid-west.

In the nineteenth century, New York City became one of the country's largest brewing centers. The majority of these early breweries were in Manhattan and Brooklyn, so, the German breweries in the Bronx are not as well known. The historical archives rarely mention the Bronx, and when they do, it is listed as “New York”. This is because the area where most of the Bronx breweries were located, Morrisania, was the annexed district of New York County, while the rest of the borough was still Westchester. Two common threads are evident in the sources used for researching New York: one, beer is often mentioned, and two, the Bronx is rarely mentioned, not even in the index. Digital Bronx resources are few and far between; research on the Bronx is
scattered, incomplete, or miscategorized. The Bronx is often an afterthought within New York’s historical archives when compared to Manhattan and Brooklyn.\(^2\) Thus, researching the Bronx Breweries is a slow process. Unless, you know intuitively that an address that simply says, "Third avenue, NY" is actually in the Bronx and not Manhattan, you would not know where the important brewing center was located.\(^3\) Even recent mapping projects for New York City ignore the former Bronx breweries.

*The Bronx Was Brewing: A Digital Resource for a Lost Industry* views the rise of the Bronx through its beer culture and why it was an impetus to the evolution of the city and its drinking habits. By beginning with the location of the breweries, we will explore why the Bronx, for a time, became part of the lager capital of the world. By utilizing a multi-disciplinary approach to Bronx history, one can track the changing tastes in, and culture of, Bronx beer, from the evolution of the lager industry, to the failure caused by Prohibition, to the Bronx of today.

\(^2\) Joel Schwartz, *Community Building on the Bronx Frontier: Morrisania, 1848-1875*. Dissertation. Department of History, 1973. Lloyd Ulan and John McNamara have written numerous books on the Bronx with mentions of the breweries, but a modern detailed study of the beer foodways of the Bronx has not yet been done.

Table of Contents

The Bronx Was Brewing: A Digital Resource of a Lost Industry

Title Page ______________________________________________________________________ i
Copyright Page ____________________________________________________________________ ii
Approval Page _____________________________________________________________________ iii
Abstract __________________________________________________________________________ iv
Process and description of Capstone Project ____________________________________________ 1
Relation to MALS and New York Studies _______________________________________________ 12
Evaluation and Continuation of the Project _____________________________________________ 19
Selected Bibliography __________________________________________________________________ 21
**The Bronx Was Brewing: A Digital Resource of a Lost Industry**

https://brewingbronx.commons.gc.cuny.edu/

**Process and description of Capstone Project**

I am lifelong resident of the of the Bronx and I constantly invite people to explore the “Northside”. You will not get a nosebleed --I don't get the bends when I visit Brooklyn. Yet, one is more likely to meet a Bronxite in Brooklyn, than the other way around.

As a New York Studies major in an interdisciplinary program (MALs), I wanted to immerse myself in my subject: The Bronx. My initial goal was to study the Bronx through the lens of literature and film, art history and sociology, architecture and archaeology, and its foodways and immigrant cultures ---which I soon realized was too broad in scope.

I decided to focus on the brewing industry.

My life was interdisciplinary –so too would be my scholarship. I decided that to accomplish a thorough interdisciplinary study of New York, I would need to challenge myself by taking doctoral history level seminars, instead of only graduate level classes; I registered for as many classes that involved the subject of New York as possible in the history and art history departments, as well as the MALs program. Some of my relevant coursework was: *Gilded Age/Progressive Era New York; Narratives of NYC; Wall to Wall New York: Muralism 1900-1940; History of New York City: A Political, Historical, and Sociological Profile; Urban Archaeology; The History of Modernity: 1789-1914; Social Matters: Architecture in the Welfare State.* I led class PowerPoint presentations and wrote papers on: *Immigrant Foodways of the Lower East Side; Woodlawn Cemetery: Modernity through Memorial; Ben Shahn: Photo-
Muralist and Proto-Documentarian; Tenants, Moses, and the Heartbreak Highway; Junk Playgrounds; Manhattan’s archaeological sites; Fin de Siècle Vienna; and Crime, Prison, Melodrama, and Murals. My research always leaned towards the immigration studies, especially the Jewish émigré’s experience; often, it would be an underlying theme within my research papers. I was interested in what lured the immigrant to New York and how industrialization impacted the lives of the residents. How did new technologies change the trajectory of the Bronx, and especially, why did it fail?

New York Studies is incomplete without a study of immigrants, for without them, there would be no Gotham. Whether poor, middle-class, or affluent, these cultures pollinate that which makes New York City what it is: a little bit of everything.

The growth of the Bronx was directly influenced by the changes that resulted from the modernization of urban Gotham: it profoundly changed the Bronx existence from how and where people lived, as well as class development. The economic progress that the borough experienced during the years of 1885-1940 was unprecedented. The United States was becoming a consumer society; more income meant more consumption – which was good for the economy and the residents. With the advents of the rail, refrigeration, public transportation, ready-made clothing, packaged food, and labor-saving appliances, a higher standard of living was achieved; Industrialization shaped the Bronx’ economy, ethnic foodways, as well as the public, and political ethos. I was interested in how the Bronx adapted to the effects of massive technological and transportation improvements -- and how these developments influenced Bronx urban life through Foodways. Immigrant Foodways refers to the beverages and foods preferred by immigrant groups along with the circumstances under which they are conceived, obtained, dispersed, preserved, prepared, and consumed. What people drink and eat, when, and with
whom is largely determined by their culture and the influences of their new nation’s culture, in this case, The Bronx. Foodways not only refers to food and cooking, but to all food-related behaviors, as well as new technologies that changed the trajectory of the industry. Analyzing the history of brewing in the Bronx, links the history of the borough to larger topics in New York history. Bronx culture was built on the food prepared by mothers, local retailers, and later, huge food conglomerates. One can only consume and prepare what is available, and slowly, the range of what was available seemed to grow infinite. As circumstances allowed, immigrant groups brought their beer preferences and eating customs with them to the Bronx, permitting them to maintain a sense of identity and cohesion while developing ethnic enclaves. From an immigrant’s outlook, foodways occupy a central role in their assimilation, both as an instrument for memories and loss, as well routine nourishment and the reproduction of tradition and community.

After meeting with my thesis adviser, Dr. Cindy R. Lobel, a New York and food historian, I knew I would choose a modern approach to my thesis with a digital history Capstone Project, instead of a written thesis on the Bronx. Dr. Lobel thought that something involving a map would be a good idea and so did I. I love a challenge and I am quite creative but why did I choose a digital project whilst not having had taken any digital classes? How would I find the time to learn how to do it, build it, and most importantly, do the research? As a historian, it was imperative that my research not suffer. Especially, when I planned on covering so many subjects and themes.

I attended the CUNY Geographic Information Sciences (GIS) Summit where I was inspired by a lecture given by the Vice Provost of Research at Bronx Community College, Sunil Bhaskaran. I was pleased to learn that he is spearheading a geospatial technology movement up
in the Bronx. I left the symposium inspired but with the sobering feeling that my scope was too broad and needed to be more specific. I consulted with digital librarian, Stephen Klein and he directed me to helpful websites as well as the New Media Lab for more exhaustive support.

Stephen Zweibel, the data and digital projects librarian for Digital Humanities, said that “I was scaring him” when I explained the scope of my potential project, followed by my lack of expertise.

So, I focused on my research: Bronx Style.

Since Bronx digital research has not yet caught up to Manhattan, I started out by taking to the streets and visiting the areas of my past research in MALS to see what would inspire me. My guerrilla investigation always brought me back to the south Bronx. This is when I discovered the Hupfel Brewery ruins on St. Ann’s avenue and 160th street; the only nineteenth-century Bronx brewery that still (barely) stands. I channeled Indiana Jones and Lara Croft and continued my adventure.

Bronx Breweries. I had no idea.

Many people have a short memory when it comes to the Bronx. They are surrounded by history and are unaware. When it came time to decide on a Capstone Project, I was stuck until I learned that the gruesomely beautiful edifice that I stumbled upon was the ruins of the Hupfel Brewery. With a bit of preliminary digging I learned that the Bronx was home to several breweries. Like most people, I always thought of Brooklyn, the upper east side of Manhattan, and, of course, the Midwest when I considered the brewing industry, but as with most successful pioneering industries, they had their start at a smaller level here in the Bronx.

The tradition of brewing in the Bronx is as old as the seventeenth-century Dutch settlers

---

4 [http://www.bcc.cuny.edu/geospatial/?p=gcci-Faculty-and-Staff](http://www.bcc.cuny.edu/geospatial/?p=gcci-Faculty-and-Staff)
5 [http://libguides.gc.cuny.edu/digital_tools_consult](http://libguides.gc.cuny.edu/digital_tools_consult)
6 Built in 1848.
and our colonial forefathers. For New Yorkers, brewing is in our roots. Most housewives brewed at home for their families; Jonas Bronck (1600-1643), our first modern settler, brewed; Jacobus van Cortlandt (1658-1739), father of future New York City mayor (1791), who built the Bronx’ oldest standing building, the Van Cortlandt House, brewed too. Even President George Washington, whose favorite drink was ale, had his own recipe for “small beer”.\(^7\) When German immigrants began to arrive in the mid-nineteenth century, they brought lager beer and took over the industry. For almost sixty years, the Bronx successfully brewed beer: until Prohibition maimed the industry.

In 1977, President Jimmy Carter signed HR1337 repealing the Prohibition-era embargo of homebrewing and inspiring the current craft brewery craze seen around the country. People are familiar with the Brooklyn and Manhattan breweries, but few people know about the Bronx’s contribution to this industry. The story of Bronx beer is intriguing. The Bronx was Brewing, and beer became one of the biggest industries in the nation until it was suddenly destroyed. There are many stories to tell. Prohibition caused the downfall of the industry. Hupfel Brewery became a mushroom farm. The Haffen Brewery and Northside closed, and Zeltner’s followed suit not too long after. Only three of the remaining Bronx breweries from that era continued to brew beer, near-beer that is, with half a percent of alcohol. (Eichler’s, Ebling, and Mayer’s).

My goal was to learn where the Bronx breweries were, find examples on old maps and atlases, and to create a map of markers to show where they were on a modern map. It was also important that I learn a bit about these brewers as I am a cultural historian, not a digital cartographer, so my markers needed details which I included in the digital resource.

I returned to the Hupfel Brewery ruin to take photographs and I befriended a kind military veteran working on his truck in an alley way featured in the video included on the

---

\(^7\) Beer with low alcohol content.
website, I dodged what sounded like a puppy-mill, entered the precarious trash-ridden, urine-soaked alleyway, and climbed an outdoor fire staircase (with permission) to the roof of an adjacent building to gain a different perspective on the brewery and its relation to the ridge and the former Ebling brewery which was just two blocks south. These images are included on the site. Both breweries were built at the base of a steep ridge perfect for cave lagering their beers. And apparently, also perfect for an art exhibition. In 1964, the Ebling caves inspired the final “environment” of an art exhibition called “Eat” by Allan Kaprow. The caves sat covered until recently when developers needed to fill the caves for foundational support for the construction of a massive apartment building. It is unfortunate that the caves were not saved. They would be a great location for a grotto themed restaurant, fungus farming, or beer!

Tenements were built around the periphery of the Hupfel factory and the edifice was left to the elements where it devolved to an urban Angkor Wat; where there was once only brick and mortar, one now sees trees growing out of the window frames. The top floor looks like an accidental greenhouse. This block is a bizarre juxtaposition of the modern city and the dilapidated factory. I documented everything through photography and compared the shots to atlases, the Bronx Board of Trade’s archives, newspaper articles, books, and the NYPL’s digital photography collection.

When I returned to Morrisania to visit the most popular brewery block, Third Avenue between 168th and 170th streets, I found a low retaining wall that looked quite old. One of the bricks was loose and I learned that it belonged to Henry Mauer a German born producer of

---


9 Michael Kirby’s article about Allan Kaprow’s art installation “Eat” can be found in the Tulane Drama Review (Volume 10, Number 2, Winter, 1965).
fireproof bricks who was known to build brewery factories. Adjacent to this wall was another ridge. I would love to learn if they hide more caves. All Bronx Breweries have been razed except for the Hupfel ruin. If this wall is what I think it is, then I found a section of either Kuntz, Mayer, or Liebman (producers of Rheingold) Breweries.

Most helpful in confirming modern addresses for nineteenth century factories and beer gardens was John McNamara’s research for the Bronx Historical Society in A History in Asphalt where he lists all of the former street names (many of which have changed). This source helped me to chart the Bronx breweries on a contemporary map. Another useful source was Joel Schwartz’ dissertation, “Community Building on the Bronx Frontier: Morrisania, 1848-1875.” This source helped shape my understanding of early Morrisania. A most helpful find was William McGuirk’s thesis A History of the Bronx Breweries: 1860-1900, inspired by the death of a relative in Guinness’ Dublin plant, McGuirk, focused on the brewing science, labor history, and workers prior to 1900.

My Capstone Project’s focus is digital and will be more of a cultural history focusing on the beer industry of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, when Prohibition killed it. My initial goal was to create a mapping resource. This idea was outside of my expertise and I eventually decided that instead of a mapping resource, it would be a better idea to shift to a Bronx brewing general history resource that included maps. When I delved deeper into the subject, I learned of another helpful source, a 1990 thesis from Cornell University on what would be needed to reopen a microbrewery where the Ebling brewery was (now an apartment complex, so it apparently did not come to fruition), “Something is Brewing in the Bronx: A

10 https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47d9-4f75-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99 Mayer and Eichler breweries both suffered from several fires over the years.
11 John McNamara, History in Asphalt: The Origin of Bronx Street and Place Names (New York: The Bronx County Historical Society, 1991), 378. Fordham Avenue was the former name of Third Avenue
History and Rehabilitation Plan for the Ebling Brewery,” by Sylvia Rose Augustus. Two other invaluable resources were the *Successful, German-Americans and their Descendants* and especially *History of the Brewing Industry and Brewing Science in America, Prepared as Part of a Memorial to the Pioneers of American Brewing Science, Dr. John E. Siebel and Anton Schwarz, 1854-1931.*

I also spent several weeks reading the ads and listings in old phone books that are available in microfilm at Lehman College. I wanted to see how many breweries remained and what line of business they were in during Prohibition. I spent a month getting vertigo in the periodical room at Lehman College, racing through miles of reels. Ed Wallace the periodicals librarian was helpful and gave me access to their immense collection, at my leisure. The Bronx Special Archive’s historian and librarian Dr. Janet Munch was extremely accommodating. She introduced me to the *Tenierello Papers* that included the Tremont Tenant’s Association’s archives that included massive amounts of resources on the Cross-Bronx Expressway, infrastructure that is blamed for the depressed emotional climate and demise of the South Bronx. The city was in despair and on the verge of bankruptcy. The blighted neighborhoods of the Bronx were soon burning. Many blame the Cross-Bronx Expressway and Robert Moses, seeing the Cross-Bronx Expressway is a marker for the beginning of the Bronx’ downfall. The Cross-Bronx Expressway is not solely guilty of the urban blight of post Cross Bronx Expressway; there were multiple factors: disinvestment in the community, federal redlining of the south Bronx, Mitchell-Lama middle-income housing like Co-Op city that siphoned out the remaining white families of the Bronx, and neglect. That, and the federal government’s guaranteed housing loans that favored the suburbs and expressways that brought you there faster led to small business

---

12 My paternal grandfather’s upholstery business, as well as my father’s childhood home were found in one from 1929.
closures and urban blight. Another helpful resource was new scholarship by Kenneth Jackson, Hilary Ballon, Ray Bromley, and even my professor, Dr. Marta Gutman who penned a chapter in *Robert Moses and the Modern City: The Transformation of New York* where they revisit Robert Moses’ accomplishments –good and bad. Similar expressways and the modernization of the infrastructure was happening simultaneously across the country. New York was not exceptional.

Janet Munch sent me numerous emails with links, met with me on countless occasions, and gave me historian Lloyd Ultan’s phone number. I had been following his career for many years and I was excited to finally meet him the official historian of the Bronx! I was given his home phone number but not his email address. Not unlike my experience researching Bronx sources, Mr. Ultan is also in need of digitization: he hates email! He immediately made plans to meet with me at the Bronx Historical Society where we talked for hours while perusing sources including *The Atlas of the Borough of The Bronx* by Hyde & Company, 1900. Seeing the atlases in person is incomparable to viewing them online. I was able to make sense of redundancies: several brewery names with the same address, and confirm if any of the German brewers were Jewish (David Mayer) and if so, where was their house of worship --something I disregarded on the computer screen; a building near the Zeltner, Eichler, Mayer, and Kuntz breweries was the original Adath Israel, a synagogue easily missed as it is marked as a “church” and misspelled.

Often, I found connections to my research. My dad became a bar mitzvah at Adath Israel at its second location on the Grand Concourse (now a Christian church), which subsequently moved to Riverdale, where I live and where my family has numerous memorial plaques! My uncle has been running their weeknight minyans for over 35 years. Finally, ready to begin the digital side of the Capstone Project, the New Media lab concurred with Stephen Zweibel that I should start with *Leaflet Map Markers* and later, as I collect more information and digital expertise, add to
the site. I decided to take advantage of CUNY Academic Commons and build a WordPress site through one of their themes, choosing Klean and eventually switching to 2017. I had plenty of formatting problems and was driven to tears more than once: videos were not working, fonts were made invisible with my background image choice, menus were invalid, and many other issues emerged. As mentioned, it is a learning lab; I was often told to try and figure it out first -- assuming I had not already been trying to figure it out first for over three hours, and that was the time spent attempting to change a CSS code color on just one title! When I started this project, I didn't even know what this computer nomenclature meant; so, I suppose the learning lab accomplished its aim.

Not only were the Graduate Center classes and subsequent research papers beneficial towards my investigation, an internship for the Woodlawn Conservancy was also quite valuable. While interning at Woodlawn Cemetery, I conducted research for their head historian, Susan Olsen, on a project called “Faces of Woodlawn” where I researched the portraits of the interred and the artists who created the marbles, busts, statues, bas-reliefs, and bronzes. She wanted to identify what their connection to the artists were and to New York history. I considered many themes found at Woodlawn for my Capstone but again, the subject matter was too large in scope and off-topic from the foodways angle. I recalled a picture I took of the Ehret mausoleum. George Ehret of Hell Gate Brewery was one of the two most famous Manhattan brewers. Although, not a Bronx brewer, he did own a ferry business out of Point Morris in the Bronx. However, there is another important connection, he learned the trade and started his career working for A. Hupfel, mentioned previously. I contacted Ms. Olsen to see if there were any other Bronx brewers interred at Woodlawn Cemetery. She immediately replied with plot information on almost every brewer on my list. There was my Woodlawn connection!
Remarkably, the same brewers who owned factories next to each other, were also buried next to each other. This was unexpected. She called it “brewers row”. Olsen immediately set me up with a historian and civic planner Nelson Valyduk who gave me a private tour of the Brewers’ sites.

Before I returned to school, I had over 20 years of intensive hospitality experience managing some of NYC’s top-rated restaurants, I was not just a bartender, I was a farm to bartender who taught the staff about our products. As an amateur historian, I taught classes to my staff on the history of our products. I was always intrigued by beer’s broad and long history. As a wine drinker, I was fascinated by beer. Because, as I heard from many of my former restaurant owners, “wine happens but beer is made”. Still, in embarking on this capstone project, I needed to cover a lot of ground: from understanding the lagering process and how it was different from ale, to the history of Morrisania settled by the famous Morris family and the powerful productive people who settled the area known as the 23rd ward, to factory architecture and immigration, and World War I and Prohibition. Finally, I needed to include the recent renaissance of craft breweries.13

13 Bronx Brewery responded to my inquiry and will be providing me with a private tour in the near future.
**Relation to MALS and New York Studies**

While in the MALS program, I immersed myself in the subject of New York Studies from many angles. I developed a massive library of primary, secondary sources, articles, and personal research. My understanding of New York history has been enriched by the interdisciplinary scope of my courses. Through each stage of my research, I attempted to view the source through the different prisms of study I experienced in the MALS program. My research has unearthed numerous potential avenues of study: gender/urban studies, industry, advertising, technology, slavery, sociological, economics, politics, foodways, employment history, union development, immigration, Jewish history, art history, death rituals, and science, to name a few of the themes upon which I would like to expand.

I drew many parallels between the development of Bronx immigrant enclaves and Schorske’s “Fin de Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture, The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, and the Birth of Urban Modernism” which I read in Dr. David Gordon’s MALS class. Schorske chronicles the transformation of Vienna into a modern city in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna and describes the unrestrained innovative culture that profoundly blossomed in turn-of-the-century Vienna, Austria. Its great intellectual innovators—in music philosophy, economics, architecture, and psychoanalysis—severed ties with the commonly accepted historical outlook and became indifferent to history and all that was fundamental to the nineteenth-century liberal ethos in which they had been cultivated.

Overall, this ahistorical, anti-patriarchal generation compared their innovations against the past, not as a by-product of the past; the “modern mind is growing indifferent to history”\(^1\) while the intellectual innovators flourished during the social and political disintegration of

---

Austria\textsuperscript{15} during its devolution of intolerance –not unlike today’s Bronx residents. It was the era of the innovation and the avant-garde. And the form and beauty created in this irrational, hostile environment is unopposed. Vienna had a large tract of open land available for development, not unlike Morrisania in the Bronx. A bold beautification required people of affluent means to invest in that which the entire public could potentially benefit. The monumental buildings in the Ringstrasse were surrounded by apartment houses that were built by the affluent and in turn defrayed the cost of streets and parks. Schorske considers the Ringstrasse as a “visual expression of the values of the social class”.\textsuperscript{16} The edifices were more than an obvious physical development; they represented accommodation of an ever-growing population of different backgrounds, financial status, and the public services needed to make it work. Similarly, in the Bronx, huge mansions and estates were surrounded by homes of lesser means. Technological advancement such as flood prevention, by way of Danube channeling, a successful water supply, and the first city hospital opened and offered in the “name of science”, hospital charity that used to be the Church’s domain, all represented Vienna’s modernity. Likewise, Morrisania’s powerful and affluent pioneers, encouraged the Bronx’s modernity with their technological advances in local infrastructure, machinery used in the engineering of canals, railroad, bridges, subway system and highways.

While making the affluent richer, the development of the Bronx still produced a great deal of benefits for the common people. Overall, the working class benefited from higher wages, more stability of employment, a greater choice in consumer goods, and economic growth. And it was these people who continued to vote for these policies and politicians for decades during the turn of the twentieth century. Ultimately, these were the businesses, the economy, the politics,

\textsuperscript{15} Carl E. Schorske, \textit{Fin-De-Siècle Vienna}, Introduction.

\textsuperscript{16} Schorske, Chapter II, “The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, and the Birth of Urban Modernism”.
the politicians, and the society that many people wanted, and that is perhaps the most decisive reason why it was so. Many would say that the kind of city we create is a direct manifestation of what we want and can’t be separated from the choices we make. Others would argue that there is no uniform, “we” that it is those in power, those with the loudest voices who are able to create the environment they want --which often, excludes a large percentage of the community.

I also revisited the sources from Professor Thomas Kessner’s New York History and Gilded Age and Progressive Era syllabi, as well as numerous resources available in the CUNY Graduate Center’s and Lehman College’s libraries on New York. The notes in Evelyn Gonzalez’ *The Bronx* were and are a source that I have used in almost every MALS class I attended. I reviewed Dr. Marta Gutman and Dr. Lobel’s readings and made a connection to the German ethnic enclave in the 23rd ward and the cultural mix that mingles with other cultures to form new norms which metamorphosed into something new and current to their time. As explained in Dr. Gutman’s assignment on Henri Lefebvre, “power is exercised on a space, which it dominates and protects; there it plants its symbols and its instruments, which are inseparable.” 17 In this case, inextricable, but not static. With whom do we socialize? What are our moral tenets? How do we live? Are we modern, and how so? What are our religious/political values? Who decides? Our right to change ourselves is realized by how we change the city. Thus, “it is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization.” 18 Our potential to brand, and remake ourselves --and our city-- is a human right. 19

The readings for Dr. Lobel and Dr. Singer’s *Narratives of New York* classes, helped me to

---


18 David Harvey, “The Right to the City” *New Left Review*, 53 (September-October 2008), 1.

19 Harvey, “The Right to the City”, 1.
that end. The Bronx either causes you to forget your origins and make you “take on the meanest aspects of a hard life”\textsuperscript{20} or, if one holds onto a manner of “sweet country blindness,”\textsuperscript{21} he or she can succumb to the perfect storm that is New York. A successful transient manages to keep the “old culture and the street-wit of the new”\textsuperscript{22} remarks, Isabel Wilkerson in \textit{The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America’s Great Migration}. A successful New Yorker feels he or she has a right to succeed and is entitled to the “resources that the city embodies . . . it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart’s desire.”\textsuperscript{23} David Harvey posits that the “freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is . . . one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights”\textsuperscript{24} and one that New Yorkers often take for granted.

The brewers had the right temperament for success in the Bronx. A Bronxite must have a resilience that he either possesses, or a resistance he acquires. The emotional and psychological temperament of New York City can be volatile, not the New York of Edith Wharton but having more in common with Crane’s \textit{Maggie}. According to E. B. White, New York can either destroy or fulfill an individual, as if by pure luck.\textsuperscript{25} But, I would posit that German brewers made their luck.

A New Yorker is someone for whom the pull of New York is stronger than the push. And indeed, the Bronx often shoves the fainthearted right out of town. To be a New Yorker, or someone who understands what it is to be one, one needs to grasp the meanings and dualities of the big city; that which is normally perceived as empty and absent of any civilized qualities to

\textsuperscript{21} Wilkerson, \textit{The Warmth of Other Suns}, 280.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{23} David Harvey, \textit{The Right to the City}, published in New Left Review 53 (September-October 2008), 1, 2.
\textsuperscript{24} https://newleftreview.org/II/53/david-harvey-the-right-to-the-city
the outsider, can be translated into something productive to the successful New Yorker. As remarked by E. B. White in *Here Is New York*, a New Yorker understands that the “gift of privacy”\textsuperscript{26} can also be a “jewel of loneliness”\textsuperscript{27}, that “magical occasions are free”\textsuperscript{28} but normal frustrations are amplified. One must find balance to survive. Even when E. B. White struggled to support himself, even when New York City “hardly gave him a living, it still sustained him”\textsuperscript{29} because New York feeds the soul and can even be a substitute for one that is lacking. Native New Yorkers are born with an urban armor, and those who relocate to New York (attempt to) develop one through an urban osmosis of sorts. A successful transient, in this case, the German brewer, manages to keep the “old culture and the street-wit of the new.”\textsuperscript{30} The German brewer was successful because he felt that he had the right to succeed and was entitled to the “resources that the city embodies . . . it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart’s desire.”\textsuperscript{31} And he did it by hard work, and by earning power through the local government.

The Bronx represents a tolerant elsewhere, where the unity of many cultures, politics, and values (often lack thereof) offer one an escape from his or her past with opportunity to create a new future. New Yorkers are not local, they are global. In fact, its tradition is the tradition of traditions, as all the influences in New York culture come from somewhere else—or were pioneered there. Yes, this may describe most places, but what makes the Bronx different is that here, there are many more types of cultures found. Tolerance is a function of uncertainty and since anxiety is a recurring presence in the Bronx’ multi-cultural society, they became tolerant

\textsuperscript{26} White, *Here Is New York*, 703.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid, 709.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid, 703.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{31} David Harvey, The Right to the City, published in New Left Review 53 (September-October 2008), 1, 2.
by disposition and necessity. It comes to life in every dimension and transcends barriers of the imagination. It is more than a city and home; it is a partnership of chaos and restraint and it requires a balance of both control and instinct. One cannot be effective and useful without the other. New Yorkers are shaped by many things: ethnicity, socio-economic identity, and gender identity; there isn’t one New York identity other than the necessity to obtain a thick-skin.

A common theme seen in Dr. Kessner and Dr. Lobel’s New York classes were the identities of the New Yorker. What makes the New Yorker? My focus on the Bronx has been influenced by ethnic identity, socio-economic identity, as well as gender identity: there is no single identity. Due to the United States’ history of immigration, the United States has never developed a singular recognizable identity. However, there are subcultures found in ethnic enclaves that serve multiple purposes: they offer a foundation that bridges the unknown to the familiar resulting in open-minded acceptance of another culture with the familiarity of their own, thus encouraging diversity… sometimes at the expense of losing its specificity. I applied this to my understanding of the German enclave of Morrisania and it helped me focus my research to learn the impact the brewing industry had on the neighborhood. From employment, to language, to entertainment (i.e. Biergartens with German Turnverein), and housing. Ethnic enclaves often cross over boundaries and infuse with other cultures resulting in a local creolization niche as well as an economic opportunity outside of their original culture. Sometimes this is a slow process. The borders bounding ethnic enclaves have never been static or resistant to the motivated “national corporations, ethnic businessmen . . . clients” and diverse customers who traversed their boundaries.

In the early twentieth-century, many transgressed these cultural borders resulting in a

---

32 White, 707.
“particularly intensive phase of cross-cultural borrowing.”

This was an effect in my focus too. Non-Germans drank Lager, ate their cuisine, and picked up on the language (e.g. delicatessen). During these years, their enclave clientele, sought new consumers in their multi-ethnic urban and regional markets creating specialties within their trades. These niches included advertising ethnic foods, in this case, beer and adapting them for the general public. Thus, influencing other New Yorkers from other cultures which they then blend with their own customs to create novel experiences. The growing number of immigrants, and their cultural differences . . . led many Americans to fear that they would lose control of their cities and even the whole of their society.”

There were even sub-prejudices within the Bronx Jews; as with many German-American Jews who arrived much earlier than the eastern European orthodox Jews whose “foreignness” (or reluctance to assimilate) offended the already assimilate German Jews.”

The newer arrivals were blamed for American anti-Semitism.

---

34 Gabaccia, We Are What We Eat, 94.
36 Chauncey, 105.
Evaluation and Continuation of the Project

By early summer, 2017, it became clear that my digital ideas were way out of my league and the digital fellows would not be in session over the summer to help me. I needed to think outside of the box. It was too late to change to a written thesis, so I contacted the New Media Lab at the Graduate Center and was approved use of a desk and access to consult with technical adviser, Joe Kirchof whose office is in the learning lab. I was thrilled.

Because it is a learning lab, they obviously wanted me to learn. The problem with that is it is extremely time consuming. It took me days to figure out which theme would work best, weeks to decide which mapping system would be the least difficult, and four hours to change one CSS code. I did change that code successfully, but I needed more direction, or I would never get the initial site running.

The New Media lab told me that they would handle the technical decisions and would let me know what platform to use, etc. It was suggested that I concentrate on research for a while and gather more for the site: this was a big mistake. If I were to start again, I would start learning about the WordPress themes and coding immediately and I would download and work on the digital side of things as I researched, instead of ending up with an overwhelming amount of data to analyze, research, edit, design, and upload.

Because the research side of my Capstone was so time consuming37, it left little time for the digital side of things –and I started over nine months ago. The project is a success insomuch as I have reached my goal of mapping the breweries and including pages on Immigration and Industrialization and Failure and Renaissance –but, I am also not finished. While I have accomplished what I set out to do, map the breweries and create a digital resource of a lost

---

37 These brewing Families are like a soap opera. They intermarried and apparently rest eternally with each other too. It gets a bit confusing.
industry, there is so much more that I could add to the site. But I must be realistic. This is a capstone thesis project, not a dissertation —yet. Not because I did not finish, but because the project has evolved. I plan on continuing to add to the site. I will also tweak the formatting to better represent my artistic vision. There are many more bells and whistles for me to learn within the mapping technology. Once I can broaden my digital knowledge even more, I want to get started on more map layers. The second layer will be focused on the beer gardens, saloons, restaurants, and casinos of not just the 23rd ward, but the rest of the borough too; followed by a layer that will concentrate on the archival news stories that I collected of the bi-products of the Temperance Movement and Prohibition: the numerous arrests, padlocking of breweries, lawsuits, and organized crime. Women’s suffrage went far beyond the right to vote; they became the representatives of the standardization of morality; and prizefighting, slang, prostitution, and especially alcohol, were all considered immoral. The Anti-Saloon League (1895) argued that there was a “corrupt alliance between saloons and politicians”, and they were correct. The New York Public Library has digitized several menus from the Ebling Casino where politicians threw lavish parties. And held important meetings. Also, several of the breweries held office. The Ruppert family even owned South Brother island where they entertained influential businessmen between 1890 and the early 1900’s. The fourth layer will focus on urban archaeological sites and the beer related artifacts found.

Prohibition brought an end of an era and a way of life for so many Bronxites whose livelihoods depended on the beer industry. Today, there are three breweries in the Bronx; between 1848 and 1920, there were approximately 18.

The Bronx was brewing. The Bronx is brewing.

38 McNamara, Asphalt, 486.
Select Bibliography

Maps

(1873) [West of the Bronx River] Dept. of Public Parks of N.Y.C., *Topographical Map made from surveys.*
(1888-97) [West of the Bronx River] Robinson, E., *Certified copies of important maps*, v. 1
(1904) [Melrose, Mott Haven, Hunts Point] Bromley, G.W., *Atlas and owners names, borough of Bronx*

Figures

**FIGURES**

Figure 1. North Side Board of Trade. *The Great North Side, or the Borough of the Bronx.* New York: North Side Board of Trade, 1898. 10.


Figure 4. *1911.* Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Plate 23 [Map bounded by E. 161st St., Kelly St., E. 152nd St., St. Ann’s Ave]."

Figure 5. (1887) [Hunts Pt, Melrose, Morrisania, Mott Haven] Robinson, E., *Atlas of the city of New York*, v. 5. 1892.

Figure 6. Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Map of the Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek from Ward's Island to the Hudson River" New York Public Library Digital Collections.


Figure 8. Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Outline and Index Map of the 23rd Ward, City of New York." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed August 1, 2017. [Link](http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-4ad5-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99)

Figure 9 [Link](https://www.brewersassociation.org/?s=morrisania) Accessed December 28, 2017.


Figure 17. Rothstein Arthur, 1936, photograph, Bronx.


Figure 23. Zimmer, Michelle Hope. *Highbridge Aqueduct*, photography, Bronx, New York.


Figure 25. *One Hundred Years of Brewing: A Complete History of the Progress Made in the Art, Science and Industry of Brewing in the World, Particularly during the Last Century*. Chicago: H.S. Rich & , 1901.


Figure 27. “History of German Immigration in the United States and Successful German-Americans and their Descendants,” 1908.

Figure 28. Chamber of Commerce Collection. The Bronx, New York. 1894-1968. Bronx Board of Trade Dir. Minutes. Lehman College, Bronx.

Figure 29. [https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5fd4ec98-a874-f139-e040-e00a18060b1f](https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5fd4ec98-a874-f139-e040-e00a18060b1f) Accessed December 28, 2017.

Figure 30. Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Bronx, V. 10, Double Page Plate No. 224 [Map bounded by Washington Ave., E. 169th St., Boston Rd., Spring Place., E. 166th St."

Figure 31. Ibid


Figure 39. "Ehret Expects to Get His Money Back" New York Times (1857-1922), Aug 13, 1918.


Figure 41B Courtesy of: McNamara, John in Twomey, Bill. Images of the South Bronx, San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2002, 96.

Figure 42. https://www.brewersassociation.org/statistics/number-of-breweries/ Accessed December 28, 2017.

Figure 43. Ibid.

Figure 44. Ibid.

Figure 45. Ibid.


Figure 47. Zimmer, Michelle, 2017, Hupfel Ruins Entrance, Photography, Bronx, New York.

Figure 48. Bronx Brewery Fire, Photography, NYPL Digital Archives.


Figure 50. “An Unlicensed Engineers Mistake,” New York Times, 1883, 8.


Figure 52. Augustus, Sylvia Rose, 1990, “Something is Brewing in the Bronx: A History and Rehabilitation Plan for the Ebling Brewery”, photography, 39.

Figure 54. Ibid, 45.

Figure 55. https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=13/40.8278/73.9049&opacity=0.8&sort=98,104,190&amp;amp;city=bronx-ny Accessed January 9, 2018.
Figure 56. https://www.google.com/search?q=building+the+cross+bronx+expressway&newwindow=1&amp;hl=en&amp;source=lnms&amp;tbm=isch&amp;sa=X&amp;ved=0ahUKEwi32p7o4MbYAhWLRN8KHRw8CfEQ_AUIDSgE&amp;biw=1320&amp;bih=813  Accessed December 29, 2017.

Figure 57. Tenierello Papers. Special Collections. Leonard Lief Library of Lehman College. The City University of New York, 1952-1955.

Figure 58. Ibid.

Figure 59. Ibid.

Figure 61. Ibid.

Figure 62. Zimmer, Michelle, 2017, Ridge North of Hupfel’s Brewery, photography, Bronx, New York.

Figure 63. https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5fd4ec98-a874-f139-e040-e00a18060b1f  Accessed December 28, 2017.


Figure 65. Fekner, John, 1980, Broken Promises, photography, Bronx, New York.

Figure 66. R. Rolston, Lorraine E. “A New Bronx Tale: Gateway Center and Modern Urban Redevelopment. “Focus on Geography, Summer 2012.

Figure 67. Zimmer, Michelle, 2017, photography, Bronx, New York.

Figure 68. Zimmer, Michelle, 2017, Henry Mauer Brick, Bronx, New York.

Figure 69. Henry Mauer, NYPL Digital Archives.

Figure 70. Zimmer, Michelle, 2017, East of Third Avenue and West of Fulton, photography, Bronx, New York.


Figure 74. Haffen Plot. Map, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York.


Figure 77. Zimmer, Michelle, 2017, Haffen Plot, map, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York.

Figure 78. Louis F. Haffen Headstone, Photograph, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York.

Figure 80. Ibid


Figure 82. Courtesy of McNamara, John in Twomey, Bill. *Images of the South Bronx*, San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2002, 77.

Figure 83. Courtesy of McNamara, John in Twomey, Bill. *Images of the South Bronx*, San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2002, 78.

Figure 84. Courtesy of McNamara, John, in Twomey, Bill. *Images of the South Bronx*, San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2002, 79.


Figure 87. Zimmer, Michelle, 2017, *Hop and Barley Detail, Kolb Monument*, photograph, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York.

Figure 88. Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Bronx, V. 10, Double Page Plate No. 213 [Map bounded by E. 161st St., Clifton St., Trinity Ave., E. 156th St., Elton Ave.]" New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed August 20, 2017. [http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/9817b01c-6d82-9cb5-e040-e00a180621b9](http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/9817b01c-6d82-9cb5-e040-e00a180621b9)

Figure 89. Zimmer, Michelle, 2017, *Hupfel Ruins*, photograph, Bronx, New York.

Figure 90. *Hupfel and Ehret plots*, map, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York.

Figure 91. *Hupfel Plot*, map, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York.


Figure 93. Ibid

Figure 94. Zimmer, Michelle, 2017, *Hupfel Ruins*, photograph, Bronx, New York.

Figure 95. Bornstein, Jonathan, 2017, *Hupfel Ruins*, photograph, Bronx, New York.

Figure 96. Ibid


Figure 98. Ibid

Figure 99. Ibid

Figure 100. Bornstein, Jonathan, 2017, *Hupfel Ruins*, photograph, Bronx, New York.

Figure 101. Ibid


Figure 105. Bornstein, Jonathan, 2017, *Bridge over 160th*, photograph, Bronx, New York.


Figure 111. Zimmer, Michelle, 2017, *Eichler Monument with Hops and Barley*, photograph, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York.


Figure 115. Ibid

Figure 116. David Mayer Vintage Beer Bottle. Accessed January 10, 2018  

Figure 117. Source: (1900) The Atlas of the Borough of The Bronx by Hyde & Company, 1900.


Figure 119. Ibid

Figure 120. *Zeltner, Shaefer, and Kuntz*, photograph, Woodlawn Cemetery Map.


Figure 122. Ibid


Figure 126. Michael Kirby’s article about Allan Kaprow’s art installation “Eat” can be found in the Tulane Drama Review (Volume 10, Number 2, Winter, 1965).

Figure 127. Zimmer, Michelle, 2015, *Ehret Mausoleum*, photograph, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York.

Figure 128. Source: (1900) The Atlas of the Borough of The Bronx by Hyde & Company, 1900.

Online Sites and Online Maps

https://www.archaeology.cityofnewyork.us/collection/map/van-cortlandt-mansion/borough/bronx

https://www.babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015005861607;view=1up;seq=225


https://www.ediblegeography.com/bronx-beer-caves


http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-4ad5-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99

Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Plate 7: [Bounded by St. Ann’s Ave., John St., Eagle Ave., Cedar Place, Prospect Ave., Southern Blvd., E. 147th St., Trinity Ave. and E. 149th St.]
http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-4adc-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99

Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Plate 10: [Bounded by E. 170th St., Clinton Ave., Horton St., Prospect Ave., E. 168th St. and Webster Ave.]
http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-4adf-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99

http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/9817b01c-6d8d-9cb5-e040-e00a180621b9

Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Bronx, V. 10, Double Page Plate No. 213 [Map bounded by E. 161st St., Clifton St., Trinity Ave., E. 156th St., Elton Ave.]
http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/9817b01c-6d82-9cb5-e040-e00a180621b9

Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Map of the Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek from Ward's Island to the Hudson River" New York Public Library Digital
Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division. The New York Public Library. "Plate 23 [Map bounded by E. 161st St., Kelly St., E. 152nd St., St. Ann’s Ave.]
http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/be5d8920-f161-0130-8650-58d385a7b928

Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division. The New York Public Library. "Plate 12 [Map bounded by E. 156th St., St. Ann’s Ave., E. 149th St., Morris Ave.]
http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a1e92cd8-5971-23d4-e040-e00a18061d5c

http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/2a039b20-3074-0132-b780-58d385a7bbd0


https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=12/40.8580/-73.8565&opacity=0.8&city=bronx-ny


http://www.newyorkupstate.com/breweries/2017/02/new_york_state_now_has_more_than_300_breweries_the_most_since_before_prohibit.html


http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47db-6ecd-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99


http://eh.net/encyclopedia/a-concise-history-of-americas-brewing-industry/

http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47d9-4f75-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99
Primary Sources


Arnold, John Paul, and Penman, Frank. History of the Brewing Industry and Brewing Science in America: Prepared as Part of a Memorial to the Pioneers of American Brewing Science, Dr. John E. Siebel and Anton Schwarz, S. N., 1933.104.


Documents of the Senate of the state of New York, 110th session, 1887, Vol. 4, Doc .68.


Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Department of Public Parks of the City of New York, In Conformity with an Act of the Legislature passed May 11, 1869 and an Act passed May 19, 1870.


Troth, Jacob M. "History of Woodlawn." unpublished manuscript.


Secondary Sources


Hosmer, Charles B. Jr. *Preservation Comes of Age: from Williamsburg to the National Trust*.


Khermouch, Gerry. "Surviving the Ice Age. (Icehouse Beer; Marketing.)" *Brandweek* 37, no. 10 (1996): 16


