

THE GOLDEN STATE OF BREWING: CALIFORNIA'S ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN THE AMERICAN BREWING INDUSTRY. PART II

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Chapter 3: Revolutionary brew

Ours is much better than the imports you get here. Like most things you can make it cheaply or you can make an excellent product. Corporate Brewers chose the first path.¹

By the 1960s there were few reasons to believe anything would drastically change about the brewing industry and beer culture in California. The predominant beers in production and distribution were American Adjunct Lagers, and by the 1970s an even lighter variant hit the market, invented in 1967 and popularized by Miller Brewing in 1973.² California was home to the most impressive breweries in the nation, and was fifth in the nation in terms of raw production from 1969 to 1976. In this time production grew to over 12 million barrels of beer, but the number of production facilities in the state decreased to six. Those breweries would serve over 14.5 million drinking age adults in the state of California as well as the entire southwest region of the United States.³ In Downtown Los Angeles, elevated freeway passages flank the Pabst Brewing plant on 1920 Main St; rail lines from the factory's days as the Eastside brand continue to bring in shipments of grain, hops and packaging. The Maier Brewing Company is so large that the Northbound 101 Freeway was constructed around the facility; the sudden curve motorists navigate before the Alameda off-ramp is due to the former brewery. In 1976, Anheuser Busch constructed a second California brewery in Fairfield, north of San Francisco. It is smaller compared to their Van Nuys facility, but still produces beer for regions in California, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.⁴ The path of American beer toward bigger facil-

ities, standardized products, and flashy marketing played out in California as it did throughout the nation.

The vast majority of beer in California was produced by multinational corporations, brewed with little differentiation between brands. All that was unique about beer in California was dead or dying. The indigenous Steam beer was unheard of and small breweries were disappearing, with only the Anchor Brewery in San Francisco still lingering from the 19th century. Nationwide the downward trend in the number of operating breweries reached the lowest point in national history by the late 1970s, with fewer than 40 individual companies still brewing in 1980. By economic standards, an oligopoly had seized control of the U.S. brewing industry.⁵ All that one could rely on to identify a brand of beer was the color of the packaging and what sports team the brand supported. But the trend of beer becoming bigger, blander, and nationwide would not continue unabated. California proved to be fertile ground for new ideas about the brewing industry. These ideas expressed support for individualism and choice through smaller, bolder, and locally produced beer. New questions were raised about beer and brewing in California, following on the heels of social movements that influenced what we believed and consumed, and asking if the two were related.

The craft brewing industry was created in California. Craft beer was possible because of California's unique cultural and business atmosphere. The term 'craft' requires some analysis, and while the Brewers Association of America⁶ has a current working defini-

tion I would like to put forth addendums to their description. Craft brewing is the antithesis to the trajectory the American brewing industry took from the 1850s to 1965. In California the brewing industry took longer to develop than its historic homes in Milwaukee, New York or St. Louis; but it developed according to similar patterns. The first pattern was the switch to primarily lager beers; due to immigration from Germany and quality issues with ale styled beers in the 19th century. The second pattern was growth; breweries increased their output as the industry emerged as a profitable fast, moving consumer goods market. The final pattern was evident only after the repeal of Prohibition, the switch from public to in-home consumption of beer. These patterns flowed from East to West, solidifying in California after becoming common practice in the historic brewing regions. When the first small breweries started to develop in California in the 1960/70s, they had to stand against what the brewing industry had become. Ingenuity in brewing and interest in beer alone did not rebuke the status quo of the industry. The pioneering craft brewers navigated uncharted legal territory and carved out new business models for their industry. They also found a kindred spirit with the California cuisine movement, which created the demand for products that were small batch, locally produced, and artisanal. From its beginnings in Northern California, the movement spread from West to East, leading to an exponential growth in the number of breweries in the nation.

While these first microbreweries were nowhere near the size of the Anheuser Busch or Pabst breweries, they operated on a much smaller economy of scale that allowed them not only to survive but grow into a formidable market segment. Craft brewing in California revived old styles of beer and created completely new styles, often leading to trends that spread throughout the nation and overseas. The craft brewers of California also restored a cultural dignity that had been long lost to beer consumption in America. Wine once was the sole beverage of social prestige, discriminating taste, and refined class. Beer now stands alongside wine, but with a more democratic following.⁷

But to get the bountiful forest of breweries that we now have across the nation, the first seeds had to have been planted on fertile soil. When craft breweries look to their own history, the first watershed moments took

place in California. They took place in different locales and in different forms, but would impact the way Americans understood the brewing and consuming of beer. The idea of Neolocalism, or the link between business and place, becomes a key feature of these new breweries. The modern cultural hearth in American beer rests squarely in Northern California, and specifically with the Anchor brewing company. It was the first brewery to combine locality, a forgone English brewing tradition, and small scale production.⁸

The vanguards of the craft industry

The Purchase of the Steam [Anchor] Brewing Company may have seemed at the time to be a dilettante gesture, but it has been followed through with both dedication and inventiveness. The Wall Street Journal reported: ‘This tiny operation has climbed back into the black ... it is outgrowing its premises as demand outpaces capacity. That just isn’t supposed to happen to a small, independent brewer’.⁹

The story of Frederick Louis Maytag III walking into the Old Spaghetti Factory in the North Beach neighborhood of San Francisco, and having a pint of Anchor Steam Beer in August of 1965 has become the universally accepted origin story of the craft beer movement. As he spoke with the proprietor, Fred Kuh, the now legendary words spoken to him on that day have been recounted by Maytag himself in interviews and histories of the craft brewing movement. ‘You ought to see it, [the Brewery] it’s closing in a day or two, and you ought to see it. You’d like it’.¹⁰ As a Stanford Japanese literature student, he had taken a much different life path than his family had become known for. The Maytag family farms and later washing machine company would leave young Fritz with the opportunity to pursue his education in Northern California. But rather than continue with his education Maytag decided to purchase the Anchor Brewing Company for the sum of what he calls, ‘less than the price of a new car’.¹¹ By 1965 there were 197 breweries in operation across the nation,¹² and the steam beer for which Anchor was known for was an endangered species in the brewing world. Fritz Maytag, as beer historians will forever remember him, was the one to bring that recipe back from extinction. Further, it was the first salvo in an attempt to reclaim the American brewing industry from a century of corporate lager domination.

Maytag, and those who would come after him, would be fighting an uphill battle within the brewing market. By 1965 Americans were drinking over 108 million barrels of beer provided by a 2.4 billion dollar industry. The top eight breweries controlled half of the entire beer market, and the market concentration showed no signs of stopping. According to research conducted by beer market economists Victor and Carol Tremblay, by 1968 the industry had entered an oligopoly, where the top four companies controlled over 40% of the market.¹³ Production quadrupled from 1933 to 1965, but businesses continued to shut down, with closures far outnumbering openings since 1933. Aside from the boom in numbers after Prohibition, the trend of closures surpassing openings can be traced as far back as the 1880s.¹⁴ To purchase a small fledgling brewery amid this market atmosphere was seen as a foolish waste of money, the pet project of a wealthy dreamer in the midst of 1960s San Francisco. Maytag himself was young man who wished to escape the drudgery of his east coast prep-school upbringing, moving from the prestigious Deerfield Academy in Massachusetts to Stanford in 1955. After completing his undergraduate work, Maytag enrolled in a Japanese language graduate program at Stanford in the fall of 1960. The course his life took led to a break in path when, as beer historian Maureen Ogle writes, ‘One morning in February 1964, he drove to campus but could not get out of the car. He turned the wheel and headed out of town’.¹⁵ Fritz Maytag was 25 years old, a young man disenchanted with his academic pursuit, born from a family of entrepreneurs and enjoying a sizable financial backing, living amid the social upheavals of the 1960s in one of the most eclectic cities in the nation, and seeking a meaningful pursuit for his life. Maytag would prove to be a worthy candidate to overcome the challenge of restoring the historic Anchor brewery.

The first lesson that Maytag would learn was to make a clean product on a smaller scale. The problem with ales and small batch beers in America before Anchor was inconsistency and spoilage; consumers are quickly lost when they taste a poor batch of beer. Cleanliness in the brewing process is time consuming, but vital to ensuring quality product. After the buyout in 1965, Maytag took to the streets as a bar to bar spokesperson for Anchor Steam beer. He met with two reactions; those who insisted that Anchor’s products were sour, flat, and generally terrible, and those who thought that the brew-

ery had long closed due to the terrible beer.¹⁶ In a recent panel discussion, Maytag recalls;

In those days [1965] we made a brew about once a month at about 50 BBLs. And I figured out right away that microbiology was our big problem. It’s hard to sell sour beer, I have done that. I have actually sat at the bar, and smiled and drank my own sour beer.¹⁷

He continues into a discussion of learning how to brew clean, infection-resistant beers at Anchor. In the late-1960s Anchor utilized yeast sourced from Lucky Lager and Falstaff breweries of Northern California. Maytag was able to take a sanitized milk can to the breweries and bring back quantities of yeast courtesy of the Brewmasters who staffed the larger production facilities. ‘It was the first time I felt, that I am sure many of us have felt, that we were part of a trade. The [large] production brewers, they respected us, because they respected the trade’.¹⁸ Anchor’s beers improved as a result of the yeast provided via larger brewers, and the generosity of those brewers toward Maytag would be reciprocated when new breweries began developing in California in the late 1970s.

Crafting an identity

As Anchor cleaned up the aging production lines, reworked the recipe to its famed Steam beer, and began bottling in 1971, the brewery fostered a unique identity in the process. Before ‘craft’ was a part of the national brewing lexicon, Anchor solidified one of its greatest facets; locality. Adorned on the label of Anchor bottles is the bold company logo, and the proclamation, ‘Made in San Francisco since 1896’ with the subtext, ‘Brewed and Bottled by Steam Beer Brewing Co. San Francisco from All Barley Malt. 1968’.¹⁹ Reading the bottle’s label as an artifact of history, it is itself an object of contrast to the corporate giants of the brewing industry. The rustic font and artwork, unique shape, and connection to locality are sharply contrasted with the cans and bottles of Budweiser or Miller of the era. The small, quirky brewery took great pride in the legacy of San Francisco brewing as well as their history; seemingly odd given the poor reputation it suffered for so many years. But much for the same reason Fred Kuh kept the beer on tap at the Old Spaghetti Factory, and Maytag himself purchased it, the charm was in the locality. A

beer that could only be found in one location, brewed there historically, and proudly made with all barley malt. As Tom Acitelli, author of *The Audacity of Hops* concisely states, 'it was the antithesis of mass production, where history matters little and place even less'.²⁰ Anchor became more than a quirky little brewery just north of the Haight-Ashbury district in San Francisco; it was an early sign of things to come in the industry.

Bottling was another key decision made early in Maytag's ownership. The brewing industry as a whole embraced canning to such an extent that it represented 54.6% of all the beer produced in America in 1972. Bottled beer had slipped to a low of 35.1% overall, and draught beer represented a dismal 6.5% of the industry.²¹ However, the capital required to can beer was beyond what Anchor could afford. Bottling machines, though complicated, were easily accessible given the number of defunct breweries throughout the nation. The type of bottle that Anchor uses also stands out; shorter and with a wide base, it lowered the center of gravity for the glass container and was more robust in look and function than the long necked bottles that are in common use today.²² The artwork that adorns the label, flanked by proclamations of history and locality, is provided by Sausalito based artist, Jim Stitt. His artwork has helped define Anchor as a traditional, old world styled brewery. His work deliberately avoids straight lines and the lettering does not follow a uniform font.²³ Maytag recalls his relationship with Stitt; 'We made it a point that each product would be truly distinctive, and created from scratch. Jim Stitt's wonderful hand drawing skills and instincts for handmade things ... we were just a perfect fit'.²⁴

Anchor's new identity did not form through raw inspiration that pulled the brewery from its nadir. The lessons on consistency and cleanliness were learned in the 19th century when lager became the primary beer of the nation over the poorly made small batches of ale. Louis Pasteur's *Studies on Fermentation* in 1876 and research conducted at the behest of the largest brewers illustrated the vital importance of yeast control in the brewing process. Maytag's personal work station was often adorned with a copy of Pasteur's *Studies* with a heavily worn spine, alongside a microscope that served a practical purpose of analyzing yeast cells, as well as a reminder of the necessity to constantly control fermentation.²⁵

While Anchor could not have existed without the developments in brewing that came before it, the brewery differed emphatically in size, market, and diversity of products. In the first ten years of Maytag's ownership, the brewery employed five workers for day to day operations. Under his ownership the brewery was kept deliberately small to compete on a different economy of scale vis a vis the largest breweries in the nation. A small team working in a single eight hour shift, five days a week produced the beer in the first decades of Anchor's rebirth; according to Maytag, fostering a pride and sense of ownership among employees exhibited a stronger work ethic and bond between labor and management. In a 1986 interview, Anchor's philosophy of small batch and high quality is spelled out by Maytag to the *Harvard Business Review*.

I always like the idea of a small number of people. I just don't like what happens in large groups. ... Everybody who works here can go home and say, 'I made the beer'. And when they go to a restaurant somewhere and see a bottle, they know they produced it. I think that kind of pride tends to improve quality. Real quality control takes place every minute. There's an enthusiasm here, a spirit of being on the leading edge of beers and brewing styles.²⁶

He also addressed the concern that his efforts at restoring the Anchor brewing were simply the whims of a man with the financial backing of his wealthy family. Once more, an important aspect of Anchor's predecessors is displayed. 'I measure success in terms of the company's health and the return on investment' claims Maytag.²⁷ As future craft breweries will show, many begin by the simple enjoyment of brewing their own beers, and wanting to share their creation with others. But such pleasure alone cannot sustain a company, and the everlasting struggle to bring in profit and invest wisely hangs over all young breweries for their first years. Anchor itself did not become profitable until 1974; the very survival of the company hinged upon a few early accounts, including Fred Kuh's Old Spaghetti Factory.²⁸

Old recipes, new ideas

While Anchor set a new paradigm for brewing commercially on a small scale and with traditional ingredients, they also reintroduced both the ale and the porter to

American beer drinkers. By the mid-19th century the breweries of America were in large part producing Germanic style lager beers, brews that are lighter in body, effervescent, and could be brewed consistently and in massive quantities by the largest brewers of the nation. Ale and porter, by the turn of the 20th century, were an endangered species that few brewers cared to preserve. From 1965 to 1972 Anchor focused on the flagship Steam beer that was the brewery's claim to fame, but in the winter of 1972 they brewed and kegged the first modern interpretation of the porter, a dark and roasted flavored brew that was an 18th century English creation. Allegedly brewed for the street porters of London, the porter style of beer has a distinct flavor that contains strongly roasted malts and chocolate or coffee flavor notes. Some variants contain a sharp hop bitterness that contrasts with the heavily roasted grain flavor.²⁹ Anchor Porter only poured from tap handles throughout 1973, but by April of 1974 the brew was approved for bottling and begun appearing in bottle shops and restaurant menus throughout California, with some bottles going as far as the East Coast as of 1975.³⁰

Anchor would not stop with porter though. To celebrate the bicentennial of Paul Revere's famous ride through Boston on 18 April 1775, Anchor brewed their Liberty Ale. Ironically, the beer brewed to celebrate the call to arms against invading British soldiers in America was of English origin; inspiration for the brew struck Maytag and his staff as they toured famed English breweries in the early 1970s. Legendary beer writer Michael Jackson referred to Liberty Ale as 'a world classic', and historian Tom Acitelli goes so far to claim that it was 'quite possibly the most important beer of the late twentieth century'.³¹ There are several reasons as to why Liberty Ale holds such high esteem in the history of modern craft brewing. First, it was inspired by a style that was extinct in America, and falling out of favor with drinkers in the land where it originated. Second, the brew was aggressively hopped for the time, measuring a 47 on the International Bitterness Unit (IBU) scale.³² The beer was not popular upon release as the level of bitterness was appreciated by few drinkers. Even British drinkers remarked how Liberty was not true to stylistic guidelines. The body was too effervescent, it was not brewed in England, the yeast was American sourced, and it was flavored with American hops. However, this leads into the third point; Liberty

was flavored with distinctly American hops, the Cascade variety specifically.³³

It is important to distinguish between *flavoring* hops and *bittering* hops. In brewing there are typically two hop additions; the first is to bitter the sweet wort that has been created by boiling malted barley. By the 1970s the main United States bittering hop was a strain called Cluster, grown largely in the Yakima Valley in Oregon and the Willamette Valley in Washington. Cascade holds the distinction of being the first American produced flavoring hop, utilized to impart a unique flavor profile in the beer. It was created in response to a disease that plagued German hop farms in the late 1960s, and was given a boost in funding by the Coors brewing company when they purchased millions of pounds of Cascade hops, but abandoned their usage because they did not mimic the flavor of German Hallertauer hops that breweries such as Coors or Anheuser Busch typically used.³⁴ Anchor ended up using Cascade in bold fashion, adding them once during the primary brewing cycle, then giving the brew a second addition, referred to as dry-hopping. The resulting brew was a pale, tawny colored, with an intense and complex aroma that blended slightly spicy notes with grapefruit like aromas. Liberty Ale stands as the marriage of tradition and innovation; a truly Californian invention made possible by an old English beer style, an experimental hop variety, and the small brewery in San Francisco. Liberty was a masterpiece brew, but also ahead of its time. The beer sold poorly upon release in 1975, selling 530 cases worth by the end of the year.³⁵ American beer drinkers were unprepared to accept such a bitterly hopped beer; one can glean the attitudes of the market by advertising at the time. Schlitz of Milwaukee touted their beer as having 'just a kiss of hops, and none of the bitterness'.³⁶ Rheingold from New York proclaimed their beer as 'extra dry',³⁷ a buzz term of the time for a beer lacking assertive flavors.

While it could be claimed that Fritz Maytag only succeeded due to his family fortune, the years of constant debt, self-education, retrofitting, and persistent salesmanship stand as a testament to a work ethic and dedication that future craft brewers would need to succeed. Maytag stands as the first vanguard to the craft brewing industry, taking the proverbial first steps into uncharted waters for brewers in the 20th century. Small and independent breweries existed at the time, but none

helped define what craft would become, serving as the prototype for others who would not only be restoring an already existing brewery to unseen glory, but building one from the ground up.

L.A.'s undercover brewers

Estimating homebrewing in America in the 20th century is problematic, due to its illegality during and after Prohibition. While legislators had the foresight to legalize home winemaking, the federal restrictions on home brewing were never repealed. What the law denied was the spread of specialty knowledge and an open community to support the development of brewing skills outside of academia or commercial breweries. This did not stop a small group in suburban Los Angeles that gathered in a home winemaking shop from founding America's first homebrewing organization, the Maltose Falcons. While Maytag's Anchor represented the first resistance against the homogenization of brewing in America, the Falcons represent a second, vital chapter in the development of craft brewing as a market and cultural shift. For the men and women of the Falcons, they agreed that American beer tasted 'as if it were brewed though a horse'.³⁸ The homebrewers of Los Angeles were a mixed group of people from the outset; Merlin Elhardt, a founding member, was a utility company line-man who developed a taste for German beers while stationed with the U.S. Army, Orville Byrd was a former truck driver for bootleg beer during Prohibition, Tracy Grade was a teacher from Glendale who created her own wine as well as beer.³⁹ For these and the Falcons as a whole, the goal of founding a club was the spread of brewing knowledge on a smaller, community scale.

The group was formed in 1974 by six men who all shared a common interest in flavorful, different beers. One of the founding members, John Daume, owns a home winemaking shop in Woodland Hills, which served as the Falcons historic meeting place. Monthly meetings, demonstrations, ingredient purchases, and the formation of the community was formed in Daume's Home Wine and Cheesemaking Shop.⁴⁰ The group operated under relative secrecy in the first years, partly due to fear of prosecution for illicit brewing, and because no such communities existed in America at the time. Estimates in 1978 place roughly 3,000 homebrewers in Southern California, many with the ability to buy

books, equipment and ingredients; but the law forbid their use.⁴¹

The first newsletters of the group in 1978 illustrate the atmosphere of the organization and their desire for brewing knowledge. Merlin Elhardt writes in the March 1978 issue;

If you would like to try your hand with yeast decontamination, see John. He has, in his very own personal possession, information and materials for instigating a program of acidified ammonium persulfate decontamination. This is information that was made available to us by Professor Lewis of U.C. Davis and for which we are internally grateful.⁴²

The newsletters were written via a typewriter, and copied in few numbers for the Falcon members only. The chemical reaction Elhardt speaks of is for the treatment of yeast cells in a brewing mixture that may have been exposed to infection. Not a simple process, but seemingly worthwhile given that the information was obtained by a fermentation scientist at U.C. Davis, 400 miles to the north.⁴³ Also the end of the statement, 'internally grateful', alludes to the slightly secretive nature of obtaining and spreading the knowledge of brewing for home consumption. While the federal law against homebrewing was never enforced, the group took care to not broadcast their activities widely.

In 1979, any fears that the Falcons and other homebrewers may have had about legal ramifications was quelled when the Federal Government passed House Resolution 1337, removing the restriction on home beer making. According to the new law, all Federal restrictions on home brewing were removed for 200 gallons in a two adult household, or 100 gallons for a single adult household. The resolution was drafted by Senator Alan Cranston of California, and was campaigned for heavily by the Maltose Falcons. Lee Coe, a prominent Falcon and dubbed a 'California homebrew curmudgeon' by observers, personally met with Cranston throughout the drafting of the bill.⁴⁴ Along with help from the Home Wine Merchants Association, the Falcons helped conduct a petition campaign that Cranston brought forth before Congress, and effectively argued in favor of amending Federal law.⁴⁵ A relic of post-Prohibition law was defeated in the Legislative chamber, providing an encouraging nod to the nation's homebrewers.

The Maltose Falcons represent the second vanguard to the craft brewing industry, and the first community of homebrewers to legitimize the activity of brewing their own beer; the push to legalize their hobby had long reaching ramifications for beer in America. Having homebrewing open to the public increased the amount of knowledge that could be shared among active homebrewers. Accessing specialty knowledge of brewing in the 1970s or prior was difficult, but with legalization there were no barriers to gathering in public, publishing recipes, and purchasing dedicated brewing equipment. This in turn allowed homebrewers to take ownership of the brewing trade to a greater degree. Beer became a more democratic beverage when any American could produce their own; homebrewing was as much an expression of liberty during Prohibition as it was a sign that citizens just wanted something alcoholic to drink. The legalization of homebrewing, bolstered by the Falcons, was also reflected in the number of breweries increasing by the early 1980s. The 1979 bill, coupled with a later Californian bill allowing the sale of beer on brewery premises in 1982⁴⁶ mark the beginning of a trend toward more brewery openings than closings. The breakdown of legal barriers, beginning in California, was a key turning point to the increase of craft breweries opening throughout the nation.

The spread of knowledge

Other homebrewing clubs began at this time, the Falcon Newsletters refers to San Francisco organizations such as the San Andreas Malts and the Yeast Bay Brewers.⁴⁷ The group also maintained contact with Fred Eckhardt, author of America's first modern homebrewing guide, *A Treatise on Lager Beers*.⁴⁸ Eckhardt mentions that Eckhardt provided valuable information on homebrewing and specifically beer taste evaluation.⁴⁹ Flavor evaluation was all but unheard of outside of brewing labs by the 1970s, but it would go on to become a common feature of brewing competitions years later. Eckhardt himself was an Oregon native and well-known beer writer to the fledgling craft brewing community. His *Treatise* was a concise, detailed, and easy to follow guide for beginning homebrewers. The first two recipes he printed were for five gallon batches of 'Simple Beer' and 'Basic Steam Beer', a nod to San Francisco's contribution to American brewing. He later comments; 'It is a name with a fine old American tradition and we can be

proud of it', after listing the Anchor Brewery as the remaining producer of the style.⁵⁰ The gesture to Anchor was a result of Fritz Maytag leading a tour of his brewery for Eckhardt and Byron Burch, a Berkeley, CA, based homebrew shop owner and author of his own manual, *Quality Brewing: A Guidebook for the Home Production of Fine Beers*. Maytag spent three hours guiding the two through his brewery in 1975, discussing the production process and how it could be scaled down for home production. More than just an informative trip, the passing of knowledge from Maytag to Eckhardt and Burch would lead to a further dissemination of specialized brewing knowledge. It was a reasonable assumption on Maytag's part; more people interested in homebrewing would lead to more people consuming his commercially produced craft beer.⁵¹

Eckhardt's work and writings were largely based out of Oregon, but he frequently discussed events in California, including the efforts of homebrewing groups to legalize their hobby, the founding of the nation's first microbreweries in California, and even the movement of Lowenbrau production from Germany to the Van Nuys, California Anheuser Busch plant.⁵² He also followed closely the efforts of the Falcons, Maytag, and a small, but growing community of homebrewers and young microbreweries as they fought to repeal the Federal ban on homebrewing.

Alongside Eckhardt's writings on events within the young industry are the works of arguably the first beer journalist. Michael Jackson was known as the Bard of Beer for his keen wit and eloquent prose when discussing the beers of the world. Jackson made a career out of writing about beer worldwide, as well as popularizing the idea that beer should be designated to distinct styles based on geographic origin, ingredients, and unique production processes. His seminal work, *The World Guide to Beer*, published in 1977, was the first book dedicated to a mass survey of beer across the globe. Acitelli, in *The Audacity of Hops*, writes of Jackson's work; 'Beer in the twentieth century had its piper. Never again would budding brewers, critics, and connoisseurs be without a roadmap'. The book elevated beer journalism as a subject; pioneering wine and ale merchant Charles Finkel, who first began importing eclectic European ales to America in 1978, claimed that the *World Guide* 'was to me like a heathen discovering the Bible'.⁵³ In the 255-page book, a scant 14 pages are

dedicated to the United States; Belgium, Germany, and the British Isles all have over twice the coverage in his book. While the United States was the greatest producer of beer by volume in the world at the time, clearly we were not as noteworthy as the historic brewing nations of the world.⁵⁴ As an outside observer of brewing and beer consumption in America, Jackson had this to say about our countries brewing heritage;

Biggest can also mean fewest. For all its great output, the United States has little more than 50 brewing companies. ... Some of these breweries use a great many labels, but few of them produce more than three or four beers. Nor is biggest necessarily best. In the matter of beer, the citizens of America accept this caveat almost too readily. ... The differences between American beers might be better appreciated if, instead of being frozen into tastelessness, they were served at a more civilized temperature.⁵⁵

Jackson refers to the tendency of American beer to be served at temperatures well below 40 degrees Fahrenheit, where any particular flavors of a beer would be lost. The chapter on America covers four centuries of brewing history, to the status of homogeneity in production and consumption practices that dominated by the 1970s. As American beer went from a low point to an eventual revival, Jackson's commentary placed the industry in a historic and global perspective. His work raised a culinary consciousness about beer in America, giving the beverage respectability in the gastronomic cultural field. His writing on breweries throughout the world was among the most comprehensive and began placing brewing in America on par with wine in terms of discriminating consumption.⁵⁶ He ends his section on American brewing on an optimistic note; he tells the story of the Anchor Brewery, illustrated by a photo of Anchor in 1906. Jackson was aware that something special had taken place in the small brewery in San Francisco. Noting first with great detail that Anchor revived the steam beer, porter, barley wine in America, he concluded; 'the smallest brewery in the United States has added a whole new dimension to American brewing'.⁵⁷ While he was certainly correct that Anchor was treading long neglected ground in America, he was wrong about one thing: Anchor was not the smallest brewery in the nation, and it would not be the only Californian brewery to reshape the entire American brewing industry. That honor would have to be shared with a small garage brewer in Sonoma.

The boundless opportunity of New Albion

The name California conjured images of paradise for Europeans who dreamed of the bounty and good fortune the west coast held for those bold enough to take advantage of them. Akin to the mythical city of El Dorado, California drew people from around the world with only dreams and hopes to sustain themselves. Legendary English Seafarer Sir Francis Drake dubbed the area Nova Albion when he landed his ship, the *Golden Hind* in Northern California in 1579, north of the Golden Gate into San Francisco Bay.⁵⁸ In 1976, a seafarer named Jack McAuliffe would dub his endeavor New Albion as well. The name of his microbrewery in the hills of Sonoma was a dedication to Drake's landing, and to his time spent in the United States Navy as a nuclear submarine technician. McAuliffe was born in Caracas, Venezuela on an American Army base in 1945. After moving from base to base, his family settled in Fairfax, Virginia. As a teenager he exhibited a keen interest in welding, volunteering to assist a local metalworker before attending college in 1963. The following year he enlisted in the U.S. Navy, stationed in Dunoon, Scotland where he repaired and maintained Polaris class nuclear submarines. McAuliffe enjoyed the ales of Scotland while on leave from base, appreciating the flavors they exhibited.⁵⁹

In 1963, the British Government repealed all taxes on homebrewing, causing a growth in technical literature for potential homebrewers. McAuliffe found one of these books at a hardware shop and begun brewing his own beer. After leaving the service in 1969, he returned to college with the assistance of the GI Bill, graduating in 1971 with a degree in Engineering.⁶⁰ While working in optical engineering in Sunnyvale, California McAuliffe began studying brewing with help from Professor Michael Lewis from UC Davis; the same professor who assisted the Maltose Falcons of Los Angeles with technical knowledge for home brewing. The brewing literature of UC Davis was open to McAuliffe, whereby he learned the lessons taught by Louis Pasteur on microbiology; cleanliness and consistency would go hand in hand with quality ales, porters and stouts. Like Maytag before him, McAuliffe helped popularize the English heritage of ale.⁶¹ In an interview for the Sierra Nevada Brewing Company, McAuliffe comments on the experience of the first generation of craft brewers in America;

I realized when I came back to the United States; I wouldn't have these choices anymore. So the only way to get them would be to learn to brew my own beer. ... What distinguishes the early [craft] brewers was that they all knew how to weld; they could run machine shop tools, lathes, mills. They could do electrical work. If you go past a place that sells steel we would automatically hit the brakes and look for good pieces. Necessity was the mother of invention.⁶²

The New Albion Brewing Company was a small and austere venture, commanded by the tenacious McAuliffe and supported by of Suzy Stern and Jane Zimmerman, New Albion's early financial backers. The brewery would also gain further brewing talent through Don Barkley, a U.C. Davis graduate of the Fermentation Science program. Barkley recalls the experience working with New Albion and McAuliffe and the respect for the difficult process that goes into making clean, consistent, and good beer. The brewery utilized sloped floors with drains to rinse out waste water; and upon entering Barkley and McAuliffe stepped into buckets of sanitizer to purge potential infection from their work boots.⁶³ Without mechanical pumps to feed bittered wort into fermenters, the New Albion brewery utilized a gravity system, where tanks and vessels had to be hoisted by hand to feed into fermenters via metal tubes. The fermenters were repurposed 55-gallon Coca Cola syrup drums, fashioned by McAuliffe. All bottles were capped by hand, and labeled on a rebuilt 1910 semi-automatic labeler, rebuilt by McAuliffe. Ingredients, when hard to come by, were fortunately available through fellow brewers. In a gesture of goodwill and comradery, Fritz Maytag of Anchor brewing provided high quality malt from Bauer & Schweitzer, a firm based in San Francisco, to New Albion for their beers.⁶⁴ The generosity once provided to him by means of clean yeast in metal milk jugs from large regional breweries in Northern California was repaid to those who began their own small breweries.⁶⁵

The bottles of New Albion were adorned with the legendary *Golden Hind*, the ship of explorer Sir Francis Drake. In a style of labeling akin to Anchor's bold proclamation of locality and history, McAuliffe displayed the *Hind* entering the San Francisco Bay, flanked by sheaves of barley and rustic banners with 'New Albion Brewing Company Sonoma, California' written in classical script. The label is an expression of pride in locality and adventure for the future. Much like

Maytag's decision to bottle Anchor Brewing beers, New Albion resorted to bottling as it was the most cost effective solution to getting their particular brew to market. Further, the beer was bottle conditioned; this is a process by which living yeast cells continue to ferment sugars still present in the beer after primary fermentation, thus displacing oxygen with carbon dioxide and preventing flavor from deteriorating.⁶⁶ Such was New Albion's identity; doing things the hard way out of necessity. While McAuliffe and his crew took great pride in their product, boasting that it was more traditional and followed German Beer Purity laws,⁶⁷ their business model was not guaranteed to succeed.

Failed brewery, enduring legacy

While the bottle art was visually appealing, the bottles themselves proved to be a costly burden for the brewery. New Albion utilized returnable bottles that carried an additional deposit charge, returnable when brought back to the brewery. The cost of a 12oz bottle of New Albion ale was 67 cents for bar owners, who would in turn charge two dollars per bottle; more than the price of a six pack of Budweiser.⁶⁸ Much of the brewery's problems could be solved if they could open up a pub connected to the brewery, combining the production and sales under one roof. To do this though, the tied house laws of California had to be rewritten. The tied house was a result of post-Prohibition law making, forbidding the producer of alcohol from selling their product directly to the public. This arrangement necessitated the creation of a three tiered system of alcohol distribution that required an intermediary to act as the supplier to bars, restaurants and stores that carry liquor. Together with Anchor's Maytag and the California wine industry, hoping to boost tourism to wine growing regions in the state, the law was fought and repealed with the help of Assemblyman Tom Bates. In 1983, the California state legislature successfully passed Assembly Bill 3610, amending Section 23357 of the California Business and Professions Code relating to alcoholic beverages. Statewide, producers of beer could legally sell their products on the site of their production, or sell their products in a location that also served food. Known now as 'The Bates Bill', the new law allowed the explosive growth of microbreweries and brewpubs, first throughout California, and subsequently the rest of the country when other states followed this example.⁶⁹ Another relic

of post-Prohibition law had been discarded, further encouraging the young craft brewing industry.

The New Albion brewery was the third vanguard to the craft brewing movement in California, but it was short lived. McAuliffe and his team could not produce enough to remain profitable, and the vital changes necessary to save the brewery were too little and too late. In May of 1983 the New Albion Brewery shut down, due to financial strains and reportedly spoiled batches that no doubt incurred a heavy toll on such a small brewery.⁷⁰ The hand built equipment would be inherited by the Mendocino Brewing Company in Hopland, CA, along with Don Barkley and fellow New Albion brewer, Michael Lovett. Jack McAuliffe would join them for a short time, overseeing the installation of his old equipment; but soon making a quiet exit from Mendocino, and brewing altogether.⁷¹ For all of his effort and influence, McAuliffe eschewed any notoriety after New Albion failed. Only recently has he become recognized for his importance in the history of craft brewing. The two largest craft brewers in the nation, Sierra Nevada of Chico, CA, and the Boston Beer Company in Massachusetts, brewed a special release beer in honor of McAuliffe. In Boston, the brewery known for making Sam Adams, brewed a clone of the once extinct New Albion Pale Ale. At Sierra Nevada, founder Ken Grossman brewed a Black Barleywine that was a winter specialty of New Albion, created for holiday parties and friends of the Sonoma brewery.⁷² At the Russian River Brewery Pub in Santa Rosa, CA, the sign that once hung outside McAuliffe's shed now hangs on the brewpub wall, signed by McAuliffe in 2011. Bottles of New Albion Pale Ale, Stout and Porter accompany the sign, forming a small memorial to the first microbrewery in the nation.⁷³ As the craft brewing movement has evolved into something far bigger than McAuliffe ever could have imagined for New Albion, it is telling that the largest and prestigious craft brewers of the nation have taken the time to acknowledge the small shed that made very little beer in the hills of Sonoma. While New Albion was short lived, it showed many that a brewery could be built from the ground up in California, and the rest of the nation.

In 2012, Don Barkley joined beer journalist Jay Brooks and a fellow enthusiast in a YouTube video drinking 33 year old bottles of New Albion's ales. What should be a simple video of three men drinking beer holds a strong hidden message. No other beer produced in America

would be held for such a long time. The vintage ales are an absolute antithesis to standard American lagers. Where the light Adjunct Lager is pale, effervescent, simple, and fresh, the New Albion ales from over three decades ago were oily, dark, complex, and well beyond their intended drinking date. The beers are spoken of as though they are a fine wine, conjuring flavors of sherry or a fine brandy as they sip from their tulip glasses. These beers balance the simplicity and democratic nature of American beer, with the complexity and sophistication of fine wine.⁷⁴ As these beers matured and developed new and complex flavors within their bottles, so too did the brewing industry within the state. New generations of brewers would follow New Albion and Anchor, supported by a zeitgeist of countercultural consumption patterns that reshaped the consumer goods industry.

The torch of brewing is passed

Brewing is both a science and an art. To make an excellent beer, a brewer must have a complete grasp of water chemistry, yeast propagation, and many other chemical processes. They must also have a vision for flavors; a sense for how the water, grain, yeast, and hops will come together to create a brew worth enjoying. At the Van Nuys Anheuser Busch facility, or the Irwindale Miller brewery, or at the Los Angeles Pabst Brewing plant, brewers achieved one of the great feats in the art and science of making beer. Their beers were consistent; a Budweiser from Van Nuys tasted the same as it did in St. Louis, Newark, or Fairfield. The ability to brew the same beer, every day of the year, across the nation is truly a remarkable feat. It is the culmination of hundreds of years of American brewing heritage. The American Lager is a difficult style to brew as well. By nature the flavor of this beer is bland, plain, effervescent, crisp, and typically served cold. There are no distinct flavors for imperfections to hide behind; whereas one can miss a defect in an aggressively hopped India Pale Ale or strong Barleywine. Maytag and McAuliffe learned this lesson, putting the principles of clean and consistent brewing in effect with types of beer that a multibillion dollar brewing company would not dare produce.

As the first years of craft brewing progressed, there was little reason to think that these little breweries on the Pacific coast would do more than produce a niche product for an extremely small consumer base. But today,

any consumer walking down the beer aisle of their local market will see the long term effects of these first agents of change. Even the corporate macrobreweries produce wheat-ales, IPAs, and stouts, for the market now demands diversity. Historic brewing centers may have once had more than just a small selection of similar lagers, but California's breweries first pushed the wave of new brewing from West to East. The climate of California made it ready for the growth of craft brewing. Authenticity, like 'craft', is a nebulous term. It can mean many different things or nothing at all dependent on the context in which it is used. But the authenticity of early craft brewing in California was born on the backs of pioneers who were in the right place and time; the Golden State in the 1960s and 70s.

Chapter 4: Brave brew world

As of the end of 2014 over 500 individual breweries are now operating within California; with an additional 240 currently in planning stages. Over 3.4 million barrels of craft beer¹ emerged from these breweries, accounting for 16.8% market share in the state. These brewers contributed \$5.5 billion to the state economy in 2013.² What was once a marginal subcategory has become part of the mainstream in beer consumption, no longer boutique products that a select few enjoy. Further evidence of California's strong craft brewing segment is the expansion of western breweries to the east. Sierra Nevada Brewing of Chico has built a second facility in Mills River, North Carolina; producing an additional 200,000 barrels of beer per year from the East Coast. The Lagunitas Brewing Company of Petaluma expanded to Chicago, IL, the hometown of company founder Tony Magee. Stone Brewing of Escondido took the bold step of constructing a brewery in Berlin, Germany. Some called this particular move audacious at best, and insulting to the legendary brewing industry of Germany at worst.³ These movements from West to East demonstrate the financial and cultural strength of California's brewers. The continued success of the craft brewing industry hinges upon the production of consistent and flavorful beers, as well as a strong connection to the consumers via keen marketing and a clear brand identity. Californian brewers are distinct from their counterparts elsewhere in the nation due to the social climate the counter-industry developed within in its early stages. The current growth and success is the result of the founding conditions of this market segment.

Iconoclast businesses in California have reshaped the consumer goods market, taking cues from the social movements of the 1960s. An antithesis to the corporate macrobreweries at first, the brewing industry in California grew into a mosaic of unconventional and innovative businesses that appealed to consumers seeking distinction in their beer. Their contribution to the state economy is significant; employing over 45,000 directly and indirectly, as of 2012.⁴ Their social contribution, however, is not easily quantifiable. To illustrate the effects on beer in America, it is important to understand the environment the industry developed within, as well as concurrent businesses of the era. The seeds for emphatic change in the culinary, coffee, and computing world took place in California as the brewing industry went through the first stages of change. At the outset, these humble beginnings brought a sense of authenticity and closer connections between the producer and consumer. By advertising as 'authentic' products, breweries claim to be part of an oppositional sentiment that defies both mass-consumption and mass-production, creating what researchers of craft beer have called, a 'synergistic relationship between culture and commerce' that affirms ideals of local production, unconventionality, and traditional forms of production.⁵ As the industries grow to national prominence, they strive to maintain their 'authentic' credibility, the strong human connection that allows a non-mainstream business model based around a diverse and customized product family to survive. Economies of scale worked in their favor as well, smaller brewers never attempted to capture the consumer base that macrobrewers held so strongly; only a small percentage of consumers were needed to allow the now thousands of breweries to emerge throughout the nation. Furthermore, craft brewing has a greater social impact beyond the simple act of drinking a beer.⁶ Consuming these products is an act with political undertones; if producers claim a product is fair and ethically produced; this transmutes to the consumers dollars into a statement of support for the countercultural ideology to alternative production and consumption.

The countercultural condition

Counterculture in America has been described as 'an inherently unstable collection of attitudes, tendencies, postures, gestures, "lifestyles," ideals, visions, hedonis-

tic pleasures, moralisms, negations, and affirmations'.⁷ A key feature of counterculture in America is the dissemination of information that stood against the typical expectations of society. Newsletters, newspapers, pamphlets, flyers, and many other types of print media served as a call to action to young Americans disillusioned with the standards set by prior generations. The *Whole Earth Catalog* emerged in 1968 from this zeitgeist, but not as a propaganda piece of partisan politics. It served to give people direct power through tools and knowledge to live in greater harmony with the world they inhabit. Rather than buying food at the store, the *Whole Earth Catalog* informed readers how to grow and produce their own, or rather than rely on repairmen and mechanics to fix appliances or automobiles, it taught readers how to fix it themselves. The subtitle for the first *Catalog*, *Access to Tools*, illustrated a bold yet simple way of explaining the original philosophy behind the series. *The Catalog* was created by Stuart Brand in Northern California, who first drove his 'Whole Earth Truck Store,' a mobile lending library, to communes throughout Colorado and New Mexico. His 1963 Chevy served the needs of hippies, naturalists, and those who lived off-the-grid; the truck carried informational booklets, instruction manuals, and almanacs, as well as farming and repair tools that would empower individuals directly. A Stanford Alumni, Brand popularized Do It Yourself in the California hippie movement; less popular but just as vital to the ethos of the era that also celebrated sexual freedom and hallucinogenic experimentation.⁸ The *Catalog* embodied the 1960s culture of Northern California, coupled with a historic notion of individualistic empowerment and distrust of centralized power. While the era of pack wagons, boomtowns, and homesteading was long over, the ethos still weighed upon many Californians; the thought remained that industrialized processes can be done once again by hand.

One of the things the *Whole Earth Catalog* thought people could do better was making their own wine and beer. In the 1971 edition a section is dedicated to wine making and homebrewing, all while the production of beer was still illegal in the United States. An English recipe book is also offered for sale, with an excerpt of a dark stout recipe listed on page 245.⁹ The Anglo-culture invasion exemplified by the Beatles' U.S. tour in 1964, could also be felt in American brewing. Culture from abroad, appreciated by a willing American palate was then manipulated into a whole new identity. The new

breweries developing in the 1960s through the 1980s may not have been interested in Britpop or Mini Coopers, but they revived a long tradition of English ale production.¹⁰ Anchor Brewing did so in grand fashion with the development of the hoppy and bitter Liberty Ale, and their dark and malty Anchor Porter. New Albion Brewing took pride in using a legendary English ship as the symbol of their traditional English ales. Sierra Nevada Brewing embodied both the move to British styles of beer and the DIY spirit of counterculture of California. Before constructing their brewery from recycled and repurposed equipment, current CEO and founder Ken Grossman operated a small farm with his wife Katie. Their pursuits in animal husbandry and cooperative farming with fellow Chico residents was in the spirit of what Brand and his *Catalog* supported. Further, the first Sierra Nevada recipes brewed for sale were an English styled stout and pale ale, albeit with an American interpretation.¹¹ While there is no evidence that Grossman or other prominent California brewers used the *Whole Earth Catalog*, the spirit of the era gave brewers faith enough to pursue their passion into a business.

Tech tinkers, coffee roasters, and the roots of authenticity

In 1975, Steve Wozniak would step into a garage in Menlo Park where he met a group of fellow hobbyists and computer programmers. In this first meeting he would be inspired to create the Apple I along with his High School friend, Steve Jobs. The invitation read; '... you might like to come to a gathering of people with like-minded interests. Exchange information, swap ideas, talk shop, help work on a project, whatever ...'¹² The group called themselves the Homebrew Computer Club. While they never brewed beer, they would go on to change the way consumers understood computers. They helped make the highly concentrated computer industry democratic by spurring the development of low cost, user-friendly personal computers. The word 'homebrew', appearing as early as 1975, signifies the idea of 'doing it themselves' was synonymous with home beer production. Wozniak and Job's Apple Computers became a multinational giant, comparable in reach to the companies whose practices they stood against. In the case of computing, IBM stood as the ideological opposite to the tinkers who created the Apple I, and the much more successful Apple II. Apple

grew exponentially on the dollars of consumers who wanted the *cool* and *authentic*, a product that was democratizing yet fashionable. As the company grew the founders realized the impact was more than just in computer design; ‘... we were revolutionaries. Big Companies like IBM and Digital Equipment didn’t hear our social message’. Wozniak recalls; ‘They looked at what we were doing and said they would just remain toys. And a relatively minor business. They didn’t imagine how they could evolve’.¹³

The computer hobbyists in the Menlo Park garage were primarily tinkerers, dissatisfied with the state of personal computing that major companies like IBM created. Their growth as a company began through having a user friendly and affordable commodity that consumers would support on the merits of their computers alone. Their growth into an international computer company had more to do with marketing than design though. The humble origin of the Apple brand imbues the product with cultural capital, and Apple products inspired a strong cult following from it. The later branding of the company follows the counter cultural beginnings; clearly illustrated by the 1984 Superbowl Macintosh commercial. A lone woman throws a sledgehammer into the visual representation of George Orwell’s ‘big brother,’ smashing the screen he inhabits and freeing the bald headed, emotionless drones that were once entrapped by the status quo. This homage to the book *1984* positions Apple Computers as the antithesis to homogeneity of other brands of computers. The message of this single ad resonated with consumers, three days after airing over 3.5 million dollars were spent on Apple Macintosh computers within the first six hours of their release, and back orders were taken for 1 million additional units. The promotion was a masterstroke of advertising; angering and encouraging computer users across the nation; most importantly, it promoted a conversation of ideology and how it relates to consumer products.¹⁴

The fans of the company possess an almost religious dedication to Apple products. Marketing positions the Apple series of computers as the ‘third apple of knowledge’ for humanity. First came the forbidden fruit of knowledge in the Garden of Eden, second was Newton’s apple and the symbolism of discovering modern science. Apple computers are the third in this series of progress, and Steve Jobs was the prophet of the person-

al computer revolution. IBM, and later Microsoft, were the forces that pushed mediocrity and blandness in the computer industry. Despite the heavily loaded imagery of the conflict between Apple and their competitors, the connection between the company and the consumers encouraged a following of computer users to provide their support of the brand. This company philosophy and fan following comes from the simplest tagline the company has used in marketing, ‘Think Different’.¹⁵ In a 2005 Commencement Speech at Stanford University, Steve Jobs related to the students wise words he once read on the back of the last *Whole Earth Catalog*. Words heeded consciously or inadvertently by the entrepreneurs of other California industries, and were the progenitor to the ‘think different’ philosophy; ‘Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish’.¹⁶ California proved to have plenty of foolish and hungry homebrewers, only of a more traditional sort.

Selling the ‘Cool’ - The Pacific Northwest and Starbucks

Another kind of brewing was taking cues from the counterculture movement in California. Starbucks Coffee has become a multinational conglomerate that looks little like the small roasting house it began in a Pike’s Place, Seattle storehouse. The inspiration for Starbucks began with Peet’s Coffee in Berkeley. The founders, Jerry Baldwin, Gordon Bowker, and Zev Siegel, found inspiration in Albert Peet’s artisanal coffee shop in Berkeley, CA. Baldwin, the primary founder, was a student of the University of San Francisco in the mid-1960s. First inspired to cook meals from scratch by watching Julia Childs’ television series, he later scoured the San Francisco Bay Area in what could be called a ‘post-hippie-foodie’ adventure.¹⁷ Starbucks, in the beginning, was an attempt at ‘authentic’ coffee. Baldwin and his partners wanted to be a part of the same offbeat yet high quality coffee market as Peet’s in Berkeley. The spirit of California cuisine was the ‘authentic’ Baldwin experienced when he stepped foot into Peet’s Coffee House; ‘when you walked into Peet’s, you heard that Dutch accent, and the place smelled great ... No question, this was authentic’.¹⁸ Such ventures did not reject the act of consumption as a form of identity making, but they eschewed the mainstream interpretations of American practices of consumption. In the case of coffee beans,

high cuisine, and brewing, a West Coast Style was materializing, and the epicenter was the San Francisco Bay Area.¹⁹

Authenticity is a nebulous term; its exact definition is difficult to pin down. Yet it is an aura that Starbucks attempts to embody; with a diversity of choice, comfortable surroundings, a color motif of green and brown, and the raw olfactory appeal of roasted coffee grounds. The meteoric rise of Starbucks from a small coffee bean roaster to multinational giant is counter to what the founders originally envisioned. The first Pikes Place Market storefront once provided free cups of coffee and educational lectures on how to prepare beans for brewing. The primary customers of this small business were initially affluent and educated seventies era professionals, those with 'a desire for authentic and informed consumption' in post-hippie Seattle.²⁰ Customers chose smaller over bigger, quality over quantity, and went through inconvenience to purchase their coffee over a can of Folgers at the supermarket.²¹ Baldwin pushed for a counter consumerist character of his small brand, but the company had begun to change in 1982. Howard Shultz, a former coffee equipment salesman, became the marketing manager for Starbucks, and began pushing for changes that would expand the company to the current dominance it holds today. With the introduction of trendy Italian espresso and coffee by the cup sales, the company began to expand. Shultz capitalized on the appeal of something foreign like espresso to the wants of discerning consumers; such drinks appeared more exotic and authentic than an average American cup of coffee. Starbucks appeal grew, but Baldwin's support deteriorated. The company had moved from the paradigm set by Peet's into territory that strayed far from the original vision. In 1983 chance would bring Baldwin back to Peet's after Alfred Peet opted to sell his company in 1979. Facing heavy debt, and torn between the coffee house that inspired him, and the one he created, the Starbucks founder sold his company to Howard Shultz, who aggressively expanded the market footprint of Starbucks in the 1980s and 90s.²²

Whether or not the company has retained their authenticity is a matter of personal opinion, but their ubiquity throughout the world would indicate that something has drawn millions of customers to integrate Starbucks as their coffee of choice. The primary similarity between the two brewing industries is their origins in the Pacific

Northwest, and the importance of place in marketing the respective beverages. The specialty coffee industry prides itself on its Seattle origins; such has the industry become synonymous with the regional identity of the city. Brewing companies exhibit the same glorifying behavior of their hometowns, celebrating their locality as a marker which consumers can rally behind. Starbucks is in no way a local-only brand, like many independent coffee shops throughout the nation; no more than the largest craft breweries can claim to be a local brewery when compared to the thousands of relatively smaller brewing companies that distribute to smaller markets by necessity. But the companies still appeal to the allure of buying small and local; by associating their brand with a region or a specific city, touching a nerve in the consuming public for locally produced and handcrafted products.²³ The coffee of Seattle and the beers of California remodeled the beverages millions of American's drink, growing from niche market to nationwide phenomena with the backing of new and diverse products and savvy marketing.

Food and beer [revolution] pairings

The transmission of culinary heritage from foreign nations to California is a theme in gastronomic culture that Maytag's Anchor Brewing tapped for their products. While he was reinterpreting old European styles of beer, restaurants like Chez Panisse were introducing the *haute cuisine* of France in Northern California. The social movements of the 1960s that espoused multicultural values and new norms of behavior led to consumer movements in the 1970s. California was the social testing lab for a culinary revolution that would reverberate throughout the USA. While isolated territories such as a Chinatown or Little Italy in major population centers generally house ethnic foods, widespread acceptance of varying culinary heritages had not existed for mainstream Americans.²⁴ California led the way in a new understanding of gastronomy in America. Former chef and culinary researcher Joyce Goldstein refers to the phenomenon of food as 'California cuisine'. Where Chinese, Italian, or French food heritage developed over centuries and in many different locations, California cuisine was the synthesis of various cultures in a way that was both innovative and traditional. Joyce argues that California cuisine developed in the restaurant industry of the state, supported by the diverse ethnic

populace, well-traveled and educated restaurateurs, and the fertile soils of the farmlands.²⁵

Fritz Maytag understands the timing of Anchor's renewed success and the food Renaissance in California, he comments in an interview;

I would argue that, in America, we have not just political freedom and religious freedom and economic freedom, we have cultural freedom. In Italy they eat Italian food, in America we eat any food we want.²⁶

The food revolution in California and the advent of a unique cuisine within the state would take multiple forms and lead to many new features of American gastronomy. Before the 1960s, one would be hard pressed to find farm fresh vegetables, extra virgin olive oils, cuts of Italian cured meats, pungent French cheeses, or fresh herbs and spices at their local supermarket. The same is true of Stouts, Porters, India Pale Ales, Barley Wines, and Saisons. The entrepreneurial spirit of those counter-cultural culinary icons who opened their own French or Italian restaurant in California is not unlike those who comprised the early craft brewing pioneers. Open-minded restaurateurs and brewers, with a sense of adventure and desire to create something that is lacking in society, acted as the antithesis to a simplistic consumerism that seeks bland flavor and instant gratification. Ironically, the state that gave the world McDonalds, the iconic prototype of multi-national fast-food corporations, also supports numerous examples of the opposite business model. Though it may also be fitting; for the yin and yang of consumption patterns do constitute the whole. While one Californian can indulge in Confit de Canard atop a fresh spinach salad with balsamic vinaigrette from an *haute cuisine* establishment, another can order one of the 247 billion hamburgers proudly served by McDonalds.²⁷ The same holds true in the brewing industry. One could enjoy a bottle of Liberty Ale from the original 530 cases released by Anchor in 1975, or a can of Miller Lite, which sold 70 million cases in 1976.²⁸

The language of the culinary movement in California would also reflect in the way craft breweries saw themselves in the shadow of corporate macrobreweries. In *World of Mouth*, sociologist Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson analyzes the various ways a dedicated gastronomic lexicon imparts different experiences for the

consumer. She states in her introduction; 'cultural forms have their specificity. Each has its own public, follows its own rules, uses idiosyncratic methods, and makes a singular appeal'.²⁹ Words like *locavore*, *artisanal*, *rustic*, and *traditional* became common adjectives to describe the food revolution as it was taking place in California. The word, *craft*, is another of these words, as it relates to the shift in brewing that occurred in California, it falls between a catch-all marketing buzzword and a clear demarcation of production philosophy. The brewers at Anheuser-Busch or Miller certainly *crafted* their own products, and the historic breweries of Germany, Belgium, and England certainly could lay claim to themselves having crafted beers. In the American beer market, foreign beers were exotic treats in the 1960s, enjoyed by those with middle to upper class incomes. While domestic craft brews benefitted from the proliferation of European styled beers, their development as an internal industry was more than what one *Business Week* article called 'Snob Suds'.³⁰ Early artisanal beers were certainly compared to canned corporate lagers, but these young breweries were surrounded by a community of homebrewers and beer enthusiasts, typically of middle class means. While part of the early allure of small batch, locally produced beer was the public perception of it as a more dignified product, many began drinking craft beer for the simple appreciation of a complex and flavorful product, much like they would with local and artisanal food.

Growth and leadership in the West

While Apple, Starbucks, and Sierra Nevada Brewing have grown into multinational businesses, they desire to cling to their pioneering first days, where they were product driven companies out of necessity. Profit and growth could not be built on inferior products in the industries that these three businesses took part in, Apple built an affordable, user friendly personal computer, Starbucks roasted flavorful and complex beans, and Sierra Nevada helped popularize classic beer styles with a distinctive twist in sharper flavors. All companies offered a quality product from which small empires were built, buttressed by a devoted fan following. But where Sierra Nevada differs from these other companies is that it is a privately held business, not publically traded. The company can boast that its success is driven by those who work directly with the brewery, and not by

shareholders who are more likely to respond to market forces rather than shape them. Sierra Nevada is the largest independent brewer in California, and second in the nation behind the Boston Beer Company. Sierra Nevada has never resorted to the practice of contract brewing as Boston Beer utilized upon opening in 1985.³¹ Sierra Nevada's growth in the modern beer market, without utilizing other brewers to produce their beer, a limited marketing budget, and remaining a family owned business since opening nearly 35 years ago, is impressive. The frequent positive press of the company in trade journals and business editorials is a testament to the enduring success the company still enjoys.³² But perhaps some of the highest praise for Sierra Nevada comes from Charlie Papazian, the sagely Colorado based homebrewer, author of *The Complete Joy of Homebrewing*, and the current president of the Brewers Association.

Their production is nearing 600,000 barrels ... and their products have every bit of the 'microbrewing' integrity with which they began in 1981. This is not only a tribute to Sierra Nevada Brewing Company, but also to what passion for beer and brewing has done for our American beer culture.³²

The company philosophy has been geared toward the production of a diverse collection of high quality beers. In an interview conducted with Grossman, he considers the effect California had on the craft brewing movement;

California is a pretty progressive place, it was the birthplace of high end wine making, and a lot of food trends have come out of the Bay Area, now Southern California, to a lesser degree as well, so from a place in the country where progressive things happen, the west coast, Portland, Seattle, San Francisco, it's logical that the craft movement would have started here because of a lot of those progressive trends. That's not to say places like New York or Chicago have things going on, but I think Californians are a little more adventurous, a little more ahead of the curve.³³

Although establishing his brewery 15 years after the beginnings of the craft-brewing industry, Grossman was well ahead of the curve. Experimenting with homebrewing as a rebellious teenager, and owning his own homebrewing shop in the mid-1970s, the future CEO of Sierra Nevada was well acquainted with California's early movements into new brewing territo-

ry. From the homebrewing community of Los Angeles suburbs of his youth to touring Anchor in San Francisco and pilgrimaging to New Albion as a young adult; Grossman's life shows a clear trajectory to his eventual leadership in the California brewing industry.³⁴ The company name comes from Grossman's daughter and her namesake, the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Their flagship beer, the Sierra Nevada Pale Ale, is a hoppier version of the classic English pale ale. Their initial line up consisted of a Porter and Stout as well, which Grossman claims was inspired by late 19th and early 20th century English brewers; John Smith's Brewery of Tadcaster, England is listed as a specific example.³⁵ The same inspiration drove Jack McAuliffe to brew similar beers at New Albion Brewery, and the Porter and Liberty Ale of Maytag's Anchor Brewing. The tradition of ale brewing never ceased in England, and the revival of ale production in California has only served to expand the production of the family of style beers in the 20th century.³⁶

The identity that Sierra Nevada created for itself hinges upon their quality control and commitment to production over marketing. When the craft brewing industry contracted in the mid-1990s observers felt the root cause were opportunistic investors breaking into a growing industry without proper training or quality control. While growth in this segment has never ceased, a slowdown in growth is taken as a critical warning that something is wrong with the industry. Grossman seems to think so as well, in a separate interview, he recalls

I'm one of the people who pointed to various reasons why they think it slowed down before. Was it too many non-authentic beers and breweries out there? A lot of contract brewing? I think people were turned off by the lack of authenticity and also the lack of quality coming from a lot of the breweries that were around in those days. They had some challenges producing consistent beer. I think that caused, somewhat, the lack of growth for a number of years in the industry.³⁷

Fears that the entire market segment could collapse stem from this first drop in the mid-1990s. Brewers like Grossman fear that craft brewing will contract again and lose vital market share amid the constant struggle with the two powerful brewing houses in America, Anheuser Busch InBev and MillerCoors. However, the burst bubble that Grossman and many other brewers survived

proved to be a separation of wheat from chaff; which may have been helpful to the industry in the long run, a hard lesson that showed the fragility of craft brewing. Financial opportunism drove many to start up their own breweries, but it could not be the sole motivating factor; the beer must be good for a brewery to survive.³⁸

It is difficult to produce a single batch of high quality beer. To do so repeatedly on a daily basis for distribution across the nation is exponentially more difficult. The first generations of craft brewers were largely known as micro, or boutique breweries out of necessity, and they understood the need to have consistent batches in order to survive against macrobreweries. A common comparison was that the largest brewing facilities of Anheuser Busch or Miller spilled more beer in a brewing day than a single microbrewery could produce all year.³⁹ The biggest breweries of America once showed neither a glance nor concern about craft brewers, but a recent Super Bowl Commercial signals a concern that Anheuser Busch InBev is taking the counter-industry seriously. Craft brewers are lampooned as ‘Fussing’ over their ‘Pumpkin Peach’ beers, and Budweiser is celebrated as the definitive choice of beer drinkers. ‘Proudly Macro’ they proclaim, in an attempt to destigmatize the term to the American public.⁴⁰ According to the Brewers Association the national production of craft beer in 2013 was 7.8% of the entire industry, and worth 14.3% in dollar amount.⁴¹ The definition of Small, Traditional, and Independent works perfectly with Sierra Nevada’s early years; brewing 1,500 barrels of beer in a small warehouse property. Even by 1988, when the brewery broke 12,000 barrels of beer per year, the company was still small enough to not offend any beer critic definition of craft or authentic. Currently though Sierra Nevada has brewed over 800,000 barrels of beer, using two major production facilities, and can be purchased in all 50 states and abroad. It would not be remiss to think that Sierra Nevada has breached the desired limits of what a craft brewery should be. However, the Brewers Association’s definition of what makes a craft brewer is malleable, and the company serves as the best example of a pioneering brewery with both ambitious growth patterns and the respect of artisanal beer consumers; the loyal following that supports Sierra Nevada even as it continues to grow.⁴² A strong brand identity is vital for a large brewery to stay relevant to the more hardcore beer consumer, but accessible for new customers. Two options for consumer appeal

exist; in one path, a brewery could release extremely complex, rare, and expensive beers that will only appeal to consumers with a highly discerning palate. These breweries may also limit their bottle releases to members of a reserve society or limit the amount of bottles released to specific market areas. On the other hand, a brewery could choose to release relatively uncomplicated beers, with a wider array of choices; of which none would offend the palate of a new consumer. There is variation to this pattern, and with proper resources and equipment, a brewery can straddle the line between highly experimental and safely traditional. Large craft breweries like Sierra Nevada have the resources to create innovative products, such as their Ovila Abbey Ales,⁴³ but still produce reliable flagship⁴⁴ beers like their Pale Ale *en masse*. This stratum of product diversity allows Sierra Nevada and other California breweries to generate appeal among consumers with a higher cultural competence with beer, but not becoming incomprehensible to those lacking an intricate understanding of the most complex beers in their product portfolio. The flagship beers of craft breweries are the first level of understanding that connoisseurs use to develop their palate.

Where Anchor Brewing and New Albion were the first generation of craft brewers in California, Sierra Nevada ushered the beginning of a new breed of brewers. The craft brewing community grew despite the oligopoly that formed around the national brewing industry. The driving businesses of this counter-industry are continuing to shape American beer culture in ways that reverberate from West to East.

New generation and homebrewing connections

The fact is, all the great breweries out there today no doubt got their start making small, 5-gallon batches in their kitchen, backyard, garage, or wherever. ... Greg and I put in a lot of homebrewing time before we opened Stone [Brewing].⁴⁵

Though it is the largest, Sierra Nevada is but one example of breweries with a strong connection to homebrewing in the state.⁴⁶ The vast majority of brewers in California, and the nation for that matter, began from garages and small brewing pots atop a propane burner. California has a historic role in the development of home-brewing in America. The early presence of the

Maltose Falcons in Los Angeles and the spread of brewing knowledge through writers like Fred Eckhardt, and scholars from institutions like U.C. Davis led the first charges into the development of a nationwide homebrewing community. Charlie Papazian's *The Complete Joy of Homebrewing* is another key publication that inspired many to take up the hobby; led by the credo 'relax, don't worry, have a homebrew'.⁴⁷ The repeal of the Federal law against homebrewing, spearheaded by Californian brewers and politicians, was a boon to the young industry. The homebrewing clubs of California, with their tasting sessions, judging panels, and competitions, make up the inner circle of the beer community knowledge, where professional brewers test their skill before taking their creations to the market. In San Diego, the Quality Ales and Fermentations Fraternity (QUAFF) is a famous homebrewing group that has graduated several members to become highly successful brewery owners. These include Skip Virgilio of AleSmith and Vinnie Cilurzo of Russian River, and the Ballast Point Brewing Company began as the Homebrew Mart north of Downtown San Diego.⁴⁸

Iconoclast brewing and marketing

I don't want to pretend I'm in anyway special, but it's a fascinating time. If we don't fuck it up, a lot of these beers will still be made 50 years from now, and they'll be the popular American beers, probably ten times the size they are now. And I'll be long dead.⁴⁹

Like many breweries, Lagunitas Brewing Company was founded by someone who wanted to love their job. Tony Magee started the company in 1993, looking for an escape from the drudgery of his work in advertisement printing. With limited resources, a strained marriage, and a homebrewing kit, he began producing a beer that would become the DogTown Pale Ale. When Lagunitas began reaching a larger market share⁵⁰ the company made their IPA as the flagship of the company, a risky maneuver in the brewing industry. There is an idea that startup craft breweries must have a beer that is not so bold as to offend the sensibilities of consumers who never experienced anything outside of corporate beer. In 1987, the Bolt Brewing Company of San Diego made an IPA their flagship beer, but went out of business two years later due to lack of sales. Karl Strauss, now a staple of the San Diego brewing industry, begun

by releasing a Vienna Lager and a Red Ale in 1989.⁵¹ Both were distinctively different than that of the Budweiser or Miller Lites of the time, but not so different that they shocked the consumers of San Diego. Each region of the state and their drinking populace are amicable to different trends in brewing. In 1987, an IPA could not be a San Diego brewery's flagship beer, but in mid-1990s Marin County, the Lagunitas Brewery found success with their gamble. Their marketing philosophy is based on comical self-effacement and unorthodox advertising. One of their company mottos; 'We Suck', is a humorous self-analysis that makes light of the self-importance many breweries ascribe to themselves. Their logo, a pitbull with soft eyes named Gypsy, was used distinctively in several ways. It is a lampoon of the Spuds McKenzie Bud Light ads of the 1980s; and the breed, typically seen as overly aggressive and undesirable, appears approachable and friendly.⁵² The company also accepts the strong marijuana culture of Northern California, and named one of their beers 'Kronik' in reference to marijuana; and another 'Undercover Shut Down Ale' to commemorate an attempted drug raid on the brewery in 2005 that employees fondly recall as a humorous moment in the company's colorful history.⁵³ Lagunitas has built a strong following and continues to grow in size and influence, and the consumer appeal comes from the perception that the brewery is carefree, comical, and produces what they dub, 'Doggone Good Beers'.⁵⁴

While the North has Lagunitas, Stone Brewing is an undeniable force in the Southern California brewing market. Their 'Arrogant Bastard' method of marketing resonates well with the image of an iconoclastic brewery, eschewing the homogeneity of mass produced American beer with zeal and enthusiasm. A quote from Pierre Bourdieu's 1979 work, *A Social Critique on the Judgment of Taste*, astutely sheds light on Stone Brewing's marketing outlook;

Tastes (i.e., manifested preferences) are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference. It is no accident that, when they have to be justified, they are asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes. In matters of taste, more than anywhere else, all determination is negation; and tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by the horror or visceral intolerance ('sick-making') of the tastes of others.⁵⁵

Compare these words, with what Stone has to say about their popular Arrogant Bastard Strong Ale, printed on the back of their bottles,

This is an aggressive beer. You probably won't like it. It is quite doubtful that you have the taste or sophistication to be able to appreciate an ale of this quality and depth. We would suggest that you stick to safer and more familiar territory -maybe something with a multi-million dollar ad campaign aimed at convincing you it's made in a little brewery, or one that implies that their tasteless fizzy yellow beer will give you more sex appeal. Perhaps you think multi-million dollar ad campaigns make a beer taste better. Perhaps you're mouthing these words as you read this.⁵⁶

Bourdieu wrote of differentiating levels of taste, and the ability of a select few in society to appreciate an artistic creation over a baser substitution. While *A Social Critique of Taste* argued primarily for higher levels of society to be able to appreciate the refined and higher works of art, the brewing industry is not isolated to those with a six figure income; Stone, however, argues that it is isolated from those unable to appreciate a bold and complex beer. It is incredibly effective marketing tactic, as it emboldens the faithful to the company and challenges newcomers to try a new product. A prominent homebrewer from QUAFF comments on the perception of Stone in the community;

My thoughts on Stone are ... they have done a lot for the craft beer industry. I think that my own personal opinion is that they are really strong in marketing. Greg Koch is a Marketing Graduate from USC. He's responsible for looking at the market and where they can go to sell beer. I think to some extent, there is somewhat of a jaded view within the community [of homebrewers] from that perspective. They don't win as many awards as some of the other breweries, like Coronado, Ballast Point, Karl Strauss, but they are still very successful. Greg is willing to push things, willing to be edgy, he'll do things his way whether anybody likes it or not, and you have to respect the guy for that.⁵⁷

The fact that the brewery is so successful with an abrasive outlook is evidence that consumers actively seek a product that sets them apart from other consumers, such that they willingly accept the Arrogant Bastard marketing and learn to appreciate beers so flavorful that

bottles warn the consumer before drinking of the brew's intensity. For the first generation of brewers in California to stand out against macrobreweries, they simply needed to survive. Now they openly proclaim and market off of their antithetical character. Devoted Stone customers celebrate the brash marketing, for they feel that they carry the level of distinction necessary to enjoy an Arrogant Bastard of a Beverage.

For the good of the drinkers, for the good of the public

I enjoyed beer as far back as I could remember, from free beers while working in restaurants to enjoying the samples I would get while working with a distributor. It's an alcoholic beverage of moderation, a social lubricant. It's always been at the heart of most communities, and I just thought it was cool, from a historical point of view and a sociological point of view.⁵⁸

What the craft brewing industry has done for beer consumption in America goes beyond expanding product differentiation. It possesses two unique properties to effectively change the culture surrounding beer consumption across the nation. The first change is in the manner in which people consume the product. Macrobrewed American light lagers, as a homogenized product, serve to alienate customers from the source of their creation. In the vein of Marx's thoughts on industrialized production alienating workers from the fruit of their labor, industrialized consumption separates the buyer from an appreciable connection to their product. Regular consumers of a macro-produced beer rarely understand how such products are made; nor do they know individuals who were involved in the production process. The popularity and market dominance of these beers does not equate to a meaningful personal relationship with the product. On the contrary, craft brewers actively pursue a closer relationship with their customers. This is based on locality, strong brand identity, and a strong personal presence on the part of the producers with their customers. Personal guided tours through craft breweries are common throughout all of California's large craft brewing facilities, and in many of the smaller ones. In these spaces, production and consumption meet face to face, creating a personal relationship between the brew and imbibor. The brewers themselves are commonly found on site and openly discuss their work with patrons. The spirit of local

brewing has returned in America, although their character reflects contemporary values. 19th century German-American bier-gardens, English pubs, and working-class saloons constituted an accepted form of public drinking; but they were bound by values of male dominance and relatively strong ethnic isolation.⁵⁹ Modern venues for public drinking, especially of craft beer, are multicultural and readily allow the presence of women. While still perceived as a male dominated industry, craft brewing has seen the rise of women as consumers and brewers. The Lost Coast Brewery of Eureka is among the first in the nation to be wholly owned and managed by two women, Barbera Groom and Wendy Pound. Their brewery is one of the major economic contributors to Humboldt County, providing full-time work for over 150 people in the city.⁶⁰ Two of the first breweries to break into the Los Angeles markets were founded by women; Ting Su with the Eagle Rock Brewery, and Cyrena Nouzille of the Ladyface Alehouse and Brasserie. Both establishments host women's beer groups that promote female participation in the brewing community, and are also highly respected establishments in the Los Angeles brewing community. Nouzille, and Su's co-founder and husband Jeremy Raub are prominent alumni of the Maltose Falcons as well. While the Los Angeles craft beer boom is a relatively late addition, they are proving that this counter-industry can take root in a county that is notoriously inhospitable to smaller businesses.⁶¹ While the craft brewing industry still has progress to make in completely democratizing itself, the efforts of Nouzille and Su, along with prominent female brewers like Devon Randall of Pizza Port and Alexandra Nowell of Three Weavers, show that women can become accepted and respected members of the brewing community.⁶²

The second change that craft beer has created for the American beer drinker is the revitalization of public and communal drinking. While not completely reversing the Post-Prohibition trend of sending drinking from the saloon to the home, gains have been made in restoring dignity to public drinking establishment; and creating new opportunities to enjoy beer in public. The proliferation of specialty beer bars, and craft beer tap handles at other drinking establishments indicates the discernable success of alternatives to the standard American Light Lagers. There is a closeness to an artisanal produced beer that can be achieved, where those who drink it

claim to truly appreciate the flavor impact of the malt, hops, and yeast. The combinations of these ingredients create categories that drinkers self-ascribe to; a 'Hop-Head' is a consumer who prefers highly bitter and resinous India Pale Ales, whereas others prefer Belgian-styled beers. Still more may prefer darker stouts and porters, or a more recent trend to barrel aged and sour beers. The sublevels of self-identification run deeply into the drinker's sense of self.⁶³ In an article on craft-consumption, sociologist Colin Campbell describes the desire to affiliate with a given product,

That is to say, they might come to desire some small corner of their everyday existence to be a place where objects and activities possess significance because they are regarded as unique, singular or even sacred.⁶⁴

Campbell spoke not of beer in his research, but his insight on discerning consumption patterns can easily be applied to the modern beer drinker. In a community where beer is both consumed and produced, where drinkers are involved in the design and creation of a product, where production comes from and is connected to the homebrewing community, the term 'craft' is surely appropriate. The craft 'producer' designs and creates a product, not separating the two. The craft 'consumer' takes these products and transforms them into humanized objects, part of their self-identity. Homebrewers have the strongest case for association with the industry, as they too are informed of, and participate in the production process. Those who do not homebrew are still involved in 'craft' consumption when they visit the sites of production, take in interest in the creative process, and forge their own connection with the craft brewing industry. Beer festivals are a recent manifestation of the connection between production and consumption. Channeling the communal drinking of centuries ago, beer fests put visitors in common grounds to taste and discuss the topic at hand. Those who visit are of all stations of society, young and old, ethnically diverse, and a balance of male and female participants.

Craft beer is both a tool of self-identity and community making. As breweries continue to open up they will provide jobs to communities, locations of congregation, and a product that acts as a point of contact between consumers to share, appreciate, and discuss. Craft brewing itself is not the rejection of consumer capital-

ism, but it does stand against uniform and standardized consumption. As Campbell states, 'craft consumption is important because of the opportunity it presents for the manifestation of similar valued human qualities'.⁶⁵ The values of Californian culture meshed with an emerging counter-culturally based market segment that grew into a social and economic force that is actively shaping the global brewing industry today. German and English brewers now attempt to emulate the styles pioneered in California; Japanese restaurants now seek brews from Anchor or Stone Brewing.⁶⁶ The West Coast style not only moved from coast to coast, but it crossed oceans as well. Of course the transmission of brewing culture is not a one directional phenomena, an exchange of ideas took place that allowed the dissemination of new ideas about brewing. The social and business climate of California proved flexible enough to allow that exchange to take place in the Golden State.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Diversity in the market place is a rejuvenating influence. Much like biodiversity, where in a multitude of species in a given environment provide a sustainable ecosystem, beer has achieved a similar pattern. Consumer interest in beer in general has remained stagnant in the past decade, and a downward trend in production was driven by the declining sales of the largest brands in the American beer market. From 2007 to 2011 alone the American brewing industry saw a slump from 214 million barrels of beer produced to 206, but craft brewers saw an increase from 9 million barrels to 12 million barrels.¹ While these figures demonstrate the miniscule volume of craft beer compared to the industry at large, the growth of craft beer production by one-third while all other segments declined is the most telling statistic of all. By 2014 the entire beer industry showed a growth of 0.5%, whereas the craft segment grew by 18%; in 2011 craft beer comprised 5.8% of the entire industry, it now accounts for over 11%, with further gains anticipated for 2015.² One sixth of all breweries in the nation are in California, and the most acclaimed breweries are in the Golden State as well. We possess both quantity and quality in the beer industry, as well as the ever important diversity. Product differentiation has reversed the historic trend of homogenization in American beers; it has given consumers new ways to appreciate beer.

Consider the subjectivity of the human palate. The gustatory system of sensing taste is capable of perceiving bitter, sweet, sour, salty, and umami flavors, according to common understanding. Physiology demands that we comprehend these flavors, but individual understandings allow for different level of appreciation for each. The popularity of West Coast styled hoppy and bitter India Pale Ales does not follow the common assumption humans prefer sweet flavors and dislike bitter. The other senses (barring individual sensory disabilities) will perceive the bottle of beer the same way, cold to touch, rounded and brown in sight, the cracking of the cap and hiss of escaping carbonation to the sound, and a floral and citrus bouquet to the scent. These senses are at the same time distinctively isolated from each other and yet undeniably connected in regards to the bottle of IPA. Taste brings together all five, as the effervescent and bitter beer flows through the mouth, we sense a strong combination between taste and scent; where the tongue provides the sensory battle between sweet and bitter, the nose provides nuances to our perception of the beer.³ The complexity of beer flavor is now something to be respected like a fine wine or a culinary masterpiece. Pierre Bourdieu's commentary of taste as a form of class indicator and being of symbolic importance to self-identity helps to illustrate part of the continuing popularity of complex and flavorful beers.⁴ Because of beer's history and symbolism as the beverage of the working-class, the development of a higher standard of the beverage does not equate to the marginalization of its historic consumer-base.

In discussing the history of men like Fritz Maytag, Jack McAuliffe, and Ken Grossman, it would be remiss to think of the story of California brewing as the simple story of entrepreneurship. While individual men and women have built a commercially and culturally successful counter-industry through their sole efforts, they struck at a point in the 20th century where the consuming public gave them momentum to succeed. Craft brewing worked because Americans wanted something more in their beer; more flavor, more history, more creative-energy, more contact with the brewers themselves. That Maytag, McAuliffe, and Grossman successfully begun the craft brewing movement speaks to both their entrepreneurial talents, as well as a receptive consumer base. Other factors came together in a perfect amalgamation to bring back a diverse and populous brewing industry.

The existence of the first organized homebrewing clubs showed that some men and women would rather make their own beer illegally, and at greater cost than purchasing a commercially available case of beers. The legal actions of California Senator Alan Cranston and Assemblyman Tom Bates showed that politicians and law-makers could be convinced that small brewers did not cause public delinquency and irresponsible drunkenness, but promoted a respectable form of beer consumption as well as provide jobs, income, tax revenue, and tourist dollars. To this day, more Californian politicians are being convinced of the public benefit of craft breweries.⁵ The outside observations of respected beer journalists also brought the attention of discerning drinkers to California's breweries, holding these businesses in the esteem normally reserved for historic European breweries. Michael Jackson commented on the absolute beauty of the Anchor Brewery on a tour for the Discovery Channel in 1989; as he walked amid the copper brewing kettles with Maytag, Jackson repeatedly referred to the century's old monastic breweries and other historic brewing institutions, clearly positioning Anchor among these places.⁶

The businesses of California itself are as much a character to this narrative as the brewers, lawmakers, writers, and homebrewers. The social upheavals near the San Francisco Bay Area created the philosophy that would found a completely new understanding of consumer capitalism. Not rejecting the act of consumption outright, but altering it emphatically. Both sides of the consumption coin shined brightly in the Golden State; mass-produced and homogenized brands like McDonald's hamburgers, or small-batch and handcrafted meals from Alice Water's French-inspired Chez Panisse or Wolfgang Puck's Italian focused Spago. Companies developed in California that tried to embody both mass-appeal and high quality eclectic products. Apple Computers and Starbucks, two industry-shaping companies, still appeal to the idea that their products embody the authenticity of hand-crafted products. Companies like Sierra Nevada and Lagunitas are now nationally distributed, and their product lines appeal to a large array of beer drinkers, yet their public image is still that of a small brewer. Starbucks is the undisputed king of coffee chains in America, and Apple Computers competes on par with American companies like Dell or international companies like Toshiba. Companies such as Sierra Nevada and Lagunitas still exist within the

same market as the multinational giants, AB InBev and MillerCoors; continuing to make them small brewers in comparison. As these larger craft breweries continue to grow in size and market impact, new questions will arise as to whether or not they will remain, in fact, 'craft'.

Directions for future research

Gastronomic topics of research are well worth studying for those with an interest in food and beverages. Invariably we find that those who select specific topics, in this case of beer and brewing, do so for personal reasons or affinities. Over the course of this project many associated questions arose that are well worth pursuing for future projects. In particular, localized markets deserve greater attention, for example the history of brewing in Los Angeles is a topic well worth studying. Writer and Los Angeles correspondent for both *The Celebrator* and *Beer Paper*, L.A., Tomm Carrol, has done an excellent job in uncovering the business relationships as well as the legal framework of the city's brewing heritage. As the market for smaller breweries increases in Los Angeles County increases, insightful investigations into the history of L.A. breweries will receive greater attention. Monographs on brewing history have been conducted for Colorado, Arizona, and Wisconsin,⁷ and articles about Southern California beer history are easily found online.⁸

Another element of American brewing that deserves attention is the ritualistic aspects that have become standard procedure to keeping, serving, and storing beer, as well as the ancient origins of these rituals. For example, the act of toasting to one's health was started millennia ago when humanity first began to ferment grains and consume the resulting brew via communal bowls.⁹ In the wake of America's national Prohibition, public consumption of alcohol declined to a marked degree for a number of reasons, but with the growth of smaller breweries there is a resurgence of communal drinking in public. New styles of public consumption have developed, including beer festivals, bottle shares, tap takeovers, and brewery anniversary parties. Breweries have also become sites of tourism, worthy of traveling great distances to sample an acclaimed beer. The best example of this development is the annual February release of Russian River Brewing's Pliny the Younger, a

stronger version of their famed Double India Pale Ale, Pliny the Elder. When released people from as far as Hawaii and Minnesota converge on the small town of Santa Rosa, CA to sample what is considered one of the world's best beers. Such beer releases are pilgrimages for craft beer drinkers, drawing crowds of hundreds who will wait over twelve hours in line to taste an eight ounce glass of beer.¹⁰ Backed by a strong, anti-corporate ideology, the communities of craft beer drinkers congregate in new environments, perform almost ceremonial rituals when drinking, and revive the practice of public alcohol consumption.

Diversity in the brewing workforce is growing; women and minority groups are taking an active role at multiple levels of the industry; beer-tenders, marketing specialists, and Brewmaster positions are being taken up by women and, in the California region, Latinos and Asian-Americans. There is still a predominance of white males in the leadership of the craft brewing industry, but there are signs of continual improvement in terms of a greater acceptance of ethnic and gender diversity. The multicultural population of California will continue to contribute labor and entrepreneurial skills to the brewing industry, and as it continues to grow, research on the contributions of these populations is well worth conducting.

Concluding thoughts

Alcohol consumption is undeniably a vice in modern culture. Over-intoxication, violence, sexual harassment, family neglect, and severe health ailments are all effects of overindulgence in beer, wine or spirituous liquors. These facts were not forgotten in the process of completing this project. Much of the challenge of working on a subject that, at the very worst, is a societal ill was in conferring a degree of respectability to the act of producing and consuming beer. In respect for those who abstain from consuming alcohol for moral, religious, or health reasons, I say that what mattered most in this project was flavor. Flavor can be found in all that we consume, and I hope that those who read this will know that what we taste in our day to day lives should not be taken for granted. Every nuance to what we taste and smell has a story behind it, stories about labor, passion, struggle, and ultimately, revelations of the human condition. The study of gastronomic history is infinitely fascinating, because our physiology requires fluids

more than solids. The history of various forms of beverages offers a window into both the human condition and how our culture fulfills this basic biological need. While this project focused on a major change within the brewing industry, it is still a localized analysis of a very recent change, and its subsequent reverberations. Further research can be conducted by students of the coffee, tea, cola, and bottled water industries. Research on these products, and how they relate to identity formation in the culture of consumption, could provide avenues worthy of investigation for future historians.

To conclude, I would like to share a recollection of a moment in my life that may illustrate one aspect as to why I began this project. In the midst of depression and having my life completely fall apart, I took to drink quite heavily to cope with my situation. Fortunately I was in the company of good friends who never allowed me to drink to the level which I could poison myself. They also provided safe areas by which I could cope with loss and sadness, again in the company of others. My poor drinking habits were moderated by a social influence; voices of reason could pull me back from the worse of excess. In clear hindsight these days were indeed filled with poor decisions for my health. A story was retold to me after a night of drinking, where at one point I excused myself outside to sit alone, and a kind guest gave me a bottle of Bootlegger's Brewing Old World Hefeweizen to take with me. Left alone for some time, I enjoyed the bottle and was soon visited upon by friends who checked on me. I sat alone with a smile on my face, singing Frank Sinatra's 'That's Life' to myself as I merrily enjoyed the clove and banana-like flavors of the very traditional Hefeweizen; vibrant is the only single word I could use to describe the experience. In the weeks following I visited the brewery's tasting room and so enjoyed the environment and community, that I made a point to revisit frequently; never overindulging like my night singing Sinatra, but actually drinking to taste the beer, not simply quaff the liquid in my glass. Before I began graduate school, I had the transformative moment to a beer enthusiast. Perhaps it begun as a means to justify a vice but it has since become a passion, a cultural language with which I have become very fluent. What was once a personal weakness has become a professional strength, excess has been tamed to moderation, and a vulgar form of consumption has transformed into something more distinct, respectable, and culturally nourishing. If this project has demonstrat-

ed anything, I hope that it shows that there is more to the pint glass than water, barley, hops, and yeast. Those who look deep enough find identity, community, and for the men and women of the industry, purpose.

Addendum

There have been emphatic changes to the craft brewing industry since this project was first completed in 2015. I do not dispute the central argument first made; California played a vital role in changing the economic, legal, and cultural aspects of the American brewing industry. However, I do want to bring attention to several developments that have taken place within the American brewing industry.

The term ‘Craft’, featured so prominently within this paper, has been supplanted for the term ‘Independent’ when describing the breweries that eschewed corporatization and homogeneity. Since 2015, several of the breweries referred to within this project as examples of ‘Craft’ breweries are no longer considered such by the Brewers Association. Anchor Brewing and Lagunitas Brewing both have been sold to multinational brewing firms; Sapporo and Heineken respectively. As much as I could wax philosophical about the ramifications to members of the industry ‘selling out’, I am admittedly biased from my work currently with a certified Independent brewery in California. What I can say with any degree of objectivity is that the brewing industry of California is continuing to grow, for better or for worse. As it grows, competition will force brewery owners to soul-searching decisions. Consumers, informed or not in the language of distinction, will be the final arbiter of whether those decisions were the correct ones.

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Chapter 3

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4. Masters, N. (2011) ‘From Eastside Lager to Maier’s Select Malt Tonic: A Brief History of L.A. Beer’, *KCET - SoCal Focus*. 28 July, http://www.kcet.org/updaily/social_focus/history/la-as-subject/from-eastside-lager-to-maiers-select-malt-tonic-a-short-history-of-la-beer-35419.html; Anheuser-Busch, ‘Fairfield Brewmasters Tour Experience’, Guided Facility Tour, Fairfield, CA, 25 May 2014; a review of the Anheuser Busch InBev brewery tour can be found at <http://www.bierkast.com/2014/05/30/adventure-in-the-north-the-red-beast-of-fairfield>; this article includes the author’s own notes and commentary on the AB InBev brewing facility in Fairfield, California.

5. Swinnen, J.F.M. (ed.) (2011) *The Economics of Beer*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp.16-25; Tremblay, V.J and Tremblay, C. (2005) *The U.S. Brewing Industry: Data and Economic Analysis*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp.43-46.

6. The Brewers Association is the trade group that serves the interests of the Craft Brewing Industry in America. Many states also have their own statewide craft brewing trade organizations. For more information see <http://www.brewer-sassociation.org/> for the Brewers Association. The Brewers Association defines craft breweries using a three category method. They must be Small (producing less than 6 million barrels of beer per year), Independent (Less than 25% owned by a non-craft brewer), and Traditional (the majority of products must be brewed using standard fermentation methods and traditional/innovative ingredients). The definition is malleable and has changed several times since the founding of the Brewers Association, largely to accommodate craft brewers who have since grown in size.

7. Defined as; One who is a strict devotee to the consumption and appreciation of wine.

8. Flack, W. (1997) ‘American Microbreweries and Neolocalism: “Ale-ing” for a Sense of Place’, *Journal of Cultural Geography*. 16, no.2, pp.43-44.

9. Jackson, M. (1977) *The World Guide to Beer*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, p.215.

10. Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. pp.3-4; Anchor Brewing Company: A Conversation with Craft Beer Pioneer Fritz Maytag, Youtube video, 10:03, posted by ReasonTV, 7 September 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0zc4p9Uwa_s; The video is an interview in accordance with ReasonTV, a Libertarian media group. While the video has

the slant of American Exceptionalism in regards to food culture, it does provide Maytag's early recollections of owning the Anchor Brewing Company.

11. Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. p.4; Conversation with Craft Pioneer, YouTube video; Gumpert, D.E. (1986) interviewer, 'Growing Concerns: The Joys of Keeping a Company Small, Interview with Fritz Maytag', *The Harvard Business Review*. Jul.-Aug. pp.6-7.

12. United States Brewers Association (1978) op. cit. p.14.

13. The Morton Research Corporation (1978) *The American Beer Industry: An Economic - Marketing - Financial Investigation*. Merrick, NY: Morton Research, p.10; Tremblay, V.J. and Tremblay, C. (2005) *The U.S. Brewing Industry: Data and Economic Analysis*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp.52-54.

14. The Morton Research Corporation (1978) op. cit. p.81; Stack, M. (2000) 'Local and Regional Breweries in America's Brewing Industry, 1865 to 1920', *The Business History Review*. 74, no.3, Autumn, p.438.

15. Ogle, M. (2006) op. cit. pp.258-260 [quote 259]; Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. pp.3-10.

16. Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. pp.9-10; Ogle, M. (2006) op. cit. pp.260-261.

17. California Craft Brewers Association 25th Anniversary Panel, Pt. 1, YouTube video, 27:13, posted by Jay Brooks, 5 November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1HEWZclatAk>; this video was taken by a Bay Area beer journalist at a panel hosted for the CCBA on the recent legal history of brewing in California. The panelists include Fritz Maytag, as well as Ken Grossman, the owner of Sierra Nevada Brewing, and John Martin of Triple Rock Brewing. Vinnie Cilurzo, owner of Russian River Brewing; is the moderator of the panel. The three panelists and moderator are among the most active members of the CCBA, which seeks to protect small brewers from undue legal burdens and combat the market dominance of macrobrewers. The goals and purpose of the CCBA have been described by Scott Marks, Association Manager for the CCBA in Sacramento, in an email interview, 18 August 2014.

18. Brooks, J. (2014) op. cit.

19. Anchor Steam Beer Label. The 1968 refers to the copyright that Anchor Brewing holds over the name 'Steam beer'. To avoid potential copyright infringement the term 'California Common' was created for similar beers of the steam variety.

20. Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. p.10.

21. The Morton Research Corporation (1978) op. cit. pp.28-30.

22. Grossman, K. (2013) *Beyond the Pale: The Story of Sierra Nevada Brewing Co.* Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., pp.57-59, 63, images; Brewer, B. (2015) 'Ask Bob

Brewer: Anchor's Unique Bottles', Anchor Brewing Blog, 14 January, accessed via <http://www.anchorbrewing.com/blog/ask-bob-brewer-anchors-unique-bottles>; The appropriately named Bob Brewer is a brewing employee and historian employed by Anchor Brewing. Like David Burkhart, the company's main historian, Brewer contributes to the online history of the Anchor Brewing Company.

23. Mulkeen, M. (2009) 'Jim Stitt draws Anchor Steam's labels', SFGate Online, 21 November, <http://www.sfgate.com/entertainment/article/Jim-Stitt-draws-Anchor-Steam-s-labels-3280745.php>; This online article includes a biography of Anchor Brewing artist Jim Stitt from the San Francisco Gate companion website.

24. Drawing on History: Anchor Brewing Label Artist Jim Stitt, YouTube video, 3:05, posted by AnchorBrewing, 1 December 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0YaS2Odm2vg&rel=0>

25. Sullivan, R. (1996) 'Head of Steam: An Interview with Anchor Brewing's Fritz Maytag', *Stanford Magazine*. September-October, accessed via https://alumni.stanford.edu/get/page/magazine/article/?article_id=43438; Watch Anchor Steam Beer Get Made. Tour the Anchor Brewing Company, YouTube video, 16:09, posted by Tom Rowles, posted 22 November 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=huf2T_j78f8; both of these sources include interviews with Fritz Maytag and his reminiscences of purchasing and renovating Anchor Brewing Company, the YouTube video, though of more colloquial character, includes Maytag personally analyzing yeast cells in a recently brewed batch of beer.

26. Gumpert, D.E. (1986) op. cit. pp.7-8.

27. *ibid.* p.9.

28. Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. pp.10-11; Ogle, M. (2006) op. cit. pp.259-260; Sullivan, R. (1996) op. cit.

29. Jackson, M. (1977) op. cit. pp.14-15, 145, 156-170; Jackson, M. (1993) *Beer Companion: America's Microbreweries and Classic Beers from Europe*. Philadelphia, PA: Running Press, pp.170-171.

30. Jackson, M. (1998) 'Porter Casts a Long Shadow on Beer History', *Michael Jackson, Beer Hunter*, 2 September 1998, <http://www.beerhunter.com/documents/19133-000041.html>; Anchor Brewing Company, "Porter: The Entire History," Anchor Brewing Blog, posted Feb. 16, 2012, <http://www.anchorbrewing.com/blog/porter-the-entire-history/>

31. Jackson, M. (1998) *Ultimate Beer*. New York, NY: DK Publishing, p.136; Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. pp.36-39.

32. For comparison, modern American lagers such as Coors or Budweiser typically measure 8 to 12 IBUs. While it is claimed that IBUs cannot be perceived by the human palate

above 110, modern craft brewers will create recipes listed above 100. A component of hops, alpha-iso acids, imparts the bitterness level of a particular beer. While an aggressively hopped beer can theoretically reach above 110 IBUs, in practice there is little to no difference.

33. Brewer, B. (2014) 'Ask Bob Brewer: Is Liberty Ale an APA or an IPA?', Anchor Brewing Blog, 26 March, <http://www.anchorbrewing.com/blog/ask-bob-brewer-is-liberty-ale-an-apa-or-an-ipa/> In this blog post, Brewer debates between Anchor's Liberty Ale being an American Pale Ale, or an Indian Pale Ale. To call the Liberty Ale an IPA may be a case of revisionist history, when in 1974 the style name was not in use and as late as 1993, Michael Jackson's *Beer Companion*, a comprehensive guide to American and international beer styles, does not list Anchor's Liberty as an India Pale Ale, see pp.161-162.

34. Haunold, A. (2010) 'Cascade: How Adolph Coors Helped Launch the Most Popular US Aroma Hop and the Craft Beer Revolution', Indie Hops: Oregon Grown, posted by Roger Worthington, 25 January, <http://inhoppursuit.blogspot.com/search/label/Coors>; This blog post, written for the beer education site 'In Hop Pursuit', is written by retired USDA hop breeder and geneticist Al Haunold. He worked with the United States Department of Agriculture for over three decades, working on cross breeding American hop strains, a tabulated list of hop varieties cataloged by Haunold can be found on the USDA Agricultural Research Service website, <http://www.ars.usda.gov/Research/docs.htm?docid=14772>. A short biography of Haunold's work can be found on Bend, Oregon's Worthy Brewing Company website at <http://www.worthybrewing.com/beer-blast-for-feb-18-2013.html>

35. Brewer, B. (2014) op. cit.; Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. p.39.

36. Kitsock, G. (2014) 'Hops: The Beer Ingredient (Most) Drinkers Love', *The Washington Post*. 11 February 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/food/hops-the-beer-ingredient-most-drinkers-love/2014/02/10/fd5daab0-8f57-11e3-84e1-27626c5ef5fb_story.html; Jay Brooks, 'Beer in Ads #51: Schlitz, Just The Kiss of Hops', Brookston Beer Bulletin, posted 24 February 2010, <http://brookstonbeerbulletin.com/beer-in-ads-51-schlitz-just-the-kiss-of-hops>

37. 'U.S. Taste Buds Want it Bland', *Business Week*, 14 July 1951; Rheingold Beer Commercial (1950s), YouTube video, 0:51, posted by I Want Moore Retro, 30 April 2011. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FVvKJq_RmH0; The Rheingold Beer Commercial is estimated to have aired in the late 1950s, and serves as a perfect illustration of marketing tactics for major breweries in the nation in the post-war decades. Animated characters and a musical jingle extoll the

'refreshing and dry taste' of the New York based Rheingold, analogs of the Empire State Building and road signs to Manhattan and New Jersey serve as indicators for the locality of the company.

38. Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. p.35; Jones, M. (1978) '... and Home-Brewed Beer Comes Out of the Closet', *Los Angeles Times*. 13 June 1978, F1.

39. Jones, M. (1978) op. cit.

40. Now known as The Home Wine, Beer and Cheesemaking Shop, it is still located in Woodland Hills. Currently the shop has a backroom solely dedicated for Falcon meetings; Maltose Falcons Website, Falcons' History: Excerpted from 25th Anniversary Club History, <http://www.maltosefalcons.com/content/about-falcons>.

41. Jones, M. (1978) op. cit.

42. Elhardt, M. (1978a) *Maltose Falcons*, newsletter, Vol.2 no.10, March, p.2.

43. Bruch, C.W. and others (1964) 'Disinfection of Brewing Yeast with Acidified Ammonium Persulphate', *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*. 70, no.3, January 1964, pp.242-247; U.C. Davis Food and Science Technology, Anheuser-Endowed Professor: Charlie Bamforth, 21 December 2012, <http://faculty.bftv.ucdavis.edu/fst/Bamforth/endow.html>

44. Acitelli, T. (2013) 'Lower Taxes Tapped a Beer Revolution', *The Wall Street Journal*. 2 May 2013, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324482504578455131793135370>; Acitelli, Audacity of Hops, 84-85; [quote] Fred Eckhardt, 'Craft Beer State of the Union - 2010', *All About Beer*. Vol. 31, No.6, <http://allaboutbeer.com/article/craft-beer%E2%80%94state-of-the-union-2010>

45. Wilson, B. (1978) *Maltose Falcons Newsletter*. 3, No.8, November 1978, pp.1-3; The Library of Congress. Bill Summary and Status, 95th Congress (1977-1978) H.R. 1337, All Information. <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d095:HR01337:@@L&summ2=m&>; Tremblay, V.J. (2005) *The U.S. Brewing Industry: Data and Economic Analysis*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp.114-120.

46. State of California, Statutes of 1982, Chapter 1019, 'An Act to Amend Section 23357 of the Business and Professions Code, relating to Alcoholic Beverages', 13 September 1982, pp.3722-3723.

47. Elhardt, M. (1978a) op. cit.

48. Eckhardt, F. (1981) *A Treatise on Lager Beers: How to Make Good Beer At Home*, 7th ed. Portland, OR: Hobby Winemaker, pp.12-15, 52-53.

49. Elhardt, M. (1978b) *Maltose Falcons Newsletter*. 2, No.9, February, p.2.

50. Eckhardt, F. (1981) op. cit. pp.52-53.

51. Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. pp.32-33.

52. Oregon Hops and Brewing Archives, Fred Eckhardt: Interview Pre-Research and Delightful Library Finds, Tumblr Profile: TheBrewstorian, 28 July 2014, <http://thebrewstorian.tumblr.com/post/93124494936/fred-eckhardt-interview-pre-research-and-delightful>
53. Hindy, S. (2014) *The Craft Beer Revolution: How a Band of Homebrewers is Transforming the World's Favorite Drink*. New York NY: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.37-39; Ogle, M. (2006) op. cit. p.318; Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. p.7; excerpts from Finkel interview conducted by beer writer Stan Hieronymus.
54. Jackson, M. (1977) op. cit. pp. 4-5; United States Brewers Association (1978) op. cit. p.1.
55. Jackson, M. (1977) op. cit. p.203.
56. Parkhurst Ferguson, P. (2014) *Word of Mouth: What We Talk About When We Talk About Food*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.71-72; Bourdieu, P. (1984) *A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp.179-183.
57. Jackson, M. (1977) op. cit. pp.203, 214-216.
58. Smelser, N.J. (1983/84) 'Collective Myths and Fantasies', *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*. 11, no.1, Fall/Winter, pp.4-5.
59. Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. pp.13-15; Ogle, M. (2006) op. cit. pp.291-293.
60. Ogle, M. (2006) op. cit. p.292.
61. *ibid.* pp.294-296; VID00008, YouTube video, 4:59, posted by Jay Brooks, posted 31 March 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ozjepm8EnHY&list=UUxXosyNhr7af2ujT4eJVPAA>; the link and video title do not include any information, but the content is of Jack McAuliffe taking part in a discussion of the founding of New Albion, along with historian Maureen Ogle by his side. McAuliffe fields questions from the audience and discusses the founding of New Albion, as well as the history of the name 'New Albion' and the label the brewery used on their bottles. YouTube videos and secondary source literature are the best sources for information on New Albion, as McAuliffe himself wrote very little of his experience at the time, only commenting to reporters very briefly while the brewery was in operation.
62. The Making of Jack & Ken's Ale, YouTube video, 6:36, posted by Sierra Nevada, posted 30 August 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N3S_q_dUPKc; a piece of digital marketing from Sierra Nevada, the video is one in a series about a collaborative beer brewed between Sierra's Ken Grossman, and Jack McAuliffe; it includes a brief interview with both brewers as well as McAuliffe's comments on finding and building his own brewing equipment from scratch.
63. Gingold, N. (2014) *California Brewmasters: Portraits and Profiles of the Golden State's Brewing Icons*; interview with Don Barkley. San Diego, CA: Georgian Bay Books, pp.131-133.
64. Brand, W. (2009) 'New Albion Ale Lives Again', *Oakland Tribune*, 4 February 2009, reposted on Bottoms Up Blog, accessed at <http://www.ibabuzz.com/bottomsup/2009/02/04/napa-smiths-don-barkley-recreates-new-albion-ale>
65. Brooks, J. (2014) op. cit.
66. McEwen, R. (1977) op. cit.; Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. pp.40-45; Ogle, M. (2006) op. cit. pp.292-297; The Making of Jack & Ken's Ale (1993) op. cit.; Jackson, M. (1993) op. cit. p. 208.
67. Hopping, B. (1978) 'Prosit! New Albion Follows German Purity Law', *Los Angeles Times*. 13 January 1978, E6; Hillinger, C. (1980) 'Family Affairs: Small-Label Beers - More Are Brewing', *Los Angeles Times*. 24 June 1980, B1.
68. Ogle, M. (2006) op. cit. p.297; 'The Boys Pick Six! for the 6th!' advertisement, *Los Angeles Times*, 2 September 1982, pg. L29; 'FedMart* Everyday Low Prices on All Liquor, Beer & Wine', advertisement, *Los Angeles Times*, 9 July 1980, pg. K14; In 1980 a Six pack of Budweiser could be purchased for \$1.78 in Los Angeles, by 1982, the price was \$1.99.
69. California State Assembly - Clerk Archives, *Statutes and Amendments to the Codes 1982 - Chapter 1019*, Vol.3, pp.3722-3723; Mencher, B. and McKniff, M. (2007) 'The Brewpub: A Beerly Legal Concept', *Edible East Bay*. Summer, pp.38-40.
70. Eckhardt, F. (1983) 'New Albion Fails', *Amateur Brewer*. May/June.
71. Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. pp.87-89, 98-100; Gingold, N. (2014) op. cit. pp.130-131.
72. The Making of Jack & Ken's Ale (1993) op. cit.; GABF 2012 - The Return of an Original Craft Beer, YouTube video, 30:48, posted by BrewingNetwork, posted Oct. 20, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OHalm4cA7ZI>; the Brewing Network YouTube channel filmed a public interview between Jack McAuliffe and Boston Beer Company founder Jim Koch, who in collaboration with McAuliffe re-released the New Albion Pale Ale.
73. Jack McAuliffe Signing the New Albion Sign, YouTube video, 0:52, posted by Jay Brooks, posted 30 March 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MYkOZ15Id3I>; Personal Notes from Visit to Russian River Brewery, May 28, 2014; According to employees working at the Russian River Brewing Taproom, the sign that belonged to New Albion was stolen from the property shortly after it closed in 1983. The sign was then purchased online by Russian River owner

Vinnie Cilurzo in the mid-2000s, and installed in the taproom where McAuliffe was happy enough to see it preserved.

74. New Albion Vintage Tasting, YouTube video, 14:07, posted by Jay Brooks, 23 March 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4xfXWoa_KuI

Chapter 4

1. Craft as signified by Brewers Association guidelines. While consumers freely choose to define brewers as craft versus non-craft, the Brewers Association has strict industry guidelines that companies must abide by to maintain their 'craft brewer.' See Chapter 3, footnote 5.

2. California Craft Brewers Association, 'California Craft Beer- 2014 Review', *CCBA*, 11 December 2014, <http://www.californiacraftbeer.com/2014/12/california-craft-beer-2014-review>

3. Magee, T. (2012) *So You Want to Start a Brewery? The Lagunitas Story*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, pp.178, 199-200; Grossman, K. (2013) op. cit. p.240; Rotunno, T. (2014) 'Stone Brewing to open brewery in Berlin', *CNBC*, 19 July 2014, <http://www.cnbc.com/id/101845177#>

4. David Richey and Bart Watson, contributors (2013) *California Craft Brewing: 2013 Economic Impact Report*. Berkeley, CA: California Craft Brewers Association, p.12, accessed via <http://www.californiacraftbeer.com/files/Economic-Impact-Study-FINAL.pdf>

5. Pozner, J-E. with DeSoucey, M. and Sikavica, K. (2014) 'Bottle Revolution: Constructing Consumer and Producer Identities in the Craft Beer Industry?' Berkeley, CA: Institute for Research on Labor and Employments, Working Paper #118-14, 10-11, accessed via <http://irl.berkeley.edu/working-papers/118-14.pdf>

6. Braunstein, P. and Doyle, M.W. (eds) (2002) *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp.5, 10; Kirk, A.G. (2007) *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, p.ix.

7. *ibid.* pp.43-47.

8. Brand, S. (1971) *Last Whole Earth Catalog: Access to Tools*. Menlo Park, CA: Portola Institute, pp.202-203; The recipe and commentary provided in this short excerpt are heavily dependent on extra sugars to encourage fermentation of the beer. There is also no mention of sanitizing equipment in the Catalog, Both factors show a lack of brewing protocol that many modern homebrewers take seriously.

9. Braunstein, P. and Doyle, M.W. (eds) (2002) op. cit. pp.245-246.

10. Grossman, K. (2013) op.cit. pp.41-43.

11. Moore, F. (1975) 'Amateur Computer Users Group - Homebrew Computer Club ... you name it', *Homebrew Computer Club newsletter*, 15 March, accessed via Computer History Museum, Catalog no. 102740021, Online Archives, <http://www.computerhistory.org/collections/catalog/102740021>

12. Wozniak, S. with Smith, G. (2006) *iWoz: Computer Geek to Cult Icon: How I Invented the Personal Computer, Co-Founded Apple, and Had Fun Doing It*. New York, NY: W.W. Lorton & Co., pp.150-151.

13. Scott, L.M. (1991) "'For the Rest of Us": A Reader-Oriented Interpretation of Apple's "1984" Commercial', *Journal of Popular Culture*. 25, no.1, Summer, pp.67-68, 78.

14. Lam, P-Y. (2001) 'May the Force of the Operating System Be With You: Macintosh Devotion as Implicit Religion', *Sociology of Religion*. 62, no.2, Summer, pp.247-248.

15. Stanford Report, "'You've got to find what you love", Jobs says', prepared text of Steve Job's 2005 Commencement Address, *Stanford News*, <http://news.stanford.edu/news/2005/june15/jobs-061505.html>

16. Kamp, D. (2006) *The United States of Arugula: How We Became a Gourmet Nation*. New York, NY: Broadway Books, pp.190-191; Simon, B. (2009) *Everything But The Coffee: Learning About America from Starbucks*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.21-26; Similar to what the Deadhead-turned-ice cream vendors, Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield experienced in Vermont while discovering new means of creating and selling ice cream in 1978.

17. *ibid.* pp.27-28.

18. Brand, S. (1971) op. cit. p.26; Kamp, D. (2006) op. cit. pp.239-245, 267-269.

19. Simon, B. (2009) op. cit. pp.30-31.

20. Manzo, J. (2010) 'Coffee, Connoisseurship, and an Ethnologically Informed Sociology of Taste', *Human Studies*. 33, no.2/3, December, pp.144-146.

21. Simon, B. (2009) op. cit. op. cit. pp.31-33; Thompson, A.A. and Strickland, A.J. *Strategic Management: Concepts and Cases*, 11th ed., Starbucks Case Study, accessed online via: <http://www.mhhe.com/business/management/thompson/11e/case/starbucks.html>

22. Flack, W. (1997) op. cit. pp.37-41; Lyons, J. (2005) 'Think Seattle, Act Globally: Specialty Coffee, Commodity Biographies, and the Promotion of Place', *Cultural Studies*. 19, no.1, January, pp.16-17; in addition to Flack's work on Neolocalism, two cultural geographers, Steven Schnell and Joseph Reese examined the link between breweries, their locality, and how this form of marketing fosters a stronger

link between consumer and producer. See 'Microbreweries as Tools of Local Identity', in the *Journal of Cultural Geography*. 21, no.1, pp.45-69.

23. Kamp, D. (2006) op. cit. pp.9-21; At least in the 20th century, Kamp makes the case that 18th and early 19th century Americans had access to a cornucopia of culinary creations, with Americans enjoying the act of eating for flavor rather than solely for sustenance. He counters with the fact that our nation, with a combination of Puritanical/ British/Stubborn influences and a later fascination with 'scientific eating' largely resulted in a dysfunctional relationship with food.

24. Goldstein, J. (2013) *Inside the California Food Revolution: Thirty Years that Changed our Culinary Consciousness, California Studies on Food and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.1-7.

25. ReasonTV, 7 September 2010 op. cit.

26. Goldstein, J. (2013) op. cit. pp.10-11.

27. Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. p.39.

28. Parkhurst Ferguson, P. (2014) op. cit. p.xviii.

29. 'Beverages: Snob Suds', *Business Week*. 17 February 1964, p.80.

30. Hindy, S. (2014) op. cit. pp.46-47; Jackson, M. (1993) op. cit. p.164; Acitelli, T. (2012) op. cit. pp.114-115; Contract brewing is that practice where an underutilized brewery is hired by a contractor to produce their beers and the product is then sold by the contractor as their product. While the process is often decried among the craft beer community, Boston Beer's decision to contract brew with the Pittsburgh Brewery initially helped popularize the movement as a whole on the East Coast; and for many a Samuel Adam's Boston Lager will have been their first craft beer.

31. Hillinger, C. (1980) 'Family Affairs: Small-Label Beers - More Are Brewing', *Los Angeles Times*. 24 June, B1; Daniel Puzo, D. (1984) 'A Beer From the Northern Sierra? L.A. Couple Will Drink to That', *Los Angeles Times*. 11 October, L9; Bostwick, W. (2014) 'Big Things Brewing', *Wall Street Journal*. 26-27 July, D6; As early as 1980 Sierra Nevada was gaining attention from as far south as Los Angeles. The Chico based brewery followed in the footsteps of New Albion and was more of a curiosity to journalists than it was a portent for the future of the industry.

32. Papazian, C. (2015) *Microbrewed Adventures: A Lupulin-Filled Journey to the Heart and Flavor of the World's Great Craft Beers*. New York, NY: HarperCollins, pp.12-13.

33. Ken Grossman, interview by Eric Ortega, 16 July 2014, OH 5330, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton.

34. *ibid.*, Grossman, K. (2013) op.cit. pp.32-38.

35. Grossman interview op. cit.

36. Jackson, M. (1977) op. cit. pp.156-160.

37. Gingold, N. (2014) op. cit. interview with Ken Grossman, p.164.

38. An example of failure in the California brewing marketplace is the former brewpub of famous chef, Wolfgang Puck, Eureka. Located in Los Angeles, Puck's German-industrial inspired restaurant held an impressive Brewhouse dedicated to lager-styled beers. However, the restaurant only remained open from 1990 to 1993 due, in part, from a severe loss caused by the overheads of operating both a high-end restaurant and a high-tech brewing system. After a forced closure during the 1992 Los Angeles riots, the restaurant remained in financial limbo and a potential investment from Boston Beer Company failed to materialize. The restaurant eventually went out of business. While multiple reasons can be attributed to this failure, the combination of the LA riots, high overheads of operations, and a strict dedication to Germanic lagers (which in turn cost more time and money to make and are slower to ferment than ales) all contributed to Eureka's failure despite it being from, according to reports, a fine establishment. Victor Novak (Former Brewmaster of TAPS Fish House and Brewery of Brea, current brewer at Golden Road Brewing in Los Angeles) in discussion with author, 1 April 2015; see also; Perry, C. (1990) 'An Industrial-Strength Spago: At Wolfgang Puck's New Restaurant Eureka, the Beer, Sausages and Heavy Metal Gleam Brightly', *Los Angeles Times*. 4 November, T93; and Jenkins, K. (1993) 'Eureka Won't Be Ale-ing Anymore', *Los Angeles Times*. 2 May 1993, p.82.

39. Hindy, S. (2014) op. cit. pp.46-47; An aphorism stemming from a 1985 Boston Beer ad' claiming that the company produces as much beer in one year than Heineken imports within three days. It has since found new life as a charge against the domination of large breweries over small, and primarily leveled against Anheuser-Busch InBev.

40. 2015 Budweiser Super Bowl Commercial 'Brewed The Hard Way', YouTube video, 1:00, posted by Budweiser, 1 February 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=siHU_9ec94c; in this commercial Anheuser Busch InBev lampoons the craft beer consumer by asserting that their product is meant to be quaffed with little thought of how it is made, where as a craft consumer is negatively portrayed as pretentious and snobbish, also adorned with facial hair and only drinking their beers out of specialized glassware. The commercial took on an ironic poignancy, considering that a week before it aired AB InBev purchased the Elysian Brewing Company of Seattle, which produces a Pumpkin Peach ale as a seasonal release. For a recent interview

with Elysian's co-founders explaining their chagrin at the particular Superbowl ad, see *Chicago Tribune's*, 'Craft brewery co-founder not happy with Super Bowl ad snark', via <http://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/food/ct-elysian-brewing-takeover-20150202-story.html#page=1>

41. California Craft Brewers Association (2013) 'California Craft Brewing Facts and Statistics', *Beer Stats*, accessed via <http://www.californiacraftbeer.com/beer-stats>; Brewers Association (2015) 'Historical U.S. Brewery Count', *Statistics*, accessed via <http://www.brewersassociation.org/statistics/number-of-breweries>; statistics provided by the CCBA and the Brewers Association come from internal reporting within the brewing industry as well as analyst groups such as the Brewers Almanac and the Beer Institute, as well as outside market research groups.

42. Solomon, B. (2014) 'King Of Craft Beer: How Sierra Nevada Rules The Hops World', *Forbes Magazine*. 3 March, accessed via <http://www.forbes.com/sites/briansolomon/2014/02/12/king-of-craft-beer-how-sierra-nevada-is-winning-the-hops-war/>; Although it should be noted they are still not the largest, and as stated in footnote 6 of Chapter 2, a brewer can produce as much as six million barrels of beer before having their 'craft' designation revoked. However this limit is aimed at preventing the two major brewing firms (MillerCoors and Anheuser Busch InBev) from being designated a craft brewer.

43. Brewed in collaboration with the monks of the Abbey of New Clairvaux in Vina, CA, info available at the Sierra Nevada products page; <http://www.sierranevada.com/beer/specialty/ovila>

44. A flagship beer is typically the highest selling product in a brewery's product portfolio, for Anchor Brewing, it would be their steam beer, for Sierra Nevada, it would be their pale ale. Flagships are typically the first line of products new consumers will encounter when developing a taste for new beer styles from smaller breweries.

45. Steve Wagner, President and Brewmaster, Stone Brewing Co. in Koch, G. with Wagner, S. and Clemens, R. (2011) *The Craft of Stone Brewing Co. Liquid Lore, Epic Recipes, and Unabashed Arrogance*. Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, p.155.

46. Grossman, K. (2013) op.cit. pp.225-226; Burton, R. (2010) *Hops and Dreams: The Story of Sierra Nevada Brewing Co.* Chico, CA: Stansbury Publishing, pp.143-145; American Homebrewers Association (2014) 'Craft Breweries Share Their Homebrew Clone Recipes', *How-To Brew*. 20 October 2014, <https://www.homebrewersassociation.org/how-to-brew/craft-breweries-share-homebrew-clone-recipes>

47. Papazian, C. (2003) *The Complete Joy of Homebrewing*. 3rd Edition. New York, NY: Harper Resource Books, p.4.

47. Gregory Lorton, interview by Eric Ortega, 22 August

2014, OH 5331, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton; Mr. Lorton is homebrewer for three decades and a member of QUAFF since 1994, and twice president of the group. Under his leadership QUAFF won the California Homebrew Competition for best Homebrew Club in 2001.

49. Gingold, N. (2014) op. cit. interview with Tony Magee p.109.

50. And moved from Lagunitas to Petaluma, CA, due to a complaint by the city of Lagunitas that spent yeast cells from the brewery were wreaking havoc on the city's sewage system.

51. Karl Strauss Brewing Company, Media Packet and Press Materials, provided by San Diego History Center; Donald C. Bauder, D.C. (1989) 'Old Columbia Owners Buck Trend in the Restaurant, Brewery Business', *San Diego Union Tribune*. 10 October, E1; Gregory Lorton, interview by Eric Ortega (2014) op. cit.

52. Liu, C. (2004) 'Lagunitas Brewing Co. Says Pitbull Label Proving No Dog', *San Francisco Gate*. 24 September, accessed via: <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Lagunitas-Brewing-Co-says-pit-bull-label-proving-2722843.php>

53. The raid resulted in a 30-day shutdown of the brewery when it was found that marijuana was being sold at the Lagunitas beer garden by someone not affiliated with the brewery. The tagline for their Undercover Shutdown Ale, 'Whatever, We're Still Here,' was a defiant statement to the California Department Alcohol Beverage Control. But the director of the ABC at the time found the label so humorous that he requested a t-shirt with the label on it. Story provided by Ron Lindenbusch, Chief Marketing Officer of Lagunitas in a phone conversation; additional information available via Laird, S. (2015) 'A Song of Weed and Beer: How Lagunitas Dodged a Drug Bust to Become a Craft Beer Powerhouse', *Mashable - Spotlight*, 8 March, accessed via <http://mashable.com/2015/03/08/lagunitas-beer-st-patricks-day-massacre>

54. Lagunitas Brewing Company, IPA Bottle, 1997, brown glass 12oz bottle.

55. Bourdieu, P. (1984) op. cit. p.56.

56. Stone Brewing Company, Arrogant Bastard Ale Bottle, 1997, brown glass 22 ounce bottle.

57. Gregory Lorton, interview by Eric Ortega (2014) op. cit.

58. Phone conversation with Author, Ron Lindenbusch, Chief Marketing Officer, Lagunitas Brewing Company. 10 September 2014.

59. Oldenburg, R. (1997) *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons and other*

Hangouts at the Heart of a Community. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, pp.96-99, 131-133, 165-168.

60. Richey, D. in association with Goldman School of Public Policy, UC Berkeley (21012) *California Craft Brewing: An Economic Impact Study*. Berkeley, CA: California Craft Brewers Association, pp.18-19.

61. Cyrena Nouzille, interview by Eric Ortega, 18 October 2013, OH 5345, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton; Ting Su, interview by Eric Ortega, 25 November 2013, OH 5355, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton.

62. Bennett, S. (2014) 'Sexism in Craft Beer? Not Here. Why Being A Female Beer Drinker In L.A. Is Awesome', *LA Weekly*, Food & Drink, 2 December 2014, <http://www.laweekly.com/restaurants/sexism-in-craft-beer-not-here-why-being-a-female-beer-drinker-in-la-is-awesome-5260604>; Kirk Seigler, "Women, The 'First Brewers,' Lean Into Craft Beer-Making," National Public Radio: The Salt, Producers, Oct. 12, 2013, <http://www.npr.org/blogs/thesalt/2013/10/12/231451898/women-the-first-brewers-lean-into-craft-beer-making>

63. Swinnen, J.F.M. (ed.) (2011) pp.161-163.

64. Campbell, C. (2005) 'The Craft Consumer: Culture, Craft and Consumption in a Postmodern Society', *Journal of Consumer Culture*. 5, no.1, pp.37-38.

65. *ibid.* p.39.

66. Brooks, J. (2013) 'Brooks on Beer: Japan's Burgeoning Microbrewery Scene', *San Jose Mercury News*, for the *Contra Costa Times*, 4 November 2013, http://www.mercurynews.com/jay-brooks/ci_24437024/brooks-beer-japans-burgeoning-microbrewery-scene

Chapter 5

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2. Brewers Association, 'Craft Beer Data, 2014'.

3. Parkhurst Ferguson, P. (2011) 'The Senses of Taste', *The American Historical Review*. 116, no.2, 31 March, pp.371-373.

4. Bourdieu, P. (1984) *op. cit.* pp.175-177.

5. Ruiz, J. (2015) 'Amendment to City Municipal Code Opens Doors to Craft Brewing in Long Beach', *Long Beach Post*, Food Section, 24 March, accessed via <http://lbpost.com/food/2000005754-amendment-to-city-municipal-code-opens-doors-to-craft-brewing>; Gingold, N.

(2015) 'Being Beer Friendly: An Interview with Anaheim Mayor Tom Tait', *California Brewmasters Blog*, 21 April, accessed via <http://www.cabrewmasters.com/blog/being-beer-friendly-an-interview-with-anaheim-mayor-tom-tait>; Outside of local politics facilitating the building of new breweries, the Federal Government has recently given an encouraging nod to small brewers with House Resolution 232 - The Small BREW (Brewer Reinvestment and Expanding Workforce) Act. Part of the 114th Congress (2015-2016) the bill aims to reduce the tax paid per barrel for brewers producing beneath specific production thresholds, with the highest being six million barrels, a clear indicator that the Federal Government is following the Brewers Association's guidelines for what constitute a 'Small' brewery. The bill has 61 co-sponsors and has bipartisan support; it is currently in referral to the House Committee on Ways and Means. Bill text and further information available via <https://www.congress.gov/bills/114/congress/house-bill/232/text>

6. Fritz Maytag, interview by Michael Jackson (1989) *The Beer Hunter - Episode 'California Pilgrimage'*, Discovery Channel.

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