

## Craft Beer in San Diego Society

Ernie Liwag

### Winner of the 2006 Joseph L. Howard Fund Award

This is grain, which any fool can eat, but for which the Lord intended a more divine means of consumption. Let us give praise to our maker and glory to his bounty by learning about...Beer!

Dave Thomas, President, American Society of Brewing Chemists

The United States has recently witnessed a revival in craft brewing operations, microbrewing, homebrewing, and brewpubs. Craft brewers are, by definition of the Brewers Association, "small, independent and traditional."<sup>1</sup> They produce fewer than 2 million barrels of beer annually; less than 25 percent of their brewery is owned or controlled by a non-craft brewer; and they produce a high proportion of all malt beers. The first microbrewery started in Sonoma County, California, in 1976. There are now more than 1,400 establishments nationwide with many highly successful operations in San Diego.<sup>2</sup>

Craft beer thrives at a time when beer production, nationally, is on the decline. The top three brewers, Anheuser-Busch, Miller Brewing and Coors, have been showing steady decline in sales and production but they continue to dominate the industry. John Cavanagh, author of *Alcoholic Beverages: Dimensions of Corporate Power* (1985), pointed out that the national brewers have developed market



*The City Brewery Saloon and Beer Gardens operated between 1868 and 1888 at the northwest corner of Fifth and B Streets. The Saloon and Beer Gardens continued to serve customers until 1898.*  
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strategies, including pricing below cost, in order to capture a greater market share. They rely on their gargantuan advertising investments and brand royalties to make up the lost profit.<sup>3</sup> His work, published only two years after brew pub operations became legal in California, did not address the rise of craft beer so its impact remains to be seen. According to the Brewers Association, craft beer industry production has grown for 35 consecutive years; in 2005 it grew 9.5 percent with the production of 6.25 million barrels of craft beer.<sup>4</sup>

This article explores the growth of the craft beer industry in San Diego. Although the production of craft beer had been legal in California from 1976, breweries did not make their mark in the county until after 1985. It took brewpubs, legalized in 1982, to effect changes

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*San Diego Brewing Co.'s horse-drawn wagon, 1900. An advertisement for the Golden Lion Tavern promises "The Best Beer in the City is Sold Here." ©SDHS #3608.*

in San Diegans' taste for beer. Brewpubs sell 25 percent or more of their beer in restaurant-breweries, selling their beer "to go" only when authorized by law. The rise of brewpubs, combined with growing dissatisfaction with imported beers, led middle and upper-middle class "Baby Boomers" to patronize craft beer. San Diego now supports some of the industry leaders and innovators, including Karl Strauss, Stone Brewing Co., Gordon Biersch, Alesmith Brewing Co., and San Diego Brewing Co.<sup>5</sup>

The National Prohibition Act, enacted January 29, 1919, nearly destroyed the brewing industry in the United States. The only brewers left standing were those who had invested in national distribution. They began to produce other products like industrial alcohol and near beer, beer that contained half of one percent alcohol by volume. In April 1933 the government recognized that prohibition was a failure and what was popularly known as the "Volstead Act" was lifted.<sup>6</sup> Americans were once again able to buy and consume alcoholic beverages legally.

Prohibition ended but not without its consequences in the beer industry. In 1910, prior to prohibition, there were about 1,500 breweries in the United States; after the repeal of prohibition there were only 33 breweries by 1940. Six of those breweries produced as much beer as all the total of all breweries during the pre-Prohibition years. By 1980, the industry consolidated even more with the top three brewers—Anheuser-Busch, Coors, and Miller Brewing—accounting for 84 percent of the total domestic beer sales.<sup>7</sup>

The impact of prohibition was felt keenly in San Diego. Before prohibition, San Diego had approximately 112,000 people, seven breweries and fifty-five saloons, including San Diego Brewery, City Brewery and Depot, San Diego Consolidated Brewing Co., and Bay City Brewing Co.<sup>8</sup> After the repeal of prohibition, San Diego had only three breweries: the Aztec Brewing Company, San Diego Brewing Company, and Balboa Brewing Company. Together, they produced 25 percent of all the beer produced in California. San Diego's



*Mission Brewing Co., 1915. The brewery operated between 1913 and 1918 at 1751 Hancock Ave. In 1918-19, the vacant building served as an isolation hospital for victims of the flu epidemic. ©SDHS #4590-6.*

population, meanwhile, had more than doubled to 289,398 in 1940.<sup>9</sup>

This initial success of San Diego's breweries would be short-lived. At the onset of World War II, national brewers made deals with local bars, taverns, liquor stores, and "package stores" (stores that sold packaged beer) to sell their brands almost exclusively. At the same time they also used their massive resources to buy out local breweries across the nation. The national breweries' dominance in packaged beer (bottles and cans), the increasing barrel taxes, grain rationing, the inability to adapt to stricter food and industrial laws, and the growth in desire for imported beer led to the closure of all



Mission Brewing Co., 1915. The brewery produced Old Mission Lager and Hopski, a non-alcoholic malt and hop soft drink. ©SDHS #4590-7.

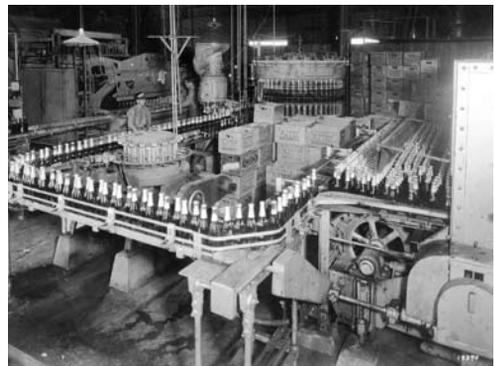


Aztec Brewing Co., founded in 1933, advertised its Famous ABC Beer (natural lager and supreme) as "Class in a Glass." ©SDHS Sensor #6-455.

or restrict the production of alcoholic beverages at home. In California, State Assemblyman Tom Bates authored what became known as the "Bates Bill" making possible the "manufacture of beer for personal or family use, and not for sale, by a person over the age of 21 years" (Cal. Code § 23356.2). In 1982, the California legislature permitted licensed beer manufacturers to "sell beer and wine, regardless of source, to consumers for consumption at a bona

the local San Diego brewers by 1953.<sup>10</sup>

In the 1970s, a series of events made it possible for the craft beer industry (including homebrewing, brewpubs, and microbreweries) in San Diego to explode. In 1978, Congress passed an Act exempting small amounts of homebrewed beer or wine from taxation (Title 26 U.S. Code § 5051 and § 5053). However, states remained free to permit



Aztec Brewing Co. was originally established in Mexicali, Mexico, in 1921. Following prohibition, all of the plant equipment was moved to San Diego to the site of the former Savage Tire Co. at 2301 Main St. in the Barrio Logan neighborhood. ©SDHS #7062-1.

fide public eating place on the manufacturer's premises and which are operated by and for the manufacturer" (Cal. Code § 23357), giving rise to the brewpub.

In 1976, Jack McAuliffe, a home brewing enthusiast, founded the first microbrewery, New Albion Brewery, in Sonoma, California. According to the Brewers Association, a microbrewery produces fewer than 15,000 barrels of beer per year. They sell to the public through one of the following methods: the three-tier system (brewer to wholesaler to retailer to customer); the two-tier system (brewer acting as wholesaler to retailer to customer); and directly to the consumer. New Albion Brewery produced ale, porter, and stout. According to one wine shop owner, quality issues plagued the brewery: "When they were good they were very, very good...."<sup>11</sup> The brewery lasted only six years, but it created a trend in California encouraging home brewers to bring their unique creations to the beer market. Other early efforts included DeBakker Brewery in Novato; River City Brewery in Sacramento; Palo Alto Brewing Co.; and Sierra Nevada Brewing Co.<sup>12</sup>

In 1983, a home brewer established the nation's first post-prohibition brewpub, the Mendocino Brewing Company's Hopland Brewery in Hopland, California, ninety miles north of San Francisco. Lawrence Fisher, writing for *The New York Times* in 1986, noted that the brewpub brought to mind the old Hop Vine Saloon with "its handcrafted oak bar and original ornamental stamped tin covering the walls." He added that "brewpubs have rapidly become a popular fixture in Northern California and the Pacific Northwest." A few years later Betty Fussell, author of *Food in Good Season*, noted the development of "a style of beer cuisine." San Francisco Brewing Co., located in a turn-of-the-century saloon, offered lagers, top-fermented ales, and "a broiled hot Louisiana sausage sandwich with peppers and onions." At Berkeley's Triple Rock Brewery and Alehouse, "you can climb to the beer garden...to eat your bowl of black bean chicken chili or a sandwich of roast beef and Swiss cheese, slathered with blue cheese dressing, on a Semifreddi Bakery baguette flavored with anise and poppy seeds." She noted wryly, "Not exactly standard beer fare."<sup>13</sup>

The craft-brewing trend would eventually make it to San Diego but the market first had to get past imported beer. After the closure in 1953 of Aztec Brewing Co., the last remaining San Diego brewery, San Diegans had



Aztec Brewing Co.'s logo was the Aztec sundial. Murals in the brewery were painted by the renowned Spanish artist José Moya del Piño. ©SDHS #7062-3.



Aztec Brewing Co.'s softball team gathered in the colorful tap room, or Rathskeller, to celebrate their status as 1936 Champions of San Diego. ©SDHS Sensor #6-469.



*Gordon Biersch Brewery restaurant opened in Mission Valley in 1998. Author's collection.*

to get their beer from the package store, local bars, or Tijuana, Mexico. For a different tasting beer, they turned to imported beer from Mexico such as Tecate, Dos Equis, Corona, Negra Modelo, and Pacifico. In the 1960s, packaging and keg advancements allowed beers from Europe to reach California, giving San Diegans an even wider variety of imports, including Becks, Heineken, Guinness, Kronenbourg, and Tsingtao.<sup>14</sup> By 1970 imports accounted for 6 percent of the beer sold in San Diego, far higher than the national average. In 1981, imports represented 3 percent of U.S. consumption. In that year, sales of foreign beer jumped 14.3 percent compared with overall industry growth of 2.2 percent. By 1985, the import market in San Diego reached its peak, rising to 10 percent of the total market share while, nationally, the import market share was 4 percent.<sup>15</sup>



*During the 1980s, craft beer, or “micros,” and imported beers could be found at Servall Liquor, established in 1939, at 1279 University Ave., San Diego. Author's collection.*

San Diegans remained satisfied with imported beer until 1985 when the price of imports skyrocketed as much as 58 percent. Some brands cost as much as \$6 a bottle, five dollars more than any of the national brewers beer for the same volume. In 1989, *Impact*, a drinks industry newsletter, reported that “the market for imported beer is losing its sizzle,” increasing only 4 percent in 1988. The high cost of imports deterred working people from buying foreign beer. Instead, they picked up 6-packs of Anheuser Busch, Miller Brewing, and Coors. Distributors and retailers, meanwhile, found imports less profitable and began removing them

from their shelves. In 1990, the top five U.S. brewers projected sales to rise 2.3 percent.<sup>16</sup>

By 1986, imported Mexican beers filled San Diego shelves. Sonny Clark, a brewer from Stone Brewing Company, commented on Mexican beer's dominance of the import beer market during the 1980s: "Corona and Tecate dominated the shelves in San Diego because those were the only imported beers cheap enough for distributors to carry, not to mention we are by the border." He went on to say, "While San Diego in general was in a Corona craze, there were consumers who grew to dislike it. They're that group of people that naturally look and try different things."<sup>17</sup>

Consumers who wanted to "try different things" have since been labeled "Yuppies" (young, urban professionals) and "Baby Boomers." In the late 1980s, they turned to microbrews as an alternative to high priced imported beer and Mexican imports. They began to use words like aroma, astringency, bitterness, body, head, yeastiness, and aftertaste. They also thought that beer, like wine, should compliment food.<sup>18</sup> Karl Strauss, founder of Karl Strauss Brewery in San Diego, described the craft beer consumer:

As the dollar got zapped, beginning in 1985, imports' prices have climbed and sales growth slowed. But there remains a small but very dedicated—sometimes vocal—market for the non-bland, non-pasteurized, non-Americanized beer. This market wants heavier, maltier, hoppier. These were "people with an educated beer taste"—often those who have traveled to Europe. These are the people who disdain the big brewers' appeal to the lowest common denominator. These are often the same folk who like fine wines. They're between 25 and 40 and have incomes greater than \$30,000 a year—classic Yuppies.<sup>19</sup>



Karl Strauss Brewery Restaurant, 1157 Columbia St., San Diego, 2007. The company's first brewery restaurant opened on February 2, 1989. Author's collection.



A carton of Karl Strauss Amber Lager shows surfers in the San Diego sunset. Author's collection.

The growing demand for craft brew led to the opening of the Bolt brewery (a microbrewery) in San Diego in 1986 followed by Karl Strauss' Old Columbia Brewery (a brewpub) in 1989. Mission brewery (a microbrewery) opened in 1989; La Jolla Brewing Company (a brewpub) opened in 1990. Callahan's Pub and Brewery (a brewpub) opened in 1990 in Mira Mesa while Pizza Port Brewing Company (a brewpub) in 1992 opened in Carlsbad. Ballast Point Brewery opened in 1996 in Linda Vista. Coronado Brewing Company (a



*Coronado Brewing Company, founded in 1996 by Rick and Ron Chapman. Author's collection.*

brewpub) opened in 1996 and Stone Brewing Company (a microbrewery) opened in 1996 in San Marcos. Finally, Gordon Biersch Brewing Company added their brewpub to Mission Valley in 1998. All except Bolt and Mission Brewery remain in business today.<sup>20</sup>

The upper-middle class desire for craft beer, combined with San Diego's rise to prominence in several related markets, caused businessmen to invest in brewpubs. They wanted to capitalize on a largely untapped market in San Diego. They focused their attention on downtown San Diego, which draws locals and visitors who have the money to experience fine food, wine, and beer. In 1988, Paul Dobson, the owner of Dobson's Bar and Restaurant, remarked, "Downtown is high end. We're after the people who make enough money to experience different tastes."<sup>21</sup> In 1989,

Chris Cramer, Stanford MBA and co-founder of Karl Strauss, explained the growth and success of the craft brewing industry in San Diego by stating that the city is "growing by 4 percent a year. Much of that growth is upscale in-migrants—Yuppies or related breeds."<sup>22</sup> In 1989, San Diego became the seventeenth largest beer market in the country consuming 0.9 percent of the U.S. total. It was the twelfth largest market for imported beers,



*Ballast Point Brewing Co. and Home Brew Mart, 5401 Linda Vista Rd., 2007. In 1996, the brewery began producing beers for sale at retail locations, including Yellowtail Pale Ale and Wahoo Wheat. Author's collection.*

and the eleventh largest restaurant market.<sup>23</sup> Once consumers started shifting their interest towards craft beer, businesses developed to accommodate them.

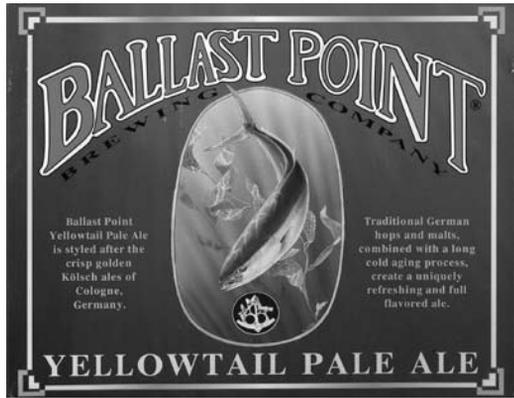
At first, craft beer appealed to upper-middle class consumers but, in the long run, it depended on the support of middle-class drinkers. The upper-middle class by itself could not increase or sustain the growth of craft beer. The population of San Diego increased 4 percent annually during the 1980s.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, according to one local brewer, the market for craft beer increased 35 percent annually from 1990-2000. Per capita consumption remained steady at between 20-22 gallons. Even if the upper-middle class accounted for 25 percent of the population in San Diego (a generous estimate), it still could not account for the soaring popularity of craft beer.

The middle class expanded from the 1940s through 1970s as businesses and unions, combined with a boom in manufacturing jobs, elevated the status of blue-collar workers. Anheiser-Busch, Miller Brewery, and Coors mounted effective advertising campaigns to ensure middle-class loyalty to their products. The average American paid little attention to so-called "high class" beers with the exception of Miller's High Life which was advertised as "The Champagne of Beers." Most beers produced by Anheuser-Busch and Coors tasted so similar that beer drinkers dismissed the idea that a particular beer could be for the "higher class."<sup>25</sup> To most Americans, beer was beer.

Gradually, however, craft beers gained the support of home brewers who were decidedly middle class. According to one local brewer, imports and craft beers did not advertise but relied on their popularity among the "in" crowd for support. This crowd increasingly included middle-class home brewers.<sup>26</sup> Chuck Stephens, a middle class American and construction worker, took on homebrewing as a hobby in 1993,

I started home brewing because I heard it was cheaper to make beer yourself. It's a complicated process I had to learn and it really wasn't that much cheaper, but it was well worth it. I'm not conceited or anything but I got really good at it and make beer that tastes great to my friends and me. My friends tell me that I make the best beer they have ever tasted. After that, I got four more of my friends to try it out. Only two of them still do it but the important thing is that they know that something better is out there than a 'bud'. You will never catch any of us drinking that stuff. Well...maybe after mowing the lawn. It's kinda like water.<sup>27</sup>

The average San Diego beer drinker began taking more of an interest in craft beer after Callahan's Brewpub opened in 1990 in Mira Mesa. The owners intended to widen the consumer base for craft beers by providing reasonably-



*A carton of Ballast Point's Yellowtail Pale Ale. Author's collection.*

priced handcrafted beer, great food, and a casual sports-bar atmosphere. Callahans' not only catered to craft beer enthusiasts but also attracted nearby college students as a popular place to have a beer, shoot pool, and watch a sports game any time of the week. At the same time, the dining area allowed for families to enjoy lunch or dinner.<sup>28</sup>

By the end of the 1990s, the craft beer consumers had expanded from Karl Strauss's "classic Yuppies" to ordinary San Diegans. Tom Dalldorf, publisher of *Celebrator Beer News*, a bi-monthly industry publication, defined the craft beer consumer as "Everyone from college students to professionals to foodies who also enjoy fine food and wine."<sup>29</sup> Terry Leahy, beer-marketing manager for Karl Strauss Brewery, admitted that their consumer base had changed when he defined the consumer as, "A person concerned with a quality tasting experience and who enjoys variety. They're not your typical person who wants the same thing day after day."<sup>30</sup>

It took some time for middle-class consumers to become aware of craft beer and to develop a taste for it. The average beer drinker who shifts his/her consumption from Brand X to a Brand Y will not necessarily like Brand Y right away, even if it is a similar kind of beer. For example, both Budweiser and Gordon Biersch produce a Pilsner using many, though not all, of the same ingredients. However, a Gordon Biersch Pilsner tastes distinctly different from Budweiser, an American Pilsner.<sup>31</sup>

Some people have taste buds that are particularly receptive to bitter food and drink. Taste buds have different shapes and sizes and contain 50 to 100 cells, each with receptors for bitter, sweet, sour, and salty sensations (bitter and sweet receptors cannot exist on the same cell).<sup>32</sup> Beer drinkers may have greater or lesser tolerance for bitter tastes, depending on how their brains process the information provided by taste buds. There are more than two dozen genes that render a person more or less

sensitive to bitter tastes. However, research shows that if a person eats or drinks bitter substances on a more or less regular basis, they can develop a tolerance, even liking, for those substances. One psychology study showed that "in time-intensity measurements of bitterness in beer, low users of beer recorded significantly higher maximum intensities and shorter total durations than high users."<sup>33</sup> That is, someone who has a low affinity for bitter beer can develop a higher one.

Craft beers often use a high proportion of hops, or *Humulus lupulus*, in their brew,



*A wide variety of craft beers are available at specialty beverage superstores such as Beverages & More! Author's collection.*



*Stone Brewing Co. is known for producing "big character" beers. A carton of their Pale Ale shows their gargoyle logo. Author's collection.*

causing them to taste bitter. Hops—along with the addition of aromas, alcohol content, essential oils, tannins, and preservative aspect—are ingredients that produce bitter taste. This is empirically measured in International Bittering Units (IBU). National beers, American Pilsners, are scaled at 13-23 IBU while their light counterparts are 8-17 IBU. Some craft beers sold in San Diego, like German Hefeweizens and some fruit beers, are within the same range as the national brews. However, the rest of the craft beers sold in San Diego—non-American pilsners, pale ales, and stouts—have a range of 25-60. Stone Brewing Co.'s Arrogant Bastard pale ale, the beer that arguably made them the most popular microbrewer in San Diego by 2000, has an IBU of 80 (can you make a bitter face?). By contrast, Karl Strauss's Amber Lager, their most popular beer, has an IBU of 30.<sup>34</sup>



*Bottles of Stone Brewing Co.'s Arrogant Bastard Ale. Author's collection.*

The increasing popularity of craft beers with high IBUs has been caused, in part, by changing generational attitudes. In the 1980s, the most popular beers in San Diego were twice as bitter as the national beers. By the mid to late 1990s, the most popular beers were up to four times as bitter as the national beers. To some extent, this can be explained by changing tastes. Drinkers who started with Karl Strauss in 1989 may have developed a taste for more and more bitter beers, causing them to turn to Stone Brewing Co. beers in 1996. It can also be explained by the rising affluence of a new group of drinkers, "Generation X." Those born between 1963 and 1978 not only bought into the craft beer craze but also, not surprisingly, pushed the envelope when it came to "taste." They are often characterized as people who live aggressively and take more risks.<sup>35</sup> To some degree, Stone's Arrogant Bastard appeals to Generation X by challenging them to try the product. The label shows an aggressive-looking gargoyle holding a beer, above the phrase, "You're Not Worthy." The back of the label reads:

Arrogant Bastard Ale: 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 your words as you read this.<sup>36</sup>

José Soriano, a twenty-five year-old student at San Diego State University said, "Honestly, I tried this beer out because I was challenged...clever marketing strategy I guess."<sup>37</sup>

During the 1990s, brewpubs began to find niches in San Diego that targeted the middle class, erasing the aura of social class distinction among beers that had

existed during the 1980s. Breweries in downtown San Diego and La Jolla, opening in 1989 and 1990 respectively, continued to pitch their product to upper-middle-class drinkers. In La Jolla, the average yearly household income was about \$69,000 in 2000. Meanwhile, Callahan's in Mira Mesa appealed to beer drinkers with an average salary of \$60,000. In 1992, Pizza Port staked a claim to the Carlsbad territory with their average household income of \$55,000. Ballast Point claims Linda Vista territory with the lowest household income at \$41,000. Of course, their brewery started as a home brew store and became a microbrewery, not a brewpub. Similarly, Stone Brewing Co.'s primary source of consumer distribution is through wholesale and retailer distribution. Stone and Ballast brews can be found all over San Diego in grocery stores, liquor stores, and on tap at various establishments in both "high" and "low" class regions.<sup>38</sup>

By 2000, everyone from starving college students to working professionals was interested in craft beer. Microbrews appealed not to a distinct social class but to all people who enjoyed different tasting beers. Craft brewing looks forward to greater innovations and an expanding consumer base among all classes in San Diego.<sup>39</sup>



*Ballast Point Brewing Co. celebrated its tenth anniversary in 2006. Courtesy of Ballast Point Brewing Company.*

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interviewed by author, March 2, 2006; Ryan Glen, Brewer, Ballast Point Brewing Company, interviewed by author, March 9, 2006.; Sonny Clark, Brewer, Stone Brewing Company, interviewed by author, March 2, 2006; Craig Costanzo, President, The Beverage Factory, interviewed by author, March 16, 2006.

27. Chuck Stephens, Home Brew Mart, interviewed by author, March 9, 2006.

28. Statistics of historical sales data is not available. However, comprehensive reviews of this brewpub by several pubcrawler websites indicate that this brewpub contrasts greatly in atmosphere, price of food, and beer compared with Karl Strauss Brewing Company and Mission Brewery, <http://beeradvocate.com/beer/profile/2154/?view=beerfly>, [http://www.realbeer.com/nmvbp/rev\\_sd.htm](http://www.realbeer.com/nmvbp/rev_sd.htm), <http://www.pubcrawler.com/Template/ReviewWC.cfm/flat/BrewerID=15> (accessed March 9, 2006).

29. Linda J. Barkman, "Brew Ha-Ha: Specialty Beers are the Chardonnays of Today," *San Diego Metropolitan Magazine*, April 1997.

30. *Ibid.*

31. By definition craft beer's ingredients include 100 percent malt from only grains like barley or wheat. Budweiser adds rice and corn. American pilsners typically have 1-2 oz. of hops of varying blends whereas German pilsners have 3-6 oz. The full ingredient's list of both pilsners is not published. Bamforth, *Beer: Tap into the Art and Science of Brewing*, 46-48

32. John Kimball, "The Sense of Taste," <http://users.rcn.com/jkimball.ma.ultranet/BiologyPages/T/Taste.html> (accessed January 29, 2007).

33. J. X. Guinard, H. Smiciklas-Wright, C. Marty, R. Abu Sabha, I. Soucy, S. Taylor-Davis, and C. Wright, "Does Consumption of Beer, Alcohol, and Bitter Substances Affect Perception of Bitterness?" *Physiology and Behavior* 59, nos. 4-5 (1996): 625-31.

34. "Hop," *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, Academic Edition (accessed March 15, 2006); "International Bittering Units," [http://www.ebrew.com/primarynews/international\\_bittering\\_units.htm](http://www.ebrew.com/primarynews/international_bittering_units.htm) (accessed March 20, 2006); "The Beers," Seattle Beer Festival, <http://www.seattlebeerfest.com/Beers.cfm?sort=year&loc=2> (accessed March 20, 2006); "Karl Strauss: Amber Lager," *Beer of the Month Club* 3, no. 3 (ND) <http://www.beermonthclub.com/newsletters/vol3no3.htm> (accessed January 29, 2007).

35. D. K. Schooley and D. D. Worden, "Generation X: Understanding their Risk Tolerance and Investment Behavior," *Financial Planning Association* (September 2003); "13<sup>th</sup> Generation," [http://www.fourthturning.com/html/13th\\_generation.html](http://www.fourthturning.com/html/13th_generation.html) (accessed January 29, 2007); Paul Amato, *A Generation at Risk: Growing Up in an Era of Family Upheaval* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 1-25.

36. Passage found on the label of the Arrogant Bastard Ale bottle.

37. Jose Soriano, Beverages & More, interviewed by author, March 31, 2006.

38. U.S. Census Bureau, Census, 2000, Summary File 3, ZIP CODE: 92037, Matrices P30, P32, P33, P43, P46, P49, P50, P51, P52, P53, P58, P62, P63, P64, P65, P67, P71, P72, P73, P74, P76, P77, P82, P87, P90, PCT47, PCT52, and PCT53; ZIP CODE: 92126, Matrices P30, P32, P33, P43, P46, P49, P50, P51, P52, P53, P58, P62, P63, P64, P65, P67, P71, P72, P73, P74, P76, P77, P82, P87, P90, PCT47, PCT52, and PCT53; ZIP CODE: 92008, Matrices P30, P32, P33, P43, P46, P49, P50, P51, P52, P53, P58, P62, P63, P64, P65, P67, P71, P72, P73, P74, P76, P77, P82, P87, P90, PCT47, PCT52, and PCT53; ZIP CODE: 92110, Matrices P30, P32, P33, P43, P46, P49, P50, P51, P52, P53, P58, P62, P63, P64, P65, P67, P71, P72, P73, P74, P76, P77, P82, P87, P90, PCT47, PCT52, and PCT53.

39. For an updated review of the San Diego craft beer industry, see Peter Rowe, "Here's what's on tap for the next 10 years," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, February 21, 2007.