

FOUR AMERICAN BEER WRITERS OF THE 1970s

GARY GILLMAN

Moments later we were on the road again, in search of more wisdom. There was a cold Burgie-Light in the cooler, a brew which the night before had been judged with terminal anorexia nervosa. What the hell, I cracked it. Morning beer was against the rules, but this was L.A., almost Hollywood, where rules are permanently suspended.

Stephen Morris, *The Great Beer Trek* (1984)

[Ballantine India Pale Ale is] our last brew of great character ...

John Porter, *All About Beer* (1975)

Michael Jackson (1942-2007) was the pre-eminent consumer beer writer, a contemporary of the beer renaissance that took root in North America and the United Kingdom in the mid-1970s, a movement he helped inspire. His death at 65 prompted countless eulogies in the mainstream press,¹ beer industry media,² and even in scholarly publications.³

Jackson's fame commenced with the publication of his landmark *The World Guide to Beer* in 1977.⁴ He had emerged after years of solid training in newspaper and commercial journalism and had worked as well in television production. This, and his high natural intelligence and curiosity, enabled him to become undisputed leader and pied piper of the beer renaissance. His influence on beer and brewing trends, never minimal in his home country, manifested most clearly, initially, in the United States.⁵ It resulted from his heavy schedule of personal appearances, many books and articles, and acclaimed six-episode television series, *The Beer Hunter*.⁶ This influence rebounded to the U.K. in the last 20 years with American craft brewing trends finding an ever-welcome

reception there. This is despite, or partly because of, Britain's homegrown revitalization of brewing prompted by the formation of the Campaign for Real Ale (CAMRA) in 1971.⁷

Given this background, the question arises whether Jackson had immediate predecessors who exercised influence of their own on the beer revival, and perhaps on Jackson himself. This paper will consider four such writers in the American context: James ('Jim') Robertson, Michael Weiner, John Porter, and Stephen Morris. Their books were widely available in the U.S. and Canada in the second half of the 1970s either before *The World Guide to Beer* appeared or before it came to the attention of the four authors.⁸

It will be argued that the main elements of beer coverage associated with the post-Jackson era were in place before his rise to prominence, but without his thoroughness of scope or advanced writing skill. In addition, two of the four writers were highly complimentary of Ballantine India Pale Ale. That influence, both direct and, it is proposed, channeled and amplified through Jackson, helped make 'I.P.A.' the enduring star of craft brewing it is today. For these reasons, a discussion of these four writers and their achievement is in order.⁹

John Porter

In 1975, a slim volume appeared of 91 pages, *All About Beer*.¹⁰ The author was John Porter (1918-?), identified on the dust jacket as 'a novelist and short story writer who teaches his craft at Simon's Rock, an early college'.¹¹ The jacket blurb goes on to state of Porter, self-effacingly:

His career leading up to this estate may be one for which the term ‘checkered’ was first coined: brewmaster at twenty-two, cowboy at twenty-four; Air Force pilot, racing driver, and television executive at NBC. He says little about his formal education - for, in his own words, ‘There is little to say’.

The introduction explains that, disenchanted with high school in the 1930s, Porter obtained a job as apprentice brewmaster at Jacob Ruppert’s Knickerbocker Brewery, New York City, where his father was sales manager.¹² Porter writes that he wielded a brush: ‘... larger than myself [to scrub] great tanks and copper kettles, using a cleanser composed of coal ashes, vitriol, and yeast’.¹³ He then trained as a brewer with the United States Brewers’ Academy, studying ‘organic chemistry, brewery engineering, and other fun things’.¹⁴

After completing the two-year course he started work as an assistant brewmaster in Pennsylvania, still before the war.¹⁵ He states that after the war - no information is given on the war years, but one can assume the Air Force stint occurred then - ‘beer became only a hobby, more enjoyable that way’.¹⁶

The introduction also states the book’s purpose:

... to let beer drinkers know what good beer is all about and so, perhaps, help to maintain the tradition of fine brewing in America. There’s nothing like a well-informed consumer to keep the supplier on his toes. Prost!¹⁷

Porter definitely succeeded in this goal. He can claim a modest, but definite share of the credit for the wave of interest in good beer and traditional brewing that developed from the later 1970s and continues unabated today. Porter’s book, described in the sub-title as a ‘light treatise’, certainly had no pretensions to thoroughness, yet this very fact made it a good entry-level text.¹⁸

The first chapter is a somewhat erratic historical précis of beer and brewing. It is enhanced with interesting illustrations; for example, a Syrian soldier sipping beer with his Egyptian wife through a ‘cane’ from a two-handled jug in 1350 B.C.¹⁹ The writing, in the book in general, is semi-colloquial and jocular, typical of North American beer writing in this period. Still, the account has points of interest especially his comments on brewing during Prohibition. He implies that what was ostensibly near-beer often was brewed to contain the prohib-

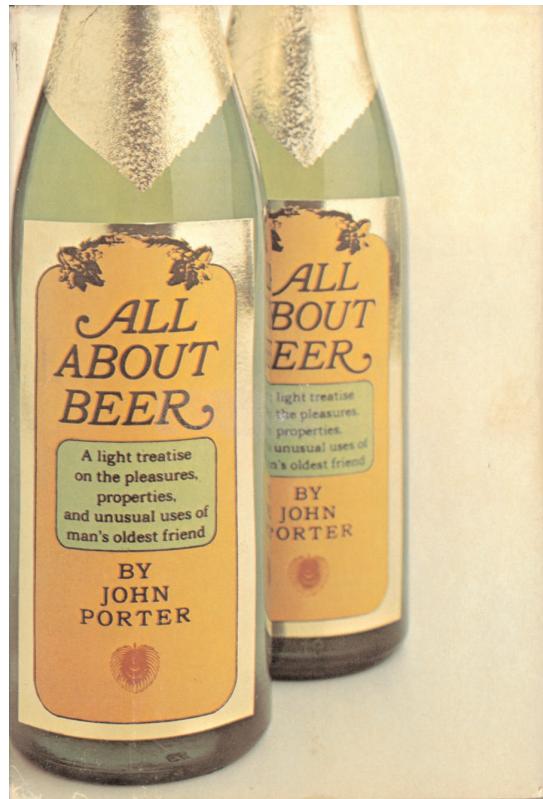


Figure 1. John Porter’s All About Beer published in 1975.

ited alcohol and where it was not, alcohol was often ‘needled’ in under the aegis of gangs who had muscled into brewery ownership.²⁰

Porter’s comments on New Jersey-based Ballantine Brewery’s revival of top-fermentation after Repeal in 1933 are of especial interest, especially this statement *a propos* the beer style that is seemingly today an anchor of modern craft brewing:

... Ballantine [has] continued ... brewing both ale and beer, including even their unique India Pale, a brew modeled after the ale the British used to ship out to ... India ... [It was] made strong enough to survive the sea voyage and the tropical climate, and Ballantine was faithful to that tradition. You can still find their India Pale in stores that cater to discriminating quaffers, but you’d better look soon. we know what happens to products that aren’t big sellers, no matter how fine they are. It would be sad, indeed, to see our last brew of great character phased out ...²¹

The book deals with the brewing process, a strong section given Porter's professional brewing credentials; whether imported beers trump the American norm; beer types (basic and not exempt from error, e.g., he states milk stout is a mix of milk and stout 50-50); brewing ingredients and additives; and home-brewing, then still illegal in the U.S. There is also a good chapter on beer in the kitchen featuring dishes such as Welsh rabbit, pancakes with onion and beer, and red cabbage with beer. He also states the directions to make a Black Velvet: mix equal amounts of 'cold Guinness stout' and 'chilled champagne'.²²

An overriding theme is the 'creeping mediocrity' that afflicted American brewing by 1975. Porter was a credible witness given that his professional familiarity with beer started in the 1930s when, by the end of 1934, 750 breweries were in business following the repeal of National Prohibition over a year earlier.²³ He bemoaned the increasing uniformity of American beer and the large role marketing and industry consolidation played to the detriment of inherent quality and variety.

As indices of the quality issue Porter discussed the pros and cons of pasteurization, shorter aging and use of enzymes to accelerate the break down of proteins, filtration to render beer brilliant, heavy use of malt adjuncts, and other techniques that arguably reduced beer's character. Nonetheless, he reserved plaudits for a few large breweries including Anheuser-Busch and Coors, the latter a cult brewery due to its refusal to pasteurize its beer. He also implied that customers had been 'conditioned' to accept a modern bland brilliant product rather than preferring such products as the industry often claimed.

Porter contrasted two types of 'good' beer. The first was trumpeted by 'advertising agencies' as having old fashioned goodness, but was brilliant in appearance, high adjunct, and pasteurized. The second was characterized by:

... nutritious yeast cells floating around in the beer, or the insoluble proteins, the 'live' enzymes and vitamins, the odd bits of flotsam, ... [a] changing quality ... [in] ... your favorite brew, and ... sediment in the bottle's bottom.²⁴

He added, if you viewed goodness in the second sense, as he clearly did himself, 'the goodness is gone and you have been lied to again'.²⁵

Craft brewing has vindicated Porter's connoisseurship by emphasizing a natural quality in brewing as seen for example in unfiltered, Bavarian-style wheat beer or the heavily opalescent New England style of I.P.A. The reverberations have affected even mass-market brewing for some time now.

Overall, Porter explained well the conditions that sparked the craft brewing revival although he did not call for any such thing and seemed resigned to the *status quo*. His advice to drinkers looking for something better was to seek Ballantine India Pale Ale, other domestic beers of quality, and the good imports.

He explained that import quality is not in direct proportion to sales, and gave the example of Pilsner Urquell, sales of which were much lower than its quality suggested (the situation is no different today). This was, possibly, an indirect reference to the fact that the remaining quality American beers were often expensive. He was suggesting a route to find good quality and save money and Pilsner Urquell was Exhibit 'A'.

Porter devoted a full chapter to homebrewing despite the illegality of the practice then. He gave detailed instructions on how to brew with the coy preface: "if one were permitted to do it". As homebrewers are undeniably an element of the early beer renaissance Porter's focus on the topic was prophetic and influential.²⁶ Porter is significant because he includes a credible homebrewing discussion in an otherwise conventional beer book. Some readers who hadn't thought of brewing at home when buying the book probably took it up due to this chapter or bought books dealing only with homebrewing. Homebrewing was legalized in the U.S. in 1978 under President Jimmy Carter, three years after the book's publication.²⁷

Porter's last chapter is entitled 'Brewmaster's Choice' and here he offers his beer recommendations for the discerning drinker. The Canada section includes beers today regarded as anodyne: mainstream ales from Labatt (now Anheuser Busch InBev), Molson (now Molson Coors), and Moosehead (still an independent). In fairness, and in this writer's opinion who drank the beers in that period, the ales had more character 40 years ago. Still, a factor of relativity is surely applicable, as for some of Porter's other recommendations below. From Britain, Porter recommended Whitbread Pale Ale,

Watney's Red Barrel beer, Mackeson Stout, and Watney's Stingo Ale - all credible choices with a possible question mark for Red Barrel, a hot button issue for the early CAMRA.

For Germany, he liked Dortmunder Union, Lowenbrau Dark, and Wurzburger, all excellent brews in our view. For the U.S. his choices included Ballantine I.P.A., Maximus Super Malt Liquor from The West End Brewing Co. in Utica, NY (makers today under the name F.X. Matt of the well-known Saranac craft line), Point Special from Stevens Point Brewing in Wisconsin, Coors, and Michelob. He includes Anchor Brewing in San Francisco in a list of biggest and smallest breweries, an important mention in retrospect as Anchor was a bridge to the craft beer era, but seems not to have been familiar with its beers.

Jackson's *The World Guide To Beer*²⁸ also championed Point Special, Michelob ('comparable in style and price with some of the European imports'²⁹), Ballantine I.P.A., and Maximus Super, among other beers selected as top brews by Porter. It seems likely to us that Jackson had read Porter's *All About Beer* and was influenced to a degree by it including Porter's admiration for Ballantine I.P.A., even though *The World Guide to Beer* makes no reference to John Porter, or any other American brewing writer. In turn, Jackson's enthusiasm for these beers, especially Ballantine I.P.A., exercised a decided influence on the craft brewing landscape.³⁰

As far as we know Porter did not write on beer after *All About Beer* with the exception of providing the introduction to Jim Robertson's book discussed below.

Michael Weiner

In San Francisco a widely followed, syndicated radio broadcaster and author, Michael Savage, has been active for some years and has carved a national reputation as an impassioned advocate and polemicist for conservative causes. Prior to his election as President, Donald Trump was a regular guest on the Savage program.

Michael Savage is the professional name of Michael Alan Weiner, born in the Bronx, NY in 1942. In 1977 Michael Weiner released *The Taster's Guide to Beer*.³¹ This is the year Jackson's *The World Guide To Beer*

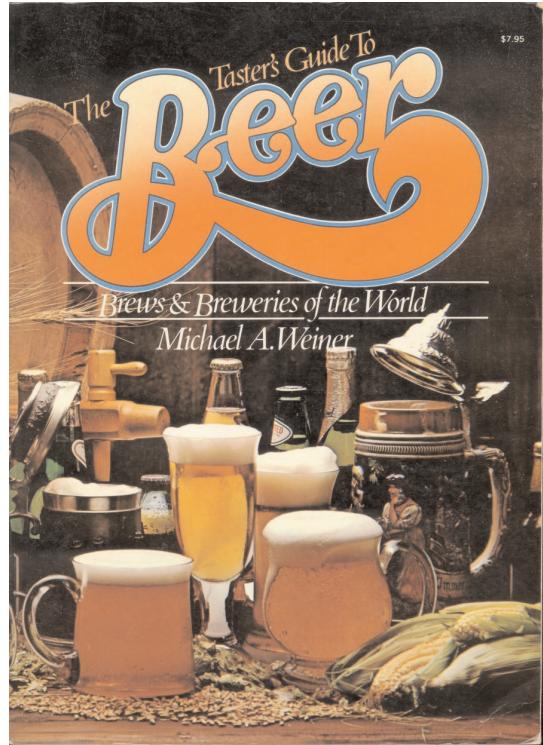


Figure 2. Michael Weiner's *The Taster's Guide to Beer* published in 1977.

appeared yet Weiner clearly was unaware of that book which is not mentioned in the text or the bibliography (the reverse seems true as well). John Porter's book is mentioned in the Weiner book, however.

As Michael Weiner/Savage is still active professionally albeit in areas far removed from the beerological, I will refer to him in the text by his current name. Further biographical detail can be gleaned from his website³² and a detailed Wikipedia entry.³³ After obtaining two master's degrees Savage gained a PhD from Berkeley in the 1970s in ethnobotany. His interest in plants, medicinal remedies, and related cultural practices seems to have prompted an interest in beer. He also had some connections in his early days with various counterculture figures including L.S.D. guru Timothy Leary. (Savage states he stayed away from lysergic acid).

After *The Taster's Guide to Beer* Savage wrote numerous books on herbs, herbalist remedies, and nutrition before finally turning to broadcasting, culture, and pol-

itics. As far as we know he never wrote on beer again. In some ways it is a pity as *The Taste's Guide to Beer* is a sophisticated, well-written tome that benefits from Savage's advanced education, inquiring mind, and early travels. The book is a proto-*The World Guide to Beer*, literate even though it lacks the literary flair and thoroughness of Jackson's best work. Had Michael Jackson never existed one may speculate that Savage might have become an effective evangelist for beer rather than other causes, perhaps 'the' evangelist.

The book has the most professional layout of the four covered in this article and contains many interesting illustrations and photos. In addition, a 16-page glossy insert reproduces in beautiful colour and great fidelity numerous items of pre-Prohibition brewery advertising. Many points of interest are reflected extending to beer colour, beer names, brewery names, and other detail of interest both to the casual reader and historians of American beer.

The book takes a largely national approach to its subject, a frequent gambit of 1970s beer writers including Jackson. But it has a good introduction and initial chapters deal well with topics such as the physiology of taste, beer history, beer-and-health (he explains why beer is fattening despite over-enthusiastic proponents to the contrary), brewing ingredients, beer types, and the brewing process. He quotes many useful sources, older and more recent, including The Brewers Association of Canada, Andrew Campbell's *The Book of Beer*,³⁴ and B. Parkes' *The Domestic Brewer*.³⁵

Savage had definite opinions on beer flavour - he asserts that his chief qualification to write the book is that he is an 'avid beer drinker' - and how to assess beer from a sensory standpoint. He includes a long ranking system at the end of the book to guide readers.³⁶ High rankings are awarded to beers such as Courage Strong Draft ('deep amber, very hoppy, true strong flavour'), Bass Pale Ale ('full, rich flavour'), Pilsner Urquell (the 'standard'), Courage Russian Imperial Stout ('rich, velvety, sweet, yet carries the bitter tang of hops'), Berliner Weisse ('naturally cloudy, vitamins of the B-complex, a wheat beer, consumed with raspberry or cherry syrup'), and Anchor Steam Beer ('highly hopped, strong body, flavour and bouquet'). Of outliers such as the long-defunct Uncle Ben's Malt Liquor from British Columbia he states: 'aged quality, mellow and good, soothing texture, a winner!'.

Mass-market U.S. beer is often dismissed with the quip 'computerized lager', e.g., Schlitz: 'Just awful. Sour, weak. A poor computerized lager'. Yet in common with most brewing writers of the day he liked Coors and Budweiser ('flavorful hoppiness, fine aftertaste, good ingredients'). We believe, based on our own taste memories, that these beers were significantly better than including in hop aroma, although once again relativity surely plays a role and the bar of taste has moved significantly since the 1970s.

Without question Savage understood the beer palate well; he knew what was good and traditional. Like John Porter he preferred beers made from all-malt and whole hops, excepting specialties such as wheat beers. He also preferred where possible beer that was not pasteurized, stating that, 'I strongly suspect that holding closed cans and bottles of beer at 140°f for fifteen minutes to kill all bacteria does affect flavor characteristics. After all, what else is killed?'³⁷ This meant in practice at the time domestic draft beer or home-brewed beer.

Like Porter, Savage deprecated the fact that most contemporary American beer was aged on average just a few weeks and contained significant grain adjunct, and chemical additives such as foam enhancers. He analyzed the differences between Tuborg in Denmark and the recently brewed American version yet seemed to have an open mind on the latter's corn adjunct, perhaps out of sensitivity to his sources. He prophetically forecast that more such international ventures would be created, as we see today where for example Bass Pale Ale and Beck's are brewed in the United States, the Japanese Sapporo is brewed in Ontario, and craft icon Brooklyn Lager (the draft) is brewed by Carlsberg in Denmark.

As much of the information compiled by Savage was provided to him by brewers, he is diplomatic - not a term usually associated with him today - in assessing mass-production and modern marketing. Still, there can be little doubt that he preferred rich-tasting, all-malt beer produced as naturally as possible. The book was too early to include the first modern American craft brewers, but Savage is very complimentary of Anchor Brewing in San Francisco and surely welcomed brewers such as New Albion Brewing and Sierra Nevada Brewing once they came to his notice.

In regard to hops, there is no discussion on the characteristics of emerging new cultivars such Cascade: it was simply too early. In fact, he repeats lore, traditional since the 19th century,³⁸ that imported hops have a quality American soils and climate cannot confer. This is stated in regard to Anheuser-Busch's Michelob, noted then for its foreign (German-type) top-note.³⁹

Given Savage was trained in the study of regional plants and herbs and their relationship to local beverages and cultural practices - ethnobotany - one would think he appreciated American-originated hops once beer with their imprint became available. Unfortunately, his section on Anchor omits reference to the brewery's early beers that used the Cascade hop, so his opinions on that subject in 1977 can't be known. The Anchor discussion did include its steam beer and porter; the porter was and remains in the English tradition, the steam beer was and remains essentially European in hop taste. For these beers, greatly influential of course in craft brewing history, he had only the highest compliments.⁴⁰

A valuable feature of the book is a 30-page 'Glossary of Beer Terminology' included at the end. It is not Savage's own, but was reprinted, with permission, from Whitbread and Company's *Word for Word*.⁴¹ From Adze to Yeast, this supplement (in effect) constitutes a mini beer and brewing history of its own, especially with reference to the U.K. context. In our view, the glossary, with its atmospheric references to porter, pale ale, I.P.A., barley wine and much more related to Albion and Britain had to influence the types of beer made by early U.S. craft breweries, many of which had a decided U.K. cast.

Savage's beer ethos can be summed up in these words from his book:

... the exacting beer drinker may first get acquainted with the truly masterful commercial brewers who brew with barley, malt, pure hops, water and yeast and use no additives or preservatives. To be able to brew beautiful beer, following very strict codes based on hundreds of years tradition, utilizing relatively modern equipment, and still run a profit is a feat indeed in a world of ersatz boosted by educated Babbitts.⁴²

There can be little doubt that many early American craft brewers read Michael Savage and took inspiration

from him. They faced the challenges he outlined with vigour. Today's vibrant world craft brewing movement is a testament to their collective, ever-increasing success. No greater proof of it can be had than the trend of recent years for mass-production brewers to buy craft breweries. This does not suggest any kind of reverse for quality brewing. Both John Porter and Michael Savage's books make clear they were primarily concerned with beer palate, not with the size of a brewery or its ownership structure as such. However, both were aware that the brewery consolidations of the 1970s tended to reduce the number of distinctive products in the market.

One may draw a similar conclusion from the next two books under consideration, by Jim Robertson and Stephen Morris, although Morris showed more inherent affection for the small-scale brewer.⁴³

James D. Robertson

Jim Robertson (1935-?)⁴⁴ released *The Great American Beer Book (TGABB)* in 1978. John Porter, mentioned above, appears under Robertson's name on the front cover as providing the introduction.

TGABB, while issued shortly after Michael Jackson's *World Guide*, was almost certainly written before Jackson's book came to Robertson's attention, as Jackson is not mentioned in the bibliography or text. Thus, *TGABB* can be viewed as reflecting specialist interest in beer in a U.S. context prior to Jackson making any impact.

It appears Robertson had an engineering and/or military background and lived in suburban New Jersey. The book follows the national classification approach seen in Savage's Guide, considering the beers of each country separately and under headings for each brewery. But *TGABB* is more rigorous as to the number of beers covered, their stylistic range, and the taste notes which are more searching and focused than Savage's.

This writer considers he can detect the influence of Consumer Reports, the U.S. consumer products rating service, on Robertson. Consumer Reports started in the 1930s in New York. Robertson's serial reviews have a similar format and 'voice'.⁴⁵

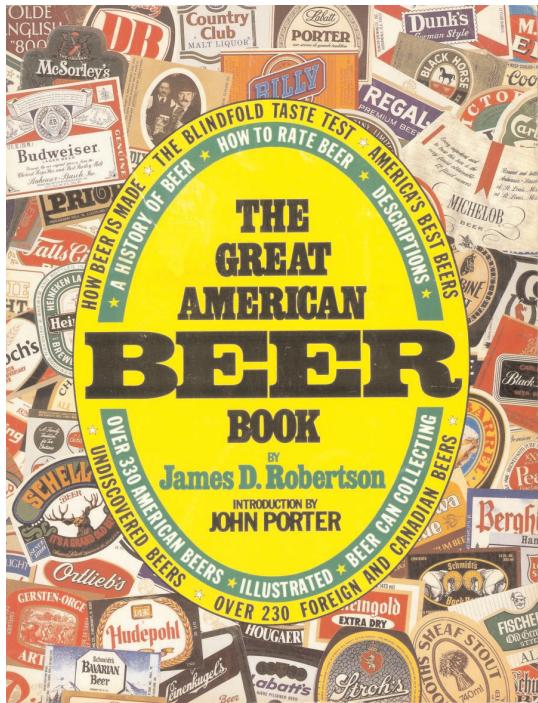


Figure 3. James D. Robertson's The Great American Beer Book published in 1978.

Before the national treatment commences, preliminary topics are addressed such as beer history (a short, but good, journalistic-style coverage with a pointed explanation of steam beer's importance); brewing processes including the use of adjuncts with Robertson firmly of the view that adjuncts lower beer quality; and beer styles covering ale, lager, 'malt liquor' (then of some importance in U.S. brewing), 'Weisse', and 'Others' such as faro and lambic ('fermented with wild yeasts and very acidic'), 'malta' from Puerto Rico, and even sake. The stylistic discussion is sparse, but adequate.

There follows a chapter on how to rate and taste beers. In part, it reflects the period of writing. For example, Robertson states that bitterness should be apparent when the beer is first sipped, but disappear as the beer is swallowed. This reflected contemporary American brewing opinion that hop bitterness must be minimal. One result was that hop usage fell progressively from the 1930s until the time Robertson was writing.⁴⁶ In some of his reviews he criticizes beer for being too bitter, yet by today's standards those beers likely are rela-

tively inoffensive. On the other hand, he will often note that a beer is not hoppy enough; as for any dedicated beer drinker he had his own notion of the *juste moyen*.

Robertson assembled taste panels from his friends schooled in his assessment criteria, and their ratings were tabulated and presented in league-tables and 'honor roles' at the book's end. Quality was rated by different measures including the best domestic and imported beers of different styles and the top domestic and imported brands as viewed in general. A lengthy taste-off is included of beers drawn at random, but broadly of the same style and colour. For example, Molson Export won over Whitbread Tankard, and Augsburger, a high-malt, U.S. 'super-premium' beat Maximus Super Malt Liquor.

The Molson vs. Whitbread result seems atypical and there are other seeming oddities in the list, but Robertson explains that balance was important to the panels. One beer might have a stronger overall flavor - more 'character' as Robertson acknowledges - yet be considered lesser for not tasting as good as the other in the final result.⁴⁷ The overall winner as between the domestic and imported groups, and this is among hundreds of beers tested, was San Miguel Dark from the Philippines.⁴⁸

The early chapters are quite short and the heart of the book is the long national, or rather international, section. Unlike the three other writers Robertson tried to find every beer sold in the U.S. at that time. Of course he didn't quite get to them all, but still an impressive number was tasted including beers from Alaska's innovative Prinz Brau venture. It made German-style, all-malt beers between 1976 and 1979, a development that in retrospect was ahead of its time.

No craft brewer was included. There was brief mention of Jack McAuliffe's New Albion Brewing in Sonoma, CA with a nice reproduction of two of its labels, but Robertson clearly was not able to taste the beers. Anchor Brewing was included with a detailed assessment of the steam beer and porter, but again the early experimental beers of Anchor that, even by 1978, used the Cascade hop were not tasted. Yet, Robertson did taste a proto-craft beer: Henry Weinhard Private Reserve, made by Blitz-Weinhard in Portland, OR. That beer, introduced about 1975, used the new Cascade hop

and, while a lager, played its own role in stimulating the use of this variety by the emerging craft brewers. Robertson does not note any particular characteristic as associated today with Cascade such as white pith citric, or grapefruit-like.⁴⁹

Robertson did not much like the two Anchor beers mentioned, which is interesting as he was capable of appreciating some pretty impactful beers including Ballantine I.P.A. Perhaps the Anchor beers when they reached him on the East Coast were in poor condition. Later, Robertson issued an updated edition of *TGABB*, and engaged in further beer writing, that took full account of craft brewing developments and showed an obvious appreciation for the craft palate. Possibly, in part at least, his palate simply evolved, as for many who start the beer experience from a fixed set of parameters.

Yet, even in 1978 Robertson was lavish in praise of highly hopped, vatted Ballantine I.P.A. of which he wrote:

Deep brown gold, pungent aroma of hops, enormous body for a beer, powerful flavor yet with surprisingly good balance, taste very slightly on the sour side; long, long, finish, lingering full-flavored aftertaste. This beer is unquestionably long-aged, maybe even in wood, and it shows in the flavor. It may be too intense for many people, but if you claim to be a beer drinker, you should at least try it.⁵⁰

The desiderata of currently fashionable craft beers - long barrel aging, sourness, massive flavor, prominent hop smell and taste - are all wrapped up in this review of 40 years ago.

Jackson's *World Guide* only briefly mentions Ballantine's I.P.A. Together with Ballantine XXX Ale it is described as 'much loved and nationally marketed',⁵¹ a rather lapidary formulation. There is no statement along the lines of the I.P.A. being a national treasure or anything comparable to what Robertson states above. It is quite possible that Jackson only tasted the beer some time between 1977 and 1982, when his first pocket tasting guide was published. Even if he had tasted it when the *World Guide* was written, no special attention was devoted to the beer in contrast, say, to Anchor Steam Beer, a beer whose palate was never as impactful as Ballantine I.P.A. Therefore, it may be that Jackson's

later assessment of Ballantine I.P.A. was influenced by the special regard Porter and Robertson had for the beer.

Robertson's lengthy U.S. section provides an interesting historical perspective by reviewing a large number of small brewery or regional brands long since disappeared. He sometimes found character in small town beers, e.g., Hull Brewing's Export Beer in New Haven, Conn., describing it as 'finely balanced with good lightly hopped character, medium body, very smooth and even pleasant aftertaste'.⁵²

He uses the term 'sour' often in reference to standard pasteurized American light lagers, many of which earned his derision. The term almost certainly, in this context, referred to malt adjuncts such as corn, rice, or syrups as these can lend a sourish note to beer especially when used in quantity. A well-attenuated beer also can sometimes taste sour.

As for Porter and Savage, Robertson clearly favoured all-malt beers, or at least high-malt beers, and his reviews of German lagers underpin that preference. The Belgian section, quite inadequate in Savage's book - there is no reference to Trappist ales, for example - is overly brief here as well. But it did cover Orval ('resinous aromatic flavor, sharp and sweet'),⁵³ and Chimay Red ('sweet apple bubble gum flavor, like a home-made root beer. My Aunt "Beenie" used to make a root beer ... like this ...').⁵⁴ His comments on the well-known saison Regal from Marbaix-la-Tour are interesting: '... sweetness that actually becomes unpleasant, intense sweet cough medicine with a tenacious acetone-like character. It is too much for me').⁵⁵ He found an aromatic 'ketone' quality, finishing to sourness, in the brown Leffe,⁵⁶ even then made by a 'subsidiary of the giant Artois brewing complex', but clearly liked this better than the other two. It appears that Jim Robertson ran into the distinctive Belgian yeast profile, which then as now puts off some people, this despite the latter-day success of Belgian and Belgian-style beers internationally. On the lager side of Belgian output he liked Loburg from Stella Artois more than the eponymous brand ('well-hopped pungent quality').⁵⁷

In the 'England, Scotland, Ireland' section, he found bottled Guinness Extra Stout challenging, but enjoyable ('very full-bodied, coffee-toffee flavor with a chocolate-like finish').⁵⁸ Double Diamond was 'quite light,

finish[ing] dry and brief. Somewhat disappointing for Britain's top-selling ale'.⁵⁹ He liked MacEwan's beers a lot from Edinburgh, finding the Edinburgh Ale 'unusually complex, [it has] a beautiful roast bacon flavor with a smoky aftertaste'.⁶⁰ This suggests that some Scotch Ale had a smoky taste ancestrally as this is years before any craft brewer thought to use peated malt in a mash or an extra measure of roast barley.

Of Dow Black Horse Ale in Canada he wrote: 'spring water aroma, spring-water flavor, unpleasant metal background as if ... in a very rusty pipe ... unusual finish, like dried apricots'.⁶¹ Hence, Robertson gives insight on then-surviving characteristics of pale Canadian top-fermented beers. Some reviews strike a modern tone: of Kronenbourg 1664 he states it has a 'light malt aroma, [and] strange, almost fruity, vinous flavor; light hops in the finish'. It is exactly that today, 40 years later.⁶²

Robertson does not call for a revival of American brewing, that is, the creation of new small breweries. His entry on the unrated New Albion Brewing (founded 1977) notes that the brewery is the most recently established, but he doesn't herald its founding as of particular importance. If anything Robertson seemed doubtful of its prospects as he noted New Albion was entering a highly competitive market in Northern California.

He did bemoan that beers recently introduced in the general market seemed very pale, with ever-fewer calories and seemingly directed to people who didn't really like beer.

His solution, as for John Porter and Michael Savage, was to seek out the best still available from U.S. brewers and the good imports. All writers at the time, Jackson included, lauded what was then called the "super-premium" segment. These were beers made by large breweries that employed a high barley malt mash bill and a reasonable hopping regimen. They were generally takes on the Pilsener or Export styles, some of the names included Andeker, Augsburger, Erlanger and, in Canada, Brador. These beers were worthy, but did not resemble the best imports much less craft examples of these styles today. Still, they offered an alternative in the more straightened years of the 1970s.

There is no question that by the sheer number of beers and the beery enthusiasm demonstrated in *TGABB*, Jim

Robertson contributed no less than Porter and Savage to the beer renaissance. This is confirmed by his working in beer journalism and writing for years after the beer revolution took root, but even apart this his book is ample evidence of the true beerman and he surely inspired countless readers.

It is apt to conclude a consideration of Robertson by citing his reviews of two Danish beers, an imperial stout and porter. His notes show that even if offended occasionally by excess hops, weird ketones and acetones, or simply too much taste, he understood what made for fine beer.

The imperial stout from Wiibroes Brewery:

Almost opaque black, rich, complex stout aroma, hiding all kinds of good things, rich luxurious malty flavor, and a long, long finish; fairly dry for the type and might well please many American palates ...⁶³

The Albani Porter from Albani Breweries:

Deep molasses-brown color, smooth lightly malty aroma, big rich sourish taste, pineapple background, long rich finish, complex, balanced, smooth, an absolute delight.⁶⁴

Stephen Morris

Stephen Morris' (b.1948) book, *The Great Beer Trek*⁶⁵ is the most idiosyncratic of the books considered here. It departs from the general format of reviewing beer history, explaining ingredients and technics, setting out a tasting or rating scheme, and providing recipes for beer with food. Rather, it is a quest book, a quixotic ramble through America via his 'noble steed', a 1972 Chevrolet Beauville Sportsman. Morris was accompanied on the trip by his young pregnant wife, Laura, and their dog, Guinness. They were re-enacting the road trips of Walt Whitman, Jack Kerouac, John Steinbeck, Neil Cassady, and a host of other traveller-seekers, save they were fixed on the malt, at least professedly. Hence the declared motive: to find 'the Secret of the Suds'. Morris broke down the object into both frivolous and serious. The fun part took inspiration from asserted 1600s 'beer riders' in Germany, carefree noble sons seeking new friends and sensations on the road while continually refilling their barrels. The more serious purpose: an

interest to understand his countrymen, or nation, ‘Beer Drinker Americanus’ as he termed them. Discovering America via beer seemed entirely logical to Morris who perceived ‘that the entire country, if not the whole world, revolved around beer’.

The book was published in 1984, but the trek took place years earlier, in 1978. The text therefore mostly reflects a pre-Jacksonian, pre-craft perspective. Still, the book has glimmers of the craft world to come, in two ways. First, Morris visited both Anchor Brewing and New Albion Brewing in California, small breweries that heralded a movement, as Morris perceived. Second, Morris was a homebrewer and the trek visited birds of a feather in Vermont and elsewhere. These groups amounted to a proto-craft brewing culture as appears from his accounts.

Thus, and as reinforced by the charming pen-and-ink illustrations of his collaborator Vance Smith, Morris’ book is the closest of the four to exhibiting a craft beer sensibility. John Porter’s book is that of a pre-WW II brewer turned boulevardier and jack of different trades. Michael Savage’s book reflects the beer ponderings of the Ivory Tower. Jim Robertson’s tome is that of suburban technocrat reinvented as beer critic. But Morris, even via prose some 40 years old, speaks to us most clearly as embryonic beer hipster.

Even though Michael Jackson and, through his agency, the attractiveness of British beer culture do not inform Morris’ book, there is still a significant connection to the U.K. Morris describes in the preface having spent a year working in London in the early 1970s with his wife. Due to the ‘clammy discomfort’ of their basement flat they spent countless evenings at the Queen’s Elm ‘quaffing countless pints of bitter’.⁶⁶

This opened Morris’ eyes to a world of beer far more varied than ‘Pabst, Bud, and Miller Lite’. He also learned of CAMRA’s work - well described in a sidebar - and that he could brew his own beer in different colours ‘with a taste range ... from lemonade to coal tar’.

On returning home with a bunch of British brewing kits Morris embarked on homebrewing even though it was unlawful at the time, a circumstance that offended his sense of individual liberties. Thinking about the role of beer in society impelled him, he states, to embark on a

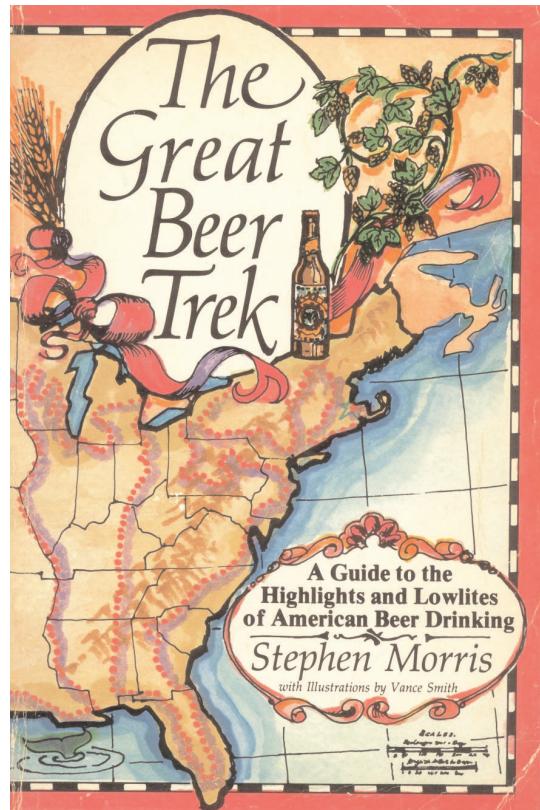


Figure 4. Stephen Morris’s *The Great Beer Trek* published in 1984.

national beer trek. As the preface notes, the book is more about beer drinking and people than beer and breweries, yet it contains many useful taste notes and technical observations - the book is for anyone who enjoys beer in-depth.

Morris drove the van with Laura and Guinness through many regions and states, starting in Massachusetts, then Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania and wending far beyond, ending finally in the northwest. Each chapter describes visits to breweries and notable bars and interviews with their representatives. At the end of each chapter a list of breweries is set out. A ‘state beer’ is also ascribed, e.g., Genesee for New York and, most aptly in retrospect, Anchor Steam Beer for California even though its sales then were tiny. A list of representative brews for each state is included with good taste notes. ‘Kindred spirits’ are listed as well such as homebrewing and can collecting organizations.

His description of mid-1970s Vermont homebrewing culture is centered on an interview with Tim Matson. In 1975 Matson co-wrote, with girlfriend Lee Ann Dorr, a basic, but groundbreaking manual on homebrewing, *Mountain Brew*.⁶⁷ Matson is depicted as a Green Mountain hippie whose interest in homemade drink started with spiking cider at boarding school. Matson's goal was to make pure products without great pretense or forethought. The book describes the personalities and often-improvised recipes of a group of 70s back-to-the-landers in a state later famous, not coincidentally surely, for innovating an influential style of I.P.A.

Morris envisaged a somewhat commercialized vision of what Matson was doing by including a drawing of a downhome, rickety wood building with the sign 'Dogbone Brewing Company'. The caption underneath: 'There's no one in the beer business who doesn't dream ...'.⁶⁸ In effect, he was projecting the creation of craft breweries in America. That dream became a reality for many ex-home brewers, and others, starting from the last years of the 1970s.

The rustic Matson visit is contrasted with a dispiriting spell in the 'neo-Bavarian plastic splendor' of Anheuser-Busch's hospitality room in Merrimack, NH. Morris weighs the obvious generosity of free beer and hospitality against his grudge, no less real for being 'unfair', that his host caused 'the ill-fortunes of hundreds of local brewers from coast to coast'.⁶⁹

The beer Tim Matson and his friends enjoyed ranged from canned hop-flavoured malt extract brew to exotica that sounds strangely contemporary 40 years on.

Anyone discouraged with the blandness of American beers can look to *Mountain Brew* to learn about brewers who concoct experimental brews with Postum, wormwood, Maxim (to get a beer with caffeine), buckwheat groats, steak bones, chicken heads, maple syrup, and burdock root ... A simple product results from a simple process which the brewer controls. Some experiments result in improved beers, some in swill ... Homebrew plays the role of balm, nutrient, and sacrament. The role would not be understood by the president of Miller or Schlitz.⁷⁰

Today, the megabrewers' CEOs get it of course, a cultural shift Stephen Morris and Tim Matson helped both chart and pioneer.

Morris makes the point that every beer fan has his own framework to appreciate beer. Taste is not the only criterion, others may include brewery ownership or size, or the location of a brewery.⁷¹

Morris interviews a number of contemporary beer luminaries including beer writer Will Anderson, Dick Yuengling of the small Pennsylvania brewery that now has a national market, spokespersons for beer can groups, and brewers from breweries of all sizes. The brewers included Fritz Maytag of Anchor Brewing, founded 1896, but a bridge to the craft brewing movement, and Jack McAuliffe of New Albion Brewing, the first modern craft brewery, established in Sonoma, CA in 1976.

Some of the interviews offer insights of good historical value. For example, an Anheuser-Busch brewer evinced no interest in McAuliffe's beer and stated he preferred Michelob. Anderson was primarily concerned to save America's disappearing regional brewing heritage, presumably even brewers making beer similar to mass-market beers. Maytag was seen presciently as 'the unofficial spokesman for the enterprising small brewers of the country'.⁷²

Because the book was published after craft brewing had established a small, but perceptible footprint Morris included in his lists of breweries the few micro or craft brewers then existing. He also sometimes comments on the new beers themselves, finding them never less than interesting. Not surprisingly, he also flagged Ballantine India Pale Ale ('puts hair on your chest') thus playing his part in creating the legend of the beer that helped put I.P.A. on the world map. Occasionally too he refers in the text to a budding small brewery phenomenon. These parts reflect the fact that the book was published six years after the trek, and are of interest as describing the early craft brewing environment, but most of the book reports on his 1978 travels.

In 1978 Anchor Brewing and New Albion Brewing were the only commercial alternatives to the U.S. brewing norm, and Morris visited both. Perceiving Anchor's incipient role as small brewery avatar, Morris saw the same potential for New Albion. He noted perceptively that whatever happened to New Albion (it expired in the early 1980s), its future in American brewing history was assured. This exposure to the first commercial stirrings

of craft brewing, together with immersion in the home-brewing cultures of both coasts, made Morris both prophet of, and guide to, craft-brewing culture. He noted for example that homebrewers used up to four times more hops than commercial brewers, and that east coast homebrewers expressed surprise at the amount of hops their western counterparts put in their beer. The pioneer days of today's beer culture are evident for all to see, it would appear.⁷³

Concluding thoughts

Taken together these four books describe or forecast in the essentials the ingredients, styles, technical processes, and even the more outlandish innovations of today's brewing scene. There is also occasionally some good writing, especially by Savage and Morris.

They achieved this without being aware of what Michael Jackson was doing or had in store for the world of beer. In particular Jackson, the skilled ex-Fleet Street journalist, had the gift to propose a glossary of world beer styles that today form the basic lexicon of beer. An example is how he wrote about imperial stout. Jackson made imperial stout a thing, a datum, fully imbued with and defined by its romantic history, or what became its romantic history in his hands. Before Jackson, imperial stout was not just almost completely forgotten, it was simply a very strong black beer.

In comparison, the four American beer writers discussed were, respectively, an ex-brewer who had left the trade c.1942 for a raft of other callings, an academic with an arcane PhD, a technocrat turned beer nerd, and a semi-hippie quester. None of them had any lofty ambitions comparable to a Jackson, although had Jackson not existed one or more might have filled his role, at least in America.

Despite Jackson's undeniable pre-eminence in beer criticism these Americans should be remembered. Indeed they have been unfairly overshadowed. They helped stimulate interest in quality beer and certainly participated in creating the artisan- and foreign-flavoured beer culture of 2018. Their books were available in the food-and-wine sections of decent-sized bookstores and were read by countless beer fans, homebrewers, craft brewers, and tourists seeking information. Furthermore,

Michael Jackson almost certainly read their books and took notice of what they admired, especially Ballantine IPA, the beer that more than anything sparked the I.P.A. phenomenon of the last 20 years.⁷⁴

Porter, Savage, Robertson, and Morris deserve a hearty "cheers" from the hundreds of thousands of contemporary beer fans in North America and beyond. The fact that beer of an astonishing variety and quality is easily accessible today is due in part to their intrepid work 40 years ago. This article pays them a long overdue tribute.

Acknowledgement

Many thanks to Tim Holt for having suggested the topic of this article, and for his always-valuable input and support including providing the specific references to Ballantine beer in Bob Abel's *The Book of Beer* referred to in the Notes. We remain solely responsible for the content and any errors or limitations herein.

References

1. See for example 'Michael Jackson', *The Telegraph*, 01 September 2007, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1561853/Michael-Jackson.html> ('... pioneering ... perhaps the most widely-known ... writer on beer ...'). (Accessed 20/12/2017).
2. See international collection of tributes from beer writers and others by 'Staff', 'Remembering Michael Jackson', *All About Beer*, Volume 28, Issue 5 (online version, unpaginated). 1 November 2007, <http://allaboutbeer.com/article/remembering-michael-jackson/> (Accessed 20/12/2017).
3. See Brown, P (ed.) (2010) 'Michael Jackson Special Issue' *Brewery History*. 139, November, <http://www.brewery-history.com/journal/archive/139/> (Accessed 23/12/2017), a collection of nine articles by mostly U.K. beer writers on Jackson's importance and legacy. These articles, albeit of varying quality, explain well Jackson's outsize influence in the consumer beer landscape of the last 40 years.
4. Jackson, M. (1977) *The World Guide to Beer*. Toronto: Ballantine Books of Canada Ltd. The book was published concurrently in Britain, the U.S., and Canada and appeared that year in both hardcover and softcover editions. It was later reprinted many times and Jackson also issued many subsequent books, both in coffee table and pocket book format, expanding on his original achievement. Many of these were

translated into a passel of languages that helped spread his influence. This writer travelled with Jackson in France in the early 1990s to visit surviving, old-established breweries in Nord-Pas-de-Calais (as then termed), and was continually surprised to see him greeted as the proverbial rock star by unilingual French brewers and beer enthusiasts.

5. Brown, P. (ed.) (2010), op. cit., see especially Smagalski at pp. 37-59. This collection, as a whole, leads ineluctably to that impression, were proof needed. A more recent survey of Jackson's achievement, journalistic in nature, but deeper than most, is Boak, J. and Bailey, R. (2017) 'The Birth of the Beer Hunter: Looking Back on Michael Jackson's Legacy', *Beer Advocate*. June (online version, unpaginated) <https://www.beeradvocate.com/articles/15939/the-birth-of-the-beer-hunter-looking-back-on-michael-jacksons-legacy/> (Accessed 24/12/2017). The authors provide, in diplomatic fashion, a more balanced view of the man than what has amounted to the hagiography of the past ten years. This is salutary although his achievement remains undimmed, as I think they would agree. We concur with much of their account, but disagree in particular with their oddly lukewarm view of Jackson's first book, *The English Pub*. That book is a sophisticated yet witty treatment of the pub from many standpoints - historical, culinary, architectural, the arts, games, sports, and more, not to mention its masterful explication of English bitter and mild. Quite extraordinary from someone who left school at 16.

6. This lively, but withal 'professorial' series explored beer on location in the U.K., California, Belgium, Czech Republic, and Germany. It was shown during 1989-1990 on Channel 4, U.K., the Discovery Channel in the U.S., and on Belgian television. See for an assessment of the programs and their legacy Acitelli, T. (2015) 'The Beer Hunter TV Show 25 Years On', *All About Beer*. 27 October (online version, unpaginated) <http://allaboutbeer.com/the-beer-hunter-tv-show-25-years-on/> (Accessed 23/12/2017).

7. Many accounts of CAMRA's origins have been written, but there is no substitute for reading the organization's account of its history on its website: <http://www.camra.org.uk/key-events-in-camra-s-history> (Accessed 25/12/2017). A perusal of the website *in toto* will give a good understanding of what CAMRA strives to achieve and the considerable rationale that still exists for its mandate to promote exclusively 'real ale', known since the 1800s at least, but in truth much older than that. While it is beyond the scope of our article to discuss the specific influence of CAMRA and British brewing on inchoate American craft beer culture of the 1970s-early 80s, there is no question that influence was substantial and probably decisive. Therefore,

the welcome reception in the last 20 years Britain has given American craft brewing developments is really in many ways a continuation of something that started in Britain, not just with CAMRA in 1971, but hundreds of years ago. It is a continuation, especially via the star of craft brewing, I.P.A., in zigzag and eccentric fashion of the English brewing tradition itself. With apologies to The Who, the new boss is not the same as the old boss, but both have the same D.N.A.

8. This paper is not an exhaustive consideration of 1970s United States consumer beer books. An example not canvassed herein was Abel, B. (1976) *The Book of Beer*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. The latter was reviewed by Stange, J. (2016) 'American Beer 40 Years ago, and one of its Chroniclers', *DRAFT*. 1 September. (online version, unpaginated), <http://draftmag.com/book-of-beer-bob-abel/> (Accessed 23/12/2017). The book appears to be in the main a review of saloons in large cities and the beers they offered with insight on good imported beers, but also the emerging importance of Anchor Brewing in San Francisco. In terms of the general influence on later craft brewing developments, this pre-Jackson book no doubt played its role. In the book Abel refers to 'Ballantine' a few times. The first is in a chapter written by Craig McGregor who drives from east to west and back again in an attempt to 'drink .. around America in 99 days'. He mentions Ballantine in a list of brewers you find in New York, his starting point. It appears again in the final line when he returns to his local (p. 177):

'Gimme a Rainier's Ale,' I said, grinning.
'All we got is Ballantine,' he said, a bit defensively.

The second reference is contained in a quote from Fritz Maytag from Anchor Brewery. He is talking about the blandness of American beers, and states '... Ballantine Ale, that's different again. It's dry-hopped, with a particular brewers' hops. You can open a can of Ballantine in a room, and I can smell it right away'. (p. 196). These various statements probably referenced Ballantine XXX Ale, the 5% golden ale nationally distributed since the 1930s at least (it still is, today under the aegis of Pabst Brewery). Ballantine IPA was so specific a beer and taste that we doubt Abel or McGregor (or Maytag) were referring to it on these occasions. Still, the comments do suggest in a general way the special repute of Ballantine's beers. Other consumer books in the 1970s pertain to can collecting, then a major suburban hobby. One in particular has many interesting photos of cans and bottles and advert reproductions, as well as scattered references to beer types or beer quality: see *Beer Can Collectors of America*, Wright, L. (ed.) (1976) *The Beer*

Can. Matteson, IL: Great Lakes Living Press. In Canada, an illustration-heavy book ostensibly of an entertaining nature but with good historical tidbits and many captivating adverts from different eras, as well as label depictions, is Donaldson, G. and Lampert, G. (eds.) (1976) *The Great Canadian Beer Book*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited. Also, the American Will Anderson wrote numerous books on beer in the 1970s with a focus on the northeast and Chicago. Judging by books we have read published by Anderson in the later 1980s, his publications appear useful on a plane similar to the Canadian book mentioned. Finally, our article does not in general consider books or manuals that exclusively or mainly deal with homebrewing. There is no question that 1970s homebrewing is an important thread in the tapestry that is the craft renaissance, but it is a subject worthy of separate study.

9. Carolyn Smalinski's article is in our view overly dismissive of the writing of Jim Robertson and Michael Weiner, aka Michael Savage and does not take account of their proper merits: see her note 22. Her exposition though of Jackson's own influence in the U.S. is well drawn.

10. Porter, J. (1975) *All About Beer*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

11. The present writer bought this book in Montreal, Quebec not long after publication. That, together with the well-known imprint, suggests the book was available in most urban centres of any size in North America.

12. Porter, J. (1975) op. cit., p.xii.

13. ibid.

14. ibid.

15. ibid., p.xiii.

16. ibid.

17. ibid.

18. Many who were more than casually interested in beer would have been dissuaded from reading a couple of hundred pages. To this day it surprises this writer when many dedicated, otherwise literate, beer enthusiasts tell him that they have never read a word of Michael Jackson or many other writers on beer for that matter, apart perhaps a few online articles or the rating services or Instagram. A few state they read an author or two currently in vogue, but most aver to have never heard of Jackson. This was the case even before he died, but more so today given the time elapsed since his decease. Still, while knowledge of the man's achievement is slowly seeping from the public beer mind there can be no doubt his writings still thoroughly inform the beer landscape. This is so as to style classification and taste description, especially, but also such things as the enduring appeal of Belgian beers (something that mystifies this writer as the clovey and/or Brettanomyces yeast signature makes them all

seem rather similar, often).

19. Porter, J. (1975) op.cit., p.3.

20. ibid., p. 9.

21. ibid., pp. 13-14.

22. Porter includes in this chapter a discussion how beer can be used as a hair conditioner due to its proteins. Use of beer this way was a semi-joke of the 1970s that seems to have disappeared without a trace: that time's beer can chicken, one might say.

23. See Warner, A. (2010) 'The Evolution of the American Brewing Industry', *Journal of Business Case Studies*. p.37 [https://www.cluteinstitute.com/ojs/index.php/JBCS/article/do wnload/257/247/](https://www.cluteinstitute.com/ojs/index.php/JBCS/article/download/257/247/) (Accessed 23/12/2017).

24. Porter, J. (1975) op.cit., p. 46. See an uncommonly frank contemporary industry acknowledgement of this view by Berger, D.G. (1972) 'Quality Control in the Brewing Industry', *Journal of Milk Food Technology*. Vol.35, No.12, pp.719-724, <http://jfoodprotection.org/doi/pdf/10.4315/0022-2747-35.12.719?code=fopr-site> (Accessed 15/01/2018). The trend would yet accelerate with the onset of the light beers such as Miller Lite and Coors Light.

25. ibid.

26. It is beyond our scope in this article to consider homebrewing manuals as such, but the main (American) names of the period include Charlie Papazian, Fred Eckhardt and Tim Matson.

27. See the interesting discussion some years ago in *HomebrewTalk* where a participant confirmed that pre-1978 homebrewing was not an issue that preoccupied law enforcement - he himself had brewed unhindered while the practice was illegal - but rather that the change in the law resulted in the availability of much better brewing ingredients than chary winemaking shops had been prepared to carry before legalization. Hence, the change in the law considerably improved the quality of post-legalization homebrew: <https://www.homebrewtalk.com/forum/threads/history-of-home-brewing-legalization-in-the-u-s-seeking-info.194974/> (Accessed 23/12/2017).

28. Jackson, M. (1977) op. cit. It may be noted that on the cover Jackson is described as editor ('edited by Michael Jackson'). On the p.4 where the Canadian and American publications details are given a statement is included: 'edited and written by Michael Jackson'. On the same page, Jackson thanks for their 'help in my research and the preparation of the text' ten persons. As far as I know, the question has not been examined, or in any detail, what parts Jackson may not have written, or what role exactly these others played and Jackson played as editor. Today, it is simply assumed Jackson wrote the book. The question can be of some importance as,

for example, I suggest infra in the text that perhaps Jackson hadn't tasted Ballantine India Pale Ale prior to publishing *The World Guide to Beer*.

29. ibid., p.211.

30. Jackson's frank admiration for Ballantine I.P.A. first appears in his first pocket guide, issued in 1982: see Jackson, M., (1982) *The Pocket Guide To Beer*, especially p.119. <https://books.google.ca/books?id=AcsgAQAAIAAJ&dq=michael+Jackson+Pocket+guide&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=IPA> (Accessed 23/12/2017). ('Because it is, in the U.S. context, such an unusual product, [Ballantine] I.A merits close attention'). He gave details on its impressively high starting gravity (1072) and hop bill, and awarded it a top rating. Clearly he had had good experience tasting the beer by then. It seems impossible to us though that he was unaware of what Porter had written about the beer seven years earlier, and what Robertson wrote about it four years earlier as will appear below in the text. Ballantine I.P.A. played an important early role in stimulating the current widespread popularity of 'I.P.A'. See, for example, Steele, M., (2012) *IPA: Brewing Techniques, Recipes and the Evolution of India Pale Ale*. Boulder, CO: Brewers Publications, especially p.137: 'Ballantine's IPA influenced many craft pioneers, including Fritz Maytag of San Francisco's Anchor Brewery and Ken Grossman of Sierra Nevada Brewing Company, both of whom introduced seasonal IPAs inspired by the original IPA'. See also Steele's comments p.145. Weirdly, Ballantine I.P.A. was taken off the market in 1996 by its industrial brewery owner, leaving the I.P.A. field open to the craft brewing segment, which 'ran with it' in the next 20 years. A few years ago, Pabst woke up and returned the beer to the market. So far, so good, but incomprehensibly a revised recipe was employed that included numerous, citric-tasting hops that did not exist in the beer's pre-70s heyday. Even though information was available on the beer's composition in the 1900s an earlier hop bill was not used. Nor was the beer aged in vat for one year or even a period of months, rather, some type of oak treatment was applied. We understand, not surprisingly to our ears, that Pabst has recently withdrawn the beer from the market, again. What a missed opportunity!

31. Weiner, M. (1977) *The Taster's Guide to Beer*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Co. Inc.

32. www.michaelsavage.com (Accessed 24/12/2017). The website is subtitled 'Home of the Savage Nation - Borders, Language, Culture'.

33. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Savage (Accessed 24/12/2017).

34. Campbell, A. (1956) *The Book of Beer*. London: Dennis

Dubson.

35. Parkes, B. (1821) *The Domestic Brewer and Family Wine-maker*. London: Wetton & Jarvis.

36. Weiner, M. (1977), op. cit, from p.247.

37. ibid., p.103. Strangely, despite the ostensible sophistication of modern beer criticism and its capability of appreciating highly artisan products, extending to the sour, the funky, and the muddy, a searching exploration of pasteurization - which producers use it and the different forms of pasteurization - is sadly lacking. Beer critique 40 years ago was in general much more concerned with the process than today, justly so. To this day, the present writer, when hearing brewers with large brewery experience intone that even tunnel pasteurization makes no difference to palate, thinks of Savage's statement.

38. See our blog entry of July 2016 discussing and referencing some history of the disdain of European brewers for American hops: <http://www.beeretseq.com/the-american-hop-smells-of-garlic-1906/> (Accessed 25/12/2017).

39. Weiner, M. (1977), op. cit, p.188.

40. Weiner, M. (1977), op. cit p.247 where Anchor Steam Beer is awarded six mugs, meaning 'almost perfect' in his rating scheme, and Anchor Porter is awarded the same score. His taste note on the Porter reads in part 'solid, very dark ... malty aroma, hoppy, full-bodied, nut-like flavor'. In our view the Porter tastes exactly like that today.

41. Whitbread & Co. Ltd. (1953) Introduction by Ivor Brown, *Word for Word: an Encyclopaedia of Beer*. London: Whitbread & Co. Ltd.

42. Weiner, M. (1977), op. cit p.14. The comma after 'barley' may be a printing error, but we think the author probably meant that beer should be composed either of barley malt, hops, yeast, and water or, those and wheat malt in addition, as he was likely taking account of German wheat beers, a style he showed appreciation for in the book.

43. In May 2009 the British government banned Savage from visiting the U.K. on the ground he made statements likely to endanger public security. The statements have not been identified publicly. Despite his repeated attempts to set aside the ban, at the time of writing Savage remains unable to visit the U.K.

44. Robertson, J. (1978) *The Great American Beer Book*. Ottawa, IL and Thornwood, NY: Caroline House Publishers, Inc.

45. See our overview of Consumer Reports history in our blog entry of 14 June 2016, here: <http://www.beeretseq.com/rating-wines-and-spirits-in-america-in-1940/> (Accessed 25/12/2017). A link is provided in our discussion so one may read the 1940 taste notes, for wines

and spirits in this case, referred to in the blog entry; they compare well, or in our view, to the serial review style in Robertson's book.

46. See, in JK's *Beer Pages*, a U.S. website compiled by the pseudonymous Jess Kidden, the clear statistical and textual evidence how U.S. hop usage per barrel fell steadily from 1933 into the mid-1970s. Indeed, the trend continued for years after until craft brewing finally effected something of a reversal, i.e., for production taken as a whole:
<https://sites.google.com/site/jesskidden/hops/hops-post-repeal> [Accessed 28/12/2017]

47. This is a useful lesson for modern beer assessment as there is a tendency to favour the bigger-tasting beer vs. one that has the best overall taste, one element of which is equilibrium among the components of taste. Of course too some people say they don't want balance, but still: there is a reason 'extreme beers' were at the forefront of craft brewing fashion for years.

48. This writer found this beer only once, in Philadelphia, and it was in truth wonderful, rich and naturally chocolately. Yet oddly it remains hard to find in North America.

49. Yet, Henry Weinhard did have that quality, as the present writer recalls. Perhaps the shipment east reduced the intensity of the taste. It is also possible Robertson simply wasn't sensitive to it. Still, he liked the beer certainly.

50. Robertson, J. (1978) op. cit., p.131. It should not be understood that the 1970s were unanimous on the merits of Ballantine I.P.A. After all it was a languishing specialty beer, a fossil from another age. For experts it was manna, for the regular, even experienced, beer drinker, not so much, as one can infer from Glaser, M. and Snyder, J. (1971) 'The Underground Gourmet's 1971 Beer Olympics', *New York Magazine*. 5 July, p.38 et seq.

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=-MQDAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA3&dq=New+Yorker+Magazine+July+5,+1971+Underground+Gourmet&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiEncqZiaDOAhVspIMKhabYDYAQ6AEILzAB#v=nepage&q>New%20Yorker%20Magazine%20July%205%2C%201971%20Underground%20Gourmet&f=false>. (Accessed 25/12/2017). This was a group of 'average guys' who liked beer a lot. Ballantine I.P.A. came pretty much last in the ratings, which confounded Glaser and Snyder who clearly knew better. However, the competition is difficult to parse as some reputed imports did very well, some average or poorly. Taste is always unpredictable with a non-trained group and here too there was the factor of (some) stale imports surely playing a role. What it may reduce to is, the taste of Ballantine I.P.A. was simply too weird for the 1971 American beer drinker; he had been used to light, delicate brews for

generations by then. Still, we mention the rating here for completeness.

51. Jackson, M. (1977) op. cit., p.210.

52. Robertson, J. (1978) op. cit., p.78. (Also: 'one of the best lightly hopped American pilseners').

53. ibid., p.132. Robertson adverted to both historical and contemporary stylistic diversity in Belgium. Of beers still produced in the '70s he included saison, Louvain white beer, and the brown beer of Malines. He does not, however, refer to a Trappist brewing tradition despite having reviewed two noted Cistercian beers, Orval and Chimay. On the other hand, while in retrospect Michael Jackson appears seminal in his appreciation and adumbration of Belgian Trappist brewing, to some degree the whole idea of 'Trappist beer', a now-imperishable notion, is a product of a writer's creative imagination. Jackson used a romantic perspective and his writing skill to create a series of 'styles' that he related and contrasted. To be sure, he used verifiable, historical information to inform these categories. But the setting out in 1977 of some 24 'classical beer styles' over two folio pages was arguably new, as he himself recognized, but always with modesty and not to give undue offense. Before Jackson, numerous of those beers were understood by reference to local origin, legal classification, colour, fermentation type, or other factors. This feature of his work, vital to his achievement, is crystallized by an anecdote he related more than once. He stated Viennese brewers accused him of imagining the 'Vienna' or Marzen style of beer: reddish, malty, a terroir product of the centre of the old empire. Well, he did and he didn't. See Jackson's reference to this anecdote in this 2002 article, but note also his disarming statements about his classification system in general and what was new and not new about it: Jackson, Michael (2002) 'A Pilsner in Prague is Only the Beginning', *All About Beer*. 1 March (online version, unpaginated) <http://allaboutbeer.com/article/a-pilsner-in-prague-is-only-the-beginning/> (Accessed 25/12/2017)

54. ibid., p.132.

55. ibid., pp.132-133.

56. ibid., p.133.

57. ibid.

58. ibid., p.160.

59. ibid., p. 157.

60. ibid., p. 162.

61. ibid., p.138. The foreign reader will need to trust this writer that no Canadian mass market ale tastes like that now.

62. ibid., p.165.

63. ibid., p.156.

64. ibid., p.154. He paid 45 cents for a bottle of the Danish

Albani. Even in today's dollars that's a pittance for an experience of (we aver) high gastronomic worth. That is one advantage the beer world had then, and still does: a comparable experience for wine or spirits would come with a much higher price tag.

65. Morris, S. (1984) *The Great Beer Trek*. Brattleboro, VT and Lexington, Mass.: The Stephen Greene Press.

66. The Queen's Elm was a rounded, brick corner pub in Chelsea, a writers' haunt. The building survives, but today houses shops.

67. This book, originally published in 1975, was published in a 40th anniversary edition in 2015, with a new introduction by Tim Matson, see Matson, T. and Dorr, L. (1975, reprinted with a new introduction in 2015) *Mountain Brew*

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=jxPSBgAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=mountain+brew+matson&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiDro2YI6bYAhWK54MKHbgSAxQQ6AEIJzAA#v=onepage&q=mountain%20brew%20matson&f=false>

(Accessed 25/12/2017). Matson's new introduction is revelatory as he explains in detail not just the genesis of the book, but how homebrewing helped create craft brewing in America not least in his home state of Vermont where, appropriately, the Vermont IPA style has been the north star in recent years of the IPA firmament. Matson links his book to the homebrewing text issued about the same time by

Charlie Papazian in Colorado, also well-known for his organizational efforts, extending to beer festivals, that enormously assisted the course of craft brewing. One may note as well that Matson mentions that many of the back-to-the-landers he brewed with in the 70s had travelled in the U.K. and were applying knowledge and purpose they had gleaned in England (in particular).

68. Morris, S. (1984) op. cit., p.103.

69. ibid., p.22.

70. ibid., p.24.

71. This helps explain today why many craft beer fans prefer not to drink quality beer made by a large multi-national factory, a feeling this writer does not share, but understands better having read Morris.

72. Morris, S. (1984) op. cit., p.179. Also on that page: Maytag is the 'symbolic patriarch of America's beer renaissance'.

73. The present writer caught up with Stephen Morris some years ago, he is still active in publishing and writing in Vermont. He told me he still enjoys beer and follows craft brewing developments with good interest. Well he might, he can claim part of the credit for making it all happen.

74. All four books were owned by Jackson and are now held in the Michael Jackson archive at Oxford Brookes University library.