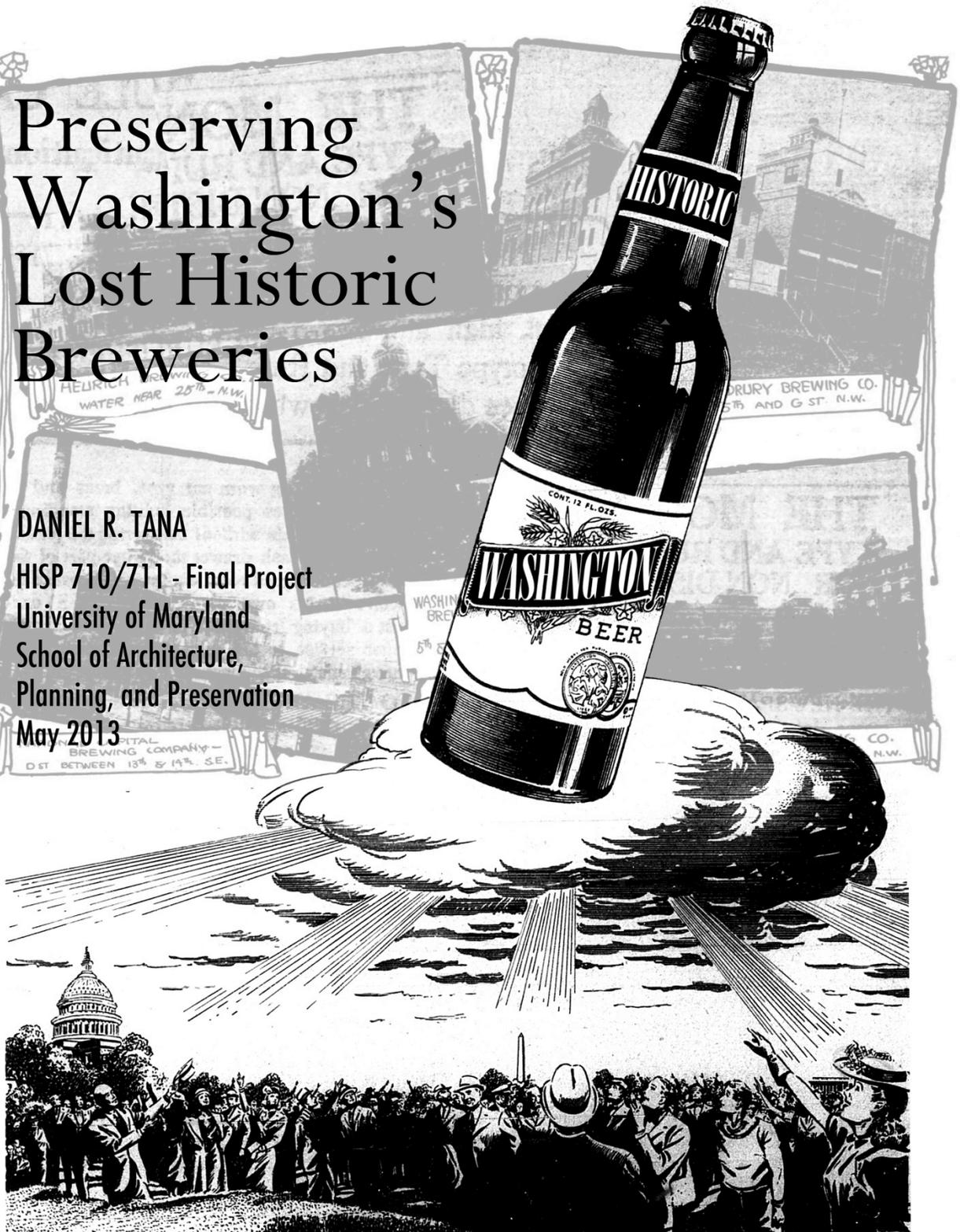


THE LAST CALL

Preserving Washington's Lost Historic Breweries

DANIEL R. TANA

HISP 710/711 - Final Project
University of Maryland
School of Architecture,
Planning, and Preservation
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ABSTRACT

Title of Document: THE LAST CALL: PRESERVING
WASHINGTON'S LOST HISTORIC
BREWERIES

Daniel R. Tana, MHP, 2013

Directed By: Professor Donald W. Linebaugh, Ph.D.
Graduate Program in Historic Preservation
School of Architecture, Planning, and
Preservation
The University of Maryland, College Park

Beer and other alcoholic beverages have held an important place in many cultures throughout history, and their role in the history of the United States is similarly important. Before the rise of national and international beverage corporations and the megaconglomerates of late, there were smaller, local breweries in nearly every state and major city in the nation, including Washington, D.C. In fact, the beer that Washingtonians drank for over 100 years was brewed and distributed within the boundaries of the Capital City and the history of these breweries is a microcosm of the city's history. The commercial breweries that developed in the area during the second half of the nineteenth century were important to the community in many different ways: they provided employment; produced a relatively low-alcohol potable beverage, at a time when clean drinking water was not a guarantee; and created a product that facilitated a sense of community and local pride. However,

near the turn of the twentieth century, national corporate breweries began to take market share away from local breweries. When prohibition began in Washington in the fall of 1917, most local breweries closed and many were never able to recover. The few who did were gone by the mid-twentieth century, and their buildings have all been lost. To recapture their history, this study surveys the city's local breweries between 1850 and 1950, drawing on city directories, historic newspapers and maps, to document the rise and fall of this important industry and preserve this lost history, and considers its context in the history of Washington D.C., and the history of brewing in the United States. The report also examines the modern local brewing industry in Washington, and considers its potential role in helping to interpret the history of the historic breweries that came before it and offers recommendations for an interpretive strategy based on extant structures from the greater cultural landscape of the historic local brewing industry. The ultimate goal is preserving a lost history that was not seen as worthy of preservation when there was still a chance to save the physical, tangible aspects of Washington's brewing history.

THE LAST CALL: PRESERVING WASHINGTON'S
LOST HISTORIC BREWERIES

By

Daniel R. Tana

Master Final Project submitted to the Faculty of the
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Advisory Committee:
Dr. Donald W. Linebaugh, Chair
Christine R. Henry

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Fermented beverages like beer have held an important place in many cultures throughout history, and their role in the history of the United States is similarly important. Before the national brewing industry began to take its current form, with two large corporations controlling sixty-five percent of market share, local breweries that produced beer for draft consumption in local saloons, taverns, public houses, hotels, and restaurants dominated the market.¹ Washington, D.C., was no different, and the beer that Washingtonians drank for over 100 years was brewed and distributed within the boundaries of the Capital City. As happened across the country, Washington breweries changed over time from small family operations to larger commercial breweries and were eventually overtaken by national shipping breweries through sociopolitical influences on the brewing industry. Before this took place, the historic breweries of Washington provided jobs, safe potable beverages, and enabled a home grown “pub-culture” (or bar culture) that gave people of all walks of life a common place to interact with their peers.

Local breweries had a tremendous economic impact on the city, but they were more than just icons of industry—they were also fixtures of the community. These establishments provided numerous jobs to city residents, such as drivers, firemen, gas-fitters, and brewery workers. They produced a “pure” potable beverage with a lower alcohol content than other options at a time when clean drinking water was not always readily available. The breweries, and the beers that they produced, also enriched the identity of the city, giving citizens iconic brands that one could argue inspired the same

¹ For the purposes of this paper, I use the terms “saloon,” “public house,” and “tavern” interchangeably.

allegiance as a local sports team. Many of these breweries and the people associated with them hold fascinating stories that add to Washington's rich social and economic history. The story of their rise and fall and the consequences of that history speak directly to many concerns of our time, including sustainability, access to unprocessed foods, walkable communities, and locally produced foods. Unfortunately, none of these commercial breweries—neither the buildings nor the companies—have survived to the present day.

The lost breweries of Washington, D.C., represent a loss of tangible heritage for the city and a missed opportunity for historic preservation. However, the value of what was lost is greater than the loss of the individual buildings. It is not just that these breweries no longer exist that is so unfortunate, but rather that an entire building type and its history have essentially been erased from the landscape of the city. The value of breweries as an example of a large and important local industry was lost with their removal, and until recently the industry itself was almost completely lost. Likewise the potential reuse value of the structures, and their value as cultural tourism locations and the associated economic values were lost as well. What was not wholly lost was their story; while fragmented and fragile, it waits to be reassembled from the historical record. The loss of these brewery structures and their stories is even more apparent when one considers the rapid growth of small independently owned breweries in the District of Columbia in recent decades. Indeed, had even one of these historic breweries survived, it could have been potentially rehabilitated and used again for its original purpose. The physical loss of these breweries also complicates their interpretation, which is now the principal way to preserve their history. Finding a solution to this problem—how to use

interpretation to preserve the history and values related to a lost building type—is an important goal of this project.

This study surveys and inventories the commercial breweries historically located within Washington, D.C. Focusing on the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, when commercial breweries began to appear in place of small limited output breweries, it also explores the people, buildings, or sites that formed the cultural landscape of these breweries in order to accomplish two preservation-related goals. First, by completing this inventory, the fragmented history of these breweries is being reconstructed and preserved. Preserving this little-known history is in and of itself a preservation victory, because despite losing a historically significant building type in Washington it ensures that the history and values related to that type will not be lost. Second, by understanding this history, we can begin interpreting it to the public, thereby further preserving the legacy of Washington’s brewing industry.

This research was guided by several questions, including: What is the commercial brewing history of Washington, D.C.? When did commercial brewing reach its peak in the city? Where were commercial breweries located in the city, and what can be inferred based on their locations? What significance did these breweries have to their contemporaries, and what does this history mean for city residents? And finally, how can the history of Washington’s commercial breweries be preserved and interpreted in an engaging way despite their destruction?

The study draws on primary resources, including historic newspapers, archival documents, historic photographs, maps, and city directories, as well as secondary scholarship on the national brewing industry during this time period. After conducting

the survey, I analyzed the data, mapped out the results and crafted a historical narrative that examines the important social and economic roles that these places played in the city. The survey and history then frames a discussion of how best to represent and interpret these now intangible aspects of Washington's heritage. Will the recent boom in local breweries continue long enough to serve as tangible links to this lost history? Would a public-private partnership between the city and these local breweries to interpret the history of brewing in Washington be feasible, and if so how could this partnership be set up to be mutually beneficial to the breweries and the history? This project provides ideas for the interpretation of this history to various stakeholders, individuals who have an interest in historic preservation, industrial history, and social history, current brewery owners and workers, and simply people who love beer.

Despite being a study that looks into brewing beer, this history is not only for beer lovers. Rather, by understanding this history, we can see how Washington's historic brewing industry and the changes it went through reflect the changes that were going on in the city and throughout the world during this period. The history of these breweries is the history of the American city, viewed through the base of a pint glass. Archaeologist Herman Wiley Ronnenberg, whose *Material Culture of Breweries* was an influential source for this project notes, "Few serious scholars have been willing to take the risks involved in brewery research—principally, the risk of not being taken seriously."² Like Ronnenberg, I hope that this study assists those who wish to delve even deeper into the stories of the numerous historic local breweries that existed in Washington.

² Herman W Ronnenberg, *Material Culture of Breweries* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2011), 17.

After a brief discussion of the methodology, the remainder of this report is presented in four chapters. Chapter Two lays out the process of brewing beer, followed by an analysis of the cultural significance of beer. Chapter Three describes the history of Washington's local breweries in the context of the greater history of the city and the national brewing industry; this discussion is divided into three periods: Pre-prohibition, prohibition, and post-repeal. Chapter Four looks at the fabric relating to Washington's historic breweries that has been lost, as well as what remains. Chapter Five takes the resources identified in Chapter Four and examines their interpretation and the challenges faced in developing this interpretation.

Methodology

Primary research on commercial breweries in Washington was conducted using city directories dating between 1850 and 1950, however directories are not available for every year, particularly for the earlier years. Most of the directories contain a list of businesses in the city, alphabetized by business type, and then by the last name of the purveyor of each business. These listings are also accompanied by the business name, where applicable, and included some form of address—either an intersection or street number. For most years, the directories include a category of “Brewers” or “Breweries,” which was reviewed and then entered into a spreadsheet. In some years, however, the directories do not contain this business category. In these cases, the alphabetical list of city residents was searched for individuals whose listed occupation was a “brewer” or other related job. While this affects the integrity and consistency of the data, having data for the entire period was better than having voids in the data.

After creating the spreadsheet, the breweries were sorted into groupings by decade, and the approximate location of each brewery was plotted using Google Earth. Once this process was complete for each decade, historic maps were consulted in an attempt to confirm the locations of as many breweries as possible, and to gather information about the form and shape of the main brewery buildings and outbuildings, if any. This also allowed a comparison of the brewery's original context with the current physical context. Because of the specific coverage areas of many of the historic real estate and fire insurance maps, there are several breweries that could not be located. That is to say, many of the Sanborn and Baist atlases only cover specific parts of the city so there are large areas of the city not covered. While lacking full coverage, these maps are incredibly detailed and are arguably one of the best ways to gain fairly detailed information about the breweries.

During the first two steps of the research, a great deal of information was uncovered about the city's late nineteenth–and early twentieth–century commercial breweries. For many of the earlier and smaller breweries, there was not much more than a name and an approximate location. To enhance this basic data, newspaper research and research through the Library of Congress's prints and photographs collection was conducted, using the names of the brewery purveyors and their breweries (where applicable), to learn more about them, their businesses, the architecture of their brewery buildings, and their role in the community. Additionally, for those brewers about whom little was known, census research was done to glean at least something about the individuals and their profession. In some rare cases, these additional research methods

remained fruitless, but their breweries can at least be placed amongst their peers, preserving at least a part—however small—of their stories.

Chapter 2: Brewing, Breweries and the Cultural Significance of Beer

Chapter Two begins with an overview of the process that is involved in brewing beer, presented to help the reader familiarize themselves with the process and some terminology that is useful to know before examining the local brewing industry. The chapter continues with an examination of the cultural significance of beer and other fermented beverages in order to provide broader historical context for the rest of the more focused historical scope of the report.

Brewing Beer

The brewing of beer involves several processes. The key process, fermentation, results in the conversion of sugars into alcohol. Virtually any ingredient that contains sugar—fruits, vegetables, grains—can be fermented into alcohol given the right amount of time and the proper conditions. A second and related brewing process is carbonation. Carbonation is achieved either by forcing carbon dioxide (CO₂) into the brewed beverage with pressure, or via a second smaller fermentation process known as priming or conditioning, where more sugars are added, and CO₂ is produced as a by-product of converting these priming sugars into alcohol.

The ingredients of the fermentable beverage that we call beer consist of water, cereal grains (typically barley), yeast, and hops. Water provides the base of the beverage, the cereal grains are the fermentable elements, and the hops serve to balance the flavor of the beer. Anything more is extra, either for flavor or to lower the cost-to-volume-of-final-product ratio. In order to get enough sugars into the beverage during the infusion of the grains in water, the grains have to be malted—soaked in water until they germinate or

sprout, ground into a fine grist, and then dried with hot air. This malting process converts the starches in the grain into sugars, and thus is essential for future fermentation. Malting also adds a color to the grain, which gets darker the longer the grains remain in the heated air.³

Once the grain is malted and ground it is infused in boiling water. This infusion of malted grains gives the liquid that will later become beer its color, as well as the sugars that it needs to become beer. Also during this infusion process—known as the *boil*—hops are added to the liquid. Hops are bitter, oily flowers that are added to the beer to help balance the sweet flavor of the sugary malt and kill bacteria.⁴ Once both of these ingredients have been added to the water, the boil can commence. Boiling times vary based on the type of beer that is being produced, but are usually around sixty minutes at a minimum. Once the boil is complete, the resulting concoction is known as *wort* (pronounced “wert”): an unfermented, uncarbonated, liquid with quite a bit of solid material in it.

Before the wort can be fermented, it has to be cooled to at least room temperature so that the live yeast can be added. If the wort remained hot, the yeast would die, and would be unable to convert the sugars into alcohol. Once cool, yeast is added to the wort and the wort is sealed as much as possible to keep external microbes and other pollutants (that could spoil the flavor) out and fermentation can take place. Once fermentation is complete, flat beer has been made, but it needs to be moved to another vessel—traditionally kegs, and later bottles or growlers—in order to condition (carbonate and settle) and in order to leave the remaining *trub* (the solid remains of the grains and hops,

³ Martin Heidegger Stack, “Liquid Bread: An Examination of the American Brewing Industry, 1865-1940” (University of Notre Dame, 1998), 68, Magill Library, Haverford College.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 68–69.

pronounced “troob”) behind. In traditional brewing, at this point in the process a priming agent that contains some kind of sugar is added to the beer to carbonate it for consumption.⁵ And that is the basic brewing process for beer.

At a small scale, for personal consumption, the brewing process requires only minimal amounts of space and equipment, but at the commercial scale—when one or more brewers are brewing beer to sell to consumers—whole rooms, buildings, or groups of buildings would have been necessary, with different spatial requirements for different phases of the brewing process. In the one hundred year period after 1850, as commercial brewing rose and fell, so too did the spatial needs of brewing complexes.

It was during this period, and particularly after the Civil War, when the American brewing industry rapidly grew and began its rise into the industry that we know today. Martin Heidegger Stack, in his economics doctoral dissertation on the American brewing industry, notes that “national beer production... was almost insignificant prior to the Civil War [but] it was the fifth largest industry in America by 1910” with the average output per brewery increasing from 1,624 to 37,980 and per capita beer consumption increasing from 3.4 gallons to 20.1 gallons between 1865 and 1910.⁶ This increase in production and consumption did not correlate to an increase in breweries; rather, the number of breweries increased until the 1870s, and then began to decrease, as certain breweries greatly increased their production levels.⁷

During this time period, local breweries began to have competition from national shipping breweries from the Midwest. Local breweries, both large and small, only had to focus on local markets, and generally had some control or influence over the retail outlets

⁵ Ibid., 69.

⁶ Ibid., 78–79.

⁷ Ibid., 84.

where their beer was sold to consumers (e.g. saloons, beer gardens).⁸ National shipping breweries, on the other hand, were located in cities like Milwaukee and St. Louis which were too small to absorb the output of the breweries, but they had access to the canal and railroad infrastructure that connected the east to the Midwest. With the advent of artificial refrigeration in the 1870s, and particularly refrigerated railcars, shipping breweries had the means to get their surplus product to market and turn it into greater profit.⁹

The Cultural Significance of Beer

Beer and other fermented alcoholic beverages have played important roles in many cultures through time. In pre-Columbian South America, the Inca culture took corn, chewed it, and allowed the enzymes in the saliva to ferment it into “a clear, yellowish, effervescent, alcoholic maize beverage with a flavor resembling cider.” This beverage was incredibly important in fertility rites, communal gatherings, and agricultural ceremonies.¹⁰ In China’s Henan province, around nine thousand years ago, archaeological evidence suggests production of a fermented beverage that was made from rice, honey, and grape.¹¹ In ancient Rome, taverns that served wine were integral to transportation and the spread of empire; in fact, travel distance was measured in taverns, roughly fifteen miles apart.¹² Likewise, when European colonists were arriving in

⁸ Ibid., 119.

⁹ Appel, Susan K., “Artificial Refrigeration and the Architecture of 19th-century American Breweries,” *Society for Industrial Archeology* 16, no. 1 (1990): 26.

¹⁰ Keith H Steinkraus, *Handbook of Indigenous Fermented Foods* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1995), 403.

¹¹ Ian S Hornsey, *Alcohol and Its Role in the Evolution of Human Society* (Cambridge, UK: Royal Society of Chemistry, 2012), 11.

¹² Christine Sismondo, *America Walks into a Bar : a Spirited History of Taverns and Saloons, Speakeasies, and Grog Shops* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6.

America one of the first things that many of them did was create beer or another fermented beverage based on the local ingredients that were available to them. For example, as early as 1585, settlers on Roanoke Island were making a kind of maize-based beer, and a formal Dutch brewery had been established in New Amsterdam in 1612.¹³

Make no mistake, as much as these early colonists may have enjoyed the intoxicating effects of their brews, they were not simply producing them to have fun, but rather quite literally for survival. Beer was generally much safer to drink than water in many warmer parts of the country, and provided a source of calories. Brewing beer would have also been a way of preserving surplus grains that would have been difficult to preserve any other way. Another way that beer assisted the survival of early settlements in America was by facilitating the existence of taverns, which themselves became extremely important in the growing society. In her excellent study of American taverns, Christine Sismondo describes the early American tavern as “critical for new settlers’ survival,” and describes their use as semi-public buildings where town meetings and government business could take place before formal public buildings could be built.¹⁴ They were also important hubs for transportation between settlements.¹⁵

The importance of taverns and beer was not limited to very early settlements, only to fade away once more adequate infrastructure could be built. In the spring of 1791, well after the end of the Revolutionary War, George Washington brokered negotiations that led to the creation of the “Federal City” that would later bear his name in Suter’s Tavern in what was then Georgetown, Maryland. This same tavern was the “center of activity” for the planning of the city as well, serving as a base of operations both for

¹³ Ibid., 8.

¹⁴ Ibid., 5.

¹⁵ Ibid., 6–7.

surveyor Andrew Ellicott and planner Pierre Charles L'Enfant.¹⁶

Washington's historic breweries are closely connected to these taverns and saloons. For most of the history of commercial brewing, many breweries—particularly smaller breweries that sold their beer in the same city or town in which it was brewed—owned saloons that were attached to or located near their breweries in order to provide a retail space for their product. When the breweries did not own their own saloon, they would generally have some sort of agreement with one or more saloons to serve their beer exclusively, especially as the number of breweries in a city grew and competition increased.¹⁷ In fact, some breweries that did own their own saloons still had relationships with other saloons to be prominently or exclusively featured, such as the Christian Heurich Brewing Company, who we see prominently advertised at G.W. Bauer's Saloon in Washington (Figure 1).¹⁸ Sadly, as we will see, despite this important role that taverns and saloons played in local and national history, they would later be vilified and used to destroy Washington's local brewing industry.

¹⁶ Oliver W. Holmes, "Suter's Tavern: Birthplace of the Federal City," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* 49 (January 1, 1973): 5.

¹⁷ Ronnenberg, *Material Culture of Breweries*, 69–70. Ronnenberg also notes that these Saloons, despite being quite ubiquitous, "are poorly documented in the historical record."

¹⁸ National Photo Company, "Old House, Water [...], SW, [Washington, D.C.]," still image, *Library of Congress*, ca. 1918-1920, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/npc/item/npc2007000182/>. The date and other information from this photo is from handwritten notation on the back of the image, which is why information is so limited. However, the date range is fairly firm, and explains why there are so few people around the saloon (as the photo was taken shortly after prohibition began in Washington).



Figure 1: G.W. Bauer Saloon, ca. 1918-1920.¹⁹

¹⁹ Ibid.

Chapter 3: History of Washington's Local Breweries

Chapter three presents a reconstructed history of Washington's local breweries, divided into three main periods: Pre-prohibition, prohibition, and post-repeal. This history considers Washington's historic breweries in the context of the developmental history of the city, as well as within the context of the trends that took place in the national brewing industry during this time.

Introduction

The history of Washington's commercial breweries has much in common with the history of the city, and cities in general. The changes that take place during the period covered in this study roughly mirror the changes that were taking place in the American brewing industry writ large, and they reflect the changing values of American cities, consumers, and the food and beverage industry. Chapter Three divides the history of Washington's local breweries into three eras: 1) Pre-Prohibition (1850-1917), 2) Prohibition (1917-1934), and 3) Post-Repeal (1934-1950). This history connects the changes occurring within Washington's brewing industry with development taking place in the national brewing industry and with other historical events.

The Pre-prohibition period is characterized by several decades of growth, followed by a relatively sudden decline. The market during this period was dominated by local breweries, and the majority of beer sold on draft at local saloons generally owned or partnered with a brewery. Towards the end of this period, the total number of breweries decreased due to increased productivity (which meant that more beer could be produced by fewer breweries) and the impending implementation of prohibition. The end of this

period also witnessed the arrival of large, corporate national shipping breweries, primarily headquartered in the Midwest, and they quickly gained more traction in sales.

The prohibition period ended all legal beer brewing in Washington. Smaller local breweries dissolved almost immediately, while larger ones such as the Christian Heurich Brewing Company managed to redirect their operations to produce ice in order to stay open. Meanwhile at the national level, shipping breweries use their political capital to continue to produce beer for medicinal purposes, and their industrial capital to create bottled “near-beers” and non-alcoholic soft drinks. These activities enabled national shipping breweries to remain active and ready to resume operations upon repeal.

The Post-repeal period saw the return of the brewing industry to Washington, but it had been badly damaged by a ban on forward integration, the practice of breweries owning saloons. Additionally, in the Prohibition decades, home refrigeration engendered a shift in consumer preference toward bottled beverages. This removed the only competitive edge that local brewers had, and as a result they were quickly overtaken by national shipping breweries, who sold their beer primarily in bottles. By the 1950s, Washington’s local brewing industry was nearly completely gone and the national brewing industry began to take the form that we know today, with a small number of large corporations controlling the majority of the market.

More detailed information on the 93 individual breweries identified in this survey is provided in Appendix A, a complete listing of the breweries that were identified in this survey and Appendix B, individual histories of a selection of Washington breweries.

A Prologue to the Pre-Prohibition Period of Brewing

When the Federal City was first established by the passage of the Residence Act in 1790, most of what is today the District of Columbia was being used as private plantations, and was extremely rural by today's standards.²⁰ Indeed, when Abigail Adams, the first First Lady to reside in the White House, arrived ten years later, in November of 1800, she described the land between Baltimore and Washington as being filled with nothing but trees, and Washington itself as, “*the city*, which is only so in name,” its land “romantic, but wild.”²¹ Records from this early period are spotty, especially the kinds of records—like city directories—where one might expect to find information on breweries. Directories were usually compiled for cities that were more established, so few exist for Washington's early days. With the exception of a few outliers, Washington does not begin to have regular directories published for its residents and businesses until around 1860,²² which one can infer speaks to the “wild” and undeveloped nature of the city in its earlier years.

During these early years when the District was still being developed, there were almost certainly brewers of beer in the city, especially in the more established port cities of Alexandria and Georgetown. However, most of the beer that was being made in the city of Washington was likely being produced on a very small scale, and because of that, is difficult to investigate with much certainty. For example, we know that some

²⁰ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Frederick Albert Gutheim, and Antoinette J Lee, *Worthy of the Nation : Washington, DC, from L'Enfant to the National Capital Planning Commission* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 11.

²¹ David G McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 553.

²² Special Collections Resource Center, “City Directories of Washington, DC. Resource Guide & Bibliography” (George Washington University Libraries), 3–6, George Washington University Gelman Library System, accessed January 13, 2013, http://library.gwu.edu/sites/default/files/scrc/City_Directories.pdf.

households would produce their own beers regularly enough to include their recipes in the family cookbook.²³ This may have been due to personal preference, or because of a lack of commercially produced beer in Washington’s early years. By looking at some of the early city directories dating prior to 1860, we can see that by 1850, there was at least one commercial brewery in the city. In the next few years, that number would increase eightfold, and by next decade, would more than triple again. The mid-nineteenth century experienced a boom in the commercial brewing industry in Washington, and the industry would go on to thrive for decades.

Pre-Prohibition (1850 – 1917)

By 1850, Washington had matured a great deal since its creation as the Federal City. In fifty years, the population had increased from approximately 8,144 to 51,687 while the land within the District had decreased in size with the return of land west of the Potomac to Virginia in 1846 (Figure 3).²⁴ The downtown core of the city was becoming the monumental area that we know today. The National Mall, used for grazing and

²³ Mark Herlong and Mary Butler Varnum-Hill, “Recipes and Remedies from Antebellum Washington: The Varnum-Hill Family Household Book,” *Washington History* 15, no. 2 (October 1, 2003): 52–73. The author of this cookbook, Mary Butler Varnum, was born in Washington D.C. in 1811. These family cookbooks were common as commercially produced cookbooks were not widely available. This book contains a recipe for fermented Spruce beer containing “a handful of hops and twice as much sassafras root,” ten gallons of water, 1 gallon molasses, 2 spoonfuls of spruce essence, 2 spoonfuls of powdered ginger, 1 spoonful of powdered allspice, and one-half pint of yeast.

²⁴ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan: Enriching Our Heritage (Draft),” March 14, 2013, 15, <http://planning.dc.gov/DC/Planning/About+Planning/News+Room/2016+Preservation+Plan+Request+for+Public+Comment>.

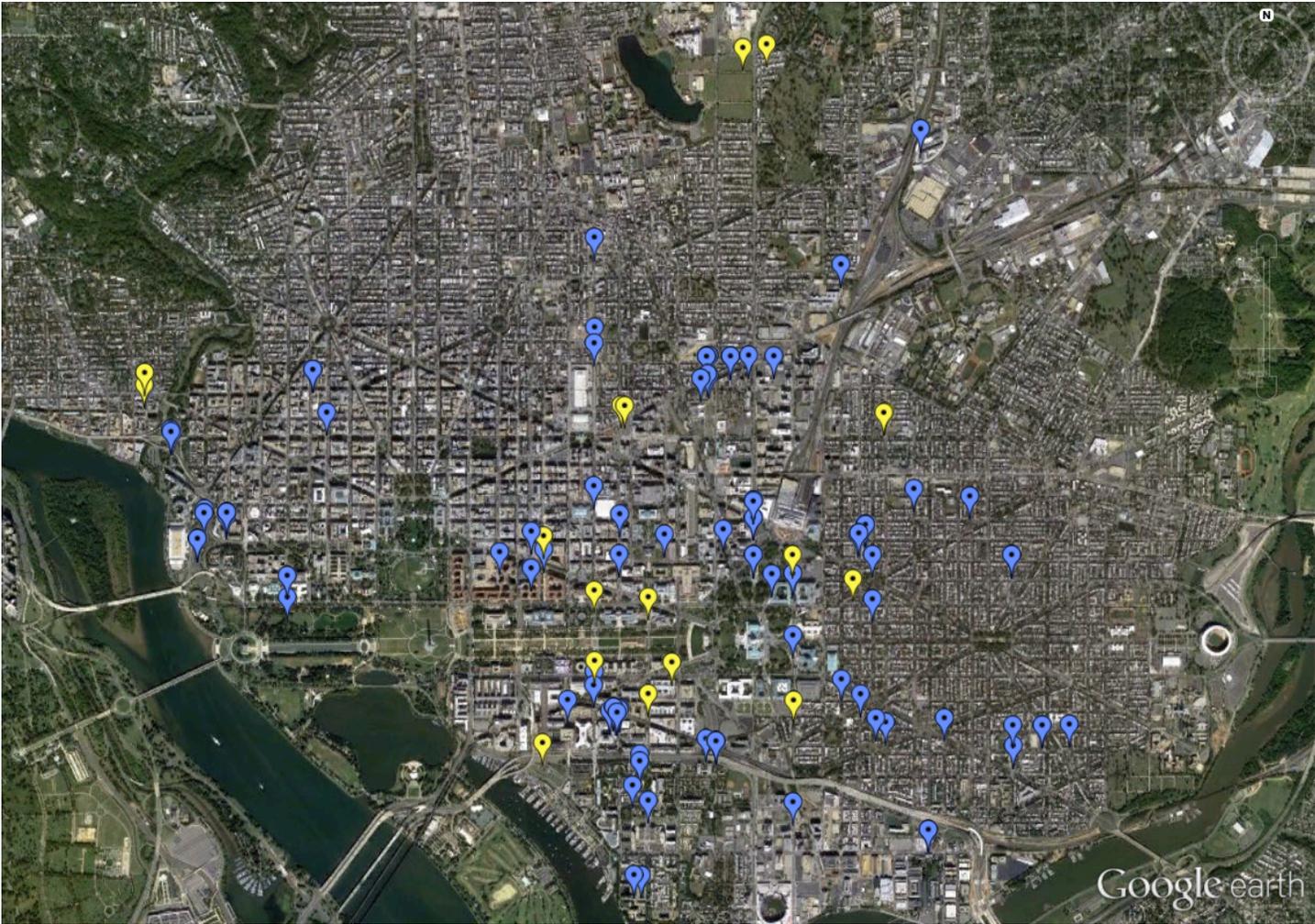


Figure 2: Pre-prohibition breweries. Data compiled from City Directories 1850-1917. Blue pins represent known brewery locations; yellow pins represent likely, but unconfirmed locations (satellite imagery from Google Earth).

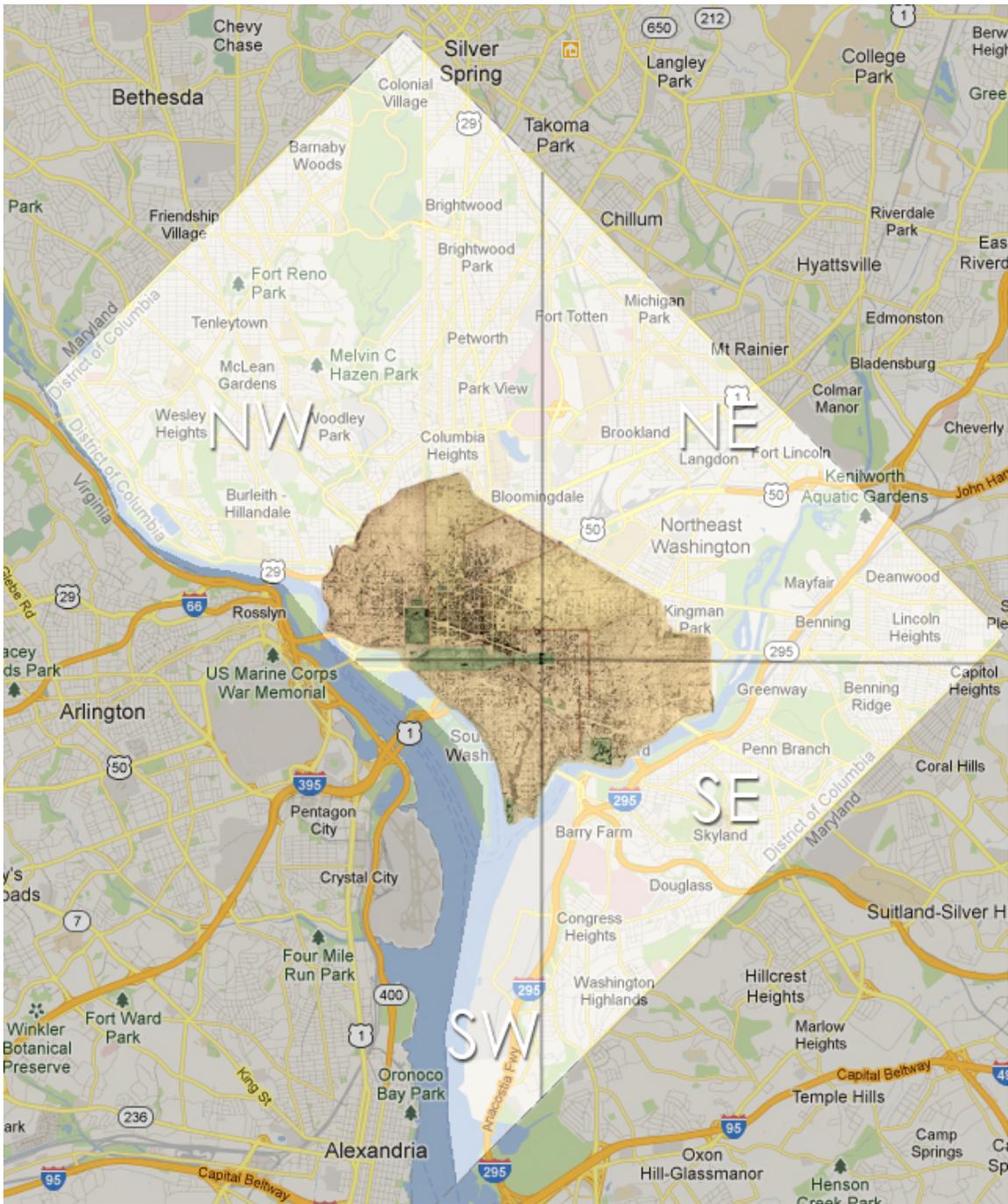


Figure 3: 1850s development map. Overlay of 1857 wall map by A. Boschke²⁵ on Google Maps base.

²⁵ “Washington D.C. 1857 Wall Map” (District of Columbia: A. Boschke, 1857), Library of Congress, <http://www.proquest.historicmapworks.com/Map.php?c=US&m=53858&l=District%20of%20Columbia&cont=>.

agriculture until the 1840s, had the beginnings of the Washington Monument and Smithsonian Castle, both designed by Robert Mills, whose new Patent Office, Treasury, and General Post Office at been completed just north of the Mall in the early 1840s.²⁶ The rapidly increasing population created a need for more water, which spurred the development of Montgomery Meigs's city aqueduct from Great Falls, which was begun in 1853.²⁷ In general, the city was becoming more of a modern city, with the introduction of technology, amenities, and industry. Gas lamps, street signs, a consistent system of house numbering, and cultural institutions like the Corcoran Gallery all appeared in Washington in the 1850s, while rail began to overtake the canal systems as the main method of transport for industry, connecting Washington to other Atlantic port cities and the west.²⁸

The 1850s also saw at least seven unique commercial breweries in Washington, based on listings in the five city directories that are available from that decade (1850, 1851, 1853, 1855, and 1858). These early breweries left little historical footprint, but the following is what we can extrapolate from the data that does survive. The first year that featured a business listing specifically for brewers was 1858 and it contained five individual breweries, two of which were under the sub-category of Lager Beer brewers (Figure 4). Also, there are no national shipping breweries listed, which suggests that at this early point, the majority of the beer that was being consumed in the city was being produced there. The low number of listed breweries in the 1850s correlates well to trends in the national brewing industry for this decade, which according to Martin Heidegger,

²⁶ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 53–54.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 59–61.

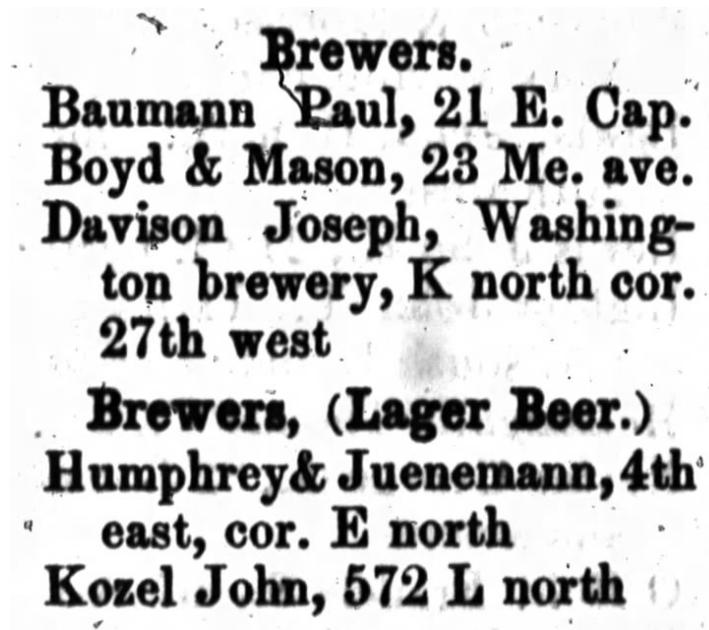


Figure 4: Clipping from *Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory* showing Brewers.²⁹

“was almost insignificant prior to the Civil War.”³⁰ Looking back to the 1850 city directory, we see only one brewery listed, Joseph Davidson’s Washington Brewery at the intersection of 27th and K Streets NW, a site occupied by local breweries or related structures until well into the twentieth century, and now occupied by the entrance to Whitehurst Freeway. While little is known about this brewery, it is interesting to see that the first brewery listed in this survey is at a site that was used continuously throughout the period of focus for this study.

The 1860s were a decade that began with a city preparing for a war which would heavily influence the city for many years. Since 1850, the population of the city had

²⁹ William H. Boyd, *Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory: Containing a Business Directory, Congressional and Department Directory and an Appendix of Much Useful Information*. (Washington, D.C.: William H. Boyd, 1858), 342.

³⁰ Stack, “Liquid Bread,” 78.

increased to approximately 75,080.³¹ With forts and other defenses set up around the city, Washington was truly controlled and protected by the military. The new Capitol dome was rising steadily, beginning in 1860, as a symbol of the Union (although it was not completed until 1866), and telegraphs wires were being installed to connect the city, which allowed federal bureaus to be located farther apart than ever before. This in turn increased the need for paved roads and intracity street railroads to connect residential areas with employment areas, bringing them to many parts of Washington. Based on fears of fire and security in the congested capital city, the first salaried fire department was also developed during the 1860s, along with the Metropolitan Police Department. After the war the new infrastructure and services remained in place while the city was demilitarized, and the population continued to grow.³²

Between 1860 and 1869, there were thirty-one unique breweries listed in the city directories, a dramatic increase from the previous decade. Part of this might be explained as a reflection the national brewing industry's overall growth around the time of the Civil War. But in Washington in particular, it could have also had something to do with the presence of soldiers in the city and their need for hydration. A regular supply of fresh potable water for a group as large as an army would have been difficult to guarantee, and whiskey and other distilled spirits would have been far too intoxicating, so beer could have filled this need. The number of brewers within the city in this decade is also representative of the remainder of the nineteenth century when Washington's beer brewing industry began to expand and reached its peak. Spatially, we can see that these breweries were found all over the city as it then existed, in every quadrant and up as far

³¹ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, "2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan," 15.

³² United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 63–73.

north as N Street. To compare, in 1865 there were approximately 2,252 breweries in the entire United States,³³ so having this many in a city as young and small as Washington is impressive. The 1860 city directory starts off the decade with another brewery located at the intersection of 27th Street West and K Street North, this time run by Clement Colineau.³⁴

Along with the increase in the number of breweries during this decade, there is also an increase in detail about them in the city directories, and more of them can be identified using census data. Because of this, we can gather more information about the breweries and brewers. For instance, based on advertisements in city directories, in this decade, the varieties of beer produced by Washington's local breweries was quite diverse; lager, ale, porter, and weiss beer are all advertised by one or more breweries during this decade (Figure 5). Another thing that can be discerned by advertisements from city directories of this time relates to the additional structures found at the breweries. For example, Ernst Loeffler's brewery on New York Avenue between First and Second Streets, Northwest (operating ca. 1860-1865) advertises the Washington City Garden on site at the brewery (Figure 6). Additionally Henry Kaiser's Georgetown brewery (near the intersection of 29th and M Streets NW), which was open for about a decade after 1862, had a restaurant on-site before it closed (Figure 7). We also know based on census data that many of the breweries of this period were being run by German immigrants like John Kozel (Figure 8).

³³ Stack, "Liquid Bread," 79.

³⁴ W.H. Boyd, *Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory: Containing a Business Directory of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria* (Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Maury, 1860), 182, <http://archive.org/details/boydswashingtong1860wash>.

WM. N. H. MAACK,
LAGER BIER, ALE & PORTER BREWER,
 AND
MANUFACTURER OF MINERAL WATERS,
 Also Bottler of Ale, Porter and Cider,
CORNER OF 4½ AND N STREETS, ISLAND.

Figure 5: William Maack advertisement from *Boyd's directory of Washington & Georgetown, 1867*.³⁵

ERNST LOEFFLER,
Metropolitan Lager Bier Brewery
 AND
WASHINGTON CITY GARDEN,
 New York Ave., between 1st & 2d Sts. West,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Bier always on hand, and for sale in quantities to suit purchasers. Dealers supplied upon terms that must give satisfaction.

Figure 6: Ernst Loeffler advertisement from *Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory, 1864*.³⁶

HENRY A. KAISER,
RESTAURANT
 AND
BREWERY,
No. 42 GREENE STREET.

Figure 7: Henry Kaiser advertisement from *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia, 1873*.³⁷

³⁵ W.H. Boyd, ed., *Boyd's Directory of Washington & Georgetown : Together with a Business Directory of Alexandria, Va* (Washington, D.C.: Boyd's Directory Co., 1867), 395, <http://archive.org/details/boydsdirectoryof1867wash>.

³⁶ Andrew Boyd, *Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory Contains Also a Business Directory of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria* (Washington, D.C.: Hudson Taylor, 1864), 290, <http://archive.org/details/boydswashingtong1864wash>.

SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in District of Columbia **in the County of** Washington **State**
of _____ **enumerated by me, on the** 10th **day of** Aug **1860.** Thos. Shickles Ass't Marshal
Post Office _____

Dwellings, houses, numbered in the order of visitation	Families numbered in the order of visitation	The name of every person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1860, was in this family.	DESCRIPTION			Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age	VALUE OF ESTATE OWNED.		Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year	Attended School within this year.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
			Age	Sex	Color, (White, black, or mulatto)		Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1330	1392	John Kozel	38	M	✓	Manufacturer Lager Beer	3000	5000	Germany			
		Christenia	39	F	✓				"			
		Caroline	15	F	✓				"			
		Pauline	11	F	✓				"	✓		
		George	9	M	✓				"	✓		
		Ellen	1	M					Wash D.C.			

Figure 8: Detail from 1860 Census (Series M653, Roll 102, Page 856) showing John Kozel and family.³⁸

These trends and details in the Washington brewing industry correspond roughly to the national brewing industry in the 1860s. In particular, after 1865 there was a dramatic production increase at national breweries.³⁹ We also see the demand for beer increasing with immigration rates, which boomed in the mid-nineteenth century, bringing many Irish, English, and German individuals to the cities of the United States.⁴⁰ Even though the Irish outnumbered the German immigrants at approximately 3:2 in Washington during this time, the majority of breweries appear to be German owned. This meshes quite well with the story at the national level, where German-Americans tended to own most breweries due to their higher levels of education and labor skill,

³⁷ W.H. Boyd, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia, Together With a Compendium of Its Governments, Institutions, and Trades. To Which Is Added Alexandria, VA.* (Washington, D.C.: Boyd's Directory Co., 1873), 513.
³⁸ U.S. Census Bureau, "1860 U.S. Census, Washington, D.C.," 1860, HeritageQuest, <http://proxy.montgomerylibrary.org:2106/hqoweb/library/do/census/results/image?urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3Bcensus%3B8498774%3B51835826%3B8%3B41>.
³⁹ Stack, "Liquid Bread," 78.
⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

which were ideal characteristics for someone interested in running a small brewery.⁴¹ We also know that in the mid-nineteenth-century national brewing industry, local breweries generally outperformed early national shipping breweries because the local shippers could concentrate on their local markets and could own or associate with retail outlets for their draft beer,⁴² much as we saw with Henry Kaiser’s restaurant and Ernst Loeffler’s beer garden at the local level.

The 1870s found Washington’s population expanding to 131,700, and saw a city that was quickly developing and being thought of as a more permanent city after the war.⁴³ The Organic Act of 1871 created a territorial government for the District of Columbia that was largely dominated by the federal government and not the local citizens.⁴⁴ However, this government, and the Board of Public Works that it created did a great deal of work creating a city more like the one that we know today. Frederick Law Olmstead began his planning for the landscaping of the Capitol grounds, the State, War, and Navy Building (now the Eisenhower Executive Office Building) was begun by Alfred Mullett,⁴⁵ public reservations—what we now know of as the circles and squares of the city—were begun by Nathaniel Michler, and Alexander “Boss” Shepherd began his many civic improvements—creating sewers, planting trees, and laying streets—in the city.⁴⁶ Additionally the pace of development in the city made the rowhouse, with its efficient construction, affordability, and greater density, “the city’s predominant building

⁴¹ Ibid., 161.

⁴² Ibid., 119.

⁴³ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 22.

⁴⁴ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 86.

⁴⁵ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 22.

⁴⁶ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 86–87.

type.”⁴⁷ This density also resulted in the first building code in the city and the prohibition of new frame structures within the original downtown part of the city.⁴⁸ During this decade of growth, there were twenty-four unique breweries listed in the city directories to quench the city’s thirst.

This decade continued to see local breweries dominating Washington’s beer market with little or no competition from national shipping breweries. This is also the decade where the city’s largest and most prolific brewers begin to appear, and where brewers from earlier decades peak before disappearing from the historical record. For example, George Juenemann, a Prussian immigrant⁴⁹ who began brewing with a partner on Capitol Hill in approximately 1858, had by the end of the 1860s taken sole control of the brewery, and by 1873 had dubbed it the “Mount Vernon Brewery and Pleasure Garden” (Figure 9).⁵⁰ This beer garden allowed Juenemann to control his beer from beginning to end by giving him an on-site location to sell it to consumers, continuing the trends in local and national brewing from earlier in the century. His changing of the brewery name to “Mount Vernon” from simply using his surname also shows an example of early brewery marketing at the local level. It is likely not a coincidence that Juenemann would have wanted to associate himself with the most-beloved of Founding Fathers, George Washington, in the years leading up to the commemoration of the nation’s first centennial. In a decade with as many local breweries as the 1870s, surely this appeal to the patriotism of Washingtonians would have been a way for Juenemann’s brewery to stand out from the crowd.

⁴⁷ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 22.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ U.S. Census Bureau, “1880 U.S. Census, Washington, D.C.,” 1880, Series T9, Roll 123, Page 322.

⁵⁰ Boyd, *Boyd’s Directory 1873*, 542.

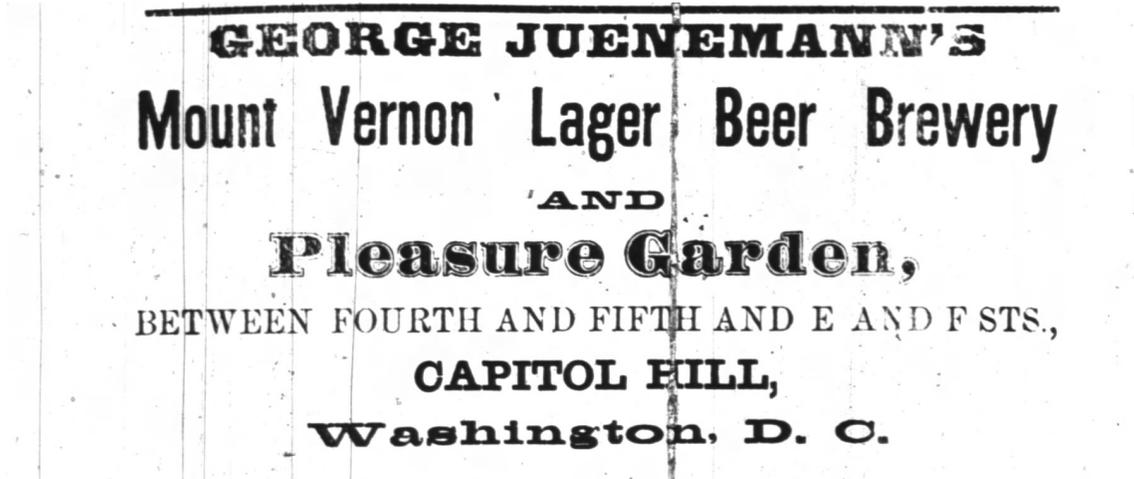


Figure 9: George Juenemann advertisement from Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia, 1873.⁵¹

At the national level, the trends seen in the 1860s generally continued in the 1870s, including the steady increase in barrelage per brewery and per capita consumption.⁵² However, in the early years of this decade we see the beginnings of a change that will transform the American brewing industry forever: pasteurization. While local breweries would not need to do this, pasteurization appealed to shipping breweries as a way to increase the shelf life of their product, allowing it to be more safely shipped and sold at distant locations. Between 1872 and 1873, Anheuser-Busch began to pasteurize and bottle beer, which required them to create large new bottling facilities for this process.⁵³ Despite the increase in railroad expansion, the national shipping breweries growth in out-of-state markets was kept in check, both by the integration between brewery and saloon in local markets and the economic crisis that struck the world in

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Stack, "Liquid Bread," 69.

⁵³ Ronnenberg, *Material Culture of Breweries*, 66.

1873. The first warning of this economic catastrophe was in June of that year when news of economic trouble in Vienna reached the United States, causing national bonds to fall by 1.5% and began to more intensely affect the economy in the fall. According to an account published in 1879, the financial panic that ensued “prostrated thousands of commercial establishments, and cut off the wages of hundreds of thousands of laborers [and] overthrew the stock exchange and banking-houses, trust companies, and manufactories” and lasted until 1879.⁵⁴ While the economic stagnation that the railroad companies experienced may have been good for the local breweries in Washington and other cities, the lack of capital available from lenders may have made their business difficult to maintain, and certainly would have made it more difficult to start as a small brewery owner. This is reflected in the number of breweries seen in the 1870s compared to the decade that precedes it (Figure 10).

The 1880s began with Washington’s population at approximately 177,624.⁵⁵ While the majority of these people still lived in the core of the city—the part of the city created by the L’Enfant plan—some had begun to move into suburban neighborhoods, like Brookland and Takoma Park, further towards the boundaries of the district.⁵⁶ The early 1880s also saw the beginning of efforts to “tame” the Potomac, particularly after a flood in February of 1881 that came to within three blocks of the White House. This led to dredging of the river, and reclamation of land beginning in 1882 under the supervision

⁵⁴ *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year, Volume 13; Volume 1873* (New York: D. Appleton, 1874, 1879), 279, http://books.google.com/books?id=c6QoAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&vq=panic&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=panic&f=false.

⁵⁵ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 15.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 22–23.

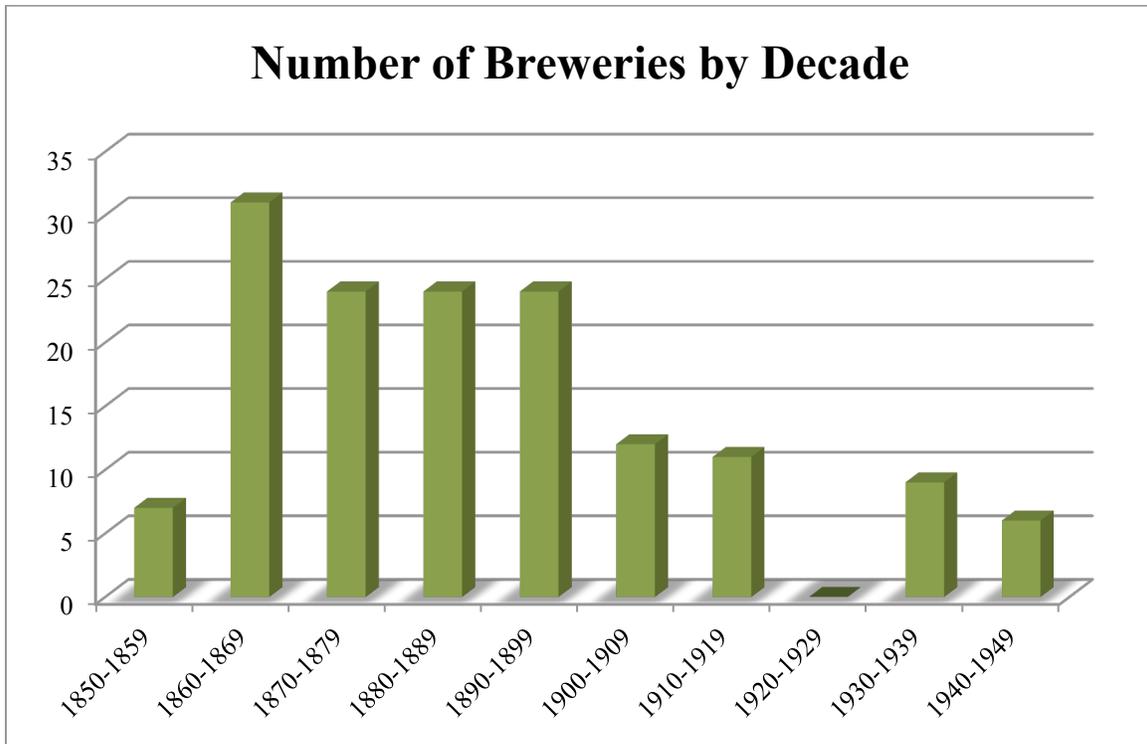


Figure 10: Number of breweries by decade.

of Civil War hero Major Peter C. Hains.⁵⁷ The work would take several years, and largely created the waterfront that we know today, including the Tidal Basin and the island that contains Potomac Park and Hains Point. Additionally this decade would see the creation of the National Zoological Park in 1888, as the Corps of Engineers sought to find places to preserve parkland outside of the L'Enfant city.⁵⁸

Amidst the taming of the city's river and the continued growth of the population, the 1880s saw stagnation in the total number of breweries, which stayed at twenty-four. However, these were not the same twenty-four breweries that existed in the previous

⁵⁷ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 94–95.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

decade; some local breweries closed while national shipping breweries from the Midwest and other parts of the country, including Schlitz, Anheuser-Busch, Park Brewery, and the William Massey Brewing Company, first begin to appear in the city. The technologies that made the shipping of beer over long distances possible—namely rail transportation, artificial refrigeration, and pasteurization—had reached a level of maturity at this point in time and facilitated the arrival of interstate beers in Washington. Interestingly, the Pabst Brewing Company, which would become the largest national brewery by 1883,⁵⁹ did not make it into the Washington beer market this decade.

Artificial refrigeration would be one of the most influential technologies in terms of the changing national brewing industry. Susan K. Appel argues that its development was likely related to the introduction of lager beer in the United States in the 1840s by German immigrant brewers. Unlike ales and other English beers, lager requires a period of conditioning in a cool environment—known as *lagering*—before being ready for consumption, and when lager’s popularity increased, there was far more motivation for brewers to come up with better and more efficient ways to create properly cooled spaces.⁶⁰ While earlier breweries in the 1860s and 1870s would have relied on a mixture of underground cellars and aboveground icehouses, both of which could take considerable space to provide adequate cooling, by the 1880s, mechanical refrigerating equipment was “sufficiently perfected to be reliable in large-scale brewery operations,” allowing a more regularly fermented lager to be produced.⁶¹ This technology was likely very prized by both the national shippers and local brewers because it could guarantee a more evenly-tempered lagering space, and therefore a better beer than ice, without the

⁵⁹ Stack, “Liquid Bread,” 88.

⁶⁰ Appel, Susan K., “Artificial Refrigeration,” 22.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 24–27.

difficulties of ice (e.g. the weight of large quantities, and the humidity, mold, and mildew in a structure that is constantly full of melting ice). Indeed, we see that even at the local level there is a Brewers Refrigerating Machine Co. listed on 7th Street Northwest in present day Chinatown in the 1883 city directory.⁶²

Pasteurization, which arguably changed the national brewing industry as much as mechanical refrigeration and perhaps more, was also fully utilized by the industry by the 1880s. Used primarily by shipping brewers like Anheuser-Busch and Pabst to produce better shelf life for their beer to travel long distances, pasteurization was, unlike artificial refrigeration, not as favorable to the final product's quality. The process of pasteurization that was most common in the late nineteenth century was what is now known as "tunnel pasteurization." In this process, beer would have first been bottled, and then the bottles would be run on a conveyer belt, through a pasteurizer which would heat the beer to 60° Celsius (140° Fahrenheit). This process would kill bacteria, slowing spoilage, but also killed any active fermentables in the beer and damaged the beer's flavor by accelerating oxidation, creating a more convenient, but "inferior product."⁶³ The resulting ill-flavored beer resulted in a national consumer trend of continued preference for draft beer in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which benefited local breweries in Washington and other cities.⁶⁴

In addition to the increase in the number of breweries in Washington during the 1880s, the decade also saw the continued rise of Washington's most prolific local brewer,

⁶² William H. Boyd, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia, Together with a Compendium of Its Governments, Institutions, and Trades, to Which Is Added a Complete Business Directory and a Congressional Directory. Also, a New Map of the City Prepared Expressly for This Directory.* (Washington, D.C.: William H. Boyd, 1883), 59.

⁶³ Stack, "Liquid Bread," 152–153.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

Christian Heurich (discussed in more detail in Appendix B). A German immigrant, his brewing business in Washington began in 1872 in a leased brewery near Dupont Circle.⁶⁵ By 1883, he had purchased this brewery and expanded it to cover several lots in the block bounded by 19th, 20th, M and N Streets, NW,⁶⁶ which can be seen in some detail in the 1888 Sanborn Map (Figure 11).⁶⁷ This brewery, which Heurich would later abandon for a custom-built and even more expansive brewery in Foggy Bottom, was a full-fledged, industrial scale brewery, with a large four-story masonry building fronting 20th Street and containing (from front to back) a clock tower and office; a wash, engine, and pump house; the brew kettle, mash tun, with several more engines and pumps; and an ice house with an ice machine and cooler. There were several other two-story structures—a store house, another large cooler, and several stables—as well as a two-story frame structure in the center of the masonry structure that houses more machinery and the night watchman’s office.

The other building that fronts 20th Street across Heurich Alley from the clock tower and office is the two-story masonry saloon that would have been Heurich’s prime retail outlet for his draft beer. While no photographs exist of this complete brewery complex (some color photographs of its demolition are included in Chapter 4), a view of the 20th Street side can be seen in a wonderful engraving from an 1883 edition of *The Western Brewer* (Figure 12). The scale of this brewery complex, as well as the than just a utilitarian industrial building. Breweries architectural flourishes such as the brick

⁶⁵ “Christian Heurich 1842-1945,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* 46/47 (January 1, 1944): 414.

⁶⁶ Eda Offutt, “MS 537 Christian Heurich Collection, 1844-2001 (bulk 1866-2001) Finding Aide” (The Historical Society of Washington, D.C., April 1998), 1, Historical Society of Washington, Kiplinger Library.

⁶⁷ Sanborn Map Company, “Washington D.C. 1888 Sanborn” (New York, N.Y., 1888), Plate 32, <http://www.proquest.historicmapworks.com/Atlas.php?c=US&a=32335&layer=1>.

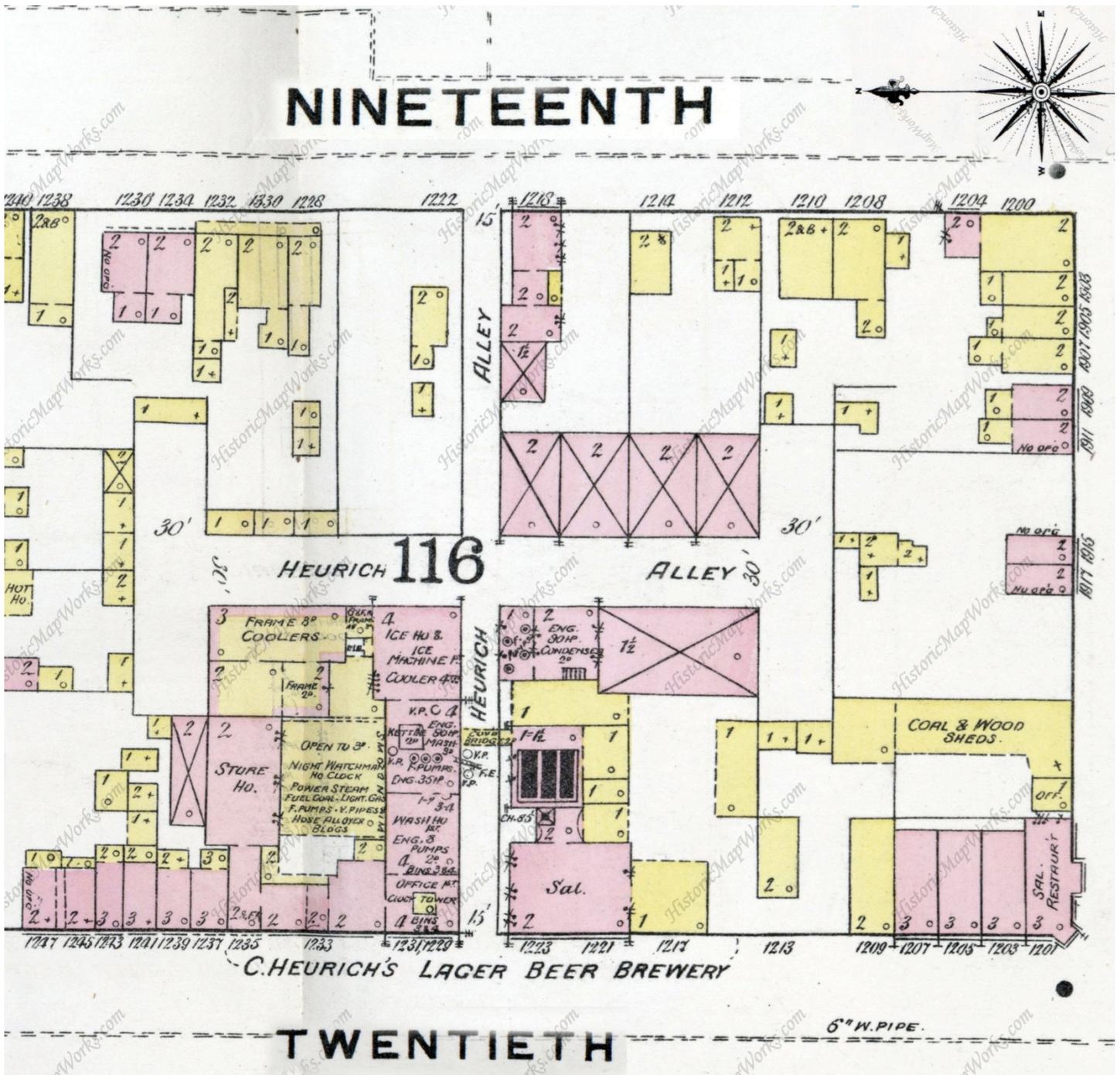


Figure 11: Detail of Christian Heurich's Dupont Circle brewery from 1888 Sanborn, Plate 32.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Ibid.



Figure 12: Engraving of Christian Heurich's Dupont Circle brewery from “The Western Brewer.”⁶⁹

⁶⁹ “Heurich Brewery Records, 1871-1956; Christian Heurich Collection.,” 2001 1844, Archives and Manuscripts Collection, Historical Society of Washington, Kiplinger Library.

corbelling and parapets suggest that this is more were more than simple industrial objects and had begun to convey a sense of power. Taken together, this engraving and the Sanborn map image show the immense scale that the Washington brewing industry was capable of reaching by the 1880s.

By 1890, Washington’s population had passed a major milestone and was at approximately 230,392.⁷⁰ Development continued as it had in the previous decade, with a focus on parks and landscape projects in the city. By 1892 Frederick Law Olmstead Sr.’s Capitol terrace was completed, and by 1893 historic landmarks like Ford’s Theatre were being preserved by the Army Corps of Engineers as “public buildings.”⁷¹ The Federal Government was growing—from 13,214 employees in 1881 to 20,834 in 1891—and more public buildings like the old Post Office on Pennsylvania Avenue were being constructed for this growing workforce.⁷² At the same time, more rural parts of the District were becoming urbanized and more suburbs were being created thanks in part to early streetcars like the one found on the Seventh Street Turnpike (present-day 7th Street Northwest, continuing into Georgia Avenue Northwest).⁷³ Petworth, Brightwood, Chevy Chase, Columbia Heights, and Woodley Park all experienced greater connectivity and development of row houses for government employees of more modest means, while more wealthy residents continued to build large homes in Dupont Circle and Kalorama, two neighborhoods that still retained a spacious suburban feel despite their proximity to

⁷⁰ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 15.

⁷¹ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 99–100.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 104.

⁷³ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 23.

downtown.⁷⁴ This development of residential areas was stalled temporarily by The Highway Act of 1893, which aimed at creating a street network for new development that connected well with the existing street grid of the original city, ensuring more orderly development and better connections.⁷⁵ This law created a great deal of protest and opposition, so in 1898 Congress enacted The Highway Act of 1898 to replace the prior act, which had the same requirements for future development, but exempted subdivisions that had existed prior to 1893.⁷⁶

Despite the growth of the Federal Government and its workforce during the 1890s, Washington's brewing industry again remained steady. This decade saw the number of breweries in Washington staying at twenty-four for the third decade in a row, although again, there were changes. While longtime local brewers like George Juenemann did not return, Pabst made its first appearance in the city in this decade. One of the new local breweries in this decade was German immigrant Albert Carry's National Capital Brewing Co. at 14th and D Streets Southeast, near Capitol Hill. This was actually Carry's second brewery in the area as he originally operated under his own name in the former Juenemann Brewery near 4th and E Streets Northeast beginning in 1886. Carry sold that brewery to a "British brewing syndicate" around 1889, and used the proceeds of the sale to create the National Capital Brewery in 1891, re-using another pre-existing brewery in the process.⁷⁷ We can see the brewery a few years later in the Baist Real

⁷⁴ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 108–111.

⁷⁵ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, "2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan," 23.

⁷⁶ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 116.

⁷⁷ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.: How Dry We Weren't* (Charleston and London: The History Press, 2011), 51.

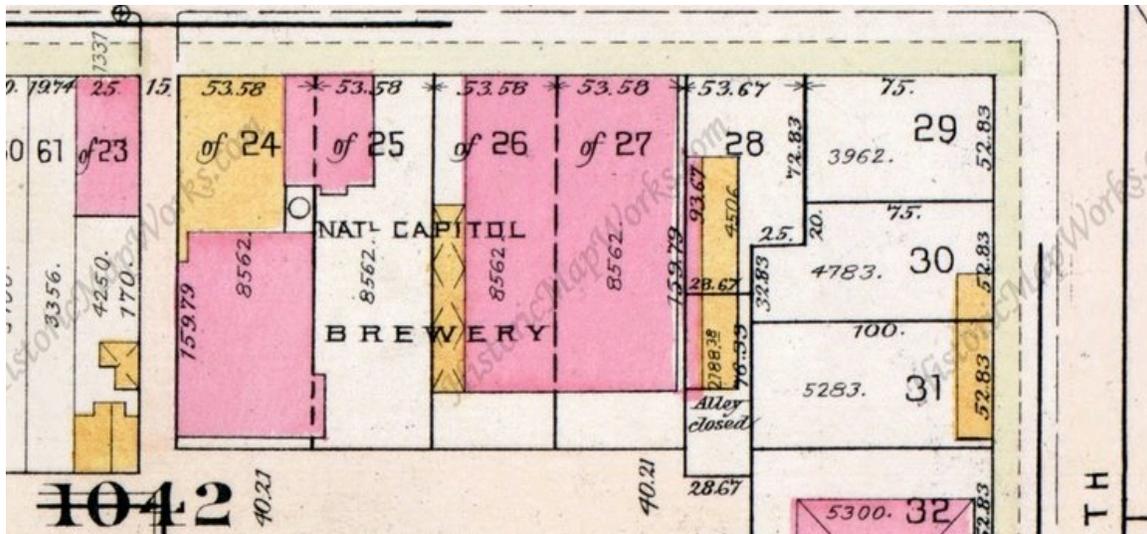


Figure 13: National Capitol Brewery as shown in *Baist's Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Washington, District of Columbia, Volume 2, Plate 29, 1903*.⁷⁸



Figure 14: Photograph of National Capitol Brewery, ca. 1910-1926.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ "Baist's Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Washington, District of Columbia, Volume 2, 1903" (Philadelphia: G. W. Baist, 1903), Library of Congress, <http://www.proquest.historicmapworks.com/Atlas.php?c=US&a=16757&layer=1>.

Estate Atlas from 1903 (Figure 13). While not as detailed as the Sanborn map of Christian Heurich's Dupont Circle brewery, we can still see the numerous brick and frame buildings and stables that Carry needed in order to run a competitive brewery operation in the 1890s and beyond. This very modern facility was capable of producing 100,000 barrels of lager beer a year.⁸⁰ For an even better sense of the scale of this very large local brewery, there is a photograph (Figure 14) of the brewery from a later period (ca. 1910-1926) which shows two hulking brick structures, one with a dormered cupola reaching above its shoulders, both dwarfed by the enormous masonry smokestack that vented the boilers, pumps, and artificial refrigeration machines that the brewery needed to function.

By 1890, Christian Heurich's titanic brewery operation had continued its upward trajectory and was capitalized at \$800,000 (\$20,000,000 adjusted for inflation⁸¹) as the Christian Heurich Brewing Co., producing twenty different brews. Heurich invested his profits in real estate, and for a time had become the largest private landowner in the District.⁸² After the last of several fires struck his Dupont Circle brewery in 1892, Heurich constructed a fire-proof brewery of his own design which opened for business in 1895 in Foggy Bottom, at the present site of the Kennedy Center.⁸³ Once the transition between the old and new brewery was complete, Huerich's new brewery had the capacity

⁷⁹ National Photo Company, "National Capitol Brewery," still image, *Library of Congress*, ca. 1910-1926, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/npc2008012811/>.

⁸⁰ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 51.

⁸¹ Oregon State University, "Inflation Conversion Factors for Years 1774 to Estimated 2023, in Dollars of Recent Years," *Political Science*, 2012, <http://oregonstate.edu/cla/polisci/sahr/sahr>.

⁸² Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 55.

⁸³ Gary F. Heurich, "The Christian Heurich Brewing Company, 1872-1956," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* 49 (January 1, 1973): 607-608.

to produce 500,000 barrels per year.⁸⁴ Perhaps because this high capacity produced more beer than Heurich could sell on draft, or perhaps due to some wry and prescient thinking about the future of the industry, Mr. Heurich bought an adjacent parcel in 1897 and created a bottling facility as well. Ownership of a bottling company is the one thing that Heurich had that no other local brewery did, and it may well be the reason that he was able to survive after the repeal of prohibition. This ownership also contributed to Heurich's eventual status as the second-largest employer in Washington, after the federal government⁸⁵ (Figure 15).

Unfortunately, national shipping breweries clearly had an increased presence in Washington during the 1890s. As shipping breweries were growing both in Washington and at the national level, local breweries were becoming even more integrated with local taverns and saloons, making it more difficult for the shippers to penetrate local markets in a significant way. In addition to not having the advantage of being in the same geographic area as all of their prospective customers, the shippers had another obstacle to overcome in gaining market share of both the local and national brewing industries. While bottled beer offered a greater profit potential for shippers because of the higher retail costs that could be charged for it, these retail costs also kept many consumers away.

The national shipping breweries needed a way to convince people that this extra cost was worth the expense, in spite of the fact that the bottled beer was actually inferior in flavor due to pasteurization. They found this in the exploitation of a growing negative stereotype relating to saloons and pubs, and the connection that could therefore be made

⁸⁴ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 55.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.



Figure 15: Employees of the Heurich Brewery, n.d.⁸⁶

between them and the local breweries that owned and influenced them. As summarized by economist Martin Heidegger Stack:

Local breweries focus on working class drinkers who prefer the more affordable draught beer provided at the local saloon—a site which offers far more than beer. Shippers, in contrast, could begin to think about targeting more affluent drinkers who could afford bottled beer, and who preferred to avoid the saloon-and that [which] was associated with visits to it.⁸⁷

The dynamics of class and economic status that were developing at this point in the late nineteenth century would go on to shape the brewing industry greatly in the following years. Specifically, they lead to an increase in advertising that began in the

⁸⁶ “Heurich Brewery Records, 1871-1956; Christian Heurich Collection.”

⁸⁷ Stack, “Liquid Bread,” 135.

1890s, especially by national shipping breweries and their bottled beers.⁸⁸ This marked the beginning of a period in the national brewing industry where a homogenized, lower-quality product was sold at a premium price to the public, who were manipulated into choosing a brand based on advertising rather than the quality of the product. For example, Anheuser-Busch and Pabst were both openly using *adjuncts*—a fermentable ingredient other than barely or wheat, used to lower the cost of the finished product—and, despite the fact that the use of these grains produced an inferior beer, they attacked each others’ nearly identical products by boasting that their ingredients were more pure than their competitors. The irony in this scenario is that, at the same time they were boasting that one’s rice was better than the other’s corn, they had both developed draft-only “premium” all-malt (no adjuncts included) beers, called Michelob and Doppel Brau, respectively.⁸⁹

Interestingly, 1890 is the peak year for the number of breweries at the national scale at 2,156. By 1895, this number was reduced to 1,771 while the per capita consumption increased from 13.6 to 15 gallons in the same span of time.⁹⁰ This signaled the beginning of a period where the efficiency of individual breweries was rapidly increasing so that fewer breweries were needed to meet supply at the national level. This drop in the number of breweries also coincides with the Depression of 1893-1897. Beginning with “Industrial Black Friday” on May 5, 1893, this economic crisis, much like the one in 1873, was related to railroad and other industrial speculation gone awry, as well as “the chronic trend toward the concentration of the nation’s bank reserves in the New York City banks and their dangerous absorption into the speculative but lucrative

⁸⁸ Stack, “Liquid Bread,” 145.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 166–167.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

call-loan market,”⁹¹ which is too familiar a problem in the twenty-first century. This national trend in fewer, more efficient breweries along with the economic collapse of the 1890s may explain the decreased number of local breweries seen in the following decade in Washington.

The turn of the century saw Washington’s population boom continue, with an approximate tally of 278,718 in 1900.⁹² The new century also saw the City Beautiful movement take hold in Washington following the success of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Many who were involved in the success of the Exposition came to the Nation’s Capital in order to bring the same sense of beauty and order seen in the Exposition’s famous White City.⁹³

This led to the formation, in 1901, of the Park Improvement Commission of the District of Columbia by Senator James McMillan of Michigan (known as the McMillan Commission and or Senate Park Commission), which was charged with creating a comprehensive plan (known as the McMillan Plan or Senate Park Plan) for the city’s parks, and “incidentally suggest[ing] where the public buildings should be placed.” The commission was composed of architects Daniel Burnham (the leading architect for the Columbian Exposition) and Charles McKim and landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead Jr., all of whom were considered to be exceptional in their fields. McMillan’s trusted secretary Charles Moore became his “surrogate” in the commission as its

⁹¹ Samuel Reznick, “Unemployment, Unrest, and Relief in the United States During the Depression of 1893-97,” *Journal of Political Economy* 61, no. 4 (August 1, 1953): 323–325, doi:10.2307/1826883.

⁹² D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 15.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 24.

secretary.⁹⁴ Influenced by the L'Enfant Plan and site visits to European capital cities, the McMillan Plan of 1902 focused on heightening the monumentality and import of the National Mall and its surroundings, but it also looked holistically at the District outside of the original city, in order to tie the two together as a whole.⁹⁵ The map in Figure 16 is an overlay of one of the maps prepared for the report on a modern day map of Washington, D.C. Unlike the 1850s map, the McMillan map shows a city planned with parks and roads leading to its borders on all sides. It becomes clear by comparing it to a contemporary map of the city (Figure 17) that the city envisioned by the McMillan commission is largely the city that we know today.

The 1900s saw the number of listed breweries in the city drop to twelve, a noticeably sharp reduction compared to the twenty-four breweries identified in the 1890s. This could perhaps be related to fallout from the Depression of 1893 finally rippling through to Washington's industry. If so, this would seem to imply that Washington then, as now, had a good deal of economic insulation compared to other parts of the country, that felt the effects much sooner after the crisis struck. Making this already-low number of breweries lower is the fact that of the fourteen, at least four of the breweries listed—Anheuser-Busch, Schlitz, Pabst, and the Scotch Hop Ale Manufacturing Company—are shipping breweries from different cities. This drop could also partly be attributed to the national brewing trend toward fewer, more efficient breweries that produced greater quantities of beer that was mentioned as beginning in the 1890s. Another cause that almost certainly contributed to this reduction in local breweries was the aforementioned popularity of the city beautiful movement, which did not reconcile well with industrial

⁹⁴ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 126–127.

⁹⁵ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 24.

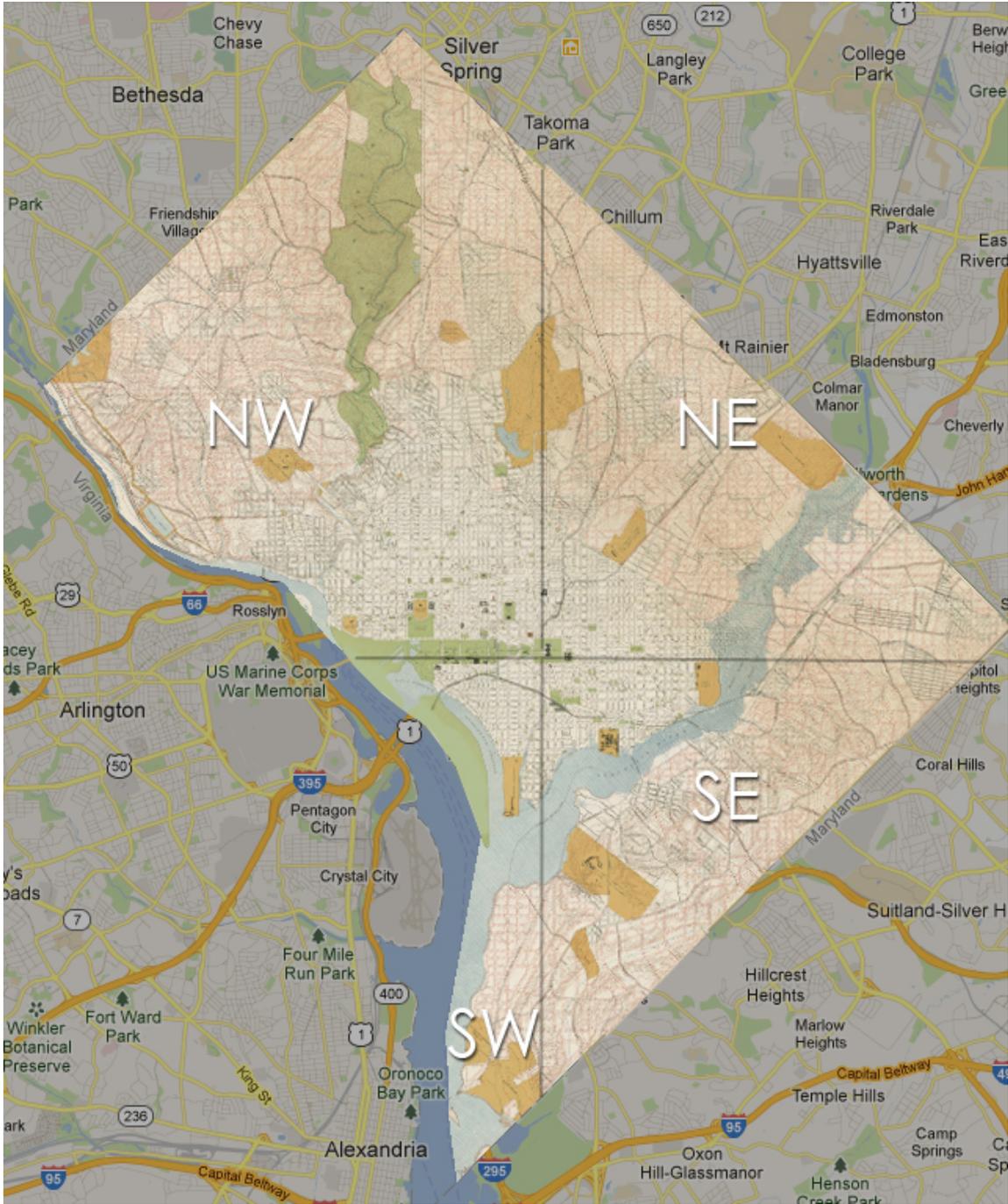


Figure 16: United States Senate Committee on the District of Columbia park and highway map (1901) overlaid on contemporary Google Map base.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ United States Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, “Map of the District of Columbia Showing Public Reservations and Possessions and the Permanent System of Highways, Compiled and Drawn in the Office of the Commission of the Park System, From Plans and Data Furnished by the Office of the Engineer Commissioner, the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, the

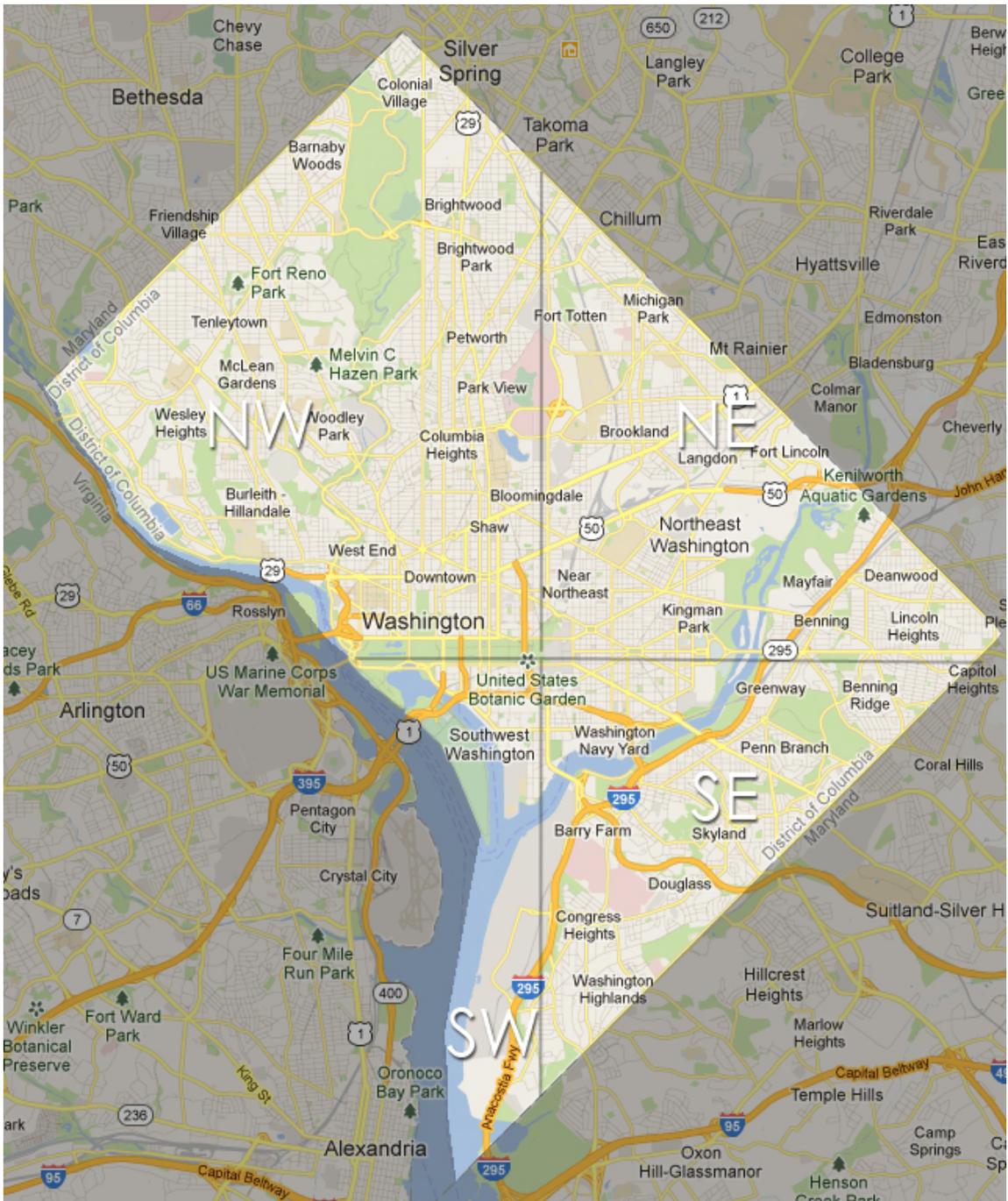


Figure 17: Annotated contemporary map of Washington, D.C. from Google Maps.

United States Geological Survey, and the Library of Congress” (Washington, D.C., November 1901), National Mall 3rd Century Initiative, <http://www.nationalmall.net/images/mr-map-3.jpg>.

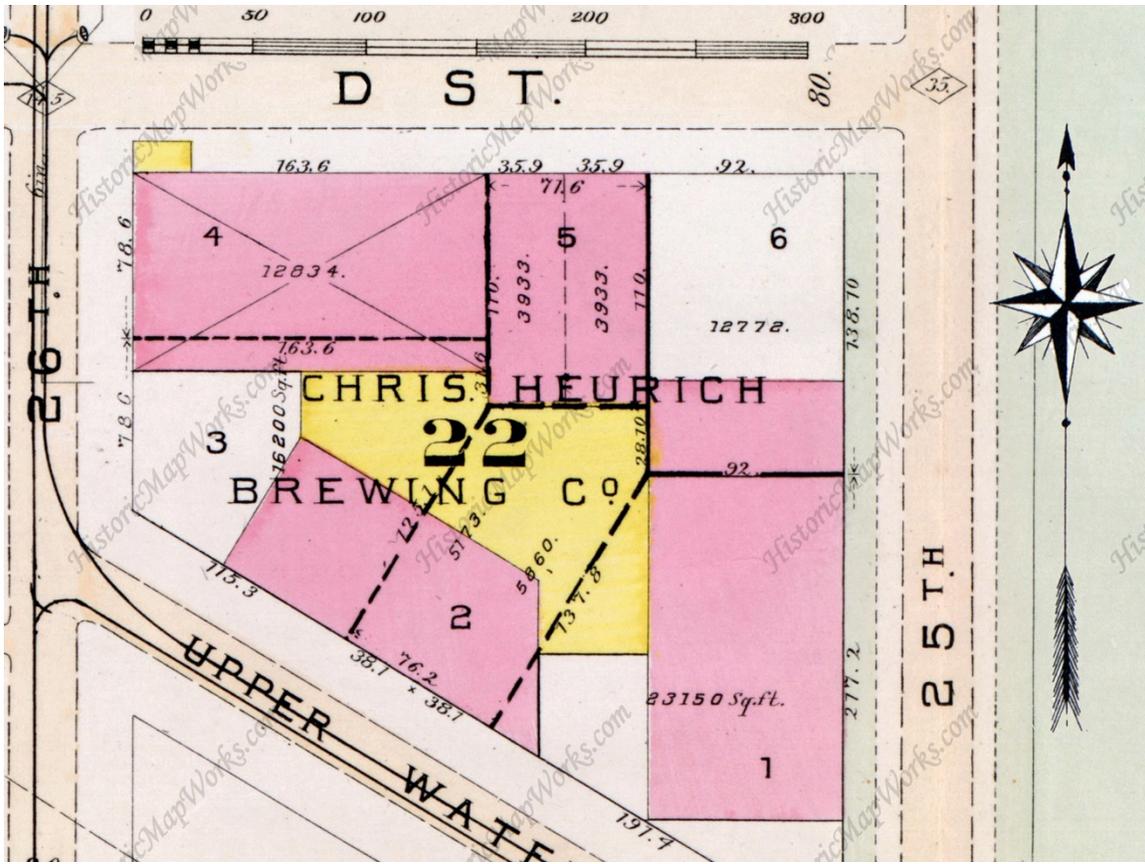


Figure 18: Christian Heurich's Foggy Bottom brewery as depicted in *Baist's Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Washington, District of Columbia, Volume 1, Plate 4, 1903*.⁹⁷

buildings being spread throughout the city as we can see in the Pre-Prohibition period map (Figure 2).

The local breweries that had survived through the economic hardships and increased competition of national shipping breweries with their very large advertising budgets included the Christian Heurich and National Capital Brewing Companies.

Christian Heurich's business was settled into its new brewery in Foggy Bottom, just a few feet back from the Potomac River, occupying the entire block

⁹⁷ "Baist's Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Washington, District of Columbia, Volume 1, 1903" (Philadelphia: G. W. Baist, 1903), Library of Congress, <http://www.proquest.historicmapworks.com/Atlas.php?c=US&a=16756&layer=1>.

between 25th, 26th, D, and Upper Water Streets Northwest (Figure 18), now part of the land where the Kennedy Center is located. Purpose-built, this brewery's overall footprint looks smaller compared to that of Heurich's prior location near Dupont Circle, but seen from the street or sky, it looks like a fortress of industry (Figures 19 and 20). From these perspectives we see a hulking masonry structure, between three and five stories, with what looks like a completely enclosed perimeter and interior yard. While the towering smokestack and the cupola atop the taller structure to the right in the photograph belie its industrial nature, its prominent corbeled and crenelated turret and its elevations that seem to continue unbroken around the perimeter suggest a fortified castle. This impression is somewhat lightened by the contrasting stonework seen in the lintels, belt-courses, and the patterned first stories of some of the structures.

In addition to the larger breweries that had survived the hardships and competition at the turn of the century, there were other local breweries of smaller size that also remained. One such brewery is the Abner-Drury Brewing Company, located just two blocks north of the new Heurich brewery at 25th and F Streets Northwest (Figure 21). While it's hard to tell from the map, the entirety of the Abner-Drury complex would be just barely larger than the southeastern-most building in the Heurich complex. Despite this smaller size, Abner-Drury appears to have been successful, staying in business for at least nineteen years beginning around 1898. Fortunately the firm left a fair amount of historical information behind, including what is rare for the vast majority of Washington's lost historic breweries: a photograph (Figure 22).

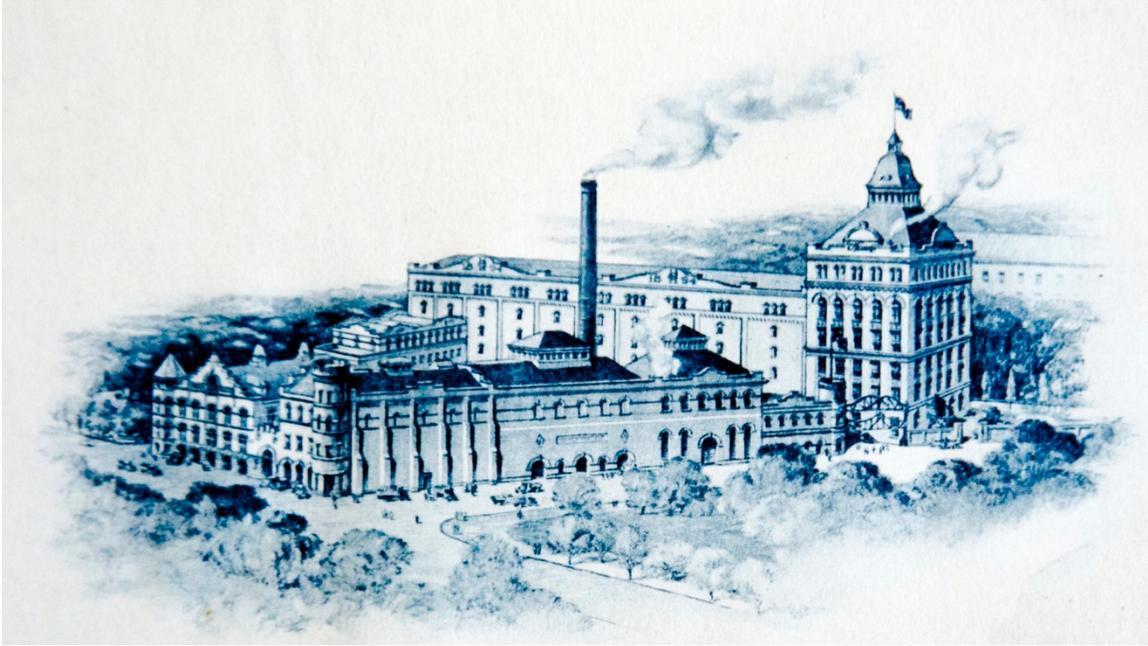


Figure 19: Christian Heurich's Foggy Bottom brewery as depicted in corporate letterhead from 1937.⁹⁸

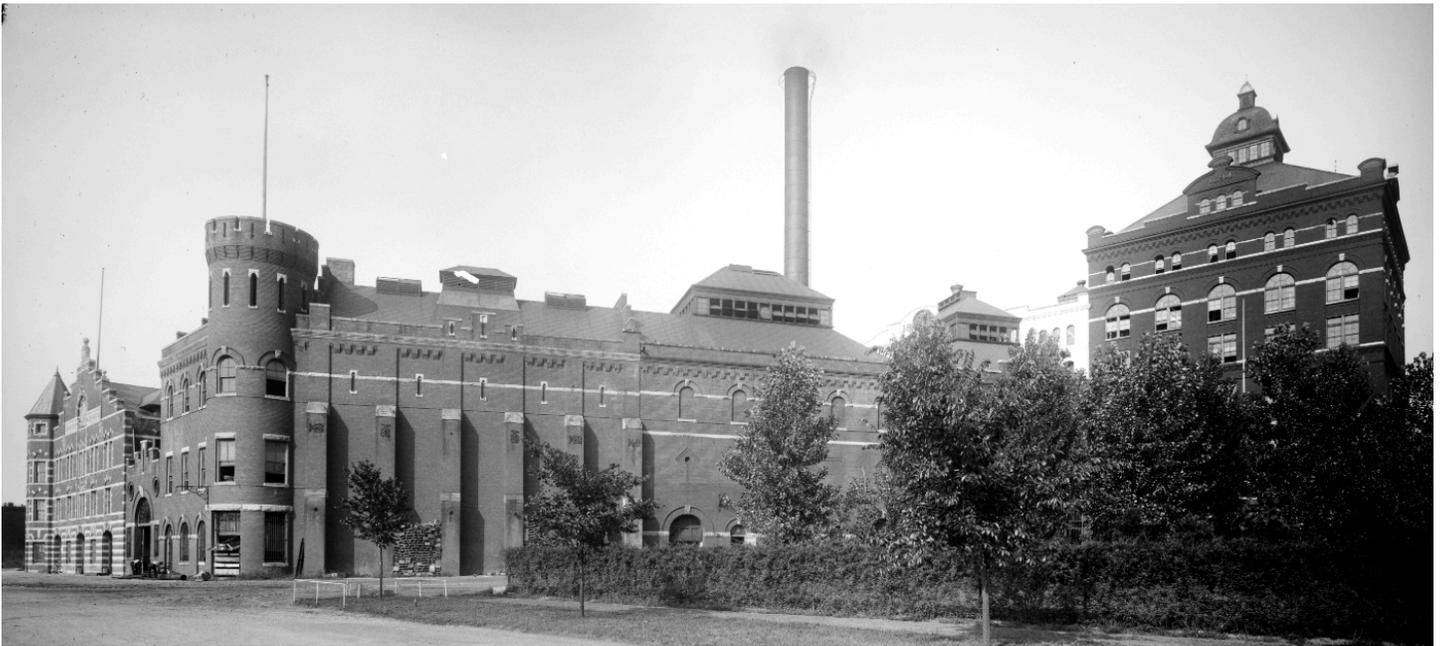


Figure 20: Christian Heurich's Foggy Bottom brewery ca. 1910-1926.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ "Heurich Brewery Records, 1871-1956; Christian Heurich Collection."

⁹⁹ National Photo Company, "Henrick Brewery (Heurich Brewery)," still image, *Library of Congress*, ca. -1926 1910, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/npc2008012774/>.

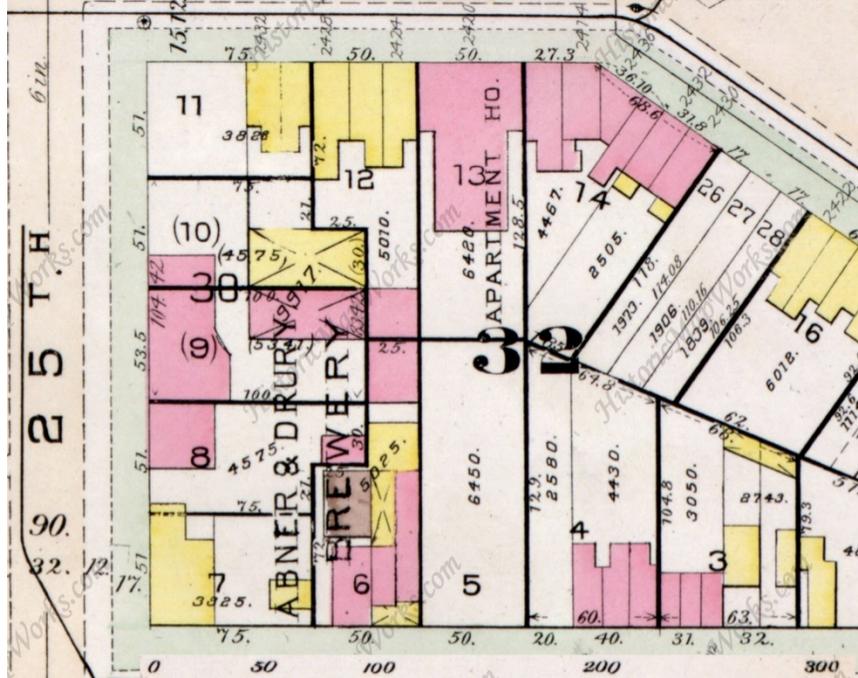


Figure 21: Abner-Drury brewery as depicted in *Baist's Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Washington, District of Columbia, Volume 1, Plate 3, 1903*.¹⁰⁰



Figure 22: Abner-Drury brewery, 1910.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ "Baist's Atlas, 1903, Vol. 1."

Apart from its smaller scale, and the prominent frame structure that is likely the original brewery structure, the architecture of this brewery complex is largely similar to that of the other breweries for which we have photos: This style includes masonry structures with a mixture of arched and flat windows, contrasting stone belt-courses, lintels, and arch keystones, a main structure that towers over the rest with a cupola, and decorative brick corbelling below the cornice line. Notably, Abner-Drury brewery is also one of the only breweries during this period that is known to have been run by an immigrant of Irish heritage, Peter Drury.¹⁰²

At the national level, the 1900s saw lager beer become the undisputed leading type of beer, accounting for approximately 90% of national brewing industry output as of 1900.¹⁰³ In 1906, the Food and Drug Act was being developed by Congress and looked as if it would force the national brewing industry to label the adjuncts used and the amounts contained in their bottled beers, as many felt that the increasing use of non-malt ingredients was “defrauding” consumers. However, the brewing industry effectively lobbied for this part of the Act to be dropped, enabling shipping brewers to continue making large profits off of lower quality beer.¹⁰⁴ While it is true that some local breweries, Heurich for example, were also bottling beer at this point in time, the national shipping breweries were particularly avid about the use of adjuncts in their bottled products. Stack notes that the trend toward lower amounts of malt and hops in beer

¹⁰¹ National Photo Company, “Abner Drury Brewing Co.,” still image, *Library of Congress*, 1910, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/npc/item/npc2008012773/>.

¹⁰² Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 51.

¹⁰³ Stack, “Liquid Bread,” 156.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 170–172.

clearly correlates with the trend of national market share shifting from local breweries to national shippers.¹⁰⁵

The 1910s were a decade that would prove tumultuous in Washington and the world. Washington's population had risen past another milestone to 331,069 in 1910, filling out the city as the McMillan Commission's enlarged plan opened up new development and connectivity for residents. In order to ensure the faithful implementation of the McMillan plan, the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) was established in 1910, "to advise one the siting and design of public buildings and guide the city's architectural development," which it still does to this day.¹⁰⁶ Rail travel continued to be the dominant form of long-distance travel and in order to make sure that Washington had a grand rail station that signified the import of the Capital City, Daniel Burnham was commissioned to design Union Station, completed in 1908.¹⁰⁷ For travel within the city, a new conveyance was gaining popularity. In 1911 the Army Corps of Engineers suggested that certain roads be improved and resurfaced in order to provide for the use of the road by automobiles.¹⁰⁸ As innocuous as this must have seemed at the time, the automobile and its coming ubiquity would change the landscape of the city a great deal in the twentieth century.

The 1910s also saw the continued development of parks throughout the city with the continuing implementation of City Beautiful plans. Meridian Hill Park was one such park begun in 1910. Sixteenth Street Northwest—the western boundary of this long monumental park—which runs directly north from the White House, had seen the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 168.

¹⁰⁶ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, "2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan," 24.

¹⁰⁷ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 129.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 146.

development of several large embassies and other grand private residences. The CFA recognized the opportunity to create a park here that would serve to make Sixteenth Street a grand boulevard that connected Washington to Maryland and Gettysburg¹⁰⁹—an “Avenue of the Presidents.”¹¹⁰

Amidst the positive planning and development of the CFA’s shepherding of Washington’s development, racial discrimination also influenced the evolution of the city. While new residential developments in the city were primarily for white residents, African American residents were left to rent older housing stock in areas of the city that were vacated by whites for more desirable areas. The U Street (Northwest) corridor that we know today developed in response to this type of segregation-based development, with landmarks like the Howard Theatre opening in 1910.¹¹¹

The 1910s saw the number of breweries in Washington decrease again to just eleven. This decrease in breweries was likely due to the continued de-industrialization of Washington due to the City Beautiful movement as well as due to the realization of many smaller breweries that prohibition was perhaps inevitable, especially in the second half of the decade. In addition to the twelve local breweries that were in business in the 1910s, there were also three national shipping breweries that had bottling facilities in the city. One of these shipping breweries was the Joseph Schlitz Brewing Company from Milwaukee, Wisconsin. After several years in Southwest Washington (near present-day L’Enfant Plaza), Schlitz had strategically moved into the Eckington neighborhood directly adjacent to an extremely large Baltimore & Ohio Railroad depot (Figure: Baist 1913 Plate 4 Schlitz Crop 1). This relatively small structure and its placement near this

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 150–151.

¹¹⁰ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 24.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

railroad depot illustrate the national shipping breweries' dependency on the railroad to get their beer to larger markets. Interestingly enough, this is quite possibly the only surviving industrial structure that directly relates to the brewing industry in Washington. Even though it does not relate to a local brewery, its presence in the city reminds us of the rise of national shipping breweries and their domination of the national beer market in a few short years.

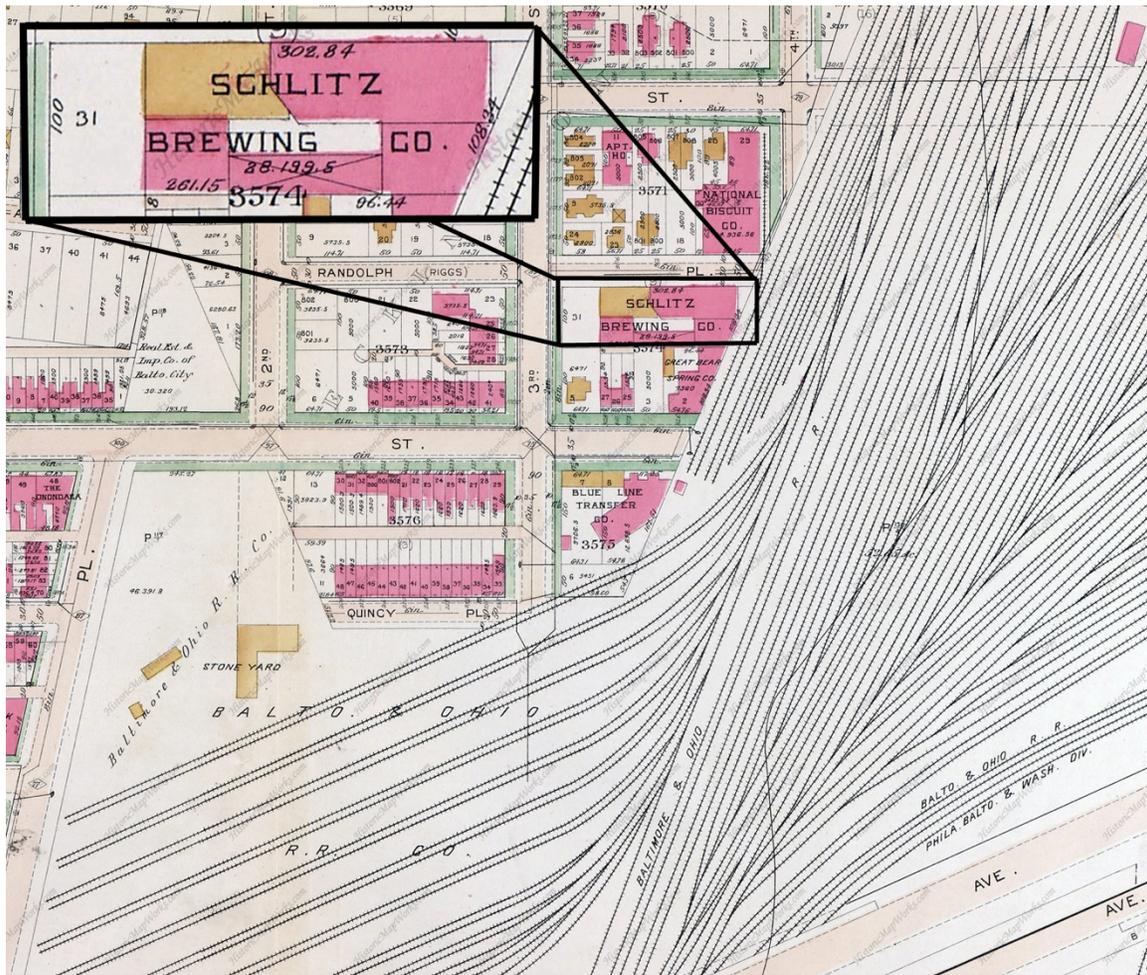


Figure 23: Schlitz bottling facility as depicted (with detail view) in *Baist's Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Washington, District of Columbia, Volume 4, Plate 4, 1913*.¹¹²

¹¹² "Baist's Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Washington, District of Columbia, Volume 4, 1913" (Philadelphia: G. W. Baist, 1913), Library of Congress, <http://www.proquest.historicmapworks.com/Atlas.php?c=US&a=16767&layer=1>.

Prohibition in Washington (November 1917 – March 1934)

While Washington is known to have a “bubble” around it to this day, delaying the effects of economic troubles on the area, some things actually reach Washington first. This was the case with the prohibition of intoxicating beverages, which arrived in the District of Columbia twenty-six months before National Prohibition went into effect.

One of the major driving forces behind the national prohibition movement was the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), whose name belies yet again the negative associations that had developed about the saloon. Formed in 1893 by Ohio minister Howard Russell and later directed by Wayne Wheeler, the ASL held its first national convention in Calvary Baptist Church (extant) at the southeast corner of H and 8th Streets Northwest in 1895. According to Garrett Peck, the ASL is a one-of-a-kind advocacy group that has never been matched. “Not even the National Rifle Association is as powerful today as the ASL was in its heyday.”¹¹³

It is important to note that the Anti-Saloon League and other prohibition advocates are not meant to take the place of a pure villain in this history. While the war on saloons contributed to the decline of the local brewing industry in Washington and other cities, it was not a war that was waged out of spite or malice. For all of the people who found a sense of community at the local pub, there were many who overindulged and helped to give the saloon the reputation that it had for decades before the ASL was founded. As early as the seventeenth century taverns in America had developed a reputation as rowdy, drunken, disorderly places when they were not managed well. In Maryland, fines for drunkenness were established in 1642 and in 1654 liability was added

¹¹³ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 28–29.

making “anyone who shall suffer drunkenness in their house” financially responsible for the payment of these fines.¹¹⁴ By the eighteenth century, Virginia had established a “last call” at 11pm, which was enforced fairly consistently.¹¹⁵ But these laws could only help so much. In 1883, Dennis Donovan drowned in the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal after a drunken night in a saloon where he was removed after closing, “too drunk to stand up.” His body was found in the canal early the next morning.¹¹⁶ Many prohibition advocates saw the closure of saloons and the prohibition of intoxicating beverages as the surest way to address the problems related to drunkenness and alcoholism. Additionally, while saloons are often recognized for their democratizing role in society—being a place where people of many different social statuses could interact, and where people could speak more freely—it is important to note that taverns were a very gendered space in the time period that this study focuses on. Women were “not part of the culture of public drink” in the same way as men; they “entered public houses rarely and in restricted contexts,” to procure provisions and when they did, they would not have consumed their purchases on the premises, but rather at home.¹¹⁷ While saloons and public houses were spaces that were critical to Washington’s local industry, and were valued by many, they also had many recognizable negative aspects.

In 1916, after several successful campaigns to get individual states to go voluntarily dry, Wayne Wheeler moved to Washington to lobby Congress to pass a national prohibition law. Using the United States’ entry into World War I in 1917 as an

¹¹⁴ Sharon V Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 85–91.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 125–126.

¹¹⁶ “The Georgetown Tragedy: Testimony Given at the Coroner’s Inquest—the Verdict—who Committed the Violence.,” *National Republican*, March 27, 1883.

¹¹⁷ Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, 222–223.

excuse, Wheeler began to demand that—in order to preserve grain for the war—all United States breweries should shut down. At the very least, Congress should declare the Capital City dry to set a good example for the rest of the nation. That we were at war with the Kaiser and the majority of brewers in Washington and the rest of the nation happened to be German made this task even easier. The Eighteenth Amendment banning the production, sale and transportation of alcohol had passed both chambers of Congress by December of the same year, but the enactment had to wait until enough states ratified the amendment. However, as the District of Columbia is not a state, and as Mr. Wheeler could be very tenacious, Congress, following the lead of Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas, passed the Sheppard Bone-Dry Act on March 3, 1917, which declared that as of November 1, 1917, the District of Columbia would be dry. The rest of the nation went dry on January 16, 1920, when the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect.¹¹⁸

Despite the apparent ease with which Washington succumbed to prohibition, many believed that the law would be disastrous for the District and the nation. In the years leading up to prohibition in Washington, many people spoke out against it. In the summer of 1915, *The Washington Herald* ran a full-page story with the headline, “What Prohibition Would Mean to Washington.”¹¹⁹ This article looks at the downsides of the prohibition of beer in particular with quite a bit of detail. It begins by noting that the “four leading breweries” (National Capital Brewery, Heurich Brewing Co., Washington

¹¹⁸ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 31–35.

¹¹⁹ “The Washington Herald. (Washington, D.C.) 1906-1939, August 28, 1915, WASHINGTON IN 1915 EDITION, Image 6,” August 28, 1915, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1915-08-28/ed-2/seq-6/#date1=08%2F28%2F1915&index=1&date2=08%2F28%2F1915&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&lccn=sn83045433&words=prohibition+prohibitive&proxdistance=5&state=District+of+Columbia&rows=20&ortext=prohibition&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=range&page=1>.

Brewery Co., and Abner-Drury Brewing Co.) in the city had a combined real estate value of \$4,806,865.84 (approximately \$109,246,950.91 in 2012, adjusted for inflation¹²⁰), which would be useless—and therefore would lose most of its value—were the manufacture of beer prohibited in the District. The writer then clarifies, for those who would be less than bereaved at the personal financial loss of these brewers, that they also pay a combined total of \$4,416,300 in taxes to the city and federal governments since 1897. Perhaps most importantly, the article argues, would be the “immense loss in salaries” to the brewery workers. Between the fifty employees of the Washington Brewery, the 185 of the Heurich Brewing Company, the seventy-five of the National Capital Brewing Company, and the forty-eight of Abner-Drury, there would be a total loss of \$352,171 in annual salaries lost. The article also takes time to argue for the “purity” of beer, and that “beer is aiding temperance,” especially after the rise in popularity of “light” (meaning lower alcohol by volume) beers like lager over the heavy English ales, porters, and stouts that were popular in the early days of the nation.

In 1907, *The Washington Bee*, a newspaper created by and for Washington’s African American community, discussed prohibition in its front-page “What I Saw and Heard” column. The author did not mince words: “I am surprised to see so many advocates for prohibition and so few for human rights. The people of Washington are in need of protection from oppression. Whiskey is less dangerous than the shotgun, and prohibition advocates more dangerous than whiskey.”¹²¹ Later that same year the *Bee*

¹²⁰ Oregon State University, “Inflation Conversion Factors.”

¹²¹ “The Washington Bee. (Washington, D.C.) 1884-1922, November 09, 1907, Image 1,” November 9, 1907, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025891/1907-11-09/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=1905&index=19&date2=1917&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&lccn=sn84025891&words=prohibiting+prohibition&proxdistance=5&state=District+of+Columbia&ro>

printed a copy of a letter that E.F. Abner, President (at that time) of Abner-Drury Brewing Company had written to Congress, asserting that prohibition would only “deny to that great mass of American freeman, white and black, the boon of personal liberty.” Abner then attacks the argument that prohibition would benefit the African American community by counter-arguing that what they need is education, “as do all other peoples, of whatever color or clime.”¹²²

These and many more arguments were to no avail, and Washington prepared for the reality of prohibition’s impending implementation. In an interesting detail, the last night that alcohol could be purchased in the District was none other than Hallowe’en 1917. The October 31st edition of *The Washington Times* ran a cartoon across the top of the editorial page showing the funeral of John Barleycorn (Figure 24), while its headline read “Devotees of Bacchus Will Bid Booze Farewell Tonight as Goblins Stalk.”¹²³ *The Washington Herald* noted that the police were putting extra officers on duty for the evening shift to ensure that the new law is strictly and promptly enforced and “that persons may be kept free from insult and property free from damage and destruction.”¹²⁴

With prohibition in effect throughout the nation beginning in 1920, breweries had to make “implicit bets” on how long they thought it would effect the production and sale

ws=20&ortext=prohibition&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1.

¹²² “The Washington Bee. (Washington, D.C.) 1884-1922, December 28, 1907, Image 1,” December 28, 1907, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025891/1907-12-28/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=1905&index=1&date2=1917&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&lccn=sn84025891&words=prohibit+Prohibition+prohibition+PROHIBITION&proxdistance=5&state=District+of+Columbia&rows=20&ortext=prohibition&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>.

¹²³ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 33.

¹²⁴ “The Washington Herald. (Washington, D.C.) 1906-1939, October 31, 1917, Image 4,” October 31, 1917.

that 85% of pre-Prohibition beer was kegged for retail on draft; during prohibition, 80% of near beer was bottled, as was a growing percentage of soft drinks which were formerly primarily available at soda fountains.¹²⁷

At the same time that shipping breweries were getting special permissions to brew, and were finding ways to use their large capital to influence a long-term change in the beverage market to their favor, local breweries began to sell off their saloons and the furnishings that they leased to saloons.¹²⁸ In Washington this was likely the case as well. A headline in a March 1917 *Washington Post* reprinted from the *Spokane Spokesman-Review* proclaimed “FINISH OF THE BREWERY. Prohibition Makes It a White Elephant; Disposition a Problem,” indicating the relatively limited functions that breweries could be reused for and the expense of converting them.¹²⁹ Christian Heurich had plans to convert his brewery to produce a non-intoxicating apple cider, but during his trials with this plan, his cider fermented despite his use of pasteurization, and he was unable to sell it.¹³⁰ His immense real estate holdings, and the dairy cattle that he raised at his Bellevue farm in Hyattsville, Maryland, provided him with a livelihood during this period.¹³¹ Additionally, he was able to use his brewery’s ice machines to begin producing commercial quantities of ice, which became the main source of the brewery’s revenue throughout prohibition. Due to this new business venture, Heurich was able to come to an agreement with his 500 employees that kept them all employed through

¹²⁷ Stack, “Liquid Bread,” 194.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 196–197.

¹²⁹ “FINISH OF THE BREWERY: Prohibition Makes It a White Elephant; Disposition a Problem.,” *The Washington Post (1877-1922)*, March 26, 1917.

¹³⁰ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 57.

¹³¹ Candace Shireman, “The Rise of Christian Heurich and His Mansion,” *Washington History* 5, no. 1 (April 1, 1993): 25.

prohibition, albeit with reduced salaries.¹³² His new brewery's location on the Potomac waterfront is probably one of the key factors that made this option worthwhile, and is an advantage that not many of the other local breweries had.

Other Washington breweries did not fare as well. Most of them did not reopen after the effective repeal of prohibition in 1933.¹³³ Of the five local breweries listed in the 1917 City Directory (Abner-Drury Brewing Company, Christian Heurich Brewing Company, German Brewing Company, National Capital Brewing Company, and the Washington Brewery Company) only two (Abner-Drury and Heurich) reopened. The Washington Brewery's facilities on Capitol Hill did not even make it through this time, being razed in 1927.¹³⁴

While not related to the legitimate brewing industry that had been established in Washington prior to prohibition, the city also saw its share of speakeasies and bootleggers during this period. In December 1929, it was estimated that 23,000 gallons of liquor were being imported into Washington, and being diluted with water to produce a total of 1,600,000 gallons of sellable bootlegged liquor, and 4,000 bootleggers in the city—2,500 white men, 500 women (race not specified) and 1,000 were black.¹³⁵ A pro-repeal organization called the Crusaders identified 1,155 speakeasies that had been raided as of 1931.¹³⁶ A *Washington Post* journalist estimated in 1930 that Washington had approximately 3,000 speakeasies active during prohibition. A map compiled by Garrett Peck shows eighteen of these speakeasies in the area around Dupont Circle, and notes

¹³² Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 57.

¹³³ Prohibition's full repeal in Washington was different than the rest of the country, and did not occur until 1934. However, in 1933 the Cullen Act defined beer up to 3.2% Alcohol as non-intoxicating, so some breweries commenced operating then.

¹³⁴ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 58.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

that many of them were in private homes and luxury apartments and hotels such as the McCormick Apartments (presently the home of the National Trust for Historic Preservation's headquarters office) and the Mayflower Hotel.¹³⁷

After several years of hardship and the Great Depression, and all of the violent organized criminal activity that had resulted from prohibition, the nation's prohibition critics began to prevail. Part of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 1932 election platform was the repeal of prohibition to create jobs and tax revenue from the legitimate operation of breweries and distilleries across the country.¹³⁸ On February 2, 1933, Congress passed the Twenty-first Amendment and waited for ratification from the states. Months later, on April 6, President Roosevelt signed the Cullen Act into law which defined beer up to 3.2% alcohol was not intoxicating, and therefore not illegal under the Eighteenth Amendment, allowing many breweries to reopen and begin operating before ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment was completed on December 5, ending national prohibition. However, just as prohibition did not begin at the same time in Washington as the rest of the nation, the Twenty-first Amendment did not end prohibition in Washington either. That finally occurred when Congress repealed the Sheppard Act effective March 1, 1934, creating a system of liquor distribution with a District-controlled Alcohol Beverage Control (ABC) Board, which was able to issue licenses for the retailing of alcoholic beverages in Washington.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Ibid., 94–95.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 143.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 142–145.

Post-Repeal (1934 – 1950)

The repeal of prohibition was a victory for the national brewing industry and for many people and businesses in Washington, D.C. The first two hundred retail establishments in the city—including the Willard Hotel, the Mayflower, and the Cosmos Club—had their licenses hand-delivered at midnight by the police, and within four months after repeal, the D.C. ABC Board had issued 1,660 licenses. This resulted in a “hiring spree” of more than four thousand people at these licensed retailers and generated over \$1,000,000 (\$17,241,379.31 in 2012 adjusted for inflation¹⁴⁰) in tax revenues for the city of Washington.¹⁴¹

At the national level, the repeal of prohibition saw the restructuring of the brewing industry. Pasteurized, bottled beer for shipping was now the dominant product of the industry, overtaking kegged beer for the first time for a variety of reasons. Prohibition had presented a perfect opportunity for the national shipping breweries to flex their political muscle, vilifying “the objectionable saloon” and lobbying for beer as a “moderate drink” that would aid temperance when sold at hotels and restaurants in bottles.¹⁴² The national shipping breweries had several other advantages that they were able to fully exploit after prohibition as well. For one thing, consumers had very limited or no access to fresh brewery-crafted local beer during this period of time, which “helped the shippers succeed in institutionalizing a homogenous style of beer in America” through the “slow and steady erosion of the ability of consumers to distinguish between

¹⁴⁰ Oregon State University, “Inflation Conversion Factors.”

¹⁴¹ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 145–146.

¹⁴² Stack, “Liquid Bread,” 199–201.

types and styles of beer.”¹⁴³ Additionally, home refrigeration had grown exponentially since prohibition, with the percentage of electrified U.S. homes that contained a refrigerator jumping from less than 1% in 1920 to almost 25% in 1933. This created an even more voracious market for bottled beer, which could be kept at ice-cold temperatures and consumed at home. National shippers intensively marketed this frosty serving temperature as well, as the cold temperature further obfuscated the flavors and aromas of beer, making it even easier for them to create a lower quality, homogenized product without consumers noticing the change.¹⁴⁴ Finally, after repeal, forward integration, breweries owning retail outlets, was prohibited by law for many years. This put established shippers at a distinct advantage since they had invested so much capital in distributing their beer to retailers. Because of this, many local breweries “were unable to regain their pre-Prohibition competitive edge, and they quickly exited the market.”¹⁴⁵

This indeed appeared to be the case in Washington. Only five local breweries were listed in the 1934 city directory, and by 1938, only two of those were still in business, although a few other short-lived breweries had appeared alongside them for a total of nine unique local breweries for the post-prohibition years of the 1930s. The 1940s saw this trend continue, with only six total local breweries listed between 1940 and 1954 (the last City Directory that was consulted). The only two breweries that continuously operated during this entire period were the Christian Heurich Brewing Company and Anheuser-Busch, which illustrates the difficulty that smaller breweries faced in trying to return to operation and profit in the post-prohibition years.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 205.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 211–212.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 215–218.

Of all the pre-prohibition breweries, only Abner-Drury Brewery and Heurich re-opened after repeal. Abner-Drury ran into financial difficulties and closed after 1936. *The Washington Post* reported in August of 1938 that Charles Jacobsen, Vice President of the neighboring Chrisitan Heurich Brewering Company, bought the Washington Brewery (which replaced Abner-Drury at 25th and G Streets NW) at auction for \$113,000 prior to its eventual demolition.¹⁴⁶ The National Capital Brewery in Capitol Hill remained shuttered and unused until the 1960s, when it was torn down for a Safeway.¹⁴⁷ Upstarts like the Kenilworth Brewing Company and Prince George's Brewing Company opened in 1934,¹⁴⁸ perhaps seeing an opportunity to get in on the ground floor of a thriving new local brewing industry, but ambitions were quickly dashed, as neither remains listed by 1936.¹⁴⁹ These small, newly created breweries were simply no match for the bottled beer that was being shipped in from the Midwest by large corporate brewers to hotels, restaurants, and retail stores for home consumption. The only local competitor who could keep up with these corporate giants was the Christian Heurich Brewing Company, who as noted earlier had made an investment in bottling equipment that allowed it to produce a competitive local version of this newly popular form of beer.

¹⁴⁶ "Abner Drury Brewery Is Sold At Auction; Old-Timers Sorry: Charles Jacobsen, Lone Bidder, Gets Plant for \$113,000; Future Use Undecided; 30 or 40 Employes at Sale.," *The Washington Post (1923-1954)*, August 18, 1938, sec. Local News Sports Classified Comics.

¹⁴⁷ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 59–61.

¹⁴⁸ W. Andrew Boyd, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (Washington, D.C., 1934), 2235.

¹⁴⁹ W. Andrew Boyd, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (Washington, D.C., 1936), 2950.

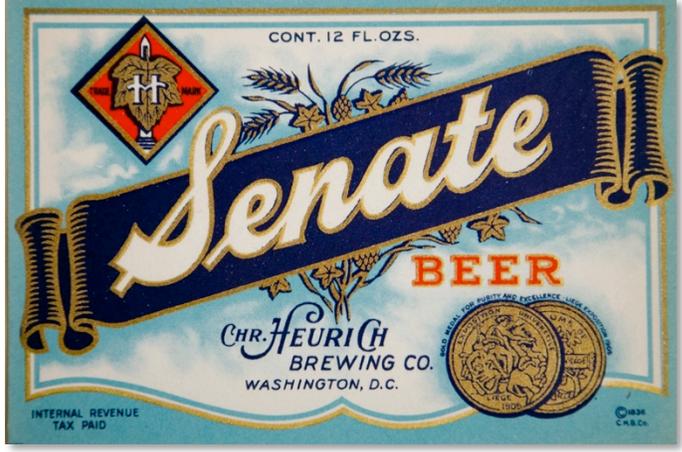


Figure 25: Beer labels from the Christian Heurich Brewing Company's Maerzen and Senate bottles, post-repeal.¹⁵⁰

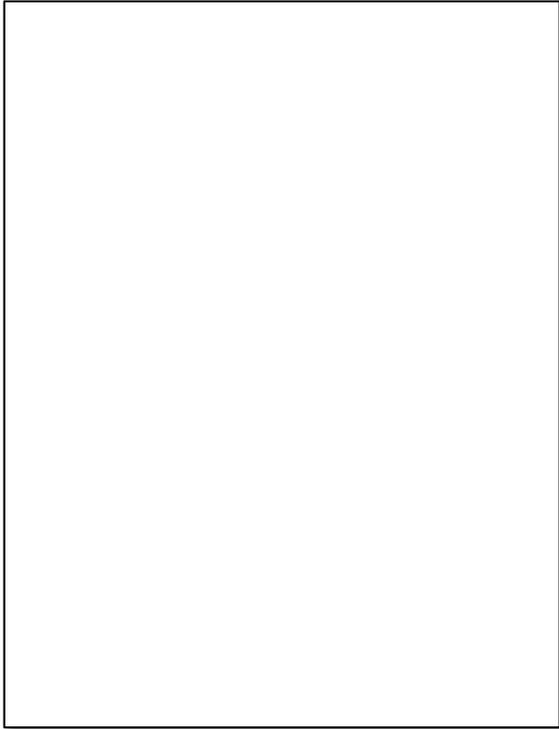


Figure 26: Promotional coaster and calendar for the Christian Heurich Brewing Company's Old Georgetown¹⁵¹ and Senate¹⁵² beers.

¹⁵⁰ "Christian Heurich Brewing Co. Ephemera," 1906-1998, Ephemera Collection, Historical Society of Washington, Kiplinger Library.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² "Heurich Brewery Records, 1871-1956; Christian Heurich Collection."

Much like the national shipping breweries that on average spent fifty percent more on advertising than local breweries across the country,¹⁵³ the Heurich Brewing Company appears to have spent a fair amount of capital on advertising and marketing in the post-prohibition years. Branding the Heurich beers with colorful and ornate labels (Figure 25), and providing customers and retailers with coasters, calendars (Figure 26), and other branded merchandise was a cost of staying in business (and also created a wonderful collection of ephemera that exists today). In addition to this, the Heurich Brewery placed numerous advertisements in newspapers and other printed publications from the earliest days of repeal. These advertisements did not just let the public know that a certain brand of beer was for sale; they used nostalgia and local imagery to gain the loyalty of the local consumers. For example, a Senate Beer advertisement (Figure 27) from 1934 triumphantly announces the “Revival of an old-time favorite” by showing a bottle of Senate Beer towering above and amongst the skyline of Washington, with the Capitol Building, Washington Monument, Lincoln Memorial, and Heurich Brewery, and advises consumers to “ask for ‘Senate’ by name!”

However, even with these efforts, Washington’s local brewing industry ultimately met its end. By 1950, 16 years after repeal (and fewer years than Prohibition had been in effect in Washington), Washington’s population had reached its all-time peak at 802,178 swelling as the city grew after World War II.¹⁵⁴ The trend of constant, rapid population growth seen since before 1850 would begin to reverse after this 1950 peak, fueled by the post-war housing boom and the socio-cultural shift from urban to suburban settlement (Figure 28). As much as Prohibition and the influence of national shipping breweries

¹⁵³ Stack, “Liquid Bread,” 226.

¹⁵⁴ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 15.



Figure 27: Senate beer advertisement from post-repeal period.¹⁵⁵

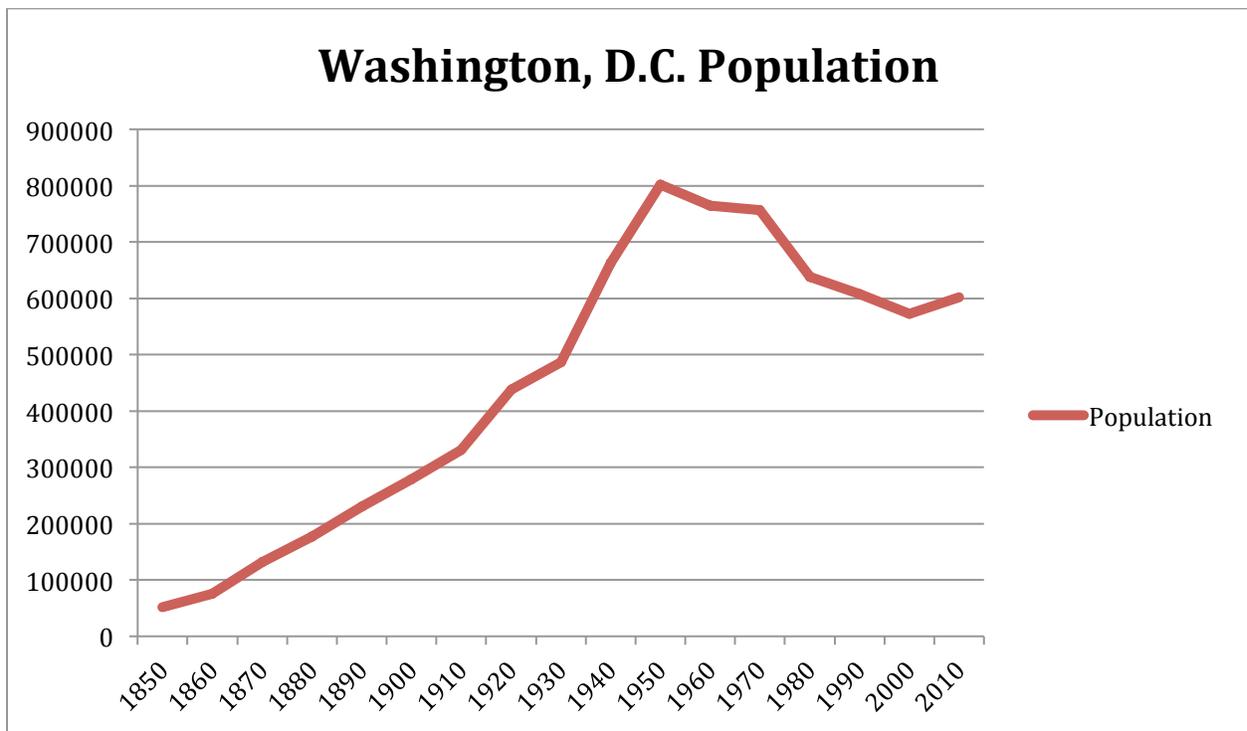


Figure 28: The Population of Washington, D.C., 1850-2010.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Shireman, "The Rise of Christian Heurich and His Mansion," 24.

helped to kill the local brewing industry, so did this migration to the suburbs. When “sprawl, traffic congestion, and the decline of the central city” began in the post-war years,¹⁵⁷ the local brewing industry—which thrived on selling fresh, locally-produced beer to neighborhood residents through locally-owned saloons and restaurants—witnessed the beginning of its end. The values of the suburban era—sprawling expansion into single-family homes in subdivisions, total dependence on the personal automobile, the movement away toward small businesses and local food in favor of chain stores, and processed foods—in Washington and the nation’s other cities were in direct contrast with the values of local urban communities—walkable urban communities, small, local businesses and products—that were what local breweries thrived on.

The Christian Heurich Brewing Company was the last local brewery standing in the 1950s. After a long career at the brewery, Christian Heurich died on March 8, 1945, at the age of 102; he had continued to work at the brewery until nine days before his death. After this, the Board of Directors elected Christian Heurich Jr. as the president of the company.¹⁵⁸ By 1956, due to “the decline in sales and because of the knowledge that the government would seek to acquire the site of the brewery” the Board of Directors and Amelia Heurich (Christian Heurich’s widow) decided to stop brewing beer. By 1960 the Christian Heurich Brewing Company was officially dissolved and liquidated, and in 1961 the property was sold to the Federal Government for the eventual siting of the Kennedy Center and the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Bridge.¹⁵⁹ In November of 1961 the

¹⁵⁶ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “2016 District of Columbia Historic Preservation Plan,” 15.

¹⁵⁷ United States. National Capital Planning Commission, Gutheim, and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 235.

¹⁵⁸ Heurich, “The Christian Heurich Brewing Company, 1872-1956,” 611–612.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 614.

brewery's ice house was razed by a crane and wrecking ball after an initial attempt to destroy it with 850 sticks of dynamite failed due to its fortress-like construction.¹⁶⁰ In 1962, the rest of the Foggy Bottom landmark brewery complex was demolished with even more difficulty (Figure 28). As his grandson, Gary, wrote in 1972, "with the last swing of the giant steel ball went the remains of a dream so strongly believed in by a poor immigrant boy," and down went the last functioning structure related to the local brewing industry in Washington, D.C.



Figure 29: Miscellaneous newspaper clippings about the brewery's demolition from 1961-1962 from the Christian Heurich Brewery Records.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ "Old Ice House Resists Dynamite, Loses to Ball," *The Evening Star*, November 25, 1961, sec. B-8, Heurich Brewery Records, 1871-1956; Christian Heurich collection., Historical Society of Washington, Kiplinger Library, Archives and Manuscripts Collection.

¹⁶¹ "Heurich Brewery Records, 1871-1956; Christian Heurich Collection."

Chapter 4: A Glass Half Empty Becomes a Glass Half Full

Chapter Four begins with a brief epilogue of Washington's historic local brewing industry in its last waning years and the destruction of one of the last known local brewery structures, illustrating how recently there was a chance to save this structure. This is followed by a discussion of the rise of the modern brewing industry as we know it today, and the slow resurgence of local craft breweries and the historic local brewery values that they represent.

When the Christian Heurich Brewing Company ceased operations in 1956, Washington, D.C. became a town dependent on out-of-state beer. However, as late as 1983 there was a chance to save at least one example of the local breweries that once produced Washington's local brews. The first Heurich Brewery complex near Dupont Circle (originally the Schnell Brewery), located in the middle of the west side of the block bounded by 19th, 20th, M, and N Streets Northwest, existed at this location well after Christian Heurich moved his operations to Foggy Bottom. While the row houses on the outer portions of the block were slowly torn down and replaced leaving only the few that stand today, several of the Heurich brewery buildings existed until June of 1983, when they were demolished (Figure 30).¹⁶² After this, the last vestige of local brewing in the city was gone.

Notably, this demolition was relatively recent compared to some of the other brewery demolitions. Historic preservation laws were in place at the national level and in Washington, D.C. before 1983, and the original Heurich Brewery was located just outside

¹⁶² Ibid. Demolition date based on handwritten date on a collection of color photographs in the Historical Society of Washington's Kiplinger Library



Figure 30: Photographs from destruction of Christian Heurich's Dupont Circle brewery, 1231 20th Street NW, June 1983.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Ibid.

of the Dupont Circle Historic District (Figure 31), which was originally designated in 1977 (and expanded in 1983).¹⁶⁴ That this structure was so spatially close to this historic district, associated with such a prominent historical figure who lived in that district, and located on a street that is used for commercial activity, and it was not placed within the district or recognized as a contributing structure within it is a clear example of the different perspective that historic preservation had in the past. Despite its large, solid masonry construction, its representation of a type of building in Washington that was otherwise lost, and its potential for adaptive re-use and interpretation, its industrial nature and perhaps its association with a middlebrow beverage like beer, made it incompatible with the mansions and embassies that were seen as worthy of preservation.

Ironically, just a few years later (in 1987) Christian Heurich's grandson, Gary, started the Olde Heurich Brewing Company. However, while the brewery's offices were located in Georgetown, the beer was brewed and bottled in Pittsburgh and shipped into the city for distribution exclusively within the Washington metropolitan area.¹⁶⁵ Despite the younger Heurich's plans to open a brewery within the city, the plan never materialized. Nineteen years later, the Olde Heurich Brewing Company—whose beer

¹⁶⁴ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, "Dupont Circle Historic District Brochure," 1, accessed March 22, 2013, <http://dc.gov/DC/Planning/Historic+Preservation/Maps+and+Information/Landmarks+and+Districts/Historic+District+Brochures/Dupont+Circle+Historic+District+Brochure>.

¹⁶⁵ Eric Charles May, "Growing Up on Tales of Washington Brew," *The Washington Post*, October 1, 1987, Heurich Brewery Records, 1871-1956; Christian Heurich collection., Historical Society of Washington, Kiplinger Library, Archives and Manuscripts Collection. Leslie Cauley, "Olde Heurich Beer Making Comeback as Hometown Brew," *The Washington Times*, May 28, 1987, Heurich Brewery Records, 1871-1956; Christian Heurich collection., Historical Society of Washington, Kiplinger Library, Archives and Manuscripts Collection.

was at that time being made in upstate New York rather than Pittsburgh—shipped its last beers in the last week of February 2006.¹⁶⁶

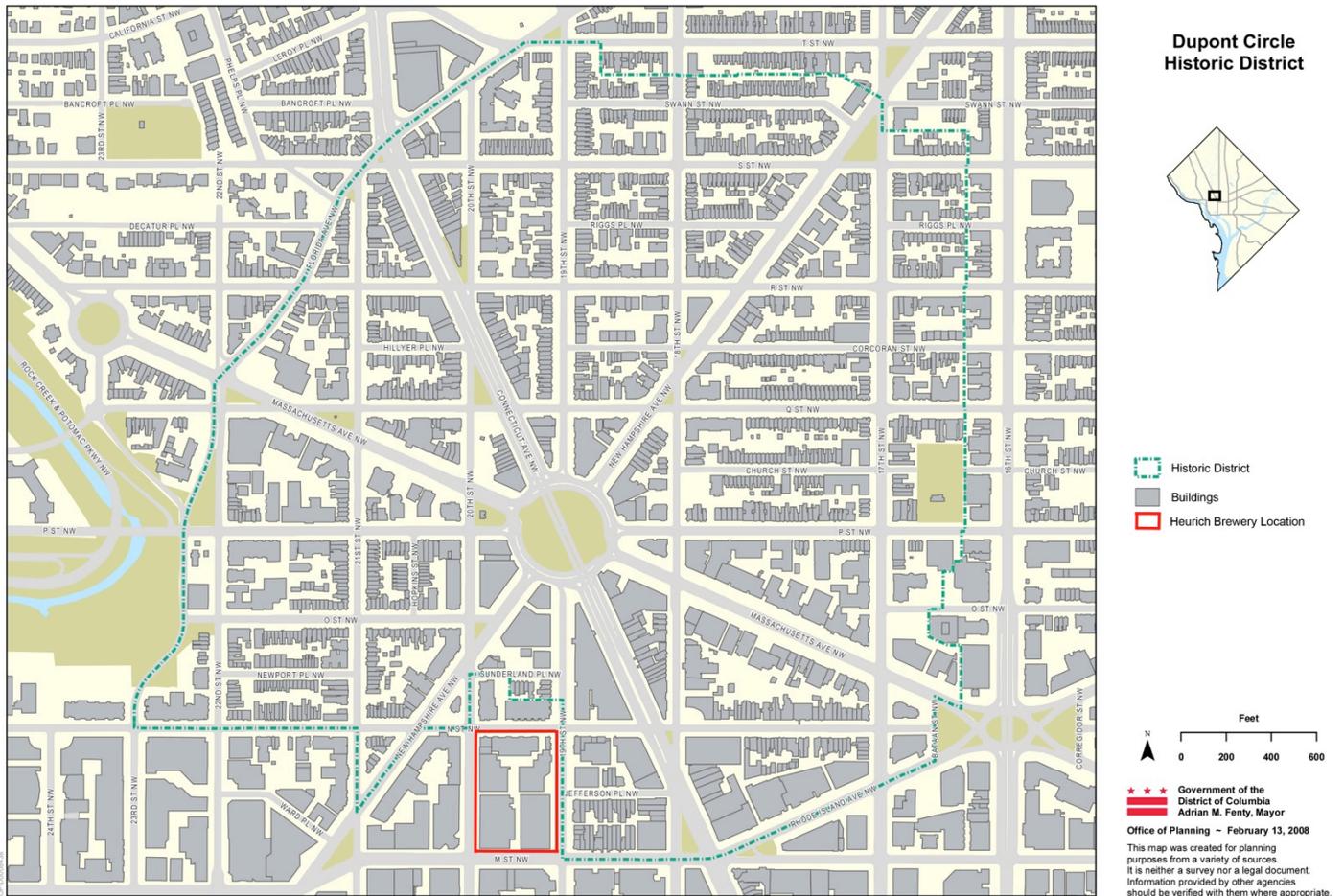


Figure 31: Dupont Circle Historic District map with former Heurich brewery location outlined in red.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Marc Fisher, “Last Call for The District’s Hometown Beer,” *The Washington Post*, March 4, 2006, sec. Business, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/03/AR2006030301853.html>.

¹⁶⁷ D.C. Historic Preservation Office, “Dupont Circle Historic District Map (Modified)” (Washington, D.C.), accessed March 22, 2013, <http://dc.gov/DC/Planning/Historic+Preservation/Maps+and+Information/Landmarks+and+Districts/Historic+District+Maps/Dupont+Circle+Historic+District+Map>.

While Old Heurich was trying to stake a claim to Washington’s local brewing legacy, the national shipping breweries continued to consolidate and sell massive quantities of adjunct-heavy, pasteurized, and homogenized beer. Since the 1950s, the national beer industry followed the same trend as the food industry, with consumers purchasing processed products that are shipped hundreds—if not thousands—of miles from their place of origin and made by one of just a few large manufacturers. This trend has continued into the present and has gotten so bad that now two corporations—Anheuser-Busch InBev (ABInBev) and MillerCoors—account for approximately 65% of nationwide beer sales in the United States (Figure 32). The Department of Justice has been concerned that these two corporations are hurting consumers through “coordinated pricing,” that is to say, agreeing to increase prices across all of their brands at the same time.¹⁶⁸

Despite this somewhat dire picture, something began to happen in America’s brewing industry in the 1980s and 1990s: the emergence of microbreweries and brewpubs. Like historic local breweries, these modern businesses “understand that beer is a perishable product, one best produced and consumed locally.”¹⁶⁹ In Washington, the first example of this new seed of change was the opening of the Capitol City Brewing Company in 1992.¹⁷⁰ It was the first brewpub in the city since Prohibition and its repeal

¹⁶⁸ United States Department of Justice, *United States v. Anheuser-Busch InBev SA/NV and Grupo Modelo S.A.B. de C.V.*, 2 (United States District Court for the District of Columbia n).

¹⁶⁹ Stack, “Liquid Bread,” 304.

¹⁷⁰ Capitol City Brewing Company, “Our History,” *Capitol City Brewing Company*, accessed February 20, 2013, <http://www.capcitybrew.com/ourhistory.php>. The *Washington Post* reported 1991 that District law was amended that year to allow Brew-Pubs in the city (D.C. Code Title 25, Chapter 1, Subchapter 2, § 25-117). See Jackson, “Boutique Beers Within Hop, Skip And A Jump,” 6/26/1991 and Prakash, “Brewpub Opening Coming to a Head,” 10/21/1991.

had banned breweries from owning their own exclusive point of sale for their products. This seed, after two decades of slow growth, has now begun to blossom more fully.

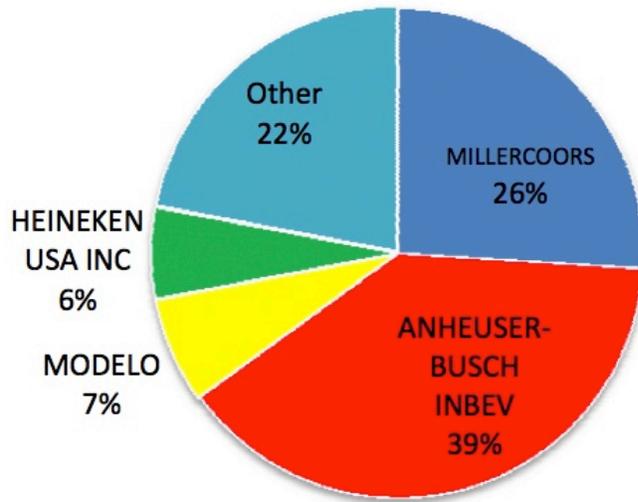


Figure 32: Approximate market shares of U.S. beer sales, by dollars.¹⁷¹

After 2000, the city's population began to rebound for the first time since the spike in 1950. This growing population and movement back to the city was happening nationwide, and as more people returned to an urban lifestyle, values once again shifted back toward local products and walkable communities where one can live, work, and procure the things they need. It is no coincidence that this change in preference toward more urban living correlates with the point at which local breweries started returning to Washington in greater numbers. In 2011, DC Brau Brewing Company opened the first package brewery (a brewery that brews and distributes draft, bottled, and canned beer) in Washington since the Christian Heurich Brewing Company closed in 1956. Shortly thereafter, several other package breweries opened, and now there are three fully

¹⁷¹ United States Department of Justice, *United States v. Anheuser-Busch InBev SA/NV and Grupo Modelo S.A.B. de C.V.*, 2 (United States District Court for the District of Columbia), 2.

operational breweries in the city (DC Brau, Chocolate City, and Three Stars), with several more in various stages of planning (including Atlas Brew Works and Hellbender Brewing Company). This local beer renaissance appears to be gaining more steam by the day, with residents ordering more local beers from bars and filling growlers fresh weekly from the breweries. Indeed, since 2011, DC Brau's production has increased from 1,600 to 10,000 barrels (or 3.6 million gallons) of beer per year.¹⁷² Locally-made small batch beer has even caught on at Washington's most well-known address, with President Obama becoming the first known president to have the White House kitchen produce home brewed beer using honey from a new bee-hive on the South Lawn.¹⁷³

The resurgence of local beer speaks to many things. Being able to go to a restaurant and order an all-malt beer that was brewed within five miles of where you live and work, fresh on tap, instead of one that has been shipped thousands of miles after being pasteurized and loaded with preservatives gives city residents a sense of pride. It reflects their desire to support small, local businesses and to buy a product that by virtue of its local origin is more sustainable than a product that has to use fossil fuels to be transported to the city. These desires match those of the preservation movement and its goal of preserving the historic life ways of cities and main street communities. The National Trust for Historic Preservation's Main Street Center advocates the preservation of local communities by "leveraging local assets" such as architecture, local enterprises and community pride.¹⁷⁴ They note specifically the importance of "buying local" and how doing so can positively impact residents of a community by keeping more dollars in

¹⁷² Brandon Skall, "DC Brau Capacity," Email Correspondence, May 2, 2013.

¹⁷³ "Ale to the Chief: White House Beer Recipe | The White House," accessed April 22, 2013, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2012/09/01/ale-chief-white-house-beer-recipe>.

¹⁷⁴ "The Main Street Four-Point Approach®," *Preservationnation.org*, accessed May 2, 2013, <http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/the-approach/>.

the local economy.¹⁷⁵ In addition to the values of sustainable, local, urban living and food-culture, the pride that residents feel in their local hometown beer is very much the same as the sentiment that one might feel for the Washington Nationals or D.C. United local sports teams. It is no coincidence that all three of the aforementioned fully operational local breweries prominently feature the symbolism of the District of Columbia flag with two red bars and three red stars—George Washington’s coat of arms. Much like Heurich’s advertising that equated Senate Beer with the District’s great monuments, these modern day brewers want to evoke a sense of pride in the city residents with their unapologetically Washingtonian imagery. And it appears to be working. These local breweries are now thriving because people want what they are making. Because values have shifted over time to once again appreciate all things local, pride of place, and the sense of heritage that comes along with it. This renewed wider appreciation of preservation values that comes along with Washington’s local beer renaissance is the perfect opportunity to engage the public with historic preservation by preserving the heritage of Washington’s historic breweries.

¹⁷⁵ “The Power of One Product,” *Preservationnation.org*, accessed May 2, 2013, <http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/main-street-news/story-of-the-week/2013/130430iowabuylocal/the-power-of-one-product.html>.

Chapter 5: Interpreting the History

This chapter addresses the questions and challenges of interpreting the history of Washington's lost historic breweries, examining what has been lost, and what still remains. Potential partners who could assist with an interpretive program are then considered, and an interpretive model is suggested. The chapter concludes with a summary of the project and the conclusions that have been gleaned from it, considering broader issues relating to historic preservation as well as highlighting the values that the history of Washington's lost historic breweries share with historic preservation writ large.

Questions and Challenges

Having developed a history of Washington's historic local breweries, how can one preserve their stories and the greater story of their collective contribution to the Capital City? As mentioned above, none of the breweries are extant, the ultimate lack of integrity under the National Register of Historic Places. In every case there has been development and construction of new structures in their former locations, so even the broader "setting" element of integrity is compromised. This presents a twofold challenge to their interpretation: 1) the difficulty of interpreting places that are no longer extant, and 2) the likelihood of archaeological resources related to the breweries is likely very low.

The first point—that the breweries have been erased from the landscape—is a difficult obstacle to overcome. Were even one of these buildings still standing, it could serve as a hub for this story to be told, and a tangible reminder of a more industrial era of the city. That the former locations of these breweries have been built over with highways, office buildings, and other structures makes the problem that much more challenging as it

becomes hard to visualize the breweries in the contexts of their original settings. Additionally, less conventional interpretive methods, such as the use of “ghost structures” (see Franklin Court, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) are generally infeasible due to current development. That said, an industrial building like a commercial brewery, especially a large commercial brewery like the Heurich or National Capital Brewery, would most likely need a great deal of stabilization work had it been out of use for so many years, adding a financial burden to any parties interested in interpreting this history for the public within an extant brewery. Yet, having an intact brewery with at least a significant portion of its equipment remaining would be a fascinating and tangible illustration of the amount of work that went into producing the city’s historic brews as well as an opportunity for reuse by the current brewing industry.

The second point is equally as unfortunate. Had some of the breweries survived for a few more decades, perhaps the ones that were located in areas that are today full of federal buildings or covered by highways would have been saved from demolition, or at the very least the demolition would have required completion of the Section 106 and or DOT Section 4(f) processes. Especially in the case of 4(f) compliance, this could have resulted in extensive archaeological research before subsequent demolition and building would have been allowed. As it stands, any archaeological features that may have been located near the brewery sites are likely disturbed or destroyed completely. This loss may be even greater because while we have photos of at least a few of the breweries, and some photos of the interior spaces and machinery, the archaeology could have shed light on the history of the breweries in a completely different way. In particular, archaeology could possibly give us the story of the brewery laborers to complement that of the

owners. At the very least, it would likely have shed more light on the brewing process and the laborers' part in that process may have been visible. It may have also been able to give us more detailed information about the location of specific sections of the smaller brewery operations that are unclear from Sanborn and Baist maps. For example, a Sanborn map showing a larger brewery may show specific labels for ice houses, but a smaller brewery may just look like several rowhouses and stables near each other. Archaeology could have indicated where different production activities took place based on the kinds of artifact deposits found around a site. If, for example, we see a one or two story "stable" behind a small brewery, and archaeological surveys revealed the remains of hops, along with deposits of carbon and ash, we may be able to infer that it was the brewery's "hop house," where fresh hops would have been dried by heat and then cooled.

While the survey has demonstrated what has been lost of the cultural landscape of commercial brewing, one might wonder what remains? While a full inventory of this landscape was not possible within the bounds of this project, certain landscape elements have been identified throughout this project in order to emphasize just how interconnected Washington's historic breweries were to many different aspects of the city. From speakeasies, like the one at the National Trust's headquarters at 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW that were open during prohibition, to the Washington aqueduct which made the growth of the brewing industry possible by increasing the amount of water in the city that could be used for beer brewing and ice-making (which was essential to producing lager beer before mechanized artificial refrigeration), to the boardinghouses and rowhouses that were home to the brewery workers, this project provides an outline of the full cultural landscape. Two remaining structures that have not

been previously mentioned but which contribute to this landscape are the Heurich House at 1307 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, near Dupont Circle, and the Schlitz bottling facility at 326 R Street NE in Eckington. These buildings connect to the history of commercial brewing in Washington, but in very different ways.

The Heurich House, or “Brewmaster’s Castle” is Christian Heurich’s former home in the city, built between 1893 and 1894.¹⁷⁵ While not a part of the Christian Heurich Brewing Company’s operations, the Heurich House nonetheless directly connects the contemporary cityscape back to the heyday of the brewery. Before construction on this house began, on July 23, 1892, the Christian Heurich Brewing Company’s original Dupont Circle location suffered a major fire (actually the second major fire). This fire—and the fear and loathing of fire that it solidified in Christian Heurich—directly influenced the design of his city home, and in that way the home reflects an industrial heritage beneath its grand Romanesque exterior. While the house and its many original furnishings and decorations are valuable as a part of the Heurich legacy in Washington, they also present a tangible link to the city’s brewing history in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, when this industry was booming. Furthermore, the building’s grandiosity illustrates how financially successful one could become from the brewing industry in Washington. Christian Huerich might be an extreme example of this, but as previously illustrated with census records, many of the brewers from as far back as the 1860s appeared to have relatively valuable real estate assets.

The Schlitz bottling facility also presents a physical link to the city’s brewing history, but in different ways. For one, the industrial nature of the building might better

¹⁷⁵ “Heurich Brewery Records, 1871-1956; Christian Heurich Collection.”

speak to the industrial nature of commercial brewing, and provide the closest thing to an in-person glimpse of the historic brewing industry in the city today. However, as the bottling facility of a large, national brewing company based out of the Midwest, this structure also represents the downfall of the local commercial brewing industry and its replacement by national brands. Even though we may not think of Schlitz today when we think of the largest brewing corporations, in 1902 they surpassed Pabst's beer sales by over 100,000 barrels to become the largest brewery in the world.¹⁷⁶

When looked at this way, despite the loss of an entire building type in the city, the remaining historical fabric can still connect the contemporary Washingtonian to the history of commercial brewing in the city both at its height and downfall. Fortunately potential partners in the interpretation of this history own both of these structures: the Heurich House Foundation and the District of Columbia, respectively. At present time, the Heurich House is protected from demolition by the District of Columbia's historic preservation ordinance and its status as a contributing structure in the Dupont Circle Historic District, as well as its ownership by a private foundation whose mission is to preserve it. The Schlitz bottling facility however does not have any inherent protection, as it is not located in a historic district, nor listed on the District of Columbia's inventory of historic sites. However, if it were determined to be eligible for listing it would be potentially protected from demolition or alteration through the city's Historic Preservation Review Board process.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Michael R. Reilly, "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.: A Chronological History 1881-1907," *Sussex-Lisbon Area Historical Society, Inc.*, 2007, <http://www.slahs.org/schlitz/history3.htm>.

¹⁷⁷ D.C. Council, *Historic Landmark and Historic District Protection Act, District of Columbia Official Code*, accessed March 16, 2013, <http://government.westlaw.com/linkedslice/default.asp?SP=DCC-1000>.

Another group of structures that contribute to this landscape, and could be useful in the interpretation of Washington's local brewing history, are several former saloons that are extant throughout the city. While positively identifying all of these structures would be a separate project, such structure is located at 1829 (formerly 1827) 14th Street Northwest, now housing a contemporary furniture store in the Shaw neighborhood. In the early 20th century it was a saloon and beer garden (Figure 33) owned by Frederick Geyer, who purchased the property from George Kozel.¹⁷⁸ When comparing the historical photos to the present day (Figure 34), the saloon portion of the structure appears to be largely intact, even though the garden portion has been built over with another structure (Figure 35). Taking the high level of integrity as well as the historical documentation that is available about this saloon and garden, saloons such as this one could also provide spaces in which to interpret the history of the local breweries whose success was so tied to them.

In addition to these structures, there is also a good deal of *breweriana*—ephemera, advertisements, coasters, and other memorabilia—that remains for several of these breweries. While perhaps not part of a spatial landscape per se, this breweriana provides another opportunity to interpret the history of Washington's lost historic breweries. In addition to the breweriana that can be found in the Heurich House's collection, there are private collectors such as Bruce Mobley, local collecting organizations such as the DC Collectors, and national collecting organizations such as the American Breweriana Association (ABA). Many of these individuals and organizations catalogue their collections and publish information and images online and in print. The

¹⁷⁸ "Beer Garden Exterior," *Shorpy.com*, accessed April 27, 2013, <http://www.shorpy.com/node/13789>.

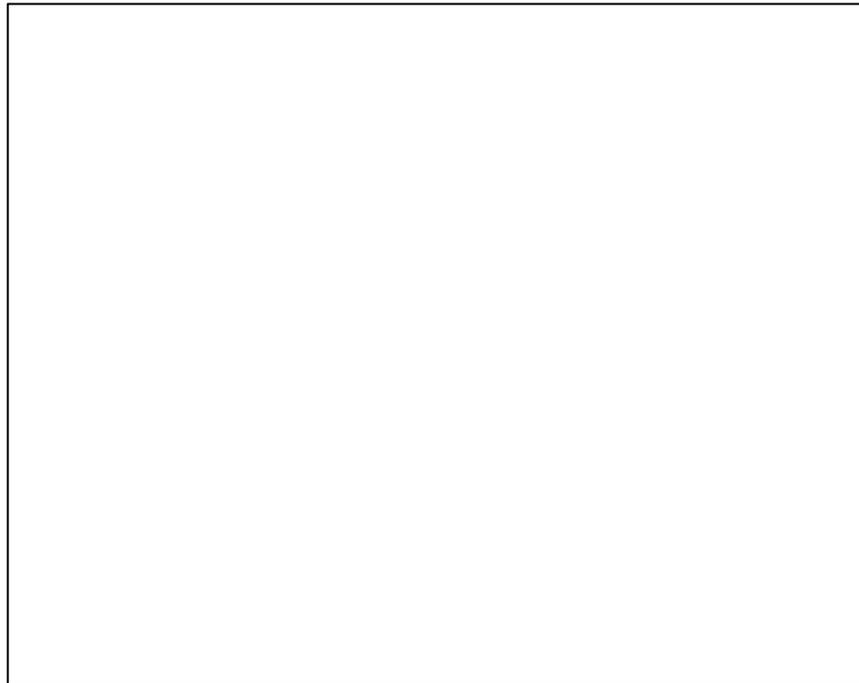
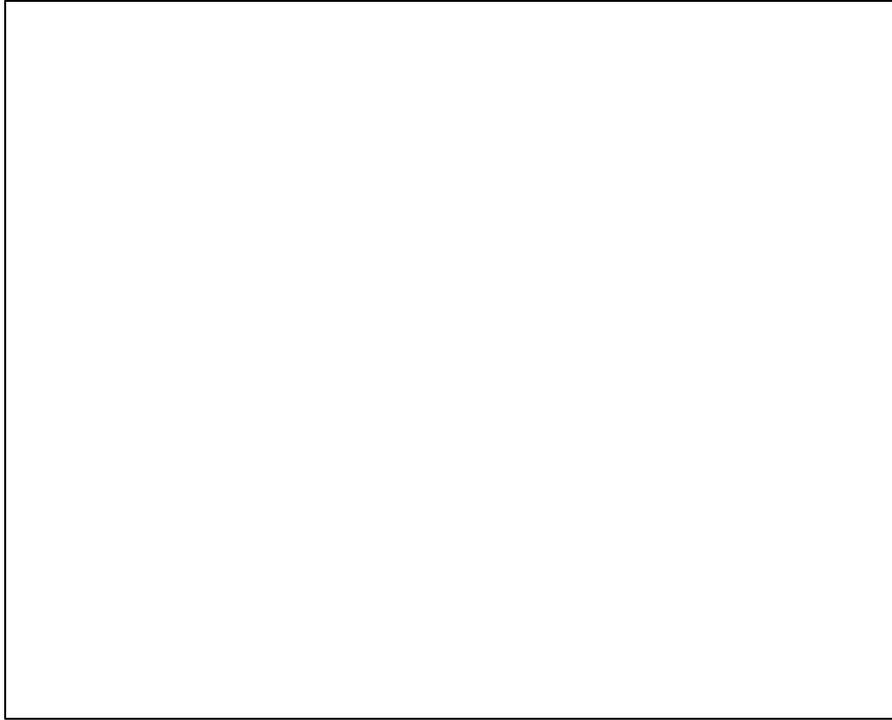


Figure 33: Frederick Geyer's saloon, 14th Street NW.^{179 180}

¹⁷⁹ "Beer Garden Roof #1," *Shorpy.com*, accessed May 3, 2013, <http://www.shorpy.com/node/13790>.

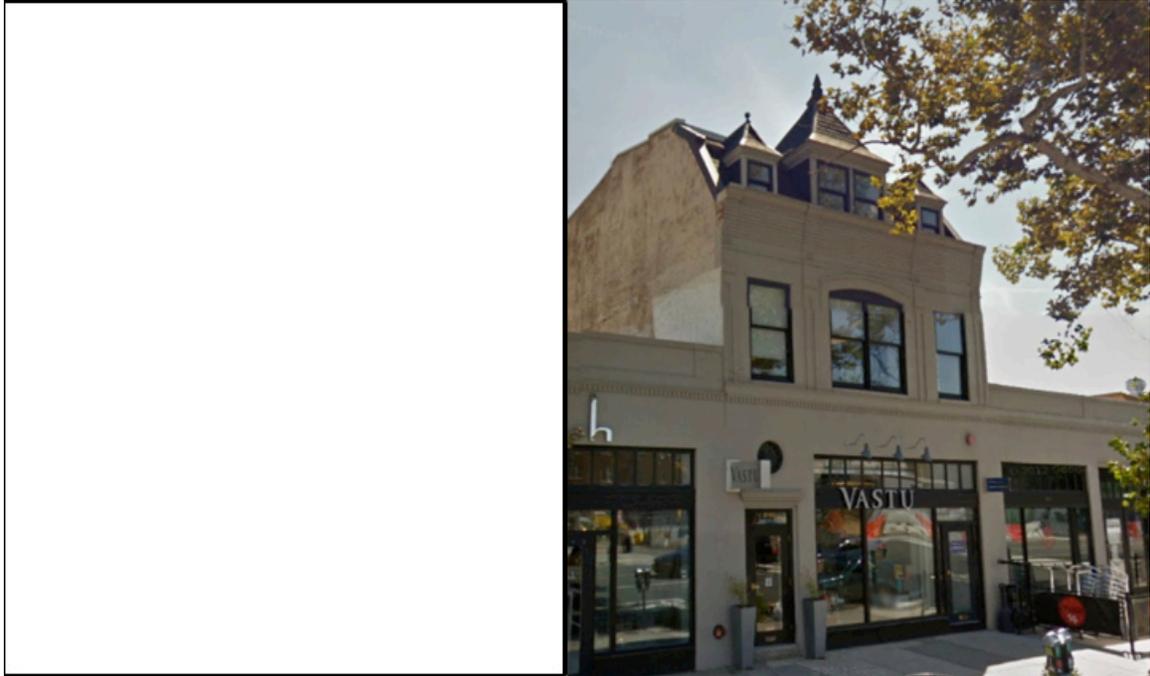


Figure 34: Historic photo of Geyer's saloon¹⁸¹ compared to present day structure (via Google Street View).

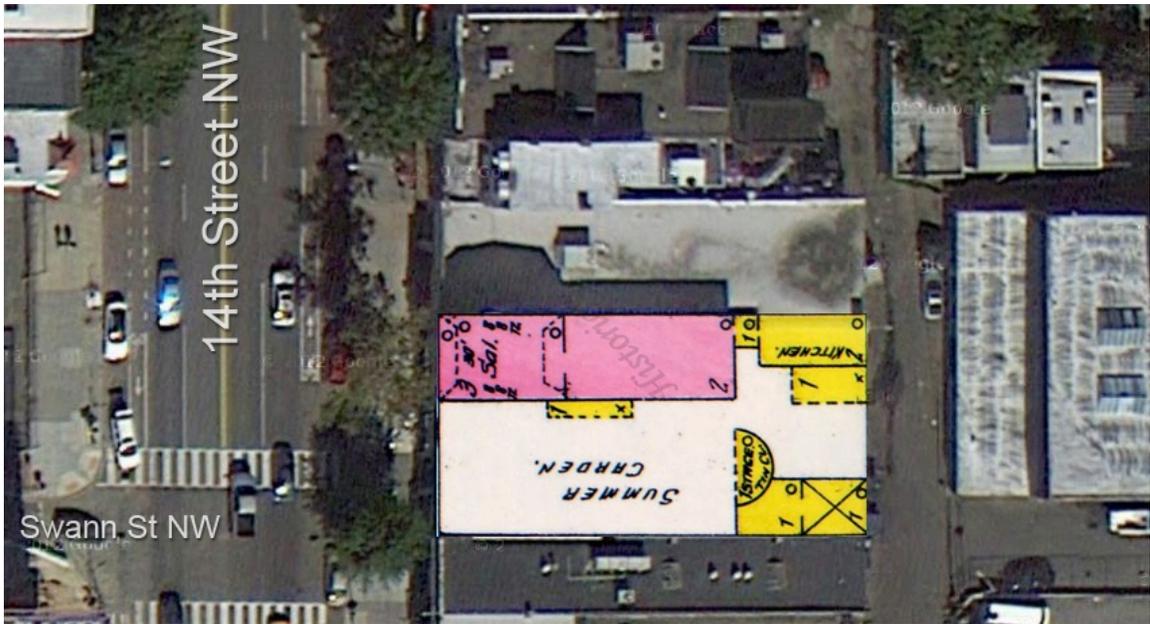


Figure 35: Overlay of Geyer's saloon and garden as depicted in Washington D.C. 1903 Sanborn Vol. 1, Plate 24 on Google Maps satellite image base.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ "Beer Garden Interior," *Shorpy.com*, accessed April 27, 2013, <http://www.shorpy.com/node/13791>.

¹⁸¹ "Beer Garden Exterior."

ABA even publishes the bi-monthly *American Breweriana Journal* for its members. The breweriana held by these groups and individuals represents another physical tie to the history of commercial brewing in Washington, and one that is reasonably accessible to the public. It helps preserve this history by illustrating how Washington's locally made beer was marketed to Washingtonians at different points in time, from which we can extrapolate and interpret the social functions and meanings of beer and drinking.

Partnerships

Having completed an inventory of the remaining resources relating to Washington's historic commercial breweries, we are still left with the most pressing question: How can one preserve this history and connect it to contemporary Washingtonians. In particular, how can we link this story to the growing craft-brewing business in the city in such a way that many people can really get excited about it, and appreciate the rich history behind their pint of local beer? While the remaining resources are perhaps not as ideal as having an historic brewery available for re-use, there is at least something remaining to make this history tangible. However, the myriad owners of this remaining material culture of historic commercial brewing in Washington make it slightly harder to amalgamate the information in a presentable and comprehensive way. For this reason, I argue that the best way to interpret this history and connect it to contemporary Washingtonians is through partnerships and collaboration.

¹⁸² Sanborn Map Company, "Washington D.C. 1903 Sanborn Vol. 1" (New York, N.Y., 1903), <http://www.proquest.historicmapworks.com/Map.php?c=US&m=1597292&l=District%20of%20Columbia&cont=>.

Fortunately some of the work in forming these partnerships has already begun. During the time when the majority of the research was being done for this document, the Heurich House Foundation formed a partnership with several of the contemporary local breweries in Washington to create an event series at the Heurich House. Called “History and Hops,” (Figure 36) these programs are scheduled to take place on the third Thursday of each month for the foreseeable future.¹⁸³ These events combine a tour of the historic house with a craft beer tasting from a local brewery, and some live music. The first of these events took place on February 21, 2013, with D.C. Brau Brewing Company (located in Northeast Washington) with a brew made especially for the event, and the second event on March 21, 2013, with Lost Rhino Brewing Company (located in Ashburn, Virginia). All of the proceeds from these events benefit the ongoing conservation of the Heurich House.

While this partnership is a great step in the interpretation of brewing in Washington, and does a wonderful job of tying the contemporary commercial brewing industry into the historic one, I believe that there is a potential to expand and enhance it to tell a more complete story. Naturally, the interpretive program of the Heurich House tour focuses on Christian Heurich, his family, and his brewery, and does not mention the other breweries that existed in the city’s past. However, as Heurich was a leader of Washington’s historic brewing industry—the most well-known and longest-running brewer in its history—the Heurich House Foundation is in a position to interpret the commercial brewing industry’s entire history. With such a well-known historic site that relates so directly to such a figurehead of brewing, they could be the central partner in

¹⁸³ Heurich House Foundation, “Events,” *Heurich House Museum*, accessed March 16, 2013, <http://www.heurichhouse.org/events/>.

interpreting the rich story, along with the contemporary breweries that they are already partners with.

This partnership would be even more beneficial with the addition of partners such as the District of Columbia government, via the D.C. Historic Preservation Office (HPO). Preferably it would include even more parties, including Cultural Tourism DC (CTDC), the DC Preservation League (DCPL), DC Beer, the Didden family of National Capital Bank in Capital Hill (the descendants of Albert Carry and Clement Didden of National Capital Brewing Co.), and the DC Collectors. This historical brewery coalition, working together with their various skills, resources, and breweriana could have a tremendous impact on the preservation and interpretation of the history of Washington's commercial breweries.

The D.C. HPO and DCPL could have the Schlitz bottling facility added to the District's Inventory of Historic Sites, which would in turn likely indicate that it is eligible for National Register listing, even if it is not formally nominated. Its importance as a physical remnant of the District's brewing history arguably meets National Register Criteria A and D as the building is associated with the nationalization and industrialization of beer production at the national level, and locally represents the last building that was directly related in any industrial aspect of beer distribution in the city, even if the beer that it bottled was not made in Washington. Also, as a somewhat rare example of a beer-related industrial building in Washington that has not been razed and redeveloped over, it may have uniquely preserved archaeological data that could provide

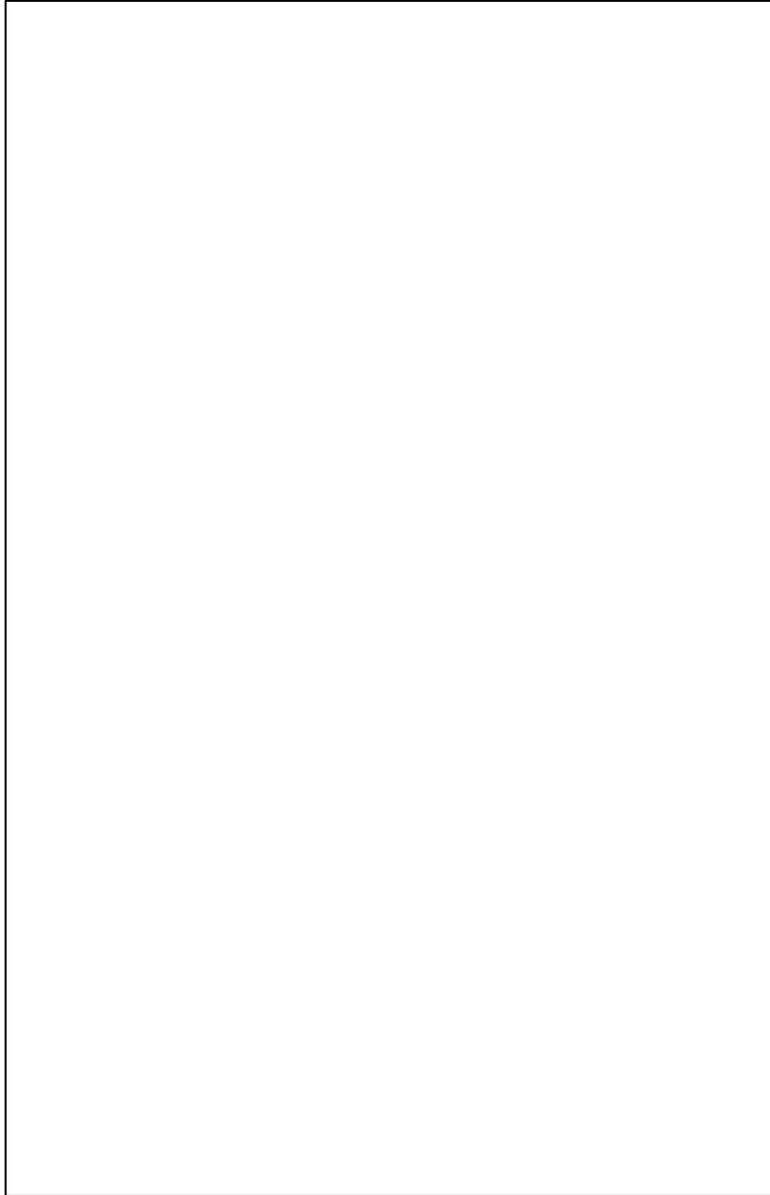


Figure 36: History and Hops promotional image.¹⁸⁴

some insight into the material culture of the beer industry in the city, which could shed light on the kinds of data that have been lost at other sites throughout the city. By protecting the Schlitz bottling facility, the HPO would be helping to ensure that these

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

values are protected, as well as its value as a tangible reminder of this history. Additionally, DCPL's education committee could be valuable in promoting the importance of this structure to its members, and the wider preservation community through its organizational reach.

The Didden family and DC Collectors both bring collections of historic breweriana to the coalition. James M. Didden and his three brothers, Richard, George, and Donald are the great-grandchildren of Albert Carry,¹⁸⁵ who got his start at George Juenemann's Mount Vernon Brewery in the late 1880s before selling it and starting his own National Capital Brewery in the early 1890s. Carry also founded the National Capital Bank, which still exists in the Barrack's Row neighborhood of Capital Hill, and his daughter married the son of German architect Clement Didden. Carry's descendants, the Didden brothers, still run this bank, and they have a collection of National Capital Brewery memorabilia that is kept in the bank.¹⁸⁶ As one of the other large historic commercial breweries in Washington, their collection would complement the Heurich House Foundation's collection of breweriana nicely to illustrate that there were other successful breweries that existed historically. The breweriana of the DC Collectors would fill in the rest of the gaps in this history, if they were also involved and could be convinced to lend their personal collections of breweriana.

Cultural Tourism DC, a non-profit organization, brings extensive experience developing cultural heritage programming with a mission of "affirm[ing] the importance

¹⁸⁵ National Capital Bank, "The National Capital Bank's History of Success Since 1889," *National Capital Bank*, March 20, 2013.

¹⁸⁶ Peck, Garrett, *Prohibition in Washington, D.C.*, 52–54.

of culture and heritage to local neighborhoods and the city's economic prosperity"¹⁸⁷ to the coalition. CTDC's mission and the programs they have developed make them an ideal partner to develop a cohesive interpretive program for Washington's Historic Commercial Breweries that incorporates the resources that the other partners have. Additionally, their Visitor Center near 12th and U Streets NW (which is within a one-mile radius of several former brewery locations, and less than two miles from many more) provides another location for this program to be publicized to interested parties.

In addition, the contemporary breweries of Washington should continue to be involved as a part of this coalition of brewery history preservation. Several breweries are already involving themselves with the Heurich House Foundation's "History and Hops" events, but ideally their involvement would be increased. For example, if a brochure was developed by the coalition that contained some engaging information, maps, and other imagery, relating to Washington's lost historic commercial breweries, the modern-day breweries could keep these brochures on hand. This would be a valuable way to reach out to people who might not find themselves on DCPL's email list, or wandering into CTDC for ideas on sightseeing in the city, but who appreciate craft brewing and the passion that goes into beer-making. There is likely an untapped market of craft beer lovers who may simply not know enough about the historic forbearers of the city's modern brewing business to know that they are interested in it. Being able to engage them with it when they are going to fill up their growlers at DC Brau Brewing Company, Chocolate City Beer, or Three Stars Brewing Company would be extremely beneficial to keeping the memory of Washington's historic commercial breweries alive. The website

¹⁸⁷ Cultural Tourism DC, "Mission and Vision Statements," *Cultural Tourism DC*, accessed March 16, 2013, <http://www.culturaltourismdc.org/node/2190>.

DCBeer, whose mission is to “promote and grow the DC area's craft beer culture through its locally focused beer website and its tasting and educational events,”¹⁸⁸ could also help fill this role, and be a clearinghouse for information and content to engage beer lovers who do not yet know that they are also history lovers. The opportunity to engage a broader population than more conventional history and preservation-related programs is quite important to the preservation of the history of Washington’s brewing industry, but also to preservation in general, as this engagement may lead to more understanding and support of historic preservation among the general public.

Ideally this coalition of various cooperating organizations could be formal enough to be able to collect the proceeds from events, publications, or other sources of income. For example, if a visually-rich, “pop-history” book about Washington’s historic commercial breweries was created by members of the coalition, it could be sold at any of the physical locations of the members (e.g. at the modern-day breweries, Heurich House, etc.) with all of the proceeds benefitting the coalition. The coalition could then decide as a group on how best to reinvest this money into the further interpretation and preservation of this history, including on the conservation of breweriana, and exhibitions of more of it for the public.

One possible use of these funds could be the creation of an interpretive saloon and beer garden, based on evidence of what these structures looked at from the example on 14th Street Northwest. While it is possible that further research could help to identify an original saloon that is still extant and not in use, if this is not possible, perhaps another underutilized historic structure could be adaptively re-used to fulfill this purpose. The brewery history coalition could manage the saloon and garden to include a small

¹⁸⁸ DC Beer, “About,” *DC Beer*, accessed March 11, 2013, <http://www.dcbeer.com/about>.

collection of breweriana and other historical information inside in order to engage visitors who would come for the beer to stay for the history. Beer and beer gardens are relatively popular in Washington, but none are located in their historic contexts, so finding an old saloon that is not currently in use as something else would be wonderful. Alternately, even a more recently constructed beer garden could be used with interpretation and historical context provided. A prime example of a successful historic beer garden exists in Astoria, New York, where the Bohemian Hall & Beer Garden is very popular among beer enthusiasts and history enthusiasts alike (Figure 37). Originally constructed beginning in 1910, the Bohemian Hall & Beer Garden is the only surviving historical beer garden in New York City,¹⁸⁹ and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.¹⁹⁰ The proposed interpretive beer garden in Washington could become just as successful and significant to the community as that garden has been for over one hundred years. It could serve as an important interpretive center for the history of Washington's local historic breweries as well as a place of community building.

¹⁸⁹ Bohemian Citizens' Benevolent Society of America, "Community," *Bohemian Hall Beer Garden*, accessed May 2, 2013, <http://www.bohemianhall.com/en/CommunityBcbsa.php>.

¹⁹⁰ National Park Service, "Bohemian Hall and Park," *National Register Information System*, accessed May 2, 2013, <http://nrhp.focus.nps.gov/natregsearchresult.do?fullresult=true&recordid=9>.

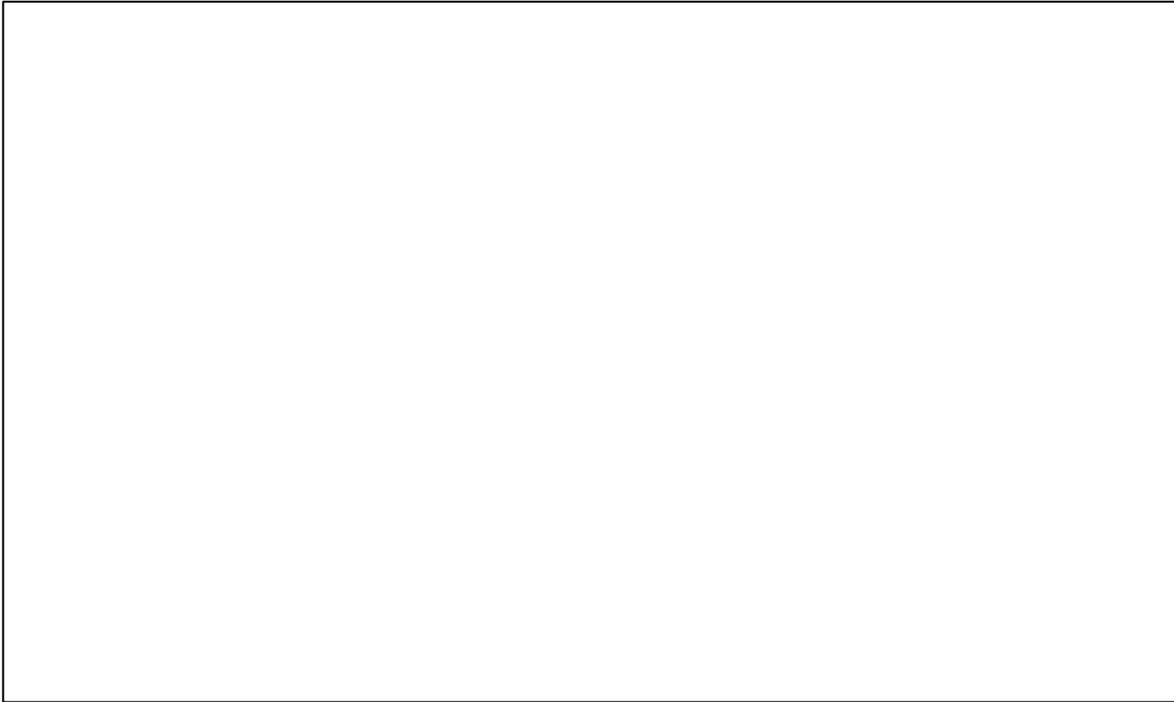


Figure 37: Bohemian Hall and Beer Garden, Astoria, New York.^{191 192}

Conclusion

The importance of heritage can be difficult to describe. In a world with so many issues, why should people care about heritage? I would argue that it is essential for humans to be able to see where we have come from, in order to better guide where we are going. And yet, our shared history is very different from other essentials, like water, air, or food. Those things are imminently important to us, and we are constantly reminded of

¹⁹¹ Harris Graber, *Bohemian Hall Beer Garden*, March 18, 2012, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/monkeyone/6850622836/>.

¹⁹² Wally Gobetz, *NYC - Queens - Astoria: Bohemian Hall and Beer Garden*, April 21, 2007, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/wallyg/469149192/>.

our need for them. When we are in need of food, our bodies remind us almost immediately and constantly until we obtain some. Heritage however can often be forgotten for long periods of time, both at the individual and societal levels, until being remembered years later and appreciated in a new light. Things that to us seem boring, contemporary, and non-historic could mean a great deal to future generations as material reminders of people or events that gained great historical significance after our time. In this way, heritage has a tendency to sometimes not be recognized until it is too late.

This is why historic preservation is so important to us as a society. Preservation helps to ensure that our heritage is stewarded for future generations. At the time that Washington's local brewing industry was being destroyed by the combined forces of the temperance movement and the designs of the national shipping breweries, it was not seen as a preservation problem, but a result of free market enterprise. Once the breweries were out of business, there was no contemporary need to keep any of their buildings around, so almost their entire tangible heritage was lost with them. Only later did people like Garrett Peck and local historian Cindy Janke (and many others) begin to look back to begin to see the importance of this history, and try to begin to reconstruct it from the historical record. This is similar to work that the Campaign for Real Ale (CAMRA) in Europe has done to resurrect an intangible part of their history. Founded in 1971 in the United Kingdom, CAMRA was concerned about the "domination of the UK beer market by a handful of companies pushing products of low flavor and overall quality onto the consumer," and the "move away from producing traditional, flavoursome beers."¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Campaign for Real Ale, "About CAMRA," *Campaign for Real Ale*, accessed April 28, 2013, <http://www.camra.org.uk/page.php?id=10>.

While more focused on preserving the beer itself, this organization largely is confronting the same issues as this project.

The history of Washington's commercial breweries is the history of the city itself. It was in its infancy as Washington was established, and began to grow to its peak after 1850, when Washington's population rapidly grew. The last days of the local brewing industry around 1950 was the same time that Washington's population and development began to plummet from its historical high as people left the city for suburbs and as commercial shipping breweries consolidated and began their rise toward controlling almost the entire national market. Washington's population only began to increase again after 2000, a few years before the first local brewpubs began to open in the city in over fifty years. While the correlation in these histories is not meant to imply any causation, it shows how a history that is perhaps seen as niche is in reality a reflection of the history of our Nation's Capital.

Local breweries facilitated the kind of locally created food culture and walkable urban communities that are increasingly valued today. They also represent a time when quality products were made for the working-class, before the homogenization and over-processing of our beer (and food) became the national standard. Whereas today one pays a premium price for well-crafted beer, there was a time where the national brewing industry was set up in such a way that it was cheaper and more profitable for beer to be made within the market that it was being consumed in, without adjuncts, pasteurization, or other detrimental treatment. These local community-centered values are the values represented in the history of Washington's commercial breweries. So much of this history has already been lost and largely forgotten, and with the return of these values to

Washington and other cities, there is no better time to begin to preserve and interpret it. If we can engage a broader population through something as popular as craft beer, then we have the opportunity to explain the values of historic preservation to this population through the lens of Washington's local brewing history. Illustrating how the brewing structures in this city have all been lost may then help more people realize the importance of historic preservation in considering the values of things that may seem contemporary and unimportant to us to ensure that future generations are not left with important parts of their heritage missing.

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Appendix A – Tables of Identified Breweries By Decade

The breweries that were found through primary source historical research are listed below. Dates listed are based on data as found in city directory and do not necessarily reflect the full period of operation of brewery. The earliest city directory consulted was from 1850 and the latest from 1954. For example, Christian Heurich Brewing Co. at 25th and Water listed from 1895-1954, but from other historical information we know the brewery was in business until 1956.

Years Listed	Name	Street #	1st Street Name	2nd Street Name	Location	Notes
1898-1936	Abner-Drury Brewing Co.		25th Street	F Street NW		
1877-1881	Adt, Francis		13th Street SE	D Street SE		
1877-1896	Albert, John	2431	F Street			1881-96: 2445 F Street NW
1889-1909	Anheuser-Busch Inc.		Virginia Avenue	1st Street SW		
1910-17	Anheuser-Busch Inc.		Virginia Avenue SW	E Street SW		1912-17: Delaware Avenue & E Street SE
1934-38	Anheuser-Busch Inc.	58	E Street SW			
1948	Anheuser-Busch Inc.	1440	Oklahoma Avenue NE			
1873	Arlington Brewery		27th Street NW	K Street NW		ale, porter, brown stout
1942	Arrow Beer - Globe Brewing Co.	1053	31st Street NW			
1892-96	Banner Brewing Co.	421	10th Street NW			
1890-94	Bartholomay Brewery Co.	308	11th Street NW			1110 C Street NW 1892-94
1858	Baumann, Paul	21	East Capitol			
1860-62	Baumann, Paul	504	D Street South			
1881-1889	Bergner & Engel Brewing Co.		Maryland Avenue	9th Street SW		
1890-98	Bergner & Engel Brewing Co.		Virginia Avenue			
1892	Betz, John F. & Son (Philadelphia, PA)	615	D Street SW			Ale and Porter
1871	Beyer Lewis	1408	7th Street NW			
1866	Bowman, Katharina Mrs.		9th Street East	South Carolina Ave		
1858	Boyd & Mason	23	Michigan Avenue			

1887-1889	Carry, Albert	400	E Street NW			
1875-1895	Christian Heurich Brewing Co.	1229-1235	20th Street NW			
1895-1954	Christian Heurich Brewing Co.		25th Street NW	Water Street NW		25th, 26th, D, and Water NW
1896-1901	The Christian Moerlein Brewing Co.		North Capitol Street	D Street NW		
1860-1864	Colineau, Clement		27th Street West	K North		
1898	Continental Brewing Co.	512	North Capitol Street			
1867	Cunningham, John		19th Street West	L Street North		
1906-10	Danhake, Anton	124	N Street NW			
1850-58	Davidson, Joseph (Washington Brewery)		27th Street West	K Street North	North corner	
1877-1878	Denmead, Francis		27th Street NW	K Street NW		
1875-1878	Dentz, Simon / Catherine (Mrs. Simon)	88	Greene (29th Street NW)		Georgetown	
1881-1883	Dentz, Catherine	40	Greene (29th Street NW)		Georgetown	Listed as 1123 29th NW in 1883
1866-67	Dickson, Christopher	229	4 1/2 Street West			
1873-1881	Dickson, Christopher	719	4 1/2 Street SE			Ale; 713-716 in later directories
1889	Eisenbeiss, Julius	1101	8th Street SE			
1892	Eisenbeiss, Julius	210	7th Street SW		Weiss beer	
1887	Eisenmenger & Rabe	1345	D Street SE			
1860-1867	Erbach, Charles	330	Maryland Avenue			
1855	Fisher, Anarga	572	L Street			
1864-66	Frommel, Francis		5th Street East	D South		
1889	Gerhard Lang's Park Brewery (Buffalo NY depot)	913	Maryland Avenue SW			
1916-17	German Brewing Co.	901	1st Street SE			
1878	Grainer, Charles	1812	7th Street NW			
1864	Grambusch, A.	509	11th Street West			
1903-08	Grasser & Brand Brewing Co.		6th Street SW	Virginia Avenue SW		
1883-1885	Guethler, John D.		D Street SE		Near 14th	
1936-54	Gunther Brewing Co. Inc.	60	O Street NW			
1866-1867	Haag, H.	509	11th Street West			Weissbeer
1866-1867	Holzer, Frederick		3rd Street East	Pennsylvania Ave		
1866	Hugle, Abner, & Beyer		New York Avenue	1st & 2nd West	Between	
1858-62	Humphreys & Juenemann		4th Street East	E Street North		Lager Beer
1887-1909	Joseph Schlitz	615	D Street SW			

	Brewing Co.					
1910-17	Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.		3rd Street NE	Randolph Street NE		
1890	Joseph Widmann	642	11th Street NE			
1867-1885	Juenemann, George and Barbara (Mount Vernon Brewery)	400	E Street NE			Lager beer and pleasure garden
1890	Julius Eisenbeiss	1101	8th Street SE			
1862-1867	Kaiser, Henry A.	42	Greene Street		Georgeto wn (29th Street NW)	Restaurant and brewery; 11 years same location
1934	Kenilworth Brewing Co.	402	6th Street NW			
1877-1878	Kernwein, George	115	New York Avenue NW			
1881-1887	Kerwein & Son	124	N Street NW			George Kerwein 1881-83; Kerwein & Son 85-87; Moritz Kerwein 1889
1890-98	Kernwein, Moritz G.	124	N Street NW		1892-94: 115 New York Avenue NW	
1858-62	Kozel, John	572	L Street North			Lager Beer
1864-1869	Kozel, John		North Capital	N & O North	Between	
1877-81	Kozel, John	43	N Street NW			
1890	Lang's Gerhard Park Brewery Buffalo, NY depot	913	Maryland Avenue SW		1894-96: 359 M Street SW	
1889	Lerch, Henry	1346	E Street SE			
1860-64	Loeffler, Ernst		New Jersey Ave	N North		New York Avenue btwn 1st & 2nd West 1862-64
1866	Luber, Leonard		Delaware Avenue	C Street North		
1860-1867	Maack, William N. H.	428	4 1/2 Street West	N South		
1871-1877	Maack, William N. H.	1304	4 1/2 Street SW			
1866	Mueden, Charles G.		5th Street East	B Street North		Later years at New York Ave btwn 1st & 2nd
1866	Muller, August	71	21st Street West			
1866-1878	Nass, John	821	4 1/2 Street SW			Ale
1892	National Brewing Co. (The), of Baltimore	629	D Street NW		and 624 Virginia Avenue NW	
1934-38	National Brewing Co.	1427	I Street NW			1029 33rd Street NW
1940-54	National Brewing Co.	128	Q Street NE			
1892-1917	National Capital Brewing Co.	1337	D Street SE			
1866-1867	North, Harvey (Washington Brewery)		27th Street West	K Street North		
1936-38	Northampton Brewery Tru-Blu Beer		4th Street NE	Channing Street NE		
1875-1877	Ogden, Dewitt M.		27th Street NW	K Street NW		*only two years under this name, but maybe worth writing about just because at 27th&K

1890-1917	Pabst Brewing Co.	703-705	North Capitol Street			
1887-1889	Phillip Best Brewing Co.	701	North Capitol			
1877-1878	Portner, Robert	624	Virginia Avenue SW			??
1934	Prince Georges Brewing Co.	740	15th Street NW			
1889	Rabe, Henry	1346	E Street SE			
1890	Rabe, Henry	D Street SE	14th Street SE			
1914	Reading Brewing Co.	G & 7th ne	G Street NE	7th Street NE		
1864	Richter, Herman		15th Street East	D Street South		
1873	Richter, Hermann		13th Street	E		Brewery house and brewery
1881-1890	Robert Portner Brewing Co.	626	Virginia Avenue SW			
1889	Roemhildt, Henry	318	1st Street NE			
1864	Roth, Jacob	347-349	1st Street East			
1877-1887	Roth, Jacob	318	1st Street NE			
1853	Schad, Charles		7th Street West	G & H Streets North	Between	
1867	Schnell, George	218	20th Street West			Heurich's 1st place with Paul Ritter
1877	Schoepflen, Louis	1812	7th Street			
1906	Scotch Hop Ale Mfg. Co. (Philly, PA)	612	F Street NW			
1864-1867	Stosh & Kessel	169	7th Street West			
1901	The Continental Brewing Co.	512	North Capitol Street			
1890	The George Bauernschmidt Brewing Co.	511-513	New Jersey Avenue NW			
1948-54	The Globe Brewing Co.	901	Evarts Street NE			
1912-14	The Monumental Brewing Co.		1st Street SE	I Street SE		1914: Rhode Island Avenue and B&O Railroad, NE
1910-17	The Washington Brewery Co.		4th Street NE	E Street NE		4th, 5th, E and F Streets NE
1877	Thomas Van Buren	1317	7th Street NW			
1896	Val Blatz Brewing Co.	1206	D Street NW			
1864	Volkman, Henry	487	10th Street West			
1871	Washington Brewery	2629	K Street NW			
1890-1909	Washington Brewery Co.	400	E Street NE			
1938	Washington Brewery Inc.		25th Street NW	G Street NW		
1867	Widmann, Joseph		N	1st & North Capital		
1889-92	William Massey Brewing Co.	615	D Street SW			
1877-78	Zanner, William	524-526	4 1/2 Street SW			

Appendix B – Selected Brewery Histories

Washington Brewery (Joseph Davidson)

In the 1850 Washington City Directory published by C. Alexander only one brewery is listed. Washington Brewery is run by Joseph Davidson, and is located at 27th Street West and K Street North, approximately where Whitehurst Freeway and 27th Street NW intersect today. This site proved to be popular with brewers for the next twenty-eight years, more so than any other single location.¹⁹⁴ While not much is known about the brewery's form, an advertisement that Mr. Davidson placed in the directory notes that the Washington Brewery produced pale ale and porter.¹⁹⁵ Mr. Davidson is listed in the 1851 directory published by William Thomson as the owner of a brewery at 27th and K although no further detail is given.¹⁹⁶ While not listed in the 1853 or 1855 city directories, Mr. Davidson and his Washington Brewery return in the 1858 directory in the same location.¹⁹⁷ It is not entirely clear when Mr. Davidson leaves the brewing business; he does not reappear after 1858, but his Washington Brewery will return under new management.

¹⁹⁴ At least six uniquely owned breweries (Joseph Davidson/Washington Brewery, ca. 1850-1858; Clement Colineau, ca. 1860-1864; Harvey North/Washington Brewery, ca. 1866-1871; Arlington Brewery, ca. 1873; Dewitt M. Ogden, ca. 1875-1877; and Francis Denmead, ca. 1877-1878) operated at the intersection of 27th and K Streets Northwest over the course of 28 years, more than any one other location.

¹⁹⁵ *Washington City Directory* (Washington, D.C.: C. Alexander, 1850), 217, <http://www.fold3.com/browse.php#226|hBylcHpYfGZ7UHsje>.

¹⁹⁶ William Thomson, *Thomson's Mercantile and Professional Directory, for the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and the District of Columbia*. (Baltimore, Md: William Thomson, 1851), 98.

¹⁹⁷ Boyd, *Boyd's Directory 1858*, 342.

Anarga Fisher

The only brewer listed in the 1855 directory is Anarga Fisher at 572 L Street North. This address presents a complication because it is unclear whether this location is in the Northeast or Northwest quadrant. If in Northwest, the brewery would have been very close to Mount Vernon Square and the present day Washington Convention Center and Historical Society of Washington. If in Northeast the brewery would have been close to the B&O Railroad Depot in present day Near Northeast, or the Atlas District. Both of these areas had a number of other breweries in subsequent years, which rules out attempting to determine the exact location based on a spatial analysis, so the exact location remains unknown.

John Kozel

By 1858, Fisher's brewery at 572 L North was being run by German Immigrant John Kozel, who would remain in business at that location for several years. Census records from 1860 indicate that Mr. Kozel's brewery produced lager beer.¹⁹⁸ Sometime between 1863 and 1864, Mr. Kozel relocated his brewing operations to 43 N Street NW, between North Capitol Street and 1st Street NW. He remained in business at this location until 1881, most likely with his son George, who by 1870 was also a brewer by trade.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ U.S. Census Bureau, "1860 U.S. Census, Washington, D.C.," 1860, Series M653, Roll 102, Page 856.

¹⁹⁹ U.S. Census Bureau, "1870 U.S. Census, Washington, D.C.," 1870, Series M593, Roll 124, Page 453.

Paul Baumann

The 1858 directory also contains the first appearance of Paul Baumann (also spelled Paul Bowman, in later years) and his brewery at 21 East Capitol Street, near 1st Street NE, and extremely close to the Capitol building. While we do not know a great deal else about his brewery, we know that it stayed in business until sometime between 1862 and 1863. Throughout this time, Mr. Baumann operated out of two locations on Capitol Hill. He was in his second location at 504 D Street SE by 1860.

Boyd & Mason

Boyd & Mason's brewery is listed in the 1858 directory at 23 Michigan Avenue,²⁰⁰ close to the intersection of Michigan Avenue and North Capitol Street near McMillan Reservoir. Unfortunately there does not appear to be much remaining documentation about this brewery, and it only appears to have existed for a year. Additionally, no other breweries were ever operated at this location, which might indicate that it was a very small brewery, perhaps even based out of the home of one of the two namesakes.

Humphreys and Juenemann

The final brewery to emerge in 1858 is the one owned by Owen T. Humphrey and George Juenemann, located at the corner of 4th and E Streets NE, near Capitol Hill.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Boyd, *Boyd's Directory 1858*, 342.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 158.

The 1858 directory notes that this brewery produced lager beer²⁰² and it continued to operate under the Humphreys and Juenemann moniker until around 1862. It is unclear what happened to Mr. Humphrey, but by 1867, the brewery is listed solely under Juenemann's name at the same location. By 1873 it is dubbed the Mount Vernon Brewery and accompanied by a "Pleasure Garden," where beer could be served and enjoyed by patrons of the brewery.²⁰³ Sometime between 1883 and 1885, George Juenemann who would have been between 60 and 62 years old, left his brewery business behind, and in 1885 it is listed under the name of Barbara Juenemann. It is unclear what relation Barbara was to Mr. Juenemann, but according to 1880 census records, she is not his wife (named Theresa), nor one of his four children (Jacob, Mary, Rosa, and Henry, aged 17, 15, 10, and 7).²⁰⁴ Shortly thereafter, the nearly three-decade old Juenemann brewing business in Capitol Hill—the second-longest running brewery in the city—would be gone for good, but the brewery and beer garden would get a new life through reuse.

Clement Colineau

The 1860 city directory lists Clement Colineau as the owner of a brewery located at the intersection of 27th Street West and K Street North,²⁰⁵ recognizable as the former location of Joseph Davidson's Washington Brewery. However, it appears that Mr. Colineau decided not to utilize that brand name during his operation of the brewery.

²⁰² Ibid., 342.

²⁰³ Boyd, *Boyd's Directory 1873*, 542.

²⁰⁴ U.S. Census Bureau, "1880 U.S. Census, Washington, D.C.," 1880, Series T9, Roll 123, Page 322.

²⁰⁵ W.H. Boyd, *Boyd's Washington and Georgetown directory: containing a business directory of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria* (Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Maury, 1860), 182.

Colineau's tenure there was relatively short though; his last appearance in the city directories is 1864, but 27th and K would soon be home to yet another iteration of the Washington Brewery.

Charles Erbach

Charles Erbach's brewery was first listed in the 1860 city directory at 330 Maryland Avenue.²⁰⁶ It continued to appear in directories until 1867, however none of the directories identify the quadrant for this street address. This is important because 330 Maryland Avenue is a working street address in both the Northeast and Southwest quadrants in the city, both about two blocks away from the Capitol buildings, on Maryland Avenue's diagonal path. Erbach, a German immigrant from Saxony, continued to brew at this location until 1867, and is likely to have also run a tavern, according to his listed profession in the 1860 U.S. Census.²⁰⁷

Ernst Loeffler

Another brewery that appeared in the 1860 city directory was run by Ernst Loeffler at N Street North and New Jersey Avenue,²⁰⁸ south of Rhode Island Avenue near the contemporary Bloomingdale neighborhood of Washington. Loeffler was another German immigrant who also happened to be neighbors with John Kozel. Around 1862, Loeffler's brewery relocated a few blocks south to New York Avenue between 1st and 2nd

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, "1870 U.S. Census, Washington, D.C.," 1870, Series M653, Roll 103, Page 445.

²⁰⁸ Boyd, *Boyd's Directory 1860*, 182.

Streets Northwest.²⁰⁹ By 1864 Loeffler had added the Washington City Garden—likely a beer garden—to his brewery complex.²¹⁰ However, by 1866 Loeffler’s name no longer appears associated with any breweries, despite the 1870 census listing him as a brewer with a somewhat staggering \$60,000 (approximately \$1,052,631.58 in 2012, adjusted for inflation²¹¹) worth of real estate.²¹² Based on that, it is possible that Loeffler decided to lease his brewery out to other brewmasters, or some other arrangement where he could still own the property without continuing to run the day-to-day operations at the brewery.

William Maack

William Maack’s brewery at 428 4 ½ Street SW, near the intersection of 4th and N by the Southwest waterfront, first appeared in the 1860 city directory. The brewery continued to operate in this location for seventeen years; its last appearance in the city directory was 1877. While not much is known about the brewery or its architecture, we do know from an advertisement in the 1867 directory that it produced lager, ale, and porter, and bottled all of those varieties of beer as well as cider.²¹³ Thanks to census data we also know that Maack started the brewery at the age of thirty-eight (as he was forty-eight in 1870). We also know that his real estate was valued at \$20,000²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ W.H. Boyd, *Boyd’s Washington and Georgetown Directory : Containing a Business Directory of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria* (Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Maury, 1862), 210, <http://archive.org/details/boydswashingtong1862wash>.

²¹⁰ Boyd, *Boyd’s Directory 1864*, 290.

²¹¹ Oregon State University, “Inflation Conversion Factors for Years 1774 to Estimated 2023, in Dollars of Recent Years,” *Political Science*, 2012.

²¹² U.S. Census Bureau, “1870 U.S. Census, Washington, D.C.,” 1870, Series M653, Roll 103, Page 445.

²¹³ Boyd, *Boyd’s Directory 1867*, 395.

²¹⁴ U.S. Census Bureau, “1870 U.S. Census, Washington, D.C.,” Series M593, Roll 126, Page 493.

(approximately \$350,877.19 in 2012, adjusted for inflation²¹⁵), which presumably included the brewery. Interestingly, in April 1865, his twelve year old, “Dark-Bay she mule” was stolen from his brewery, and he was willing to pay an upstanding citizen twenty dollars for her return.²¹⁶

Henry Kaiser

Henry Kaiser’s brewery at 42 Greene Street (29th Street NW) in Georgetown first appeared in the 1862 city directory.²¹⁷ Kaiser’s brewery is interesting because it was the only brewery listed in Georgetown during the 1860s, and because despite remaining in business at the same location for approximately eleven continuous years it left little historical evidence. We do know, thanks to an advertisement in the 1873 city directory, that at some point by that year Kaiser’s brewery was also a restaurant.²¹⁸ However, after this year’s directory, Mr. Kaiser’s brewery is never listed again, but another Georgetown brewery opens shortly after in the same location.

Katharina Bowman

Mrs. Katharina Bowman’s brewery at South Carolina Avenue and 9th Streets SE was only listed in one city directory, from 1866.²¹⁹ While not much else is known about

²¹⁵ Oregon State University, “Inflation Conversion Factors.”

²¹⁶ “Daily national Republican. (Washington, D.C.) 1862-1866, April 07, 1865, SECOND EDITION, EXTRA, Image 3,” April 7, 1865, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86053570/1865-04-07/ed-1/seq-3/;words=MAACK?date1=1858&rows=20&searchType=basic&state=District+of+Columbia&date2=1872&proxtext=maack&y=11&x=16&dateFilterType=yearRange&index=5>.

²¹⁷ Boyd, *Boyd’s Directory 1862*, 210.

²¹⁸ Boyd, *Boyd’s Directory 1873*, 513.

²¹⁹ Andrew Boyd, ed., *Boyd’s Washington and Georgetown Directory*. (Washington, D.C.: Boyd & Waite Brothers, 1866), 437.

Mrs. Bowman's brewery, the fact that a brewery owned or managed by a woman existed in nineteenth-century Washington was very interesting. It seems plausible that Mrs. Bowman is the wife of Paul Bowman, who perhaps kept his brewery operating after he was no longer able to, but because of the difference in address—Paul Bowman's last listed address is approximately five blocks west of Katharina's—it is unclear whether this is the case. Nonetheless, Katharina Bowman's brewery was no longer listed by 1867, and does not appear again.

Christopher Dickson

Christopher Dickson's brewery is first listed in the 1866 city directory, located at 229 4 ½ Street, West.²²⁰ Based on listings in later years, it is clear that the brewery was located in Southwest, and that he brewed ale. His brewery is listed at various addresses on 4 ½ Street SW—229, 225, 713, 717, and 719—until 1881. After that year there his brewery is no longer listed, and no other breweries are ever listed at this address in the subsequent city directories. However, in the 1888 Sanborn, there is a bottling facility, an office, a possible saloon and several wood frame structures shown on the 700 block of 4 ½ Street SW. It is difficult to tell what the other structures represent other than that they are one and two-story frame and masonry structures. Also it is unclear whether another brewery had opened in Dickson's space, was just using his bottling facility to bottle their beer, or if he was still indeed brewing at this location but just not included in the city directories past 1881 for some reason.

²²⁰ Ibid.

Hugle, Abner, and Beyer

The Hugle, Abner, and Beyer brewery, located at New York Avenue between 1st and 2nd Streets Northwest²²¹ (the location where Ernst Loeffler's brewery was located until 1866) was listed in the 1866 city directory, and only that directory. Based on this, one can infer that they had a beer garden located within their brewery complex.

Additionally, thanks to an advertisement in the directory, we know that this brewery was producing "choice" lager beer. Unfortunately, these are the only thing we know about the brewery and its three managers with any certainty.

Charles G. Mueden

Charles G. Mueden's brewery at the intersection of B (present-day Constitution Avenue) and 5th Streets NE in Capitol Hill is first listed in the 1866 city directory²²² with an advertisement for the weiss beer that he produces. By 1867, Mueden's brewery had moved to New York Avenue between 1st and 2nd Streets Northwest, following in the footsteps of Ernst Loeffler, and Hugle, Abner, and Beyer.²²³ This is the last year that Mueden's brewery appears in any of the directories, and the last brewery to be listed at that location after five years of continued use.

John Nass

Another brewery that first appeared in the 1866 city directory was John Nass's, at 821 4 ½ Street SW, near the intersection of 4 ½ and I Streets SW, approximately five

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Boyd, *Boyd's Directory 1867*, 616.

blocks north of William Maack's brewery.²²⁴ According to the 1873 city directory, Nass was producing ale at his brewery.²²⁵ Nass's brewery stayed in operation for approximately twelve years at this location, with its last confirmed listing in a city directory occurring in 1878. Interestingly, what appears to be a small brewery complex appears at this location in the 1888 Sanborn fire insurance map, including a two story brick building with a rear addition and several frame structures abutting it, as well as a two story frame bottling facility and a two-story frame stable. However, no other breweries are listed at this location in subsequent decades, so it is unclear if the complex is still in use as a brewery or if it is used solely for bottling beer or other beverages, or if it was simply unused but extant when the Sanborn map was created.

Washington Brewery Co. (Harvey North)

The final brewery listed in the 1866 city directory is Harvey North's Washington Brewery Co., at the intersection of 27th and K Streets NW, the site formerly occupied by Joseph Davidson's Washington Brewery and Clement Colineau.²²⁶ North's iteration of the Washington Brewery Co. stayed open at this location until some time between 1872 and 1873, when yet another brewery begins to operate at this location.

George Schnell

In 1867, George Schnell's brewery on 20th Street between M and N Streets NW near Dupont Circle is first listed in the city directory.²²⁷ While this is the only year that

²²⁴ Boyd, *Boyd's Directory 1866*, 437.

²²⁵ Boyd, *Boyd's Directory 1873*, 348.

²²⁶ Boyd, *Boyd's Directory 1866*, 437.

²²⁷ Boyd, *Boyd's Directory 1867*, 616.

Schnell's brewery was found listed in the city directory, documents in the Historical Society of Washington's Christian Heurich Collection indicate that Schnell's brewery was established in 1864, and remained there until 1872, although it is unclear if it remained actively in business throughout that time.²²⁸ A photocopy of an undated image in the Heurich Brewery Records shows the Schnell Brewery as a four bay, three pile, two and a half story brick side-gable structure with several brick and frame rear additions and notations that it produced five hundred barrels of weiss beer in its first year and had a restaurant on site.²²⁹ It is also evident that at some point before 1873 George Schnell had died, and his wife was keeping the brewery running by leasing it out.

Arlington Brewery

The next building to appear listed at the intersection of 27th and K Streets NW is the Arlington Brewery, owned by Henry S. Martin and George B. Wilson, in the 1873 city directory.²³⁰ This brewery appears to have been relatively short-lived as 1873 is the only confirmed listing of the brewery in a city directory. Additionally, the next brewery listed at that location is by 1875, implying that the Arlington Brewery would have been gone by then. Confusingly however, an advertisement for the Arlington Brewery appears in the 1878 directory, boasting of the high quality of the ale, porter, and brown stout made there. Part of this confusion may be explained by the fact that the Arlington Bottling Company was open in the same general location until prohibition, bottling beers for the Heurich brewery and several others, while other breweries operated in the vicinity.

²²⁸ Offutt, "MS 537 Christian Heurich Collection, 1844-2001 (bulk 1866-2001) Finding Aide," 1.

²²⁹ "Heurich Brewery Records, 1871-1956; Christian Heurich Collection."

²³⁰ Boyd, *Boyd's Directory 1873*, 328.

Simon and Catherine Dentz

The Dentz brewery at 88 Greene Street (now 29th Street NW, near M Street NW) was first listed in the 1875 city directory under the name Simon Dentz.²³¹ This brewery is the second brewery to appear in Georgetown, and happens to be on the same street, only a few numbers away from Henry Kaiser's brewery. The Dentz brewery stayed in business until at least 1883, based on listings in city directories up until that year, but 1875 is the only year that Simon Dentz is listed as the owner. After that year the brewery is always listed under "Mrs. Simon Dentz" or Catherine Dentz, who must have taken over the brewery upon her husband's death, sometime between then and 1880. That year, the census lists her occupation as a "beer brewer," and as the sole head of her household, with four children—Joseph (10), Catherine (seven), Mary (five), and Simon (1).²³²

²³¹ William H. Boyd, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia, Together with a Compendium of Its Governments, Institutions, and Trades, to Which Is Added a Complete List of Physicians and Nurses*. (Washington, D.C.: Richard B. Mohun & Co., 1875), 23.

²³² U.S. Census Bureau, "1880 U.S. Census, Washington, D.C." Series T9, Roll 121, Page 35.