

Local brewery renaissance: A social history of small breweries in the Ozarks Part I

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Introduction

'Beer is living proof that God loves us and wants us to be happy,' said Ben Franklin. Beer, the drink that has been in the lexicon of cultures throughout the world since the dawn of human civilization, has surrounded the human social experience throughout history. The ancient Sumerians had recipes for 'beer bread' 4,000 years ago. Their head brewers were women, devoted to their goddess Ninkasi.¹ Thus Sumerians, who invented the wheel and writing, also gave us beer. Plato, one of the Western world's greatest philosophers remarked, 'He is a wise man who created beer.'² King David of the Hebrews was a brewer, and his star became a symbol of both brewing and alchemy. In the monasteries of Europe, monks continued this process and refined the brewing art.

Beer culture also played an important role in American history. Breweries often were centerpieces of social life in towns and cities of the American experience. This art flourished all the way to the 20th century, when big brew houses, like Anheuser-Busch, took control the majori-

ty of the market in the beer world. This control of the beer market by a few select brewers sparked the rise of an American microbrewery and brewpub revolution in the last couple decades of the 20th century. A segment of the beer drinking public increasingly became dissatisfied with the limited choices provided by the mega breweries. The microbrewery renaissance in recent United States history has revived the small, local and diverse beer drinking experience that existed in America before national prohibition. Today's microbreweries have taken the beer experience in America to a new level. Small breweries around the country and in the Ozarks are energized, integrating old European styles with new American innovations in brewing.

In Missouri, especially in the Ozarks, brewers have responded to the re-emergence of microbreweries and brewpubs across the country in the past three decades (1990s to the present). Microbreweries and small brewpubs have grown out of the increasing desire and demand of Americans for different styles of ales and lagers from those available to the consumer before the 1980s. This

Figure 1. Maps showing the location of the Ozarks and the breweries mentioned in the article.



diversity in beer began in the United States when people who had been home brewing European and U.K. styles of beer decided to expand their home brewing to greater production levels and to market their product to the public. It is in this movement that we see the rebirth of the small brewery in the United States. The Ozarks has experienced this national trend and has a great representation of breweries that exemplify all the characteristics of the national microbrewery revolution. The new local and regional breweries have changed the interaction between beer and Americans in a number of ways: (1) they offered a greater variety of beers and pose a challenge to the macro-breweries that dominate the beer market with bland tasting lagers, thus creating a new experience for beer drinkers similar to that of the wine connoisseur, (2) they have helped to recreate an earlier social experience, providing locally brewed beer and an establishment for the local patron and beer enthusiast, (3) they have helped to bring economic revitalization to the failing inner sectors of towns and cities where many brewpubs have placed their brew operations, (4) they have showcased the interesting journey of brewers and their love and passion for beer, (5) and they have begun re-establishing the great traditions of early Americans, whose European heritage brought to North America a rich beer experience. Like many other parts of the country, the impact of the microbrewery revolution on towns in the Ozarks has ranged from a greater diversity of beer compared to twenty years ago, to the

economic growth in old downtown areas of Ozarks cities, and to a richer beer experience for the new craft beer enthusiast.

European and German influence

Beer has been brewed in many different ways throughout the centuries. It has been refined and redefined from culture to culture, country to country, and region to region. Since the United States was established by Europeans, the cornerstone of the American brewing industry developed from a long and proud brewing tradition in Europe. European style brew houses and local brewpubs became integral to American society. The great story of European immigrants from Germany, England, Ireland, and other European nations that helped build the American community is also the story of the American brewing traditions that these nationalities brought to the cities and towns which dot the landscape of the United States. Establishing breweries was a priority in early American settlements. The first shipment of beer arrived from England to the Virginia colony in 1607. By 1609, signs were going up around London advertising the need for brewers. In 1612, Adrian Block and Hans Christiansen founded the first known brewery in the Americas in New Amsterdam, modern day Manhattan.³ The very essence of what is considered the 'Protestant work ethic' in this country was born in the Colony of Massachusetts. In 1620, the Pilgrim colonists had to

come ashore because their supply of beer became very limited and they needed to brew more.⁴ The beer the English brought to America was ale. Ale refers to beer that has top-fermenting yeast. Ale originated in England in the seventh century and has been made with hops since about the sixteenth century.⁵

Throughout the first centuries of the American experience, local breweries sprang up in villages and cities across the colonies. They spread with the United States as a new nation moved westward. Breweries were common to the pre-prohibition American town. Beer drinking establishments have also always been a staple in the American social experience. The 'pub' (from the English 'public house' where people gather to socialize, eat and drink) was a tavern that served beer from various local breweries. The brewpub was a brewery and restaurant occupying the same facility. These brewpubs brewed their own beers and served them on the premises. A sense of local and regional identity developed around breweries and brewpubs in the United States during the early years of the Republic. Citizens became loyal to their local beer and faithful patrons to their respective drinking places. People came to their local brewpub not only to enjoy ale, but to socialize and discuss topics of the day. Local breweries were places where friends gathered, families united, weddings and marriages became solidified, and agreements and contracts were signed by people having conversations over beer. With all that beer offered to a

community, the brewmaster was just as important to a community as the mayor. By the mid 1870s over 4,100 breweries in the United States produced nine million barrels of beer.⁶

As to beer in Germany, the brewers had strict rules that governed production. *Reinheitsgebot* is a Bavarian law enacted by Duke William IV in 1516 to define the general standard of how beer should be brewed. According to this law, the brewing process should include only three ingredients: malted grain, hops and water (yeast's role in fermentation was not understood at the time, it is now considered the fourth ingredient that is permitted in the traditional brewing process). Many of the early German brewers coming to America adhered to the *Reinheitsgebot*. A major complaint that the new brewers in the microbrewery renaissance have against the big brewers is that they have solidified the use of adjuncts, corn and rice, etc. on a large scale as staple ingredients in their beer. The *Reinheitsgebot* was officially rescinded in 1987 by the Court of Justice of the European Communities ruling that the *Reinheitsgebot* did not ensure quality or purity.⁷ Nonetheless, many central European brewers pride themselves in keeping to *Reinheitsgebot*. In the United States, some craft brewers stick strictly to the *Reinheitsgebot* law while others experiment outside the *Reinheitsgebot* boundaries to brew more creative beers.

During the 1990s and 2000s, cities and small towns across the Ozarks began

brewing 'craft-style' beer. During the 1990s brewpubs spread across to St. Louis, Columbia, Springfield, Aurora, Cabool, St. Charles, Augusta and O'Fallon, Missouri, as well as to Fayetteville, Arkansas. In the past two decades the Ozarks has followed the trend and pattern of brewing across the United States. Local brewpubs and microbreweries have appeared in cities and towns of every size from St. Louis to Cabool. The 'craft brewers' claim that they are bringing pride and diversity back to beer in place of the largely tasteless beer of the big beer companies.⁸ Mega breweries, they claim, package their beers with loads of preservatives for travel along large distribution routes and are concerned primarily with large market sales. They have, for example been brewing flavorless beers made with fewer calories to sell to a 'weight conscious public'.⁹ All of these factors have played a role in a decline of the lager brewing industry, not in sales, but in taste and diversity. So, the craft brewers have changed the beer experience for millions of Americans and have also introduced a variety of beer options for those going out to enjoy a pint or two at the local pub.

The Ozarks has always had a rich brewing history, which is closely connected to the arrival of German immigrants. German immigrants flooded St. Louis and the Ozarks region in the middle of the 19th century. The German population in Missouri and the Ozarks grew by over four million in the later part of the 19th century.¹⁰ In the Ozarks, according to

Russel Gerlach, German immigrants were encouraged to settle.

The southwestern settlements, particularly those involving Germans, were encouraged by the city of Springfield. In 1867, an editorial in the Springfield Missouri Weekly Patriot commented, 'we regard them [Germans] as the most thrifty and desirable citizens, and should be glad to welcome them to our midst. No other class of population would do more to develop our country.'¹¹

The German immigrants moving west of the Mississippi river brought the great traditions of brewing beer and its social importance to communities in the Midwest. Author Maureen Ogle says of German immigrants that:

These were all people who came from a profoundly beer drinking culture, and when they got here they discovered there was no beer culture. And there was no culture of pleasure. Germans were astounded by this and hell-bent on trying to do something to change the situation. So they opened beer gardens ... They were spending Sunday in beer gardens with their families; playing cards, dancing and singing; things that middle class white Americans thought were shocking beyond belief.¹²

Beer consumption in America increased by 400% between 1860 and 1900 and German brewers played a large role in this increase.

Germans played an important role in the brewing tradition in the Ozarks in the 19th

century. They introduced lager beer, which was cold, clean, and easy to drink during the long summers in the region.¹³ German immigrant Adam Lemp built a large commercial brewery in St. Louis that was primarily producing lager beer by 1842.¹⁴ About eighteen years later, Eberhard Anheuser bought Lemp's struggling Bavarian Brewery. Anheuser's daughter was married to Adolphus Busch who became a partner in the brewery and took over the operation in 1880 upon the death of Anheuser. 'This was four years after the brewery had started selling a beer called Budweiser, named for a town in what is now the Czech Republic.'¹⁵ Thus began one of many well known breweries such as Anheuser-Busch, Miller Brewing, Stroh Brewing, Schlitz, Hamms, Coors, Pabst, and G. Heileman Brewing that would eventually, through consolidation, dominate lager production in the United States. It is this control of the beer market with virtually one style of beer which gave rise to the microbrewery revolution.

Temperance and Prohibition, the Consolidation Period and the rise of the mega breweries

By the 1890s, the kings of the brewing industry led not just a beer making endeavor, but mechanized factory systems that were world class examples of ingenuity, colossal feats of modernity, and efficient and productive systems that employed a massive amount of people

and were a showcase to all other industry. Gone were the man and horse powered aspects of the old breweries. These were replaced with 'gargantuan fermentation factories where capital and labor paid homage to the gods of mechanization and automation, mass production and efficiency.'¹⁶ By the end of the 19th century, Pabst, Anheuser-Busch, and Schlitz ruled the brewery world. As these breweries grew larger in their facilities and production, they gained more influence in the public sphere on a local, regional and national level. These brew-house facilities were a modern marvel. This was the pre-prohibition height of big beer. This gave rise to the conglomeration of breweries.

In 1899, an incredible 21 brewing companies were combined to form the Pittsburgh Brewing Company. Just six years later, in reaction to the 1899 merger, fifteen more companies in Pittsburgh combined to become the Independent Brewing Company.¹⁷

Mega-brewers in major city centers such as Milwaukee, St. Louis, New York, San Francisco and New Orleans followed suite and did the same. This period created the largest brewery conglomerates in American history to that point.

Beginning in the late 19th century, the beer industry had some very intense and difficult hurdles to overcome with the increasing fervor of prohibition. Temperance caused direct problems to the brewers and their breweries in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Although

breweries were moving at full production speed in the early 1900s, by 1919 Americans who advocated national prohibition of alcoholic beverages had won. The anti-German sentiment from World War I undermined German-American clout in the United States, including its solid support of the brewing industry.¹⁸ The Eighteenth Amendment was ratified on 16 January 1919, and changed the social experience for many Americans for a decade and a half. Section One of the amendment states,

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.¹⁹

During Prohibition, breweries had to turn to other sources of business to make a profit. Many of the breweries started making soft drinks. They continued their malting process, making malted milk and other malt products. Some produced 'near beer,' which was basically a non-alcoholic beer. Other operations turned to making cereal products. Still others brewed root beer or produced ice cream and coffee style drinks.²⁰ The mega breweries, which could turn to substitute products, found ways to remain profitable. Many of the smaller breweries, however, dependant on their local patrons buying their favorite ale, could not turn a profit and went out of business.

This marked the beginning of the end for the small local brewery. Of the 1,568 breweries that had existed in 1920, only 756 reopened after Prohibition, and most of these closed during the ensuing Great Depression.²¹

After a dismal time for the social beer drinker in the 1920s and early 1930s, the election of 1932 posed a great possibility for the beer industry. One plank of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's campaign platform was to bring an end to prohibition. F.D.R won in a landslide.²² In April of 1933, Roosevelt issued an executive order (accepted before Congress acted on the 18th Amendment as an emergency measure to combat the Great Depression) which legalized the manufacture, sale, consumption and transportation of beer. Maureen Ogle says:

The day that Franklin Roosevelt signed legislation that legalized the return of beer, celebrations erupted spontaneously all over the United States. In downtown Milwaukee, traffic came to a stand still when the news came across the telegraph. People were dropping confetti out of windows and there was dancing in the streets. It was as if a miracle had happened.²³

Congress officially ratified the Twentieth Amendment, which repealed National Prohibition, on 5 December 1933. When the repeal came, however, congress created a new law making it illegal for a brewer to own the retail outlet in which its beer was sold. 'To avoid the vices that had plagued saloons, the government

made it illegal for brewers to sell directly to consumers.²⁴

After National Prohibition and during the Great Depression, local breweries found it difficult to survive. Key elements that solidified the national brewers' hold on the beer market and 'squeezed out' the smaller local breweries were distribution, refrigeration and multi-site brewing. Once the railroad lines and interstate highways could carry beer long distances, and refrigerated railroad cars and trucks could deliver cold beer to bars across the country, mega breweries had a ready natural market. These breweries also started investing in multi-brewing sites so that they could brew regionally and ship their beer in 'good time' to supply expanding markets.²⁵ In addition, advertising boosted these growing mega brewers. They used posters, billboards, advertisements in print/radio/TV, sports endorsements, and various kinds of beer paraphernalia (today called *breweriana* in the beer world)²⁶ to promote their beer on a massive scale and move from being local and regional suppliers to national brands.

By the end of the 'consolidation period,' when the mega brewers were buying up competitors and consolidating brew houses to maximize the number of barrels brewed and their market share, Anheuser-Busch put out 80 million barrels (42% of the market) and Miller, the number two brewer, put out 61 million barrels (22% of the market). The top five brewing companies (Anheuser-Busch, Miller, Stroh, Coors and Heileman) con-

trolled 91% of the amount of beer made in the United States by 1990.²⁷

According to Bill Yenne, researcher and beer historian, the major brewing companies

failed to predict the paradigm that would be explored by the coming Microbrewery Revolution. Instead of creating new beers with more taste, the older brewing companies created beers with less taste. In fact, the phrase being used [to describe the mega brewer's lager beer] was 'flavor neutral.'²⁸

This trend aroused a grassroots revolution in the brewery industry that began to rapidly change the landscape of the beer experience in America.

Avid beer enthusiasts who began experimenting with home brewing during the 1970s or who were buying imported beers, began to look at brewing some of the English and European style ales on a larger scale. These brewers saw their work as a craft. Beer was something that needed special care and attention, not lifeless mass production (as many craft brewers consider the mechanization in the brewing process of the mega brew houses). These craft breweries were much smaller in size, so brewers could have their 'hands on' each beer that was produced. They were inspired by the maestros of the wine industry who took much care in handling their grapes, in some cases, hand selecting their product for the process. These brewers wanted to bring back that element to brewing.

The craft brewery renaissance - Anchor Brewing Company, Sierra Nevada and Schlafly beer

The Ozarks region experienced this renaissance in the brewing industry beginning in 1990, but this new attitude toward beer and brewing began in 1965 in San Francisco, California, with the Anchor Brewing Company. This brewery had been around for about 70 years when Fritz Maytag (heralded by many as the patron saint of the microbrewery revolution), bought it and saved it from going out of business. Maytag turned the brewery around by focusing on producing the finest quality beer. He stressed two points: brew with high-quality ingredients (whole hops rather than extracts) and brew with two-row barley imported from Europe instead of using other adjuncts and lesser grains. Maytag, as a young new brewer, sought the wisdom of other small brewers in the industry. He looked to Bill Leinenkugel of the Jacob Leinenkugel Brewing Company of Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, which dates back to 1867;²⁹ and to Dick Yuengling, Jr. of D.G. Yuengling Brewing Company in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, which is the oldest and longest continuously operating brewery which has been brewing since 1829.³⁰ Maytag's premium beer increased Anchor's output by 75%. The company's flagship beer, Anchor Steam Beer, has become a well known and prized beer among beer enthusiasts. Maytag attributes his success to the changing American taste in beer:

The trend helped make us. It was powerful and we were in it at the right time. People came from all over the country and all over the world to San Francisco. Local bars and restaurants were proud of local products so they served our beer. Our name then spread all over in a big way.³¹

As the big beer companies were fumbling around competing with prices, making light beer, and fending off Coors Brewing Company, which made a major surge into the market in the 1970s, a new brewery essentially consisting of pots and kettles opened up near Sonoma California. The New Albion Brewing Company held its grand opening in 1977 with a brew system built by hand. John McAuliff's malt bin and fermenters were built from fifty-five gallon barrels, and he copied a design from a nineteenth-century brewing text to make his malt mill.³² McAuliff and company began brewing a barrel and a half a day, five times a week. They brewed ales (stouts and porters) and bottled their beer once a week. They did not advertise, but let the beer sell itself. John McAuliff believed that the 'purity' of the beer, which included only malt, hops, water and yeast, was their greatest advertisement. New Albion Brewing Company did not even pasteurize its beer but allowed it to bottle condition in their cellar for five weeks.³³ They defied the conventional wisdom of the day (which was to make your beer look clean and clear and pasteurize it) and it paid off. The New Albion brewery had quick success in Northern California. However, it soon fell into financial difficulties after a

short run and closed its doors in 1982. Nonetheless, the New Albion Brewery was monumental because it showed others what could be done. This was the beginning of a moment that would make its way from the west coast to the east, as home brewers, interested in more variety from beer, began to expand home brewing in to microbreweries and brewpub outlets. McAuliffe and Maytag brought about this new wave of brewing. They embodied the boldness of a new breed of small brewers and showed the adventurous spirit of the microbrewery community by taking the first steps and showing others that brewing for fun, for quality, and for taste could be done.³⁴

This microbrewery revolution was really taking off when Chicago syndicated columnist, Mike Royko, expressed the feelings of beer enthusiast in his statement of disdain for the big beer companies and their product:

I have tried them all. I've grabbed for all the gusto I can get. I've said it all when I've said Bud. [But] regardless of what label or slogan you choose, it all tastes as if the secret brewing process involved running it through a horse.³⁵

Royko later helped sponsor a beer tasting test that put the major brands up against some import ales and lagers and some small regional breweries from the United States.

The top three beers, in order from first to third, were Wurzberger, a German brew; English

Bass Ale; and Point Special from Stevens Point, Wisconsin. ... The bottom three? Old Milwaukee, made by Schlitz, as well as their flagship brand Schlitz, and dead last with only thirteen points out of a possible fifty-five, Budweiser.³⁶

This was not a scientific study yet it gave the new beer market a boost and a notable launching pad for their campaigns for a beer renaissance in the United States. Royko's beer tasting experiment helped begin a dialogue about craft style beer and its European counterparts, which accelerated this new era in American brewing. At this point the microbrewery movement really began to gain traction.

The 1980s saw the birth of the true microbrewery industry along the 'Interstate 5 corridor' from Northern California up to Washington State. Early breweries included Debakker Brewing Company of Marin County, California (started in 1979), the Cartwright Brewing Company of Portland, Oregon (1980), Sierra Nevada of Chico, California (1980), and the Redhook Ale Brewery of Seattle (1982).³⁷ Of these one had a major influence on microbreweries in the Ozarks and across this country: Sierra Nevada Brewing Company. Its founder was a home brewer named Ken Grossman, who set out to bring his brewing experience to the general public in northern California in the late 1970s. Grossman was part of a home brewing explosion that took off in America with the passing of federal legislation in the late 1970s. In 1978, California Senator Alan Cranston, introduced a federal bill legal-



Figure 2. A tour of the the Saint Louis Brewery.

izing home brewing. In February of 1979, President Carter signed the bill into law, which

likely stimulated microbrewery entrepreneurship. . . [As] some of the early home brewers later became pioneers in the microbrewery revolution.³⁸

This included Grossman, as well as the other brewers discussed in this project.

Grossman had opened a store in Chico, California, which supplied the area's home brewers with equipment and materials. A couple of years after opening The Home Brew Store, he and co-founder Paul Camusi put together a brewery using dairy equipment and equipment salvaged from breweries that had gone out of business or were upgrading. The microbrewery, named for Ken's favorite backpacking grounds - the Sierra Nevada Mountains, got off to a great start. Ken and Paul used only the best ingredients to create beer that was fresh and pure in quality.³⁹ They used a lot of hops in their beer, which was new for American beers. The hoppy taste became a trademark for Sierra Nevada beers, as well as for the new microbrewery industry as a whole. On 15 November 1980, the Sierra Nevada Brewing Company brewed the first batch of its landmark Pale Ale, which would prove to be a defining beer for the craft brewing industry in the decades to come.⁴⁰ 'We had to throw out ten to twelve batches before we came up with a beer we wanted to go to market with.'⁴¹ Soon however, Sierra was brewing at full capacity.

By the late 1980s, the partners made plans for a new, larger brewery. Ken traveled to Germany and bought a traditional 100-barrel copper brew house, which became the centerpiece of the new brewery. In the late 1990s Sierra Nevada Brewing Company expanded again, and bought new brew kettles that matched the old copper kettles from Germany. This addition increased annual produc-

tion of the Sierra Nevada brewery to eight hundred thousand barrels.⁴² Sierra Nevada Brewing Company set the benchmarks for the craft industry. Their time-honored beer had become a catalyst for many home brewers, microbrewery start ups, and a staple for many beer enthusiasts in this new craft beer renaissance.

Another brewery, closer in the Ozarks that helped lay the groundwork for the explosion of microbreweries and small brewpubs in this region was the Saint Louis Brewery, opened in 1991 by Tom Schlafly and partners. It took courage to start a new brewery in St. Louis where Anheuser-Busch had dominated and from which it had controlled the United States beer market since prohibition. Schlafly had a vision to educate beer drinkers about other lager and ale styles besides those offered by Anheuser-Busch. His goal was not to work against Anheuser-Busch, but along side it, providing beer enthusiasts with a full set of options in beer selection. The Saint Louis Brewery brews a wide variety of ales and lagers under the Schlafly brand. They make about forty beers, which are rotated throughout the seasons and the year. Like other microbrewers, Schlafly sees the importance of bring the art back to brewing. To do this, there needs to be education for beer enthusiasts and for the public about what rich diversity, complexity and history there is with beer. In his book *A New Religion in Mecca: Memoir of a Renegade Brewery in St. Louis*, Tom Schlafly looks to help beer drinkers

understand the complex and important nature of beer. Take the four main ingredients in beer as defined in the *Reinheitsgebot* law: water, malted barley, hops and yeast. Schlafly says,

Consider first the color of beer. Contrary to one popular misconception, the color of a beer is wholly unrelated to its alcoholic content. Some beers are opaque yet contain relatively low amounts of alcohol; and some are almost transparent, yet pack quite a wallop. The color of a beer is simply the result of how its component malts were kilned, or cooked.⁴³

The amount of malt used in a batch of beer will determine the alcohol content. Increase the malt, and there will be an increase in the sugar level which will give the yeast more sugar to convert into alcohol. Much of the flavour in beer comes from the unfermented sugars. A general misconception is that if a beer has a lot of flavour, the alcohol content is high.

Many popular American lagers have low levels of unfermented sugars and correspondingly less pronounced taste, which is often mistaken for a relatively low alcoholic content.⁴⁴

One of the most important variables in the flavour of beer is the hops. They are the spice which adds flavour and preserves beer. There are many varieties of hops from Europe and North America which are used in American craft brewing. Cascade hops, from Washington

State, are a staple in American style pale ales. Adding more hops to the situation in a brew kettle 'will increase the so-called bitterness, or hoppiness, of any given brew.'⁴⁵ The most volatile ingredient in beer is the yeast. It is the most temperamental ingredient. Ask any brewer, and they will tell you that the yeast is the most touchy and therefore most closely monitored ingredient in the brewing process. Yeast is a fungal organism that converts the sugar from the malt into alcohol. During the brewing process it also produces carbon dioxide. Different strains of yeast give different flavors to the beer. These yeast strains also interact differently at varying temperatures.

So-called 'top-fermenting' yeasts are used to make ales, typically at between 59 and 69 degrees Fahrenheit. So-called 'bottom-fermenting' yeasts are used to make lagers, typically at between 41 and 48 degrees Fahrenheit.⁴⁶

Even given the diversity of its brewing, The Saint Louis Brewery's greatest con-

tribution to the Missouri craft brewing industry was that they helped change state laws that related to small microbrewery production facilities, laws which had traditionally supported the big brew house of Anheuser-Busch. In 1990, a bill promoted by Schlafly became law. It allowed the state to license small breweries that brewed a maximum of 2,500 barrels of beer per year (a barrel of beer is 31 gallons, about 13 and half cases of beer), and permitted these breweries to obtain retail liquor licenses. At this point, it prohibited microbreweries from selling off premises. Later, the 2,500 barrel limit would be changed so microbreweries could produce more beer. Also, Schlafly helped raise the legal alcohol content level for beer produced by microbreweries so that they could experiment with 'bigger beers.' The Saint Louis Brewery, Inc. became the first microbrewery to gain a license in Missouri under the new law.⁴⁷ This was monumental for craft brewing in the Ozarks, and Schlafly paved the way for small microbreweries and brewpubs in the region.



Figure 3. The Springfield Brewery, Missouri.

Springfield Brewing Company and Hickok's Brewery

The process set in motion by important craft breweries like Sierra Nevada and the Saint Louis Brewery sparked a microbrewery renaissance. The following ten Ozarks breweries exemplify the dimensions of this renaissance: the Springfield Brewing Company and Hickok's Restaurant and Brewery in



Figure 4. Serving tanks at the Springfield Brewery, Missouri.

Springfield, Missouri; Square One Brewery in St. Louis, Augusta Brewing Company in St. Charles County, Trailhead Brewing Company in St. Charles, O'Fallon Brewery also in St. Charles County, Flat Branch Pub & Brewing in Columbia, Bootleggers Restaurant - Brewery in Aurora, Little Yeoman Brewery in Cabool, and the Hog Haus Brewing Company in Fayetteville, Arkansas. These brewpubs and microbreweries created a new social experience and taste for the beer connoisseur, helped in the economic revitalization of old downtown areas of Ozarks cities, and continue to re-establish the brewing traditions of early America.

The Springfield Brewing Company, which opened in Springfield, Missouri, in 1997, exemplifies the brewing renaissance; but, the brewing history of Springfield began in the 19th century. The first brewery in Springfield, built by Philip Finkenauer and Buehner, opened in 1872.⁴⁸ A few years later, they leased the brewery to the man who would rule the beer and spirits busi-

ness in Springfield for over a quarter of a century, Sebastian Dingeldein. Dingeldein was born in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany on 15 October 1842. He had learned the brewing art and trade in the German States before coming to the United States in 1867. He arrived in New York City and went then to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Dingeldein then traveled to St. Louis, Missouri, in October of 1868. He worked in several of the large brewing and malt factories in St. Louis for more than eight years before he came to Springfield, where he leased the Finkenauer brewery in October of 1876 and began his brewing operation. Early in June of 1882, he bought the brewery outright.⁴⁹ Dingeldein registered the brewery first under his name, but later changed it to the Southwest Brewery. He owned the brewery, located on College Street, for fourteen years. He built up a financially stable trade, selling his products all over the country. 'When first started[,] the brewery turned out eight hundred barrels per year. In 1882 they made twenty-one hundred.'⁵⁰ After a fire burned down the original brewing facility, Dingeldein rebuilt the brewery at a location nearby, 1055 College Street. This second brewery was much larger in size and in production capacity. He changed its name to the Springfield Brewing Company.⁵¹ Dingeldein and his sons ran the brewery business and also had a retail liquor outlet store where they sold their beer, as well as liquor and spirits. The brewery shut down in 1911,⁵² though one of Dingeldein's sons continued to run the liquor store.



Figure 5. A label for the Springfield Brewing Companies flagship beer, Pale Ale.

After that, local brewing was silent for eighty years in Springfield, Missouri, until 1991, when Dave Lamb became the brewer at the first microbrewery in Springfield. Lamb, who is currently the head brewer at Hickok's Restaurant and Brewery in Springfield, has been a leader in bringing the brewing renaissance to the heart of the Ozarks. Lamb started home brewing in the late 1970s, and in the early 1980s, opened a beer and wine equipment store for home brewers called the Brewage. The store, at Cherry Street and Pickwick, thrived from 1984 to 1988. In 1992, he became the brew master of the first brewpub in Springfield, The White River Mining Company on Walnut Street. The brewpub lasted a couple of years under the original owners. Another buyer bought it in 1994, and changed its name to The Weathervane, which did not last out the year since the management could not turn a profit in the

restaurant end of the business. But, Lamb continued brewing in the small building behind the restaurant near the outdoor beer garden. In 1995 Nick Russo, a local business man and entertainer, bought the restaurant on Walnut Street (partly on Lamb's urging to save the brewery) and renamed it Ebbett's Field. Lamb stayed on as the brewer, and Ebbett's Field Brewpub brewed at full capacity (about 300 barrels annually) from 1995 to 1999.⁵³ Dave Lamb's beer was the first Springfield brewpub beer available *Vom Fass*, which means 'on tap' in German, in Springfield since before Prohibition.

In 1996, another brewpub called Rye Bread and Apple Core opened in the southwest area of Springfield in a new development called Chesterfield Village, which was set up to simulate an old village atmosphere. The owners of Rye Bread and Apple Core were banking on a new baseball stadium, which was supposed to open near Chesterfield Village and bring a lot of business to the area. The stadium was instead built south of the city in the town of Ozark (Price Cutter Park). Dave Lamb was the head brewer of Rye Bread from the early stages, brewing both at Ebbett's Field and at Rye Bread Apple Core. Rye Bread quickly had internal business problems and closed in 1997. Lamb continued brewing at Ebbett's Field while new brewing equipment sat unused in the old Rye Bread building.⁵⁴

In 1997, the same time Rye Bread was closing its doors, Paul Mueller Company



Figure 6. Ashton Lewis, the head brewer and overseer at Springfield Brewing Company.

was opening the Springfield Brewing Company. Mueller opened the brewery to provide a working, operating showcase for its stainless steel equipment and to brew quality craft beer. Mueller Steel, which is headquartered in Springfield, Missouri,

specializes in the design and manufacture of stainless steel processing systems and equipment for the food, dairy, beverage [wine and beer], chemical pharmaceutical, biotechnology, and pure water industries.⁵⁵

Breweries around the country and around the world, from the huge mega brewers in

St. Louis and Milwaukee, to the small breweries in Colorado and California, use Mueller stainless tanks. In 2002 Mueller was sought out by a California winemaker to develop stainless steel wine barrels. In 2003 they began production on their own, unique line of these wine barrels.⁵⁶ They have also made headway within the brewing industry, supplying all kinds of tanks to Anheuser-Busch and to a variety of breweries around the world. Mueller stepped in to help a five hundred year old German brewery salvage their brewing operation and continue their tradition with a rushed shipment of tanks across the Atlantic.

The Springfield Brewing Company was a perfect way for the Paul Mueller Company to show its equipment and processes to the public and create a state-of-the-art brewing facility where perspective stainless steel customers from around the country and the world could come to observe Mueller products. Because of this, Mueller put into the brew house a computer-automated system that is usually found only in the mega brew houses.⁵⁷ This state of the art system, along with the 15 barrel stainless brew kettle, fermentation system, and the storage tanks make this brewery one of the premiere small brewpubs in the world.⁵⁸

Ashton Lewis, the head brewer and overseer at Springfield Brewing Company, exemplifies the key characteristics of brewers in this new revolution in brewing: He is passionate about craft beer, he employs new technology to brew a diverse variety of ales and lagers, and he is focused on the local community as it relates to the production and distribution of his beer. Lewis began home brewing in high school and long wanted to make brewing his career. He studied Food Science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, finished his degree in 1991, and moved to California to study Beer Science at one of the premiere brewing schools in the world: University of California - Davis (the



Figure 7. Trey Manning, Brewer at Springfield Brewing Company.

other three are in Germany, England and Chicago). He completed the Master Brewers Program while working part time at the local brewery, Sudwerk Privatbrauerei Hubsch. After graduation Lewis taught brewing science at University of California - Davis and was part of a brewing consulting firm. He came to Paul Mueller Company when they opened the brewery in 1997 and has been head brewer ever since.⁵⁹

The majority of the brewing at Springfield Brewing Company today is in the hands of Cecil Elmer Manning III, known to patrons at the brewery, friends, and to other brewers simply as 'Trey' (the third). Manning grew up in Louisiana. He moved to Springfield, Missouri, to attend Drury College. Majoring in biology and chemistry at Drury, Manning was initially interested in cancer research, but he quickly realized that he did not want to do lab research all his life. As with most brewers, his first brewing experience was at home, which he began in 1996.

People kept telling me that my first few batches would be bad, but I had great luck on my first brew, it was a Brown Ale. I soon came to the conclusion that all the things that I love in life: cooking, gardening, and using raw earthy materials, are included in the process of brewing.⁶⁰

When the Springfield Brewing Company opened its doors in 1997, Manning applied for a serving job in order to be close to the brewing process. While a server, he offered to assist Ashton Lewis

in the brewhouse, but the opportunity never presented itself.

To establish a career in brewing, Manning enrolled at University of California - Davis in the spring of 1999. At the end of the program, after sending out a myriad of resumes, he was hired by Sierra Nevada Brewing Company after, and moved to Chico, California. He starting brewing and became part of the family at Sierra Nevada. Manning remembers:

Ken Grossman, Steve Dressler and the other workers at Sierra Nevada really are a great community. These people are family to me. They enjoy their work, and they enjoy each other. This is a great brewery to work at. Steve Dressler and I still keep in contact. A lot of these people are old school hippies that want to enjoy what they do and produce a quality product from raw materials. Sierra Nevada started this whole 'hop' revolution in the brewery industry.⁶¹

After two years as a brewer at Sierra Nevada, Manning wanted to return to the Ozarks.

The most important part of life is family [said Manning]. Being there for my family and having my children grow up with their grandparents, with our broader family close by, is essential. Brewing is my passion, but when it comes to my family there is nothing more important.⁶²

He put in applications at well known breweries in the region: Boulevard Brewing Company in Kansas City (a for-

mer microbrewery which has grown in size to become a regional brewery), The Saint Louis Brewery, and the Springfield Brewing Company in Springfield, Missouri. At this time Ashton Lewis' assistant brewer Craig Heizner was leaving Springfield Brewing Company. In June of 2001, Manning was hired and started brewing there.⁶³

The old 19th century building that houses the Springfield Brewing Company is a great draw for the business. The old grain building that was restored by Mueller offers a great experience for customers. The old brick, huge wooden beams and large windows give the brewery an open feel similar to that of a large pub in the United Kingdom. The two level building has plenty of seating and provides different gathering areas for music and other activities. This set up is also very practical for the brew house. Upstairs is the milling room where the specialty grain is stored, as well as the four-roll mill that crushes and exposes the inside of the grain while preserving the husk. This is sent down a chute, located directly above the kettle.

Springfield Brewing Company uses a variety of barley and wheat grains from Germany, England, Idaho, Canada and Minnesota in their beers, and a wide variety of hops. Cascade and Centennial hops (which give a citrus, floral and sometimes fruity flavor and aroma) come from the Yakima Valley Region in Washington State, where 75% of North American hops are grown. They also use

Liberty and Perle hops, as well as English and German hop varieties. About 70% of the beers brewed at Springfield Brewing Company are ales. Ales are quicker to run and process than lagers. It takes nine to ten days to finish ales and anywhere from one to two months to complete a lager.⁶⁵ The staple beers of the brewery are its number one seller the Unfiltered Wheat, the Munich Lager, and the Pale Ale. The Unfiltered Wheat, which comprises about 30-35% of all their beer sales⁶⁶ 'is brewed with a combination of malted barley and wheat and gently hopped in the kettle to give a subtle, spicy bitterness.'⁶⁷ Trey Manning considers the Wheat beer Springfield Brewing Company's transition beer:

The Unfiltered Wheat is the beer, where people who come in and are new to craft beer styles, can easily move from the larger domestic beers to this beer. From the Wheat, they can hopefully begin to appreciate the other beers we have available. The college students and younger adults love the Wheat. The Munich Lager is a golden-colored lager reminiscent of the pale lagers popular in the Bavarian region of Germany. Malty, toasty flavors derived from a blend of Munich and two-row barley malts are balanced by a careful blend of hops to give this beer a complex palate and exceptional drink-ability.⁶⁸

The Pale Ale is the favorite beer by far of the staff at the brewery.⁶⁹ This beer is characterized by an

orange-hued looking ale with a citrusy aroma of Cascade hops and the slight

fruitiness of our house ale yeast balanced by well-rounded malts flavors from caramel and pale malted barleys.⁷⁰

Springfield Brewing Company offers seasonal specialties on tap which rotate: Kolsch (a light, delicate, golden ale associated with Cologne, Germany),⁷¹ in the spring; Hefe Weizen is their summer seasonal, which is Weizenbier in German. Hefe means yeast and

weizen means wheat - this term is used for wheat beers that are anywhere from 20 to 60 percent wheat; which gives off a clove, banana bouquet of flavor.⁷²

and for the fall, a reddish lager called the Märzen,

traditionally brewed in March and set aside to lager during the summer months, is now mostly brewed for autumn consumption; particularly in connection with Oktoberfest.⁷³

In the fall of 2007, *417 Magazine* listed Mueller's Märzen Oktoberfest as their number three beer produced by Missouri's microbreweries and brewpubs for the fall season. 'It's amber-colored with lower hops, a very traditional seasonal beer,' Trey Manning says.⁷⁴

For the winter months, Springfield Brewing Company brews the Doppel Bock. This is a somewhat darker beer with a dark caramel hue, higher in alcohol and with a sweet taste (typically this is the highest alcohol beer style brewed in Germany). Ashton Lewis, in a 2004

Springfield News-Leader article about seasonal beers, says,

Seasonal beers have been very popular and I think they continue to be very popular. For most successful breweries, the seasonal beer is a very important part of what they do.⁷⁵

Another style of beer brewed at the Springfield Brewing Company is the Black Sheep line of beers, a rotating dark beer selection. These beers range from the popular Porter, which used to be a mainstay at the brewery, to a Dry Stout; to the Mudhouse Stout, which is a roasty stout brewed using Sumatra Mandheling coffee beans, contributed by a local downtown coffee shop, the Mudhouse.⁷⁶ Also offered is the Bull Creek Brown, Milk Stout and the Dark Lager (Schwartz beer in German) are also selections in the Black Sheep line. The last line of beers is the Brewmaster's Special, which includes an IPA (India Pale Ale, which contains high hop levels used to preserve the beer during the long voyages from Britain to India), various Amber style beers, Pilsners and other unique ales and lagers. In this line-up the brewers generally step outside the boundaries of the mainstay beer styles and experiment. Each year Springfield Brewing Company brews an Anniversary Ale to celebrate another year of brewing. This year marks their tenth anniversary of continual brewing, and an ale to mark this special celebration is a barrel reserve, Belgian style ale.

The base beer was our Dubbel Trubbel (an Abbey-style double) which was racked into

the new oak barrels on March 17, 2006. We then inoculated the beer with *Brettanomyces Bruxellensis* (a distinctive yeast strain), and began the long wait. After twenty-one months of aging we determined it was time to bottle this beer. Our 10th Anniversary Barrel Reserve is similar to many of the sour styles from Belgium, such as Lambic, Gueze and Flanders sour brown ale.⁷⁷

In an article on the history of beer in the *Springfield News-Leader*, Lewis shared his thoughts on craft brewing saying,

the main difference between what we make and what the larger brewing manufacturers make can be summed up in one phrase: raw material selection. Most craft brewers make beer only from malted barley - and within malted barley, there are different types of malted barley ... all used to give color and flavor.⁷⁸

I love brewing at SBC [says Manning]. This is one of the only places where I could brew and be completely involved in the process from start to finish. When I taste the beer off the tanks here, it is my beer. I see it all the way through from the purification of the water and the raw grains, to the fermentation and holding tanks, which serve directly to the tap. Beer is a fragile product. Yeast is a difficult organism to control. Anytime you are working with raw materials, the process changes every time and needs attention. I don't consider myself a brew master. In fact, I am uncomfortable with that term when people attribute it to me. I see the beer making process as continual learning experience, where although I have been

making beer for many years now, I am not a master.⁷⁹

Another unique element to this brewery is its water purification and mineral additive process. In centuries past, beer was known by the region in which it was brewed. Certain styles of beer have certain tastes, partly because of the minerals which are in the water from different regions such as southern Germany, Czech areas, Belgium or England. Springfield Brewing Company's aim is to purify the water coming into the brewery, filtering out all the minerals from this area and additives put in by the city. Once the water is stripped down to its basics, Trey Manning adds certain mineral components to the water for each select beer which gives it the taste and flavor of the original region where this beer is brewed.⁸⁰ This is a fascinating part of the brewery and one that sets Springfield Brewing Company apart from many other small brewpubs in the area and across the country.

Springfield Brewing Company has remained committed to serving the local community. Manning says:

Mueller wants this place to be focused on producing fine beer styles for this community. We have no plans to expand outside our local area as it relates to shipping and moving our beers around the state or region. We have no intent to compete with other stainless steel customers.⁸¹

This local focus is significant because, as Manning points out, beer has a delicate

nature and the need to be served and drank fresh:

People are learning, slowly, yet learning that beer is best when it is fresh. I only drink local beer. Even though there are some breweries around the country that I like, I only drink their beer when I am in their town or region. If I am on the East Coast I will drink local there and the same for the West Coast. Beer is a fragile product. It doesn't travel well. It is the best situation when you can drink beer that is fresh, and the closer to the source you are, the fresher the product will be. There is a lot to the saying: 'think global, drink local.' I try to follow this principle.⁸²

Although their focus is local, Mueller developed ties with the larger craft brewing industry by participating at the annual Great American Beer Festival in Denver, Colorado. Springfield Brewing Company has competed for years, winning a bronze for their Doppel Bock in 2000; a silver in 2001 for the Märzen; a gold medal for the Unfiltered Wheat and a bronze for the Bull Creek Brown in 2003; a gold again for the Unfiltered Wheat in 2004 and a gold that same year for Mueller Lager. In 2006 they won another medal for the Unfiltered Wheat and picked up a gold medal for the Mueller Hefe Weizen.⁸³

The Springfield Brewing Company has the capacity to bottle and distribute to local stores a substantial volume of beer. Trey Manning describes the Mueller Stainless Brewhouse as the 'Cadillac of small brewpubs.' The brewery makes

about roughly two batches of beer a week (about 500 gallons of beer). They produce about 1,400 barrels of beer a year (about 43,400 gallons). The annual production capacity of the brewery is about 2,000 barrels, according to Manning. The brewery sold growlers when they first opened, before they began to bottle. Growlers are half gallon to gallon size bottles that are filled with beer from the tap at a brewery for patrons to take home. The growlers did not work out, since they do not allow much life for the beer once they are tapped and opened. Bottling was much better for the brewery because patrons could take bottles home to drink at their leisure. Bottles can also be sold at retail outlets where growlers cannot. Once a brewery starts bottling, it usually discontinues growlers. The brewery bought a used labeler: the green one (Royal Tandum), to label their new bottles. Incidentally, it is the same labeler that Ken Grossman used earlier at Sierra Nevada Brewing Company. Manning said that when Grossman was



Figure 8. Hickok's steakhouse and brewery.

visiting Springfield Brewing Company, he recognized the labeler as his former unit. The green color of the labeler is the same green as on the Sierra Pale Ale label. With this bottler, the brewery can bottle for the local community's consumption. They do not distribute outside of the Springfield area. Mueller brand beer is only sold by bottle in local stores and at the brewery. Kegs are available for parties on order, and there is currently only one draft account for Mueller beer outside of the taps at the brewpub, this is at the Hemmingway's Restaurant at the Bass Pro Shop. Since the brewery opened in 1997, revenue from its beer sales has grown by 4 to 5% annually.⁸⁴



Figure 9. Dave Lamb's beer - Hickok's Oktoberfest

In the 1990s, the Springfield Brewing Company was the first major business to open west of Campbell Avenue in the old downtown of Springfield, Missouri. The SBC has proved to be an important turning point for the economic growth and revitalization of the downtown area. Since the late 90s, there have been many more businesses, loft developments, retail stores and restoration projects in the old downtown. In 1998 Springfield voters decided to transform the downtown, approving a hotel-motel tax that pumped millions of dollars into this revitalization process.⁸⁵ This vote to put money into the old downtown came a year after the Springfield Brewing Company had emerged as a leader in this endeavor. The Springfield community, through the arts and through its rediscovering of old Springfield and its heritage, is rebuilding and revamping the downtown. Springfield Brewing Company has played a large economic role downtown. It is a major business known in the city and draws people from all over the community to the newly revitalized downtown.

Just a few blocks east of the Springfield Brewing Company, another brewpub opened its doors in 2006. Hickok's Steakhouse and Brewery provides a quaint atmosphere in an old historic brick building. Dave Lamb is the head brewer at Hickok's. After Ebbett's Field shut down and Nick Russo sold the business in 1999, Lamb had gone to work for Glazer Distributing. Glazer is the largest beer and wine distributor in Missouri and

a major player in the Midwest. From 1999 to 2005, Lamb distributed craft beers to the Ozarks from many large, regional microbreweries and brewpubs including Rogue from Oregon; Bell's from Kalamazoo, Michigan; Goose Island from Chicago; Sierra Nevada Brewing; Flying Dog; Capital; and Portland/Pyramid Brewing. While Lamb was working at Glazer, he was asked, in 2005, about helping the upstart business of a steak house and brewery combination. Not sure he wanted to get back into the brewery business, Lamb tried to convey to the owners of Hickok's the immense amount of capital and work that would go into making a brew house successful in this third decade of the microbrewery revolution. He made the point saying,

It is not enough to set up a brewery, open the doors, pour any beer that you want and expect patrons to flood through the doors and drink your product. Beer tasters have a more refined palate today and are more familiar with particular beer tastes. It is important to put time, care and money into a brewery that will make it able to produce a product which will draw the avid beer drinker.⁸⁶

Lamb eventually decided to accept the job and carried some of his long time recipes over to Hickok's. For example, the Copperhead IPA was formerly the O'Malleys beer at Ebbett's Field. Lamb, like many brewers in the brewpub revolution, uses American Cascade hops (and other northwest varieties), and lots of them, in his Pale Ales. These fragrant and spicy hops have been a staple ele-

ment for the industry, which have catapulted Pale Ales to the forefront of the new American beer experience. Lamb has refined his taste and moved to brewing Belgium style ales (complex beers that usually don't have an overly hoppy taste), which he continually tweaks in his signature beer: Calamity Blonde Ale. He brews the Calamity Blonde with Belgium yeast strains at about 7.5% alcohol. He keeps the Copperhead IPA around 6.5% alcohol with a big hop taste. Hickok's brewery has the capacity to brew about 1,000 barrels per year; but is currently producing about 250-300 barrels. This number was growing as the brewery finished its second year of production.⁸⁷ In the fall of 2007, *417 Magazine* rated his Oktoberfest beer the number two fall seasonal of Missouri microbreweries and brewpubs.

Dave Lamb is experiencing the crunch of a problem which now concerns most American brewers, the shortage of hop producers in North America. American hops have been a defining staple in the brewpub renaissance, both with taste and aroma. Most of the hop suppliers (from the Wholesale Hop Sellers) grow their hops in Oregon, Washington state, and British Columbia, Canada (a region similar in climate to German and Czech growing regions where the significant use of hops originated from). Lamb discussed this issue stating,

Brewers are in a crunch today. If a brewer does not have a two or three year contract with a hop supplier, it may be very difficult to

order a small supply for a special batch or if you are running short. It is also difficult to buy hops from other brewers since their supply is tight as well. This is difficult because it raises the price, but more importantly makes it difficult for small brewers to stay alive in the industry.⁸⁸

Dave Lamb has played a diverse roll in the Springfield brewing community. He not only is, and has been, a brewer at various establishments in the city, he also has been a small contract and private-label brewer. Lamb has done some contract brewing over the years and now brews for a new pub in town called the Twilight. Private label brewing is when a brewer allows other venues to put their own label on a beer they have brewed. Lamb supplies private label brewing for his old partner at Ebbett's, Nick Russo, for some beers at his new establishment downtown called St. Michael's Schoolyard. He also brews some beers for Galloway Station and Schultz & Dooley's. Dave Lamb is a brewing forefather in Springfield, having supported the brewing industry in many capacities over the past three decades. He has been an influential craft brewer in Springfield, brewing and educating the community on the diversity in beer styles and exuding a passion for brewing for his local community.

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