

**The Craft Beer Network:
Inside Newfoundland's Craft Beer Boom**

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Abstract

This thesis is a snapshot of the craft beer boom on the island of Newfoundland between 2017 and 2019. I consider the craft beer scene from various angles – from the role of brewery taprooms as tourist destinations, to how craft breweries draw on local culture in their branding, to characteristics of the industry. Using craft beer as a springboard, this thesis examines the different networks of brewers and beer enthusiasts that make Newfoundland a special place to brew and drink beer.

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Listed in alphabetical order by name of interviewee. All interviews were audio-recorded in person.

Name	Date(s)	Location(s)
Austen, Krista	September 18, 2018	Natalie's apartment, St. John's
Bailey, Dean	May 7, 2019	Port Rexton Town Council Office
Clark, Gavin	September 23, 2019	Skervink Hostel, Port Rexton
Conway, Chris	October 10, 2018	Landwash Brewery, Mount Pearl
Dawson, Shawn	January 9, 2018	Georgetown Café, St. John's
Johnson, Kayla	September 16, 2018	Kayla's apartment, St. John's
MacDonald, Alicia	September 24, 2018	Port Rexton Brewery, Port Rexton
McGrath, Nardia	November 11, 2018	Mill Street Brewery, St. John's
Mills, Sonja	September 24, 2018 May 7, 2019	Port Rexton Brewery, Port Rexton (both interviews)
Nelson, Martha	September 23, 2018	Skervink Hostel, Port Rexton
Perry, Les	September 22, 2018	Les' home in Port Rexton
Scott, Chris	September 7, 2018	Tos Low (bar), St. John's
Smith, Kris	September 11, 2018	Kris' apartment, St. John's
Tucker, Jane	September 23, 2018	Seaport Inn, Port Union

Introduction

The Craft Beer Boom

In May of 2017, I moved to St. John's, Newfoundland from Massachusetts with my husband. During that first summer, we were enthralled by the East Coast Trail, a hiking trail that loops around the Avalon Peninsula on the eastern edge of the island. From rocky bluffs, we spotted whales, hawks, icebergs, and seals. We often ate a "feed of fish and chips," as I have heard this popular dish called in Newfoundland. One thing we missed from home were the numerous craft breweries, where we could grab a pint after a day of hiking. We had become accustomed to small, locally-owned breweries throughout New England, operating out of innocuous locations like industrial parks or converted warehouses, where we could try different beers every time we visited. I was disappointed to find a much more limited selection of beer in the liquor store when I moved to Newfoundland. Luckily for me, the island was about to experience a craft beer boom.

What is a Craft Brewery?

The United States Brewers' Association defines craft breweries by their small size and independence, the use of traditional ingredients and innovative techniques, and their involvement in the communities where these breweries are located.¹ Craft breweries are known for constantly brewing new and interesting beers, rather than offering a few staple products. Tremendously popular in the United States and other provinces in Canada since

¹ Brewers Association for Small and Independent Craft Brewers, "Craft Brewer Defined" (entry posted 2019), <https://www.brewersassociation.org/statistics/craft-brewer-defined/> (accessed March 18, 2019).

the 1980s, the craft beer industry gained momentum in Newfoundland in 2016 with the opening of Port Rexton Brewing in Port Rexton, NL.

Between 2016 and 2019, twelve locally-owned craft breweries opened on the island of Newfoundland.² I refer to this time period as Newfoundland's "craft beer boom" because a large number of breweries opened in a short time. Previously, Quidi Vidi Brewing (est. 1997), Storm Brewing (est. 1995), and Yellowbelly Brewery (est. 2011) were the only craft beer producers on the island. While these three producers made beer on a small scale compared with large corporations, they had not yet embraced some of the practices that characterize the craft beer industry. I define craft breweries, as opposed to breweries that simply have small-scale production, as ones that are locally-owned, rotate their beer offerings frequently, and experiment with new recipes and styles. Quidi Vidi, Storm, and Yellowbelly did not embrace this level of creativity and innovation, such as introducing sour or lactose beers, until recently. Most of my research focuses on Port Rexton Brewing, but I also refer to other breweries to contextualize my findings.

This thesis is a snapshot of the craft beer boom on the island of Newfoundland between 2017 and 2019. I consider the craft beer scene from various angles – from the role of brewery taprooms as tourist destinations, to how craft breweries draw on local culture in their branding, to characteristics of the industry. Using craft beer as a springboard, this thesis examines the different networks of brewers and beer enthusiasts that make Newfoundland a special place to brew and drink beer.

A Brief History of Beer in Newfoundland

² Chris Conway, "Craft Brewery List" (entry updated January 3, 2019) *newfoundlandbeer.org*, <https://newfoundlandbeer.org/breweries/> (accessed March 18, 2019).

I consider the craft brewing industry as independent from the history of home brewing in Newfoundland. While the current industry interacts with home brewers through social media and collaborations, the popularity of beer home brewing is relatively new. Newfoundland home brewing is largely focused on berry wines rather than beer. This makes sense – Newfoundland (nicknamed “The Rock”) is not known for its produce; however, it is known for its abundance of berries. Friends have informally told me that Newfoundland home brewers who did make beer used pre-packaged kits, which use malt extract instead of the raw grains used in craft beer brewing. I have not found any research, or heard opinions in my interviews that contradict this claim.

Historically, the Newfoundland beer industry consisted of large macro-breweries. In 1949, Newfoundland became a province of Canada through a process called Confederation. In an island-wide referendum Newfoundland voted to join Canada by a slim margin. Previously, Newfoundland was a dominion of Britain. At this time, the island had three independent Newfoundland-owned breweries that produced mainly German-style lagers. These were: Newfoundland Brewing, Bennett Brewing and Bavarian Brewing. In 1962, Canada’s three national breweries: Molson, Canadian Breweries Limited, and Labatt, purchased the independent Newfoundland breweries.³

The rest of the country followed a similar pattern. From the 1960s through the 1980s, independent breweries were consolidated into national corporations across Canada (Eberts 2014, 190). By 1989, the Canadian beer market was dominated by just two brands; Labatt and Molson. These two companies merged with international corporations Anheuser-Busch In Bev and Coors (Eberts 2014, 191). This meant that the macro-

³ Chris Conway, “History,” *newfoundlandbeer.org*, <https://newfoundlandbeer.org/timeline/> (accessed on May 15, 2019).

breweries in Newfoundland were not even Canadian anymore – they were actually owned by international corporations. In the 1990s, consolidation in the beer industry had reached its peak across North America and consumers had only a few different types of beers to choose from. It was in this climate that local craft breweries began to emerge across Canada.

Nevertheless, it would take a while for the craft beer industry to take off in Newfoundland. When I met with Chris Conway, creator of *newfoundlandbeer.org* and co-owner of Landwash Brewery, we agreed that the craft beer industry is a departure from the large-scale macro breweries of the past. I also consider these new craft breweries different from small-scale producers like Quidi Vidi Brewing that did not experiment with different beer styles until recently. The craft beer industry is characterized by small-scale production, experimentation, and collaboration, while macro breweries deliver cheap, consistent beer. In the next section, I outline the academic work that provides a framework for this thesis.

A Brief Literature Review

This thesis meets at the intersection of tourism studies; cultural geography; Newfoundland Cultural studies; and occupational folklife. My research is the first ethnographic study of craft beer in Newfoundland. It also offers new research on tourism by Newfoundlanders in Newfoundland, including a new perspective of the island's growing culinary movement, which features local and foraged ingredients. This thesis also explores Newfoundlanders interest in exploring rural areas of the island through bay tourism, as well as provides an analysis of marketing by craft breweries that is intended to appeal to local consumers. While this is not a foodways thesis, it is an ethnographic

examination of culinary tourism in Newfoundland in the form of collaborative networks of craft beer consumers, brewer owners, and brewers.

The field of tourism studies began with first person accounts of travel in the form of journals, travel guides, and travelogues in the nineteenth century. Literary theorist and historian Paul Fussell's *Abroad: British Literary Travelling between the Wars* (1980) is a class analysis of travel books describing the European "Grand Tour"⁴ during this time period and an influential work of tourism scholarship. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, tourism became more accessible to middle class populations as their discretionary spending increased, along with mobility in the form of train travel, car ownership, and air travel.

It was not until the 1970s that tourism became the focus of academic study. The first United States National Conference on Tourism took place in 1974, and the World Tourism Organization was formed in 1977. The publication of sociologist Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist* in 1976 was a turning point in the field. MacCannell describes *The Tourist* as primarily as "general theory of tourism" (MacCannell 2013, xvii) intended for the discipline of sociology (xxi). In the decades since its publication, *The Tourist* has been applicable to many disciplines outside of sociology, including but not limited to; anthropology, art history, architecture, and, as in this thesis, folklore (xxi). While MacCannell describes the tourist as a post-modern figure— someone who is displaced or an outsider searching for meaning through the tourist experience — throughout the work, he rejects a main tenet of post-modern theory: the idea that history is over and humans

⁴ The "Grand Tour" was a trip around Europe first developed in the 1600s. It was undertaken by upper class men, and sometime women accompanied by a chaperone, as an educational experience.

live in a time of post-history (xxix). MacCannell also uses Marxist theory to consider the role of socio-economic class in the tourist experience, such as in work or occupational displays, which I analyze in Chapter 3. Ultimately, the principle theoretical approach of *The Tourist* is difficult to categorize. As MacCannell attests, the work resists a “grand narrative” or single theory (xvii). Its expansive scope may be one reason the work has endured and remained relevant to such a wide variety of disciplines.

In his Introduction to the 1989 edition, MacCannell proposes that *The Tourist* presents a “new kind of ethnographic report on *modern* society” that reorients sociological research away from “peasant” or “primitive” societies (xxvii). A similar redirection took place in the field folklore, which first focused on groups that were labelled as “folk,” connoting peasant or rural cultures. Today, the field of folklore includes, but is not limited to research on popular, urban, domestic, and occupational cultures. MacCannell’s desire to show that “ethnography could come home” is an intention I also share in this thesis and a reason MacCannell’s research is central to my analysis. I attempt to connect with a tourist culture (i.e. craft beer) in which I am in an active participant and to draw my conclusions as directly from my fieldwork experience as possible. MacCannell’s analytical approach mirrors my own, where adherence to theory came secondary to observing and explaining how tourism plays out in everyday life. Specifically, MacCannell’s close examination of occupational displays, as well as his interpretation of markers and signs as fundamental to the tourist experience, provided a framework for my own analysis of craft beer tourism. I aim to provide specific examples of MacCannell’s interpretations of the tourist experience in the craft beer industry with first-hand accounts from interviews.

More recent work on craft beer tourism in North America focuses on defining what constitutes beer tourism, such as travelling to multiple breweries in one trip (known as an “ale trail”), and collecting demographic data on craft beer drinkers. To understand how craft beer tourism functions in other provinces of Canada, I referred to tourism studies such as “Beer Tourism in Canada along the Waterloo-Ellington Ale Trail” (2005) by multidisciplinary researchers Ryan Plummer, David Telfur, Atsuko Hashimoto, and Robert Summers. Drawing on tourism studies and rural studies, this article explains how Ontario developed an “ale trail” and marketed the idea of visiting multiple rural craft breweries to tourists. As I examined the development of craft brewery tourism in Newfoundland, I found that craft beer drinkers were also thinking of ways to visit multiple breweries as they drove from one brewery taproom to the next. However, while tourism studies helped me understand how craft beer tourism developed in other places, most of its ethnographic data is limited to survey responses. As a folklorist, I based my analysis on first-person interviews and ethnographic fieldwork. In my own analysis, I strive to bring the narratives of brewers and beer drinkers to the forefront in order to show how people in Newfoundland understand the craft beer boom and the ways they engage with the industry. As models for my ethnographic approach, I refer to folklore scholarship on occupational folklife, tourism, and culinary tourism.

In my exploration of the industry side of craft beer brewing, I draw on ethnographic work in occupational folklife. Occupational folklife has its roots in the early 1900s, when folklorists in the United States expanded their research to include certain “folk” jobs, previously not studied because folklore was considered the activities people engaged in outside their work, such as singing or storytelling. The first jobs folklorists

studied were generally male-dominated, highly physical or dangerous, and required long periods of separation from domestic life. These conditions contributed to the development of an exclusive informal culture within that occupation. Examples include occupational studies of cowboys, loggers, and miners (see Lomax 1918; Ives 1978; Green 1972). In the 1970s, the field expanded to include male-dominated blue collar industrial jobs, such as metal or auto workers (see Dewhurst 1984; Nickerson 1978). Current scholarship includes informal culture in any occupation across gender and class, such as domestic work, restaurant work, and professional sports (see Levin 1993; Umberger 1997; Robidoux 2001). In my analysis, I consult folkloristic occupational studies, including David Shuldiner's "The Art of Sheet Metal Work" (1980), as models for identifying informal culture in the workplace and defining craft.

In defining the craft elements of beer brewing, I refer to historian Glenn Adamson's more inclusive definition of craft in *The Craft Reader* (2001). Unlike research done in the United Kingdom on the real ale movement, which defines craft beer production according to historical brewing methods, Newfoundland's craft beer industry does not have any connection to heritage brewing (Spracklen, Laurencic, and Kenyon 2013). Rather, the development of this industry is based on the North American craft beer industry, which began in the 1980s. In addition to referring to folklore research on occupation and craft, I also rely on folklore theory and fieldwork on tourism to shape my analysis.

The field of folklore brought new perspectives to tourism studies, including consideration of authenticity in the tourist experience, as well as analysis of heritage and culture in tourism. Folklorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's *Destination Culture* (1998)

theorizes the ways the tourism industry functions in the modern world by transforming places into destinations, and marketing “experiences” as tourist products. Her analysis informs my ideas about how craft breweries frame their locations as destinations by offering tourists cultural experiences.

In addition, folklore has also embraced work on culinary tourism. Folklorist Lucy Long’s definition of culinary tourism shapes my understanding of food tourism. In *Culinary Tourism* (2001), Long posits that tourists can experience “the other,” or different cultures, places, and even time periods through food. In addition, I refer to Holly Everett’s research about berries, berry wines, and berry picking in Newfoundland, which provides excellent context on local culture, culinary tourism, and foodways in Newfoundland (Everett 2007). By considering beer drinking a culinary experience, I examine the craft beer industry as part of the growing culinary tourism industry in Newfoundland.

This thesis also references folklore research specific to beer and cider tourism, including folklorist Julie LeBlanc’s PhD thesis (2015) on the folkloric branding of Unibroue, a Montreal brewery, and Maria Kennedy’s PhD dissertation (2017) on the expressive genres surrounding cider making in Britain. Both LeBlanc and Kennedy’s research examines the intersections of place and culture in craft beverage tourism. Their work bridges the field of folklore and cultural geography, leading me to a wealth of recent research on the craft beer industry in that field.

While geography is concerned with how people interact with their physical environment, cultural geography is focused on the intersections between culture, environment, identity, and the construction of place. *The Geography of Beer* (2014),

edited by Mark Patterson and Nancy Hoalst Pullen, offers a variety of interpretations of how craft breweries convey or connect to place in North America. Included in this collection is geographer Derrek Eberts article, “Neolocalism and the Branding and Marketing of Place by Canadian Microbreweries” (2014). Eberts uses the term “neolocalism” to describe the ways that craft breweries invoke a connection to their location. Neolocalism is a cultural movement that emphasizes a connection to geography and place over globalized consumer culture (Eberts 2014, 193). Other examples of neolocalism include farmers’ markets, the localvoire diet⁵, and buying artisanal products from local producers. Additionally, geographer Anne M. Fletchall’s analysis of craft breweries place-based branding in Montana (2016) provided a point of comparison with my own research. Even though the craft beer industry was new to Montana when she completed her fieldwork in 2014, Fletchall shows how breweries connect with the locations by drawing on the state’s culture, history, and environment. She analyzes brewery names and logos to show “how such imagery works to construct a particular place identity” (563). Central to cultural geography is the theory that place is not only a physical location, but an imagined concept based in local culture. This influenced the ways I interpret Newfoundland as a place in my thesis. I used scholarship in Newfoundland Studies to examine how Newfoundland has been conceptualized throughout its history.

Research in Newfoundland Studies helped me contextualize my findings within the history of the province and identify the ways craft breweries reference ideas about Newfoundland identity. In 1949, Newfoundland ceased to be a dominion of Britain and

⁵ Eating foods grown or produced locally.

narrowly voted to become a province of Canada. This decision was pivotal, not only politically, but also in the construction of a distinctly Newfoundland cultural identity within Canada. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, academics from Memorial University collected research on rural Newfoundland in order to preserve a culture they perceived as dying or disappearing. This research coincided with a cultural renaissance in the form of local artwork, theatre, and music. Currently, Newfoundland's tourism industry is based on conceptions of Newfoundland identity developed during this time period, such as highlighting similarities to Irish heritage and commodifying Newfoundland language. I provide a more in-depth analysis of the construction of Newfoundland cultural identity in Chapter 2.

I specifically refer to work on tourism and heritage in Newfoundland to understand how craft beer tourism conforms with or departs from past forms of tourism on the island. Sociologist James Overton's *Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in Newfoundland* (1996) helped me contextualize craft beer tourism within the history of tourism in Newfoundland. In addition, historian Jeff A. Webb's *Observing the Outports* (2001) provides an analysis of the construction of Newfoundland cultural identity and heritage. With Webb's research, I was able to better understand how craft breweries represent local culture in their branding. Unlike other forms of tourism in Newfoundland that are geared towards visitors from outside the province, I found that craft brewery tourism caters to networks of local craft beer enthusiasts and other breweries, who crisscross the island visiting taprooms, transporting beer, or brewing with each other at different breweries.

The Craft Beer Network

During my fieldwork, I had a difficult time defining the boundaries of the group I was studying. My research was based in Newfoundland, but heavily influenced by the international craft beer boom: from elsewhere in Canada, to the United States and United Kingdom and Australia. At first I thought I would define my study by location and focus exclusively on the Port Rexton Brewing Company in Port Rexton, NL. While craft beer in Newfoundland is locally based, “local” does not necessarily mean the specific town or city where the brewery is located. Instead, “local” includes a network of craft beer drinkers and brewers who live in different communities across the island. The members of this network are unified because they are located on the island of Newfoundland, which takes about 10 hours to drive across, and is largely rural. It is important to note that a majority of Newfoundland’s towns, including the urban centres of St. John’s and Cornerbrook, are located on the perimeter of the island and not the interior. This means that travelling to different communities and breweries requires additional travel off the main highway to different peninsulas and coastal communities, amounting to far more than a ten hour drive in order to visit all of the island’s craft breweries (see Figure 1). Newfoundland’s craft beer drinkers and brewers stay connected despite the geographical distance between them through social media, blogs, and by travelling to different breweries, either to brew with each other or for leisure.

I came to think of the subject of my research as a “craft beer network”: a network of groups that included the brewers, home brewers, and craft beer enthusiasts who supported the craft beer industry in Newfoundland. These groups often collaborated or overlapped, with home brewers entering the industry as brewers and brewery owners, or breweries supporting enthusiast groups. For example, in March of 2019, Quidi Vidi

Brewery collaborated with a home brew group, the Newfermenters Homebrew Club to produce a series of limited-release beers named “QVxNF.” Other collaborative efforts exist between different breweries. For example, beginning in 2017, Port Rexton Brewing hosts an annual collaboration brew day with other breweries. For 2019, Port Rexton and four new craft breweries (Landwash, Crooked Feeder, Baccalieu Trail, and Bootleg) came together to produce a Brute IPA named “Next Generation,” a reference to the new wave of craft breweries that opened that year. Collaborations between home brewer groups and breweries are practiced in Newfoundland, but are also reflective of the industry and common in other provinces as well.

I became interested in craft beer through my involvement in The Brewnettes, an all-women’s craft beer enthusiast group. The Brewnettes was formed in 2012, growing out of an existing group called the Newfoundland & Labrador Artisanal Craft Beer Club. This club was formed by Mike Buhler, Atlantic Canada’s first certified cicerone⁶, and Tom Beckett, a wine enthusiast (Figure 2). The club had an online counterpart named *beertheif.ca*, a forum where members could place special orders for craft beer that would be delivered to local stores.⁷ When I interviewed Brewnettes founder Kayla Johnson, she remarked that there were not many women involved with the club, so she launched the Brewnettes exclusively for women. Kayla began hosting events in conjunction with the Artisanal Craft Beer Club, but had to step back from organizing when a family member fell ill. In 2015, Alicia MacDonald and Sonja Mills were in the process of starting their

⁶ The “cicerone” designation is similar to the sommelier designation in wine. It shows that someone has a mastery of beer tasting and history.

⁷ I interviewed Mike Buhler on “Episode 138: Something’s Brewing in Newfoundland” on the *Living Heritage Podcast* (originally aired on CHMR 93.5 on August 23, 2018) <https://podcasts.apple.com/gb/podcast/ep138-somethings-brewing-in-newfoundland-atlantic-canadas/id1015426998?i=1000425268379>.

own brewery in Port Rexton, NL. They approached Kayla with their idea to revitalize the club and began organizing events.

I began attending Brewnettes meet-ups in 2017 as part of my research for a term paper on women and craft beer. It was at one of these events at Fort Amherst Pub that I met Terra Barrett, Stacey Pike, and Alex Stead, who later invited me to join their home brew group, Queer Beer NL. Queer Beer NL began in 2016 with four women, two of whom identified as queer. In July of 2018, Terra, Stacey, Alex and I were invited to Port Rexton Brewing to create a limited-release beer for Port Rexton's first Pride Celebration, a day-long event that was spearheaded by Alicia MacDonald and Sonja Mills, now co-owners of Port Rexton Brewing and also a married couple. We drove out to Port Rexton and, led by head brewer Chris LaCouer, brewed a witbier⁸ named "Come Out Wit Ya." This collaboration was our first experience brewing in an actual brewery using an all-grain brewing process instead of pre-packed kit beers. It inspired us to share our love of craft beer and brewing. Our interesting group name, and the fun labels we printed for our bottles of home brewed beer, made our Instagram page surprising popular. As of 2019, the current members of Queer Beer NL are running a book club that also features beer tastings. In many places in North America, men make up the majority of craft beer consumers (see Chapman 2018; Darwin 2018). Our intention is to make craft beer more approachable to people outside this demographic.

Interaction and collaboration between professional brewers, home brewers, and enthusiasts characterizes the craft beer network in Newfoundland. In "Why the Microbrewery Movement: Organizational Dynamics of Resource Partitioning in the U.S.

⁸ "Witbier" is a German-style sour wheat beer.

Brewing Industry,” economists Glenn R. Carroll and Anand Swaminathan compare craft beer to a social movement that is rooted in the identity of craft microbrewers as small, local, high-quality producers. In addition, the authors believe that people choose craft beer as a form of self-expression, and as a way to generate status as expert consumers (Carroll, Swaminathan 2000, 730). Carroll and Swaminathan assert:

Among other things, the social movement-like character of the segment means that craft beer producers and consumers constitute a self-conscious community characterized by a dense and redundant social network of self-styled ‘experts,’ including many home brewers. (731)

I found this to be an apt description of the people included in my fieldwork, who did not necessarily know one another, but were part of the same beer groups (like the Brewnettes), consumed similar media (like the *Atlantic Canada Beer Blog*, or *newfoundlandbeer.org*), or self-identified as craft beer enthusiasts. In my own experience, I can identify the social-movement characteristic of craft beer in Newfoundland, especially the cross-over between consumers, home brewers, professionals, and even craft beer bars that pride themselves on their local selection, like Toslow or Green Door in downtown St. John’s.

Carroll and Swaminathan also characterize the craft beer network as highly communicative. They state: “Information flows rapidly and pervasively through this network, which revolves around the many brewpubs, tap houses, beer clubs...organized trips, brewers’ guilds, festivals, magazines, and newsletters...” (Carroll, Swaminathan 2000, 731-732). Increasingly, I found that this network of breweries and beer groups were tied together through social media and blogs. While the Brewnettes certainly existed outside of the digital, most member activity took place on the group’s Facebook group, which numbered around 400 members, while only twenty to thirty people would typically

attend in-person events. Similarly, the Newfermenters Homebrew Club also has an active Facebook group of over 900 members. When I began my research, I created an Instagram account with the handle “myyearinbeer.” I soon realized that Instagram is a platform that many craft beer lovers use to post about the beers they are drinking, follow craft breweries, and share recommendations. Through Instagram, I learned about new breweries and the different beers they offered. At the Port Rexton Retail Shop where I work, we post our weekly inventory every Wednesday on Facebook and Instagram, so if consumers want limited-release beers, they would have to follow the shop’s social media. Many craft beer drinkers and brewers in Newfoundland use social media to stay connected across the island.

My research focuses on the networks of Newfoundland craft beer drinkers and brewers who support the industry. As I reflect on my research, I consider the ways I transitioned from a new resident of Newfoundland to a member of the island’s network of beer brewers and enthusiasts. As an organizer for the Brewnettes, Newfoundland’s all-women craft beer club, I plan group outings for women to taste and learn about local beer. My home brew group, Queer Beer NL received a provincial grant to form a book club that features beer tastings. I still brew my own beer, and am also working on Newfoundland’s first craft beer podcast with CHMR 93.5 FM. I might be Newfoundland’s biggest beer nerd.

Methodology

My fieldwork approach was characteristic of the field of folklore. In addition to scholarly research, I also completed ethnographic fieldwork, including audio-recorded interviews and participant observation. I draw on my personal experience as a member of

the Brewnettes (the St. John's women's craft beer collective), my home brew group Queer Beer NL, as well as my job at the Port Rexton Brewing Co. Retail Shop, located in St. John's. As a result, many informal conversations with friends and customers also informed this research.

My fieldwork took place from June 2018 to April 2019. I made five trips to Port Rexton, NL during this time. My first trip was in June of 2018. On a roadtrip across the province with my husband, we stopped in Port Rexton to stay at the Skerwink Hostel and visit the brewery (Figures 3, 4 and 5). I had submitted my topic proposal to the Folklore Department, but I had not gained ethics approval from ICHER (Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research). I chatted with Martha Nelson and Gavin Clark, operators of the Skerwink Hostel, and described my interest in craft beer to them. We also visited the taproom and met Les Perry, co-head brewer at Port Rexton Brewery, for the first time. He kindly gave us a tour of the brewhouse after I told him about my research plans. I recorded my observations in my field journal.

My second visit to Port Rexton took place in July of 2018. Port Rexton Brewery owners Sonja Mills and Alicia MacDonald had reached out to my home brew group, Queer Beer NL to brew a limited-release beer for the Pride celebration,⁹ which I described previously. While at the time, I did not consider this trip directly connected to my research because I did not complete any interviews, I ended up keeping detailed notes on the brewing process (Figure 6). This firsthand experience turned out to be important for analysis of the craft beer industry and the occupation of brewing. In addition, I was

⁹ Pride celebrations or Pride parades are events that celebrate and raise awareness about LGBTQ+ people and the discrimination they face.

able to talk to Sonja and Alicia and ask permission to interview them. My first two trips to Port Rexton were necessary to build rapport with interviewees.

On August 9, 2018, I returned to Port Rexton for their Pride celebration, which included a community softball game at the town baseball field and a show by the band Park Days in the brewery taproom. I camped on a property down the street from the brewery with Terra Barrett and a few other friends. It was during this weekend that we tried the witbier, a German-style beer that we brewed. As previously mentioned, we named it “Come Out Wit Ya” (Figure 7).

I received confirmation of my ethics approval for my fieldwork in late June of 2018. In September of 2018, after three trips to Port Rexton building relationships, I returned with the sole purpose of completing audio-recorded interviews. On this trip, I interviewed brewery owners Sonja Mills and Alicia MacDonald, brewers Les Perry and Jane Tucker, and Martha Nelson and Gavin Clark, owners of the Skerwink Hostel. As this was also my first solo trip to Port Rexton, I took the time to sit in the brewery taproom and record my observations in-depth.

From June 2018 to March 2019, I also interviewed craft beer enthusiasts and brewers in the St. John’s area. In the summer and fall of 2018, I continued to interview beer brewers and enthusiasts.

In March of 2019, I received the Mary Griffiths Bursary in Folklore Research. I used this funding to complete my fifth trip to Port Rexton. I interviewed Port Rexton Mayor Dean Bailey and completed a follow up interview with Sonja Mills. This last trip also afforded me the opportunity to reconnect with my other interviewees and reflect on the research I had completed thus far.

In all, I completed thirteen interviews with sixteen participants. As this thesis is the first academic work on the craft beer industry in Newfoundland that I am aware of, my interviewees' ideas thoroughly informed my analysis about craft beer in Newfoundland. I relied on secondary sources to paint a picture of how this industry has developed in other parts of Canada and the United States.

Chapter Summaries

This thesis is a snapshot of the craft beer boom on the island of Newfoundland between 2017 and 2019. Throughout this work, I use “Newfoundland” to refer exclusively to the island of Newfoundland, not the entire province of Newfoundland and Labrador because there are no craft breweries currently operating in Labrador. The sudden popularity of craft breweries in Newfoundland is connected to the growing culinary tourism movement on the island, including an increased popularity in buying local foods and foraged ingredients.

In Chapter 1, I examine the types of craft beer taprooms being constructed on the island and how these spaces situate themselves in the rural, “bay” culture of Newfoundland.¹⁰ In Chapter 2, I consider how craft breweries use folkloric branding to frame craft beer as a local product. In Chapter 3, I explore the occupational folklife of the craft brewer, as well as the defining characteristics of the brewing industry in Newfoundland. I imagine this thesis to be like a tour through the Newfoundland craft beer world and a way to examine the industry from different angles and perspectives.

¹⁰ “The bay” is a colloquial Newfoundland term that refers to rural areas outside of the island's major urban centres of St. John's, Mount Pearl, Corner Brook, and sometimes Conception Bay South.

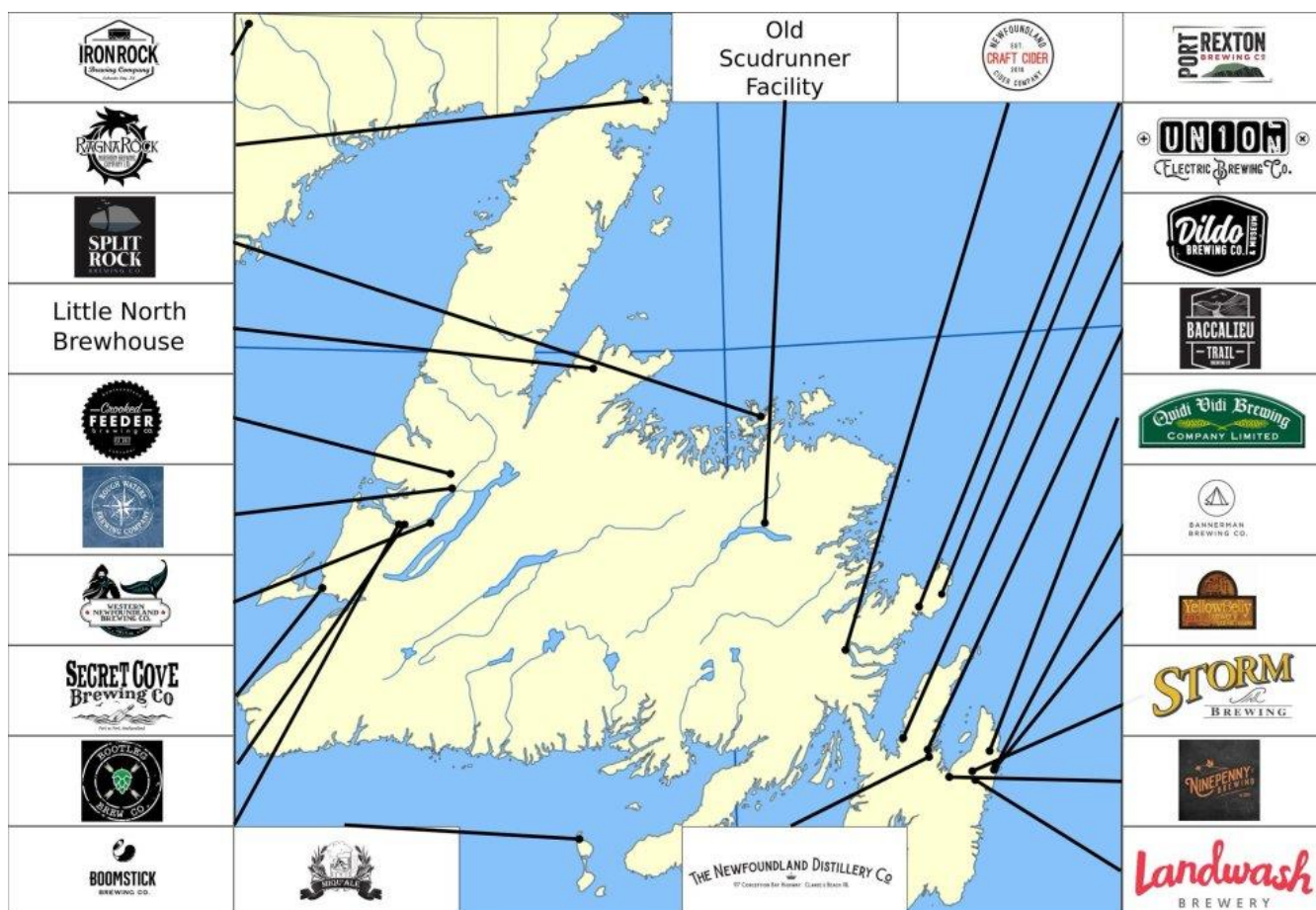


FIGURE 1: Map of brewery locations in Newfoundland and Labrador. Most of the breweries are located on the coast, not the interior. Graphic by Chris Conway, <https://newfoundlandbeer.org/>. Accessed July 19, 2019.



FIGURE 2: Natalie Dignam (right) and Mike Buhler (left), Atlantic Canada's first certified cicerone and founder of the Artisanal Craft Beer Club and online forum *beerthief.ca*.. Photo taken at the CHMR 93.5 FM studio in St. John's, NL following our interview for the Living Heritage Podcast. July 2018. (Photo by Hans Rollmann)



FIGURE 3: Port Rexton Brewing. September 2018. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)



FIGURE 4: The Skerwink Hostel, located in Port Rexton, NL. September 2018. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)



FIGURE 5: Ethan Matchinski in the common room of the Skerwink Hostel on our first trip to Port Rexton. June 2018. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)



FIGURE 6: From left to right: Queer Beer NL members Stacey Pike, Terra Barrett and Alex Stead pouring grain into the grain mill during our collaboration brew day with Port Rexton Brewing Co. July 2018. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)



FIGURE 7: From left to right: Terra Barrett and myself (Natalie Dignam) outside the Port Rexton Brewing taproom at their Pride celebration holding a growler of our witbier, “Come Out Wit Ya.” August 2018.

Chapter 1

The Newfoundland Taproom: Consuming Place through Beer

Space is transformed by tourism, but so is the meaning and representation of space. The declining fishing village, the working farm and village are reconstructed in terms of a tourist aesthetic. The purchase, renovation and conversion of old houses, the heritagizing areas, the use of the old shells of buildings to construct museums and galleries, all this is part of the process by which a way of life is represented for consumption.

James Overton, 1996

In the quote above, from *Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in Newfoundland*, James Overton describes the process by which the rural areas of Newfoundland were repackaged into tourist spaces. In this chapter, I examine craft brewery taprooms as a growing part of rural tourism in Newfoundland. I also consider the ways that brewery taprooms make experiences typically limited to private, domestic spaces available to visitors. I posit that brewery taprooms repackage “the bay,” a colloquial term that refers to geographical areas of Newfoundland outside of the island’s cities of St. John’s, Mount Pearl, and Cornerbrook into a tourist space for people living in the island’s urban centres.

In the first part of this chapter, I examine the role of Newfoundland taprooms in “baycation” tourism, or tourism by residents from urban areas to more rural areas of the island. In the second part of this chapter, I analyze the trend of adaptive reuse, or the renovation of an existing building for an alternative purpose among brewery taprooms as part of an increasing effort to preserve Newfoundland’s built heritage. In addition, I

analyze the events hosted in taprooms to show how these spaces are also sites of Newfoundland cultural experiences. I present a case study of the Port Rexton Brewing taproom, which was previously the town's community centre and originally a schoolhouse.

What is a Taproom?

A taproom is any place where alcoholic drinks are served, but in the craft beer industry, the taproom has specific characteristics. A craft beer taproom is the designated seating area where customers are served drinks. The taproom is usually located in the same building as the area where the beer is made (called the "brewhouse"). Patrons can often see the brewhouse floor and observe the beer being made from where they sit. Common barriers between the taproom and brewhouse include fences, glass walls, or walls with windows.

The Taproom as a Modern Tourism Experience

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes: "Tourism stages the world as a museum of itself" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 7). As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests, through tourism, places are transformed into destinations that represent their own cultures for consumption. The craft beer taproom is a work place, but it can also function as a stage of display. Like themed restaurants, many taprooms use imagery and branding to give patrons a sensory experience beyond the product itself (i.e. the beer). However, many themed restaurants aim to give visitors an experience of a different place. For example, the Rainforest Café restaurants located across North America and around the world are geographically distant from the actual rainforest. In contrast, craft breweries often draw on local culture in their taproom décor. Taprooms that are connected to the local themes

include; aviation history (Scudrunner in Gander, Newfoundland), military history (Able Ebenezer in Merrimack, New Hampshire), the ocean (Landwash Brewery in Mount Pearl, NL), to name a few.

According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, the modern tourism industry has changed “from an experience based on seeing to one based on doing” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 137). Brewery taprooms offer first-hand sensory experiences such as taste, as well as a way to “see” the local culture through décor or displayed objects. When I first visited the Port Rexton Brewing taproom, I noticed how the large, white-painted rectangular building resembled a barn. Inside, the high ceilings, picnic tables, and prominence of wooden material that make up the floors, walls, and bar reinforced this impression. Objects and furniture made me feel as if I were in a domestic space (Figure 1.1). The patterned armchairs, grandfather clock, and display of board games and books made me feel as if I were visiting a friend’s cabin, where I would not spend time watching TV, but rather, would have long conversations and play games instead (Figure 1.2). The words “rustic” and “homey” came to mind. The visibility of large metal brewing tanks and stacks of 2-row barley in the taproom reminded me that I was also sitting in the place where the beer is made (Figure 1.3). In the Port Rexton taproom, I could passively view the brewing equipment, décor and objects, but I could also interact with the space by tasting the beer that is produced there, playing games or reading books, engaging a brewer at work, or asking the bartender about the history of the old building.

The taproom as a tourist attraction works on multiple levels. On one level, the patron is a culinary tourist, a concept defined by Lucy Long as: “the intentional, exploratory participation in the foodways of an other-- participation including the

consumption, preparation, and presentation of a food item, cuisine, meal system or eating style considered to belong to a culinary system not one's own" (Long 2004, 21). While a visitor to a craft brewery may be an avid craft beer enthusiast, the culinary experience and "otherness" that is being sought is the experience of a specific place through beer. By tasting the beer, the tourist experiences and consumes a destination on a sensory level. As Long states: "The other can be distinguished from the familiar along a variety of dimensions" (Long 2004, 24). She suggests five major categories of experiencing otherness in the context of foodways: culture, region, time, ethos/religion, and socioeconomic class (24). Each craft brewery promises a new dimension for tourists to explore, offering an experience of both consuming an unfamiliar beer, as well as an unfamiliar culture that is local to the brewery. When breweries use history, cultural tropes, local figures and legends to brand their beer, they give patrons a place-based experience (see Fletchall 2016; Ebert 2014; Schnell and Reese 2014). As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett theorizes, the modern tourism industry is about experiencing and "doing," over simply observing or "seeing" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 137). Culinary tourism experiences, such as drinking locally-made beer, is one way visitors experience a destination.

The taproom also functions as a work display because the brewing area, or "brewhouse," is visible from the patrons' seating area. A work display at a craft brewery is an ideal tourist attraction because it is not simply a static, visual display, but one that touches all of the senses. Patrons can observe the brewers at work, smell the grains, and hear the industrial sounds of machinery grinding the grains or boiling the wort. Dean MacCannell connected the role of place and regional identity in his analysis of work

displays: “The nature of work in an area (coal mining in Pennsylvania, musical instrument making in Northern Italy) is now understood to be an aspect of regional identity and an important component of quality of life on the community level” (MacCannell 2013, 62). Unlike many work displays available to tourists, craft breweries are often not connected to a historic regional identity in any tangible way. A more typical example of a Newfoundland work display would be a wooden boat building demonstration, or workshop like those offered by the Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland in Winterton because the skills and technique to build wooden boats were important craft in the fishery-based economy of Newfoundland.¹¹ The visibility of brewing spaces in taprooms is more of an artisanal display of the hand-made process of making craft beer, rather than a historic exhibit.

Observing the hands-on production of the beer may appeal to patrons’ desire to consume small-scale, locally-made products. Economists Carroll and Swaminathan discuss this phenomenon in their article, “Why the Microbrewery Movement: Organizational Dynamics of Resource Partitioning in the U.S. Brewing Industry” (2000). They theorize that consumers may purposefully choose local craft beer as a statement against mass production (730). Many breweries also offer tours of the brewery floor where the beer is made, thus making the exhibition nature of the brewing area explicit.

Lastly, the taproom area where patrons sit to consume the beer is an interactive exhibition. Through the display of artifacts, the architecture of the space, and the events held there, the taproom sets a “stage,” to use Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s word, to experience a place. I focus on this last point to show how craft breweries in Newfoundland present

¹¹ The Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador, “Our Beginnings,” <http://woodenboatmuseum.com/about-us/beginnings> (accessed on March 18, 2019).

ideas about local culture through taproom design and events. In the next section, I examine craft brewery taprooms as baycation destinations.

The Craft Brewery Taproom and the Baycation

In this section, I focus on how Port Rexton has become a baycation destination for visitors from St. John's. Port Rexton, as I explained in the Introduction, is located on the Bonavista Peninsula – an emerging tourist destination in rural Newfoundland that is considered to be part of the bay. While the brewery may be their destination, visitors also visit Port Rexton in order to experience bay culture.

Bay culture in Newfoundland is characterized by outdoors activities, like hunting, and clothing suitable to these conditions, such as lined flannel shirts and rubber boots. In the image titled “Townie Bayman,” St. John's-based designer and illustrator Judd Haynes interprets the differences between townie and bay culture (Figure 1.4). The image depicts two male figures. One represents a “townie” from St. John's, the other a “bayman” from rural Newfoundland. The figures' clothing and preferences, such as foods they would eat, the type of coffee they would order, or the baseball cap they would wear, are labelled. The caption “Very Proud Newfoundlander” is written beneath both figures, showing that the differences between Newfoundlanders that live in town, and those that live around the bay are superficial. Some examples included in the “Townie Baymen” illustration are: “moose by local chefs” (townie), and “deep freeze full of moose”¹² (baymen); “skinny

¹² Deep freeze refers to a chest freezer, often additional to the refrigerator and freezer in a person's kitchen. A deep freeze is connected to hunting culture in Newfoundland because it is a chest freezer where cuts of meat can be stored.

jeans and Blundstones”¹³ (townie), and “relaxed jeans and rubbers”¹⁴ (bayman); “toys: Apple watch, Pokemon Go” (townie), and “toys: side-by-side, quad, Skiddoo”¹⁵ (bayman). The image description, located on the artists’ online shop, reads:

TOWNIE BAYMAN is a fun illustration celebrating two aspects of Newfoundland culture. All in good fun, this piece was not scientifically researched, none of the info is based on anything other than Judd Haynes’ personal take on it all. It is not meant to appear as Townie “VS” Baymen, but more celebrates how much we’re all the same. Most people feel they fall somewhere in the middle. It’s good for a laugh, just something fun to hang on the wall.

Haynes’ “unscientific” take on the Townie/Bayman monikers is one example of how these identifications are expressed in contemporary Newfoundland. However, representations of bay culture have roots in conceptions of Newfoundland identity and, specifically, ideas about rural Newfoundland. As Overton explains, the construction of a Newfoundland identity is based on a “simple, idealized character” (Overton 1996, 53). Overton claims that Newfoundland culture is a construct that acts as a lens through which people can interpret the world and, more specifically, the province (Overton 1996, 57). This lens promotes a rural regionalism that rejects modern, industrialized society in favor of an idealized conception of the rural Newfoundland outport, which romanticizes community life and tradition, and emphasizes self-reliance and grit. As Overton points out, the consequences of rural poverty are largely ignored in this regionalist construct of Newfoundland (Overton 1996, 61). Similarly, baycation trips by urban Newfoundlanders are focused on enjoying the natural beauty of the region and largely ignore the struggles

¹³ Blundstones are a type of leather boot produced in Australia by the Blundstone Corporation. They are waterproof and trendy in urban areas. I actually bought a pair when I moved to St. John’s because I noticed so many people wearing them.

¹⁴ Rubbers refers to rubber boots.

¹⁵ Side-by-side and quad refers to two types of ATV vehicles. A Skiddo, or Ski-doo, is a snow mobile.

and complexity of rural life. These trips can also be nostalgic for Newfoundlanders residing in urban centres who experience the bay as a way to reconnect to a rural way of life that, to them, exists in a romanticized past, either as part of their cultural heritage as Newfoundlanders, their family history, or their own childhood memories of living in the bay.

In an unpublished essay, Wyatt Hirschfield-Shibley examines “the role of Instagram in the creation, definition, and propagation of an emerging Newfoundland tradition known as ‘baycation’” (Hirschfield-Shibley 2017, 2). Hirschfield-Shibley offers this definition of the Newfoundland baycation:

Baycation is a portmanteau of the words ‘bay’ and ‘vacation,’ and something of a local riff on the word ‘staycation’ used elsewhere. ‘The Bay’ in this context, is slang in Newfoundland- St. John’s in particular- for rural communities of the island. Residents of ‘the bay’ are known colloquially as ‘baymen,’ or more recently, occasionally the more gender-neutral ‘baypeople’/ ‘baypersons.’ St. John’s is commonly referred to as ‘town’ by Newfoundlanders, and its residents known colloquially as ‘townies.’ While there is no clear definition of exactly what constitutes ‘the bay,’ it generally refers to communities outside of St. John’s and the adjacent towns of Paradise, Mount Pearl, and Conception Bay South. A baycation then, in its most broad sense, refers to a vacation to any such community. (Hirschfield-Shibley 2017, 3)

Hirschfield-Shibley examines the baycation using Dick Raspa’s theory of the play frame. In “A Short History of Giglio’s: Occupational Role as Play Frames,” Raspa defines the play frame: “an imaginary line which reminds the perceiver that the signals within the lines or boundary are mutually relevant and those outside may be disregarded” (Raspa 1991, 201). In applying this concept of the play frame to the practice of baycations, Hirschfield-Shibley analyzes Instagram posts with the baycation hashtag (#baycation) in order to show how Newfoundlanders from St. John’s frame their experiences around the bay as both play and authentic experiences of rural

Newfoundland. One criticism that Hirschfield-Shibley highlights is that the term “baycation” is a patronizing term because it suggests that townies are playing at being a person from the bay by engaging in rural activities like camping and fishing (Hirschfield-Shibley 2017, 6). Hirschfield-Shibleys also asks: “While outside the scope of this essay, it also begs the question as to how play framing might be used by businesses that cater to baycationers- such as brewpubs, coffee shops, and fine(r) dining restaurants” (Hirschfield-Shibley 2017, 13). As Hirschfield-Shibley suggests, brewery taprooms are one space that frames rural experiences for visitors “from town.”

The Role of Taprooms in the Baycation

Craft breweries create destinations in rural communities and act as focal points for baycation tourism. Residents of St. John’s such as Krista Austen, Kayla Johnson and Kris Smith, who are all in their 30s, visit breweries as part of their baycation trips. Krista Austin explained that even though she “grew up around the bay,” she did not travel outside of St. John’s as an adult because she felt that “there’s nothing out there [in rural Newfoundland].” Although she explored Newfoundland on her motorcycle in the past few years, previously she had not gone past Clarenville (a town in eastern Newfoundland on the Bonavista Peninsula) until in the late 1990s when she drove across the island in the process of moving to Edmonton, Alberta. Krista said that a lot of people in Newfoundland feel that there is no reason to travel to more rural communities, but craft breweries are changing this attitude. The tourist boom on the Bonavista Peninsula is one example of both Newfoundlanders’ interest in visiting rural areas for leisure and starting businesses there to bolster the tourism industry. Young entrepreneurs like Martha and Gavin at the Skerwink Hostel or Sonja and Alicia at Port Rexton Brewing are making

travel to rural Newfoundland more accessible by opening breweries, restaurants, and accommodations.

As Krista told me, Port Rexton Brewing is “a good example of what a brewery can do for a community.” She noted how many houses in the Port Rexton area appeared to have had work done, such as new clapboard, within two years of her first visit to the area. Krista attributed this change to the growing popularity of Airbnb, the online platform that allows residents to rent out rooms or entire homes, resulting in more visitors to the area and to the brewery. At the time of our interview in September, 2018, Krista predicted that there would be a dozen more breweries across the island by next year. Krista explained that the increasing availability of campsites and Airbnb rental homes within walking distance would make it possible for her to complete a Newfoundland brewery tour on her motorcycle because she does not stop at a brewery unless it is within walking distance of her accommodations. Krista’s brewery tour plans are one example of how travel around the bay is changing and how brewery taprooms have become stopping points for visitors.

On the other hand, Kris Smith remarked: “When you live in the capital city, there’s no reason to go to these places.” However, Kris admitted that he decided to visit different breweries in Newfoundland because he was “too poor to visit far away.” The popularity of baycations among Newfoundlanders may be driven by an interest in visiting rural parts of the island, or a result of budget constraints. For Kris, a vacation outside the province was not possible, so he decided to complete a brewery tour instead.

Visiting brewery taprooms might be one of many activities baycationers partake in, but they provide a catalyst to leave Newfoundland’s urban centres. Craft beer

enthusiast Kayla Johnson, who also resides in St. John's, describes craft breweries as the "excuse" for her road trips across the island. In addition to visiting a local brewery, baycation trips can also involve hiking, camping or staying in a cabin, visiting restaurants, or spending time fishing, kayaking, or boating. In the following section, I examine the ways that craft breweries frame patrons' experiences through taproom architecture and décor.

Adaptive Reuse and Craft Brewery Taprooms

While taprooms are designed in a wide range of styles, Newfoundland taprooms are often adapted from historic or community buildings. This trend of adaptive re-use, or the alteration of buildings for a new, alternative purpose, is part of a larger movement in Newfoundland to preserve the island's built heritage. In my interviews, I found that Newfoundlanders were aware of the possibilities of preserving or adapting old buildings into breweries or as tourist attractions. In this section, I analyze how the conversion of buildings into brewery taprooms provides this emerging industry with a backstory and a historical link to their communities.

Out of the twelve taprooms currently open on the island, three are housed in nationally-designated heritage districts, or adapted community buildings. Some notable taprooms include: Port Rexton Brewing, located in Port Rexton's former community centre which was originally the town's schoolhouse; Quidi Vidi Brewery, located in a former fish plant in St. John's; Dildo Brewing Co. & Museum, located in the former community museum in the town of Dildo, NL; and Bannerman Brewing, located in a former firehouse in St. John's. Taprooms that have not yet opened include: Yellowbelly Brewing's new location, which will be a brewery, spa and restaurant, and lastly, Port

Union Electric Brewing, to be located in a designated heritage building formerly occupied by the Port Union Electric Company in the town of Port Union, NL.¹⁶ When I interviewed Port Union Brewery co-owner Jane Tucker, she said:

We see ourselves as fitting into a lot of communities; the larger culinary excellence that's happening on the peninsula, but also, you know, the built heritage movement that's going on here and in Bonavista, preserving buildings and using them for, you know, whatever you want.

For Jane, brewery tourism is connected to heritage conservation. Not only is building preservation deemed good for communities, but also consumers enjoy spending time in heritage buildings. Some craft beer drinkers in Newfoundland see heritage buildings as a natural fit for breweries. In fact, when Landwash Brewery in Mount Pearl, NL chose a warehouse for their brewery and taproom, this was seen as unusual. Felicity Roberts of *The Overcast*, a former St. John's-based newspaper wrote: "It's a credit to any young brewer to make such savvy use of space, but the question remains as to why anyone would want to take on a behemoth of blank space when the option of beautiful old character filled buildings abound, providing some built in ambience from the get go."¹⁷ Roberts identifies "built in ambience" as an advantage of adapting an existing building into a brewery.

Craft beer consumers recognize and value the "built in ambience" and history that these heritage buildings provide. In an interview with Kris Smith in his apartment in St.

¹⁶ Information on brewery buildings is from the Environmental Assessment page under the "Projects" section of the Newfoundland and Labrador Government website. I read each brewery's environmental assessment application to learn if these breweries renovated or applied to renovate existing buildings into breweries and taprooms. https://www.mae.gov.nl.ca/env_assessment/projects/index.html (accessed on April 25, 2019).

¹⁷ Felicity Roberts, "Landwash Brewery: on Growlers and Growth" (December 22, 2018) in *The Overcast*, <https://theovercast.ca/landwash-brewery-on-growlers-and-growth/> (accessed February 25, 2019).

John's, we talked about his dream of renovating his grandfather's sawmill into a brewery. Kris owns *The Racket*,¹⁸ an online magazine, and works as a substitute teacher. In the summer of 2018, Kris visited four breweries on the island and wrote articles for his magazine describing the beers he tried and his impression of each brewery taproom. If he opened a brewery, Kris would choose to re-adapt his grandfather's sawmill in Markland, NL because, "cool breweries have a history and a story." For Kris, a brewery's story can be told through the building where it is located. Many Newfoundland breweries have tapped into this idea, perhaps intentionally, or simply as a by-product of utilizing older buildings.

For example, Port Rexton Brewing maintains the history of their building by preserving many physical aspects of the former schoolhouse-turned-brewery, such as the building's original walls. The brewery also promotes the building's history in other ways, such as by naming their porter the "T-Rex," a reference to the school's principal and namesake of the town's community centre, Thomas Rex. Similarly, Bannerman Brewing in St. John's retained the appearance of the firehouse they occupy by replacing the garage doors with glass garage doors. Bannerman's logo is a tent, a reference to the fire in St. John's in 1892 which forced people to set up tents in Bannerman Park. Bannerman Brewing's website reads:

To know the story of our brewery is to know the history of our neighborhood. Long before we poured our first beer, BANNERMAN BREWING CO. was the location of the city's historic East Fire Station. Originally constructed after the Great Fire of 1892, it was rebuilt in the 1950s and still stands today at the corner of Duckworth and Ordinance Street. But the building is only half of the story. During the Great Fire, some 11,000 people lost their homes. Displaced, but not defeated, residents banded together with nothing more than a few belongings to set up a tent city in Bannerman Park. They weathered the aftermath of the fire and re-built the city. It's this story of

¹⁸ *The Racket*, <https://www.theracketonline.com/>.

collectivism and community that BANNERMAN BREWING CO. proudly celebrates.¹⁹

These examples of taproom architecture and historical references in branding like logos and beer names give taprooms the “story” that Kris identified as important to a craft brewery. Bannerman Brewing equates the history of the building they occupy with the history of their brewery. By doing so, the taproom is framed as a space that presents the history of the St. John’s fire of 1892, and not simply a place to drink to beer. These stories are one way that craft brewery taprooms construct a connection to their locations and give visitors an experience of those places.

Even buildings that I would consider unlikely locations for a brewery had potential to other craft beer drinkers. In an interview Kayla Johnson, one of the founding members of The Brewnettes, described her road trips across Newfoundland and how she enjoyed identifying buildings as good sites for a breweries. Kayla said:

Ever since we got into craft beer, there have been instances where we’ve gone to small outport communities and seen rundown gas stations, bar halls, churches, restaurants, schools, and we’ve been like, “That place, that would be a deadly brewery.” And not even thinking about, this town had fifty people in it. That would be a great brewery. The location, the tanks would fit in there really great. Look at this parking, those windows, that light, this would be perfect. Every time we go anywhere, that’s what we think. So when those breweries open in Twillingate and Port Rexton and Dildo and wherever, we’re like, let’s get in the car and go. It’s a better excuse for us to get there. We want to go there anyway, this is just the driving force to get us there now because now we can have something to drink and something to eat when we go.

One reason that Kayla identifies these structures as suitable sites for breweries is because rural Newfoundland does not have many food or drink options for travelers. While this has changed in some areas, such as the Bonavista Peninsula, renovating existing

¹⁹ *Bannerman Brewing Co.* <https://www.bannermanbrewing.com/> (accessed on May 27, 2019).

buildings to provide restaurant or brewery services would make it easier for Kayla, and other Newfoundlanders, to travel around the island.

In addition, the structures that Kayla points out-- the “rundown gas stations, bar halls, churches, restaurants, schools”-- are a common sight in rural Newfoundland. Abandoned or decaying buildings are part of Newfoundland’s landscape, and help tell the island’s political and economic history. The moratorium on the cod fishery in 1992 led to an economic crisis in Newfoundland that hit rural communities especially hard. In “‘A Future in the Past’: Tourism Development, Outport Archeology, and the Politics of Deindustrialization in Newfoundland and Labrador in the 1990s,” Overton describes how the collapse of the fishery displaced over thirty thousand people and “made the abandoned fish plant a feature of the landscape” (Overton 2007, 60). As mentioned previously, Quidi Vidi Brewery, which opened in 1997 soon after the moratorium, occupies a former fish plant in St. John’s, a vestige of this once mighty industry.

The renovation of buildings into craft breweries is part of a larger movement in Newfoundland to preserve built heritage. In our conversation about the growing tourism industry on the Bonavista Peninsula, fellow craft beer lover and St. John’s resident Krista Austen pointed out that preserving or adapting buildings is not a common practice in many communities on the island, but that perhaps it should be because heritage buildings are valuable to tourists. Krista said:

Bonavista as a town has put so much into the tourism industry. And, I mean, keeping their old buildings.²⁰ So many communities in Newfoundland, if a building was older, getting a bit decrepit... ah, tear it down, right? Which is

²⁰ The town of Bonavista has grown as a tourist attraction in recent years. In “How a historic Newfoundland town is moving from fishing hub to hipster mecca,” Alyson Small of the *CBC* wrote, “where people once worked to catch fish, they now work to catch the eye of visitors. Tourism is a key part of the economy on the Bonavista Peninsula, and the area's heritage is a major draw.” (Published July 29, 2018).

terrible. Terrible attitude to have towards your built heritage. But it seems like the town of Bonavista, the town of Trinity²¹ in particular, they really put so much effort into preserving their old buildings because they're worth something, man. They're worth something in terms of our own cultural heritage and their definitely worth something to people coming here, visiting these places from away.

As Krista points out, preserving the island's built heritage is valuable to residents of Newfoundland, but also of interest to tourists. In addition, the trend of adaptive reuse among craft breweries has influenced how craft beer enthusiasts view unused buildings in rural areas as a way to preserve and present Newfoundland culture. In the following section, I analyze how the Port Rexton Brewing taproom preserves their building's history and frames visitors' experience of the bay.

The Port Rexton Taproom and Preservation of the Past

The building that houses the Port Rexton Brewing taproom and brewery was constructed in the 1800s or early 1900s and functioned as a schoolhouse until the late-1960s. Until the early 2000s, it was the Thomas Rex Community Centre, named after the former school's principal. Port Rexton Brewing presents the building's history as part of the brewery's story by preserving tangible reminders of its past.

When Sonja and Alicia began renovating the building into a brewery, they removed the paneling covering the walls, unintentionally uncovering the original walls of the schoolhouse. They liked the way the original walls looked and decided to keep them, not realizing that local patrons would remember the architectural details from their childhoods. Alicia described watching patrons remember the original building:

These walls, this tongue-and-groove all around, were the original walls from when it was a school. So when it was a community centre they put paneling over it, we just ripped the paneling off to expose these walls again [...] And we've had

²¹ Trinity Bay, also a tourist destination, is located a 45-minute drive from the town of Bonavista.

people come in that- much older people- that were students here. And they're like, 'oh, my gosh.' Like knocking the walls, remembering, you know, how it was.

Remembering "how it was" is part of what makes the Port Rexton taproom a unique place in the community. I found a similar perspective in folklorist Annemarie Christie's MA thesis. Christie writes about the group of people who saved the South Side United Church in Twillingate, NL from being demolished and adapted the church into a museum:

This thesis could have simply been a 'biography' of an old church, or an analysis of its architecture, but in the end, the thesis came to encompass far more than that: the intangible found in the tangible preservation of the building. This, being the stories and memories associated with the church...There is a world they can see all around the old South Side church in Twillingate that still exists in their minds. (Christie 2016, 12)

The Port Rexton taproom is also preserving the intangible heritage of Port Rexton by preserving tangible reminders of the past and eliciting recollections from patrons. When Alicia and Sonja began renovating the building, they also found former students' handwritten notes hidden in walls of the bathroom. In the following excerpt from our interview, they tell me about discovering those notes:

Alicia MacDonald: Actually, the bathrooms were in that same area, but they were just configured differently back when it was a school. And when they were doing the work to reconfigure them for us, in these walls, there was a hole in the wall and inside there was a bunch of written, student school notes. Like, by students to each other. Well, there was a spelling bee in there, wasn't there?

Sonja Mills: Yeah, I found an English test or something. I guess, initially, there was a stairwell going to the top floor-

AM: -And I guess students would hang out under the stairs and pass notes to each other via that hole in the wall. So we have a whole box inside of just student notes.

While they want to display the notes someday, they have not yet decided how. Just as they removed the paneling to expose the original walls, much of the renovation of the

space seems to expose the building's history rather than obscure it. In fact, after the interview, Sonja drew my attention to the large black and white photographic print hanging above the taproom bar (Figures 1.5 and 1.6). The photograph was taken when the building was still a schoolhouse and shows the outside of the building, including the bay, a few surrounding houses, the unpaved dirt roads and wattle fences. The enlarged photograph conspicuously displays the building's historical place in the Port Rexton community in a way that is obvious to locals and visitors alike. For me, this photograph provided an image of continuity between the building's past and present, situating the brewery as a new business with a historical tie to the community through its chosen location.

While some architectural and decor aspects of the taproom are no doubt intentional, such as the photograph above the bar, others may have simply been a result of the constraints of using an older building. As Alicia told me in our interview: "We were confined to work with what we were given in this building. So we tried to make it as fun as we could." Sonja and Alicia may not have exposed the original walls of the building with the intention of preserving the architecture or eliciting memories from local patrons. They no doubt transformed much of the space to accommodate the brewing equipment and its new function as a taproom. Nonetheless, these material reminders of the taproom's former life resonates with residents who visit the brewery. In a cyclical way, the taproom continues to function as a community space in Port Rexton, and although alcohol is now served there, the building continues to function as a gathering space, adding a pulse once again to the community.

The Vernacular Language of the Taproom

In this section, I examine the how the former functions of the Port Rexton taproom as a schoolhouse and community centre influence its present iteration as a brewery taproom. I use the phrase “vernacular language” to describe how people understand the building’ function, specifically referring to patrons’ use of the taproom as a gathering place in Port Rexton. As cultural preservationist Rebecca Faulkner theorizes, houses of worship that are reused as museums may attract “a broad audience through the building’s vernacular language, and the values that it implies” (Faulkner 2015, 18). While the Port Rexton Brewery location is not a house of worship, its history and value to the community helped the brewery construct a historical connection to Port Rexton. When I asked what it was like to take over a community space that people were familiar with, Sonja said, “I think it was really awesome because it continued to then be sort of a focal point for the community. A lot of locals come here and enjoy coming here, getting together to drink a beer, you know, hang out, live music [...] It’s definitely still a gathering point.” Sonja also added that she had attended a middle school dance in the building. I was intrigued that the former life of the building had such an effect on its current function as a brewery.

I observed the brewery’s function as gathering place when I was in Port Rexton for my fieldwork. On September 24, 2018, I wrote in my field journal:

I went to the brewery to fill my growler. I had a half-pint (called “9:30 Knockout”) and chatted with Nicole, who was working the bar. It was about 6:30 p.m. and pretty quiet. Sunday night open mic had wrapped up a few weeks before, so there weren’t any events on. When I asked if she sees a lot of locals in the taproom, Nicole told me that the group sitting at one of the long tables (about 5 or 6 men and women in their 60s or 70s) had never met before, sat down together, and started chatting. “That happens all the time,” she said... In fact, every interview I have done has confirmed that the brewery is a local and tourist hang out (even if it is too pricey for locals to go every week). When I’ve asked, my interviewees have rattled off a list of locals that they see there all the time. The

only person who didn't was Jane [Assistant Brewer at Port Rexton Brewing], and that was only because she works mornings at the brewery so she isn't actually there when they are open to the public.

For residents of Port Rexton, the building's history is a lens through which they interpret the taproom as a "gathering point." For visitors from outside the town, the taproom is a representation of Port Rexton, as well as the bay in general. In the following section, I examine the ways the taproom conveys bay culture to visitors.

"A Cozy Bay Feel": Interpretations of the Port Rexton Taproom

At Port Rexton, I interpreted the decor and atmosphere as rustic, comparing the interior to a renovated barn. In contrast, Newfoundlanders had a different, culturally specific interpretation of the space. In the following excerpt from our interview, Kris Smith describes the Port Rexton taproom as a "fancy shed," and compares it to other taprooms in Newfoundland:

Natalie Dignam: Were there any places that you went where you felt like the atmosphere was inaccessible or kind of intimidating for people because it's such, like, a new industry?

Kris Smith: No, actually not really. Like I feel like maybe Port Rexton could have been that way if you're just looking at the bar and what's on tap, but I mean, the set-up is really, sort of like a fancy shed, really. You know, you have sort of the long saw picnic tables [...] I don't even hang out in my shed, but it does feel like a place that anyone could go. It's not like hipster decorated or anything like that. There are like nostalgic things there. But even the music played was pretty accessible... Places like Twillingate and Dildo are like a restaurant that anyone would go to [...] Twillingate was really sort of like a Bay club. Like a really nice, new Bay-type club or pub that you would see. Scudrunner seemed like someone's shed, there were picnic tables and it was a lot smaller of a space than Port Rexton.

In Newfoundland, the shed is characteristic symbol of bay culture. The stereotype is that Newfoundland men around the bay, despite living in perfectly nice houses, would rather relax in the shed in their backyards. In general, sheds retain a rustic appearance, although they may be decked out with dart boards, mini fridges to store beer, armchairs,

and perhaps a T.V. The shed also plays a big part in Newfoundland popular culture. The commercial radio station K-Rock FM has a Saturday music show called “Big Tom’s Shed.” In a tongue-and-cheek description of their “5-Star Shed” competition, the K-Rock website reads: “In Newfoundland a Shed symbolizes part of who we are as a nation – the Shed nation. Your Shed is a sacred place. It’s your home away from home, a place to hide, to entertain ... and we want to know everything about it.”²² The irony is that the shed should have comforts like recliners, but perhaps the recliners should be old or secondhand. The shed should not be overly decorated or refined, and has been considered a male-gendered space in the past.

The late celebrity chef Anthony Bourdain introduced the Newfoundland shed to a global audience on his show *Parts Unknown*. In the episode titled “Newfoundland,” which aired on May 13, 2018, Bourdain enjoys fish and brewis, a traditional Newfoundland dish, in a shed with chefs Frederic Moran, Jeremy Charles and David McMillan. On the *Anthony Boudain: Parts Unknown* website, the photo essay “Everybody Loves a Good Shed Party,” by Greg Locke, explains the role of fishing sheds, also known as stages, in Newfoundland culture. Locke writes:

Despite the demise of Newfoundland’s once-mighty fishing industry, the shed remains central to Newfoundland life. It is a place where people gather, cook, drink, play music, and catch up. The lights burn late into the northern night. No longer confined to remote fishing villages, the shed has moved to suburbs and cities along with their owners. They’re stocked with big comfy recliners, beer fridges, and big-screen TVs. It’s now a party room behind the house—and nowadays, women are welcome. (Locke 2018)

As Locke’s description shows, the shed was considered a male-gendered space and has only recently welcomed women. In my interview with Sonja and Alicia, I compared the

²² “K-Rock’s 5 Star Shed,” *K-Rock 97.5: Newfoundland’s Classic Rock*, <https://krockrocks.com/k-rocks-5-star-shed/> (accessed February 21, 2019).

Port Rexton taproom to a shed. The building itself is made of wood, and the wooden floors, wall and bar appeared rustic to me. The picnic tables, used armchairs, and old books and board games added to this impression. Their responses show that the shed is viewed as both a positive and negative aspect of Newfoundland's bay culture:

Sonja Mills: It has gone against us. People have said that in a negative way. But I think most people have said it in a positive way.

Alicia MacDonald: We've got- someone's called it Nan's kitchen. Kind of reminds them of like, Nan's kitchen. Just kind of that cozy Bay feel. But we were confined to work with what we were given in this building. So we tried to make it as fun as we could.

"Nan" is a Newfoundland term for grandmother. The term "Nan's kitchen" implies that grandmothers, and generally women, are the authority in the domestic space, while male culture is associated with the shed or outside the home. Suggesting that the taproom could resemble Nan's kitchen, as well as a shed is interesting because the taproom space exists beyond and between Newfoundland concepts of gendered spaces. It more rustic than inside the home, but more carefully decorated than a shed.

I was particularly intrigued that Sonja suggested the shed analogy could be negative. While the shed is described as part of bay culture, not everyone is a fan. The shed, and bay culture, have their own stereotypes.

Krista Austin said that people from the bay are perceived as "set in their ways" and not open to new things, so the growth of breweries in rural communities came as a surprise. In an interview with Shawn Dawson, a professional forager and owner of the Barking Kettle, a small farm in Torbay, NL, he also described people from the bay as being wary of new experiences. Shawn grew up in Calvert, NL and lived in St. John's before starting the Barking Kettle. Shawn has collaborated with Mill St. Brewery, Quidi

Vidi Brewery, and the Newfoundland Distillery Company to create beer and liquor featuring foraged ingredients. Like Krista, Shawn painted a picture of rural Newfoundland as slow to embrace new things. Shawn said, “People are finally realizing, what am I doing drinking Coors Light all the time? All the sheds around, people are just in there drinking Coors Light. But there’s a lot more people that are willing to spend an extra few dollars and buy good beer.” The imagery of Newfoundlanders drinking Coors Light, a macro beer, in their sheds illustrates this stereotype of bay culture as rigid, static, and “set in their ways.” To some people, the shed itself may represent these stereotypes about the bay.

Sonja and Alicia offered multiple interpretations of the Port Rexton taproom including “Nan’s kitchen,” a shed, and the space having a “cozy Bay feel.” What all these comparisons have in common is that they are describing private spaces. Traditionally, a grandmother’s kitchen and a shed are spaces in or around one’s home, into which one would have to be invited. The aesthetic of the Port Rexton taproom is one way for tourists to experience these kinds of private, rural spaces, even if the recreation of these spaces comes with a price tag because brewery taprooms are businesses. In the following section, I expand my analysis to include the ways that breweries host events and activities that offer Newfoundland cultural experiences typically only available in these types of domestic spaces.

Taproom Events: The Newfoundland Kitchen Party

Craft breweries host a variety of performances and activities in their taprooms, from open mics to board game nights. In this section, I explore the kitchen party, an event marketed as unique to Newfoundland culture. As the name suggests, the kitchen party is a

gathering that takes place in the kitchen of someone's home and often includes live music played by attendees. Kitchen parties are also promoted as a Newfoundland cultural experience by the tourism industry and are hosted by some bars and pubs in downtown St. John's, which feature live performances of traditional Irish or Newfoundland music. I expected craft brewery taprooms to be a natural site for kitchen party events because they have a casual, relaxed atmosphere and, like some pubs, are more family friendly than most bars. However, I found that only a few craft breweries market kitchen party events. I theorize that, outside of urban St. John's, kitchen parties are still associated with informal gatherings in domestic spaces rather than formally organized public events.

Secret Cove Brewing Co. in Port au Port, and Quidi Vidi Brewery in St. John's host Newfoundland kitchen parties. In episode 124 of the *Living Heritage Podcast*, "Aidan O'Hara has 'A Grand Time' in Newfoundland,"²³ I interviewed Aidan O'Hara, the recipient of the 2018 NL Folk Arts Society Lifetime Achievement Award. In the mid-1970s, O'Hara collected over 130 audio reel-to-reels and cassette tapes of songs, stories, and music on Newfoundland's Cape Shore. O'Hara and I discussed the Newfoundland kitchen party, also referred to as a "time," a kitchen racket, or a ceilidh:

Natalie Dignam: I think many Newfoundlanders would be familiar with what 'a time' is, but can you describe what that is?

Aidan O'Hara: Well, a time is called by various names in Newfoundland. You have kitchen rackets, you have ceilidhs, all over the world now the word from the Gaelic language has gone into the vocabulary. Generally, everyone pretty well knows what a ceilidh is. It's a house gathering and people have rambling houses and you ramble in. It's a kitchen party, and you have a good time.

²³ *The Living Heritage Podcast*, "Episode 124: Aidan O'Hara has 'A Grand Time' in Newfoundland," <http://livingheritage.libsyn.com/ep-125-aidan-ohara-has-a-a-grand-time-in-newfoundland> (ccessed July 15, 2019).

O'Hara's description of a "time" or kitchen party defines some important characteristics of the Newfoundland kitchen party: generally, it takes place in a person's home and a guest would need to have an established relationship with the host in order to "ramble in." In addition, O'Hara's research took place in the rural communities of the Cape Shore and the kitchen party is generally a rural tradition, whereas St. John's has a more established pub culture. Nevertheless, the kitchen party has become a marketable window into Newfoundland culture in St. John's, although tourists searching for the "authentic" kitchen party may be disappointed by the downtown offerings.

In "Do You Play Newfoundland Music?": Tracking Traditional Music in the Tourist Imaginary," folklorist Holly Everett analyzes tourists' expectations and musicians' perceptions of traditional Newfoundland music. In her research, Everett finds that tourists were surprised that they could not find kitchen parties once they arrived in Newfoundland, and musicians were equally mystified by this expectation. As Robert Walker, a musician in St. John's, explained to Everett:

You know, they [the tourists] hear of the famous kitchen party, but they think they can pay five dollars to get into a kitchen party somewhere. And I say, well, no, that would be obviously a private, family, invite-only right? (Everett 2016, 117)

Walker's description begs the question, if the kitchen party is taken out of the kitchen, is it still a kitchen party? In St. John's, Quidi Vidi Brewery's kitchen parties take place every Friday and are a mainstay of their year-round entertainment. Before Quidi Vidi's taproom was renovated in 2018, the kitchen party event on Fridays was the only time the taproom was open. Aside from Secret Cove Brewing in Port au Port, which opened in 2018, I did not find any other rural breweries that were labeling live music as kitchen parties specifically. My interview with Martha Nelson and Gavin Clark, operators of the

Skervink Hostel in Port Rexton, revealed the difference between kitchen parties, and events that simply mimic the atmosphere of a kitchen party.

As we sat in the main office of their hostel, Martha and Gavin described how the number of visitors to Port Rexton has increased significantly since the brewery opened in 2016. They have noticed more groups, such as students from Memorial University, coming from St. John's in the "shoulder seasons," or less popular tourist seasons of spring and fall. The focus of this research is this population of Newfoundlanders residing in St. John's that take trips to craft breweries in rural areas.

Gavin, who is originally from Scotland and moved to Newfoundland in 2015, described Port Rexton Brewing's weekly open mics as, "Not just a kitchen party. They're open to everybody, but it could turn into a kitchen party." Gavin's comment describes how the open mic event mimics the atmosphere of a kitchen party, but he specifies that the open mic event is different precisely because it is "open to everybody." Gavin's description, and the lack of events marketed as "kitchen parties" at rural breweries indicates that, outside of St. John's, kitchen parties are still primarily private events held in people's homes. In contrast, Quidi Vidi Brewery and Secret Cove Brewing are staging kitchen parties in their taprooms and opening an event that was limited to private, domestic spaces for tourist consumption. Through my research on kitchen parties, I discovered that Port Rexton Brewing is also organizing events that were once limited to domestic spaces, or only available to community residents. Two examples are a Tibb's Eve celebration, and card game nights to play "120s," a game associated with Newfoundland and Labrador. The trend of opening these culture experiences to people

outside the community, which includes other Newfoundlanders from more urban areas, is one way the brewery taprooms become sites to experience local culture.

Tibb's Eve Celebrations

Tibb's Eve is a Newfoundland holiday celebrated on December 23. In an article published in the newspaper *Northern Pen* on December 22, 2017, Paul Herridge interviews Dr. Phillip Hiscock, a professor in the Folklore department at Memorial University. Herridge writes:

As [Dr. Hiscock] explained it, sometime around World War Two, people along the south coast began to associate Dec. 23 with the phrase 'Tibb's Eve' and deemed it the first occasion it was acceptable to have a few Christmas tipples. In many of the outport communities, it became a day where the men would visit each other's homes for a taste. Because Christmas Eve was still a part of Advent and that observance was almost as sober as Lent, Dr. Hiscock indicated most traditional Christians would never consider taking a nip before Christmas Day prior to World War Two, which was even then perhaps a little early.²⁴

In an interview, Port Rexton Brewing co-owner Sonja Mills, who grew up in Clarenville, NL, described the holiday this way:

There's conflicting interpretations of where it originated, or how it originated, or what it's really supposed to be. I think it's of English origin, we have a lot of influences from England here [Newfoundland]... Anyway, the idea behind it is that people would, leading up the holidays, make their own booze. This was a way long time ago. And so you have your home brew, you would have your moonshine, whatever your booze was that you made at home. Then you wanted to test before getting into the holidays, so you would crack open some batches of your home brew, whatever the alcohol was, and it would end up being a party...now, it's basically become, everyone in the community, family, friends, gets together and parties.

Like kitchen parties, Tibb's Eve is usually a house party and an event that breweries have taken out of a private setting and into the taproom. As Sonja suggests, a brewery taproom

²⁴ Paul Herridge, "The Origins of Tibb's Eve," (December 22, 2017) in *The Northern Pen*. <https://www.northernpen.ca/living/the-origins-of-tibbs-eve-172334/> (accessed on May 1, 2019).

is a natural setting for a Tibb's Eve party because the holiday is centered on consuming alcohol, especially home brew. Folklorist Terra Barrett described Tibb's Eve as a night to party with friends before spending time with family on Christmas. During the week of Christmas, many people are in their hometowns to be with family, so Tibb's Eve is a time set aside for friends to reconnect. In my own life, I saw similarities between Tibb's Eve and American Thanksgiving. The day before the Thanksgiving holiday is a time I would go out and drink with my friends from high school since it was the only time of year we were back in our hometown. In my town, the day before Thanksgiving is also when high school reunions take place for this exact reason. People travel to their hometowns for both Christmas and American Thanksgiving, which makes the day before these family-centric holidays an ideal time to see friends who live in other states or provinces during the rest of the year. Like Tibb's Eve, Port Rexton Brewing also hosts a card game night that offers a glimpse into Newfoundland culture.

“120s”: Newfoundland's Card Game

Port Rexton Brewing also began hosting “120s” card game nights in the winter of 2019. On January 22, 2019, Port Rexton Brewing posted the following caption on their Instagram account:

If Newfoundland & Labrador had their own card game, it would be “120s”! This game had traditionally been played between family, friends and neighbors in homes or community halls. Since our taproom used to be a community hall in Port Rexton, we felt it was a perfect spot to host a monthly gathering for a night of playing “120s” this winter!

In this caption, the brewery points out that their taproom used to be a community hall, thereby presenting the building's history as one way they maintain a “traditional” venue for their card game nights. The Rooms, Newfoundland and Labrador's provincial art

gallery and museum, also hosts “120s” gatherings. On their website, The Rooms asks: “Have you always wanted to learn how to play 120's but have never had the chance? Join our enthusiastic volunteer instructors as they share their love of this iconic card game.”²⁵ As a provincial museum, The Rooms programming is intended to promote and preserve Newfoundland and Labrador culture. The inclusion of “120s” in their programming shows that this card game is considered a Newfoundland cultural activity. One difference between the game nights offered by The Rooms and those offered by Port Rexton Brewing is that the The Rooms program also features volunteers that will teach attendees the card game, while the brewery is providing a place for people to gather and play. This suggests that these program are aimed at difference audiences. The Rooms, as a museum, attracts visitors to Newfoundland who would not know how to play “120s”. On the other hand, Port Rexton Brewery is primarily catering to local residents or other Newfoundlanders taking trips from St. John’s, and thus both these groups would be more likely to already know how to play “120s”. Nonetheless, both The Rooms and Port Rexton Brewing are taking card games nights out of private homes and community halls into a venue where both local residents and visitors or tourists can participate.

Events like kitchen parties, Tibb’s Eve celebrations, and card game nights open these Newfoundland experiences to outsiders, such as urban residents in Newfoundland, or tourists from outside the province. Especially in rural areas, such as Port Rexton, these events would either be hosted in the home or in community halls intended for residents, not visitors. By offering events marketed as characteristic of Newfoundland, craft brewery taprooms become sites to experience local culture for visitors.

²⁵ *The Rooms*, “Learn to Play “120s”.” <https://www.therooms.ca/programs-events/for-adults/orientation-tours-workshops/learn-to-play-”120s”> (accessed July 13, 2019).

Conclusion

Craft brewery taprooms are fitting baycation destinations because they offer visitors an experience of place through beer crafted on site, décor and objects that highlight local history and culture, and events that make cultural experiences available to visitors. By transforming older buildings, while preserving the history of those buildings as part of the brewery's story, breweries draw on local culture to frame an experience for visitors. In the case of Port Rexton, the taproom appeals to a rustic, rural aesthetic as a way to root the brewery in bay culture. Craft beer enthusiasts are also visiting multiple breweries and creating vacations organized around taproom locations. For Kayla Johnson, visiting brewery taprooms is one way to explore rural Newfoundland. For Kris Smith, his brewery trips involve writing articles that compare them to each other in *The Racket*. For Krista Austin, craft breweries add another attraction to her motorcycle trips. These baycation trips, as I call them, are attracting a network of beer brewers and enthusiasts from within Newfoundland. In the next chapter, I explore how craft breweries connect Newfoundland consumers through branding and by incorporating foraged ingredients into their beers.



FIGURE 1.1. The Port Rexton Brewing taproom on my first visit to Port Rexton in June 2018.



FIGURE 1.2. Magazines, board games, brochures for local businesses, and information about local attractions in the Port Rexton Brewing taproom. June 2018.



FIGURE 1.3. Stacks of 2-row barley, a main ingredient in beer, in the Port Rexton Brewing taproom. On the windowsill, beer bottles from different breweries across North America hold local flowers. June 2018.



FIGURE 1.4. *Townie Bayman* by Judd Haynes.

<http://www.rehearsalsrehearsals.com/shop/product/townie-bayman-8-x-10-giclee-print/>.

Accessed on February 11, 2019.



FIGURE 1.5. The bar in the Port Rexton taproom. Photo courtesy of Bob Brown.



FIGURE 1.6. Close up of the photograph at Port Rexton Brewing taproom. Photo courtesy of Bob Brown. <https://bobsnewfoundland.ca/bonavista-peninsula/port-rexton-nl/>. Accessed February 2, 2019.

Chapter 2

Becoming Local: Craft Beer Branding in Newfoundland

Like many of my friends who buy beer from local breweries, I have a collection of glass growlers in my apartment. Growlers are reusable glass containers that breweries can fill from their bar taps. Customers at the Port Rexton Brewing Retail Shop have told me that they have dozens of different growlers from breweries they visited in Newfoundland and around the world. My small collection of growlers are all from Newfoundland and some of them are stamped with phrases such as, “Newfoundland: Born and Bred,” or “Craft Brewed in Port Rexton, Newfoundland.” The words printed on these growlers show that beer from Newfoundland is special, even before I pour it into a pint glass and taste it.

Field Journal, July 14, 2019

In this chapter, I expand my analysis beyond the ways that brewery taprooms convey ideas about place, to how craft breweries use branding, including brewery names, beer names, and the imagery on beer labels and merchandise, to connect with local identity. In addition, I examine how Newfoundland breweries sometimes incorporate foraged ingredients into their beers. They involve local residents in the production of foraged beers by open sourcing these ingredients and releasing calls for contributions of berries or crabapples on social media. Although the main ingredients to brew beer are imported from other parts of North America and Europe, adding foraged ingredients quite literally imparts local flavor into craft beer.

In this chapter, I examine how Newfoundland breweries use folkloric branding to present themselves as part of the culture of the island. Here I use folklorist Julie LeBlanc’s concept of “folkloric branding” (LeBlanc 2015). LeBlanc explains how microbreweries use folklore in their advertising to appeal to local consumers who

understand and identify with insider “cultural codes,” as well as outsiders who read the advertising as a representation of that group. LeBlanc states: “Using cultural codes, that is, items that convey messages to its group, microbreweries are able to appeal to a smaller and more local market while telling said group’s story” (LeBlanc 2015, 29). In her dissertation on the Montreal brewery Unibroue, LeBlanc analyzes Unibroue’s “reimaginings of historical Quebec, New France colonies, political rebellions, imagined communities, shared cultural traits and romantic heroic associations” (LeBlanc 2015, 2). LeBlanc asserts that Canada’s colonization of the province of Quebec led to the intentional recording and promotion of Quebec’s folklore, language, and culture. In relation to craft beer marketing, this meant that Unibroue’s branding would be recognized by Quebecois and would help them identify the beer as local (LeBlanc 2015, 29). I believe a similar process is at work in Newfoundland.

Like Quebec, Newfoundland maintains a regional, even nationalist, identity. There was also an effort post-Confederation to record and preserve the island’s heritage and culture as distinct from the rest of Canada. Newfoundland breweries tap into these constructions of Newfoundland identity through branding imagery, such as label designs and logos, as well as beer names. However, craft breweries are also framing Newfoundland’s beer scene as oriented towards contemporary Newfoundland culture and future growth. Much of the branding of Newfoundland craft breweries captures the tension between perceptions that rural heritage is dying or disappearing and the representation of these same areas as vitalized by new businesses and tourism.

I have divided my analysis of craft beer branding that represents Newfoundland identity into two categories. I consider the first category of branding materials to be

heritage-based branding. I theorize that these materials draw on the construction of Newfoundland identity created during the Newfoundland Studies movement of the 1960s and 1970s, which I discuss in-depth. This type of branding represents rural Newfoundland and outport culture, including heritage revivalist movements. In this heritage category, I include specialty beers brewed during the Christmas season in conjunction with the Newfoundland custom of “mumming,” a tradition where groups of people visit homes dressed in disguises so that hosts will have to guess the visitors’ identities. I also include beer names that draw on Newfoundland language and phrases and beers that incorporate foraged ingredients.

In the second category, I include examples of folkloric branding that represents contemporary life and challenges static representations of Newfoundland culture as situated in the past. I define “contemporary” as 2017 through 2019 because this is the timeframe I completed my fieldwork. I found that craft breweries are more engaged with new understandings of Newfoundland identity, rather than representing Newfoundland’s past. This surprised me because I thought the craft beer industry could easily draw on heritage tourism to frame the industry as local. In this category, I include the branding of a beer named “Next Generation,” a collaboration beer brewed by five Newfoundland craft breweries in 2019. I also examine the characterization of the bay as a recreational destination as represented in Port Rexton Brewing’s branding and merchandise.

Folkloric branding is dependent on the position of the consumer. Throughout my fieldwork, I found myself understanding craft brewery names, images and logos in new ways. When I first moved to Newfoundland in 2017, beer names such as Quidi Vidi’s Amber Ale, named “1892,” had little meaning to me. I later learned that 1892 was the

year that the city of St John's suffered a devastating fire. As LeBlanc found in her research, microbreweries that use folklore in their advertising appeal to local consumers who understand and identify with insider "cultural codes," as well as outsiders who read the advertising as a representation of that group. LeBlanc states: "Using cultural codes, that is, items that convey messages to its group, microbreweries are able to appeal to a smaller and more local market while telling said group's story" (29). Heritage-based branding relies on cultural codes that have been incorporated into tourist marketing, such as certain Newfoundland phrases, and are more likely to be understood by visitors as representations of Newfoundland culture. Contemporary branding, such as Port Rexton Brewing's representation of bay culture, is more likely to be understood by local residents or other Newfoundlanders because it represents contemporary Newfoundland life. I theorize that tourist marketing primarily depicts Newfoundland as rural and unchanging, a representation I analyze in-depth later in this chapter.²⁶

Tapping into the Local: Why Craft Breweries use Folkloric Branding

Craft breweries in Newfoundland import a majority of their ingredients, so these businesses use branding to frame their products as local. The main ingredients to brew beer (yeast, barley and hops) are imported into Newfoundland from other parts of North America or Europe.²⁷ As in coffee or chocolate production, craft breweries advertise the

²⁶ Although I focus on these two categories of folkloric branding to show how breweries frame craft beer as a local product, there are beer names, logos, and images which are not based on Newfoundland identity, but rather tap into popular culture references. One example is Port Rexton Brewing's beer "Blue Steel," a pop culture reference to the movie *Zoolander* (2001). "Blue Steel" is a sour kettle beer and might make a drinker pucker their lips, similar to the "blue steel" pose by the character Zoolander in the film.

²⁷ In The Overcast article: "Landwash Brewery: On Growlers and Growth," journalist Felicity Roberts explains that Landwash Brewery chose a warehouse space for their brewery partially because they would have room to store additional supplies. This is especially important in the winter in Newfoundland, when weather can delay incoming

location where raw ingredients are crafted into a final product, rather than the source of raw materials, as the product's location. While a chocolate company may label a chocolate as using cocoa from Ecuador, the chocolate company considers its home to be the place where it crafted those beans into a chocolate bar. Similarly, craft breweries in Newfoundland use branding to construct a connection to the place where the brewing process takes places, even though the raw ingredients to make the beer are not grown locally.

In contrast, both wine and craft cider production grow their raw ingredients on site in orchards and vineyards. This inherent connection to the land can lead to an expressive culture surrounding wine and cider that make it clear that these products are literally and figuratively homegrown. For example, folklorist Maria Kennedy's research explores how landscape and life in rural Britain is imagined through cider making. Kennedy describes "cider land" as "a living cultural phenomenon shaping the understanding of rural heritage in Britain" (Kennedy 2017, 2). She considers conservation of apple orchards to be "material embodiments" of this phenomenon (Kennedy 2017, 3). Although they often lacked a connection to the landscape, craft breweries connect with local identity in other ways. As Kennedy explains in the context of her research, "cider land" is also performed across a variety of expressive genres, including literature, crafts and landscape management (Kennedy 2017, 2). Similarly, craft breweries across North America rely on the branding surrounding beer in order to frame their product as local. For example, breweries focus on the fact that their beer is locally

shipments to the island. The logistics of importing ingredients is one way that craft breweries differ from other craft beverages like wine and cider.

brewed or use imagery and beer names that tap into local identity, even if the industry is new to the region or their ingredients are grown elsewhere.

In his research on craft breweries in Canada, geographer Derrek Eberts uses the term “neolocalism,” a cultural movement that emphasizes a connection to geography and place over globalized consumer culture, to describe the ways that breweries invoke a connection to their location (Eberts 2014, 193). Geographer Anne M. Fletchall also explored this phenomenon among breweries in Montana in “Place-Making through Beer Drinking: A Case Study of Montana’s Craft Breweries” (2016). Even though the craft beer industry was new to Montana when she completed this research, Fletchall shows how breweries present themselves as part of the local culture in the towns and cities where they are located by drawing on the state’s culture, history, and environment. In her research, Fletchall finds that “visiting a brewery can make a location personally meaningful, or a place, and thus meaning may come from many different aspects of a particular brewery: its name, logo, decor, beers, and most importantly, from its community function and local clientele” (Fletchall 2016, 563). Fletchall analyzes brewery names and logos to show “how such imagery works to construct a particular place identity” (Fletchall 2016, 542). In this chapter, I show how Newfoundland craft breweries similarly tap into “place identity” through folkloric branding that represents local people, places, and history.

The Construction of Newfoundland Identity

The Newfoundland Studies movement of the 1960s and 1970s informed the construction of a regionalist Newfoundland identity, shaping ideas about Newfoundland heritage. In *Observing the Outports*, historian Jeff A. Webb examines this movement

among academics at Memorial University, which focused on collecting and preserving rural Newfoundland culture and language. As Webb explains, the movement “was also part of a broader cultural reaction to a loss of nationhood and modernization that included a folk music revival, efforts to preserve built heritage, the growth of an indigenous theatre, and the emergence of a visual arts scene” (Webb 2016, 15). As discussed previously, efforts to preserve Newfoundland identity as distinct from the rest of Canada recall similar efforts described by LeBlanc in Quebec. The negotiation between preserving a distinct provincial identity and assimilating into the rest of Canada contributed to the construction of heritage in both these provinces. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes heritage as “something new in the present that has recourse to the past” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 149). Academics and artists involved in the Newfoundland Studies movement collected information on Newfoundland’s past in order to create the concept of Newfoundland heritage. Their efforts were a reaction to the loss of independence and fear that the island’s culture would be replaced by modern Canadian culture.

As Webb points out, Newfoundlanders voted to join Canada by a slim margin, and the loss of political independence led to a fear that cultural identity would be lost as well (Webb 2016, 24). In addition, Premier Joseph Smallwood’s efforts to modernize rural Newfoundland between 1949 and 1972 also led academics to believe that the outport way of life would quickly disappear, and they therefore must collect stories, songs, and customs for preservation (Webb 2016, 22). I believe that in many parts of rural Newfoundland, the prediction that outport culture would disappear came true. The moratorium on the cod fishery in 1992 was in many ways was a definitive end to a way

of life in Newfoundland, even though the fishery had been in decline for decades (Overton 2007, 60). Academics at Memorial University sought to collect and preserve research on rural life before it disappeared.

During the 1960s and 1970s, academics, students, and local artists and musicians also defined characteristics of Newfoundland identity for the general populace. James Overton claims that one consequence of the “nationalist or regionalist movement that emerged in the 1970s” was the creation of “romantic attachment to rural Newfoundland, a kind of populist celebration” (Overton 1996, xii). This “populist celebration” was manifested in cultural revivals in music and the arts, as well as academic interest in Newfoundland heritage. One of the products of these efforts is the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, which has been used by academics, writers, poets and artists to represent the island (Webb 2016, 25). As Webb points out, the academic work on Newfoundland identity also reached the population of the island through art, theatre, and a folk music revival:

Artists and musicians often took inspiration and practical aid from faculty members at Memorial who had documented the oral culture of Newfoundland, and younger members of the faculty and graduate students became part of the broader cultural movement. (Webb 2016, 25)

By creating the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, academics of Memorial University created a tangible cultural resource from language, an intangible part of the island’s culture. In the 2000s, Newfoundland & Labrador Tourism continues to draw on this research. A series of nine videos from 2015 explain Newfoundland words and phrases,²⁸

²⁸ Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, *Newfoundland and Labrador Language Lessons* (June 30, 2014) <https://www.youtube.com/user/NewfoundlandLabrador/playlists> (accessed April 25, 2019).

such as “some day on clothes”²⁹ and “I dies at you.”³⁰ Of course, correlation does not mean causation, but I theorize that without the foundational collection, preservation, and interpretation done by researchers of the Newfoundland Studies movement, the Tourism Department would not have a handy dictionary of unique Newfoundland words and phrases to draw from for their promotional ads. In a broader sense, I suggest that the collection and interpretation of rural Newfoundland culture following Confederation in 1949 contributed to the construction and presentation of heritage in Newfoundland today.

In the following section, I examine cultural production in heritage-based branding in the craft beer industry. I consider the progression from the collection and preservation of folklore, to heritage revival that educates people in their own folklore practices, to the creation of tourist products that harness and market this cultural knowledge.

Heritage Revival and Mummers Brew

Folklorist Maria Kennedy defines revival as “instances where chains of performative transmission from person to person are broken” (Kennedy 2017, 27). One example of revival in Newfoundland is the commodification of mummering, a Newfoundland Christmas tradition that involves making home visits while in disguise. Mummer revival efforts began with academic interest in mummering at Memorial University in the 1960s. In 1983, Simani, two musicians from Fortune Bay, released “Any Mummers Allowed In?,” a song folklorist Gerald Pocius identified as central to the revival of mummering, as well as the broader nativist movement in Newfoundland (Pocius 1988, 58). Pocius describes mummering as “a powerful identity symbol of

²⁹ “Some day on clothes” means nice weather, or a good day for clothes to dry on a clothesline outside.

³⁰ “I dies at you” means “you are funny.”

cultural revival” in Newfoundland (Pocius 1988, 57). He explains that everyday practices become objectified during periods of nativism, and that mummering is an example of a practice that became central to Newfoundland cultural identity as a result of the nativism of the 1970s (Pocius 1988, 59). Mummering has literally been objectified in Newfoundland through the production of mummer-related products, transforming a tradition into a souvenir. In recent years, craft breweries have capitalized on the cultural recognition of mummering as distinctly Newfoundland by releasing specialty “Mummers Brew” beers.

In the online article “Return on the Mummers,” folklorist Emily Urquhart describes the act of mummering as follows:

Mummering, which can also be called janneying, mumming, or guising, varies across Newfoundland and Labrador in form and persistence. But generally it goes like this: after mummers knock on someone’s door, the host invites them in. It would be unneighborly to say no, and some think it would be bad luck to turn mummers away. Once inside, it’s the host’s job to guess the mummer’s identities, which is a feat since they’ve also taken pains to mask their voices, their gaits, and even their genders. When the mummers are revealed, they pull up their masks and are offered a cordial-like drink called syrup, although they often prefer something stronger. The mummers might perform a song, or a dance, or play a tune using instruments they’ve carried with them, but soon they disappear back into the wintry night from where they came, heading to the next house where they’ll do it all over again. (Urquhart 2016)

Disguises are an important part of mummering. Common costumes include pillowcases and lampshades to hide one’s face, bras worn on top of clothing by men and women, and pillows underneath clothing to disguise one’s body. Additionally, some carry hobby horses with clacking nails for teeth. While the modern iteration of mummering emphasizes the festival-like atmosphere of the tradition, drunkenness and aggression are also part of its history. Urquhart describes the past tradition of mummering in St. John’s as “often rowdy, dangerous, and highly alcoholic” (Urquhart 2016).

Mumming was officially banned in 1861 because participants' disguises enabled them to commit acts of violence, often between different Christian sects, or incite political unrest. However, mumming continued to be practiced in many communities after 1861 and the ban was lifted in the mid-1980s (Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Website, 1999). Although drinking and sharing alcoholic drinks in people's homes was an integral part of the mumming tradition, drunkenness and violence are downplayed in contemporary representations of mumming in favor of colorful costumes and family-friendly parades. The "Mummers Brew" beer highlights the role of alcohol in the mumming tradition. As the name suggests, mummers would imbibe in alcoholic "brew" throughout the evening as they moved from house to house.

"Mummers Brew" is actually two different specialty beers with the same name, produced by Yellowbelly Brewery and Quidi Vidi Brewing during the Christmas season. On April 24, 2019, Matt Powers, Quidi Vidi Brewery's Retail Shop Supervisor, said that Quidi Vidi first released "Mummers Brew" in 1998. The original label depicted mummers dancing in a kitchen, a reference to visiting people's homes and the carnival-esque atmosphere. The recipe was changed and the beer was re-released in 2013, this time with a label that only depicted the beer's name without illustrations. In 2011 Yellowbelly released their version of "Mummers Brew," also with a label depicting mummers dancing in a kitchen (Conway, 2012). These beers were released when mumming revival efforts were already well underway. The Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador held their first Mummers' Parade in St. John's in 2009. For a decade, the Heritage Foundation has organized a family-friendly mummers' parade in St. John's that is open to the public, as well as workshops to create mumming

costumes. However, historically the tradition was not always so peaceful. Before mummers were used as a symbol of Newfoundland culture and hospitality, mummering costumes could represent fear, violence, and wariness of strangers (Fraser 2009). In the early 2000s, the practice of mummering was almost extinct in rural communities, while the production of heritage in the form of the Mummers' Parade, mummer workshops, and mummer-related products like Christmas ornaments and limited-release craft beers took off.

During her research, Urquhart observed the multitude of mummer-branded products in souvenir shops in St. John's in the form of ornaments, snow globes, figurines, magnets, and more. It is not surprising that craft beer has similarly co-opted this symbol of Newfoundland identity and cultural revival, and by doing so highlights the role of alcohol in the tradition. The Heritage Foundation has even begun including a pub crawl in their mummering activities, although it is probably less rowdy than the mummering house calls of the past. The "Mummers Brew" beers are one example of how revival efforts can coincide with the commodification of heritage as businesses tap into these powerful cultural symbols through branded products. While mummering is not an active tradition in many rural communities anymore, there continues to be recognition of mummering as a symbol of Newfoundland cultural identity. In the next section, I examine how craft breweries also use language in their marketing, beer names, and brewery to connect to Newfoundland identity.

Lexicon as Commodity: Newfoundland Language and Beer Names

As discussed previously, language is a prominent part of the construction of Newfoundland cultural identity. The creation of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*

established Newfoundland language as a distinguishing characteristic of the island's culture and it holds a prominent place in the tourism industry. Ronald Seary, head of the Department of English at Memorial University from 1953 to 1970, was one of the first scholars to promote Newfoundland language as the focus of academic work. Seary was interested in researching Newfoundland place names, dialects and language while at the same time instructing students to write and speak mainstream English (Webb 2016, 37). However, Newfoundland's language continues to be preserved as heritage and studied by linguists. It has also become commodified by the tourism industry, while being recognized as a marker of rural origins and a working class background.

I saw this first-hand when I worked as a sales employee at the Heritage Shop on Duckworth Street in St. John's. Here it became clear that Newfoundland's language had become a commodity in the form of tea towels, mugs, and sweatshirts branded with Newfoundland phrases, such as "some day on clothes" (nice weather) and "what ya at, b'y" (how are you). No longer of interest solely to educators and academics, capitalizing on Newfoundland's language is part of the tourism industry.

I expected that Newfoundland breweries would use similar language as these other tourist products. However, I found that while breweries still tended to highlight the island's language by naming beers after local history, places and customs, they were less inclined to use the same words and phrases highlighted by the tourism ads. If they did, these highly visible Newfoundland phrases were combined with a pop culture reference or transformed in some way. For example, Split Rock Brewing released a beer named "Sour Patch B'ys," combining the well-known Newfoundland word "b'y," meaning "boy" or "person," and Sour Patch Kids candy. Through these clever beer names, craft

breweries re-introduce Newfoundland language that has been commodified back into the local lexicon, invigorating language sold as heritage with new meaning. For example, Quidi Vidi's session IPA named "Dayboil," which refers to drinking during the day,³¹ uses a Newfoundland phrase to allude to the beer's relatively low alcohol content of 4.5%. Although this term is not in the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, I believe it is a reference to a "boil up," or boiling a kettle of tea in the woods in the winter. The "boil up" is a custom more commonly associated with rural areas, and the "dayboil" with St. John's urban pub culture. The "boil up" and "dayboil" exemplify the divergent, but similar customs of bay (rural) and townie (urban) cultures in Newfoundland. Locals will understand the literal meaning of a "dayboil," as well as the connotation of urban St. John's pub culture and the contrasting rural tradition of the boil up. These references to Newfoundland slang tap into cultural codes, offering a representation of the island to visitors while conveying a deeper meaning to insiders, who will understand the slang itself and the clever transformation of the same language often used in tourism products.

Newfoundland place names, like the island's slang, have also been the subject of academic research and continue to hold interest for breweries. Craft breweries construct a historical connection to their location by explaining the history of place names and thereby creating a sense of continuity between a community's past and the establishment of the brewery. Through place-based naming, craft breweries explicitly situate themselves as part of a community's past, creating a history for their brewery despite

³¹ Felicity Roberts, "A Guide to Dayboiling in St. John's: Four Bars. Two Townies. One Goal. To Find The New Heart Of The Affordable Daytime Buzz Downtown" (June 23, 2018) in *The Overcast*.

being a new industry to the area. Dildo Brewing prints this text, stylized after a dictionary entry, on the back of their glass growlers:

Dil·do - A small fishing community in Newfoundland and Labrador, 100 km from St. John's.
[dild o]
Originally inhabited by our Beothuk ancestors, the Town of Dildo was then founded in 1711, offering settlers an abundance of cod, whales and seals for harvest.

Dildo may have more of a reason to focus specifically on their namesake than other breweries. The brewery offers a historical explanation for the town's name, beginning with the Beothuk, the original inhabitants of Newfoundland when white settlers first arrived from Europe. The second paragraph on the growler notes some other possibilities for the town's name:

Perhaps we were named for the Spanish term "Dos Islas" meaning "two islands" which can be seen steaming south into our harbour. As is often the case with place names, "Dos Islas" could have evolved into Dildo Island. Or maybe it comes from the 18th century term dildo, meaning a cylindrical object or nautical pin used in the oar of a boat. Whatever the case, British explorer Captain James Cook thought it was a fitting name for this picturesque harbour as he mapped most of the coast of Newfoundland.

This second explanation connects with the area's history as a fishing town by referencing a boat part, defined as "nautical pin used in the oar of a boat." Lastly, the text slyly refers to the other definition of dildo by stating that the name "does make for a great conversation starter." As this label recognizes, Newfoundland place names are considered a part of Newfoundland heritage, especially the more unique examples.

Similarly, Ninepenney Brewing offers a historical explanation for their brewery name. Their growler reads: "The name is born from our ancestor's love of beer and pays homage to the English pubs where stories were told, beers were shared, and journeys began. It also makes a subtle nod to the nine communities that came together to create

Conception Bay South.” In this instance, the statement “our ancestor’s love of beer” refers to emigration between England and Newfoundland. This is one representation of Newfoundland as essentially culturally English as it was a colony of Britain until 1949. Secondly, the name refers to the more recent history of amalgamation of smaller communities in Newfoundland into larger towns, such as the nine communities that make up Conception Bay South.

The island’s unique language is promoted as a defining characteristic of Newfoundland identity. Craft breweries use slang, place names, and clever twists on well-known Newfoundland phrases to situate craft beer as local. In the next section, I analyze how craft breweries are bringing uniquely Newfoundland flavors to their beer. Although the main ingredients to brew beer (yeast, barley and malt) are imported from off the island, craft breweries have experimented with adding foraged ingredients to their beer as an alternative way to create a physical connection to the landscape.

Foraging and Craft Beer

Between 2002 and 2005, folklorist Holly Everett researched the role of berries and berry picking in the construction of the province as a tourist destination (Everett 2007). While berry picking is one highly visible example of foraging in Newfoundland, the culinary tourism surrounding foraged foods has grown to include a wider selection of wild ingredients, as well as increased availability. Visitors and Newfoundlanders alike can eat foraged foods like chanterelle mushrooms at restaurants, or participate in foraging tours where they pick their own berries, mushrooms, or seaweed.

On a cloudy morning on January 9, 2019, I met professional forager Shawn Dawson at the Georgestown Cafe in St. John’s. Shawn, who also owns a small farming

business outside of St. John's named The Barking Kettle, has collaborated with various breweries, restaurants, and a small batch distillery. Some of the beers and liquors Shawn has helped create are: Mill Street's Chaga Mushroom Porter, Mill Street's Spruce Tip Indian Pale Ale (IPA), a cranberry and rosehip beer from Mill Street, Quidi Vidi's Pineapple Weed New England IPA, and a chaga rum with the Newfoundland Distillery Company.

Shawn has been foraging food since childhood. He grew up in Calvert on the Southern Shore in Newfoundland, where he learned to pick berries, dandelions and mussels. In 2016, Shawn learned how to forage mushrooms from books and began selling them to Chinch and Raymonds, two upscale restaurants in downtown St. John's. In addition, chefs would ask Shawn for specific ingredients, such as a local herb named sweet gale, and this would lead him to conduct his own research and add those plants to his repertoire. He views the growing popularity of foraged ingredients in craft beer as part of the overall culinary movement in Newfoundland towards using more local ingredients:

When I first did it, it was only Chinch and Raymonds buying the mushrooms off me, but in the past three years, I've noticed such a movement in the food. The tourists are coming here to eat now. They know that Newfoundland is using wild ingredients and they want to taste the fish and all that.

Shawn pointed out that internationally-acclaimed restaurant Raymonds had a significant influence on the culinary scene in Newfoundland and the increasing popularity of wild ingredients. Even outside the gourmet food scene, the practice of foraging has also seen a resurgence in popularity. As Shawn explained:

When I was doing it, people thought I was super weird. I would spend all my time going into the woods. I was always skateboarding and my friends would call me to go skateboarding, but I'd be in the woods, like I can't. People thought I was a

bit strange at first, and even the parents and stuff, they knew I was always into it, but you can't pick berries for ten hours, you got to go out and get a job. But it was weird and now, like you said, it's super cool.

The use of wild ingredients in restaurants combined with an increase in the practice of foraging among Newfoundlanders and tourists made foraged beers a natural addition to Newfoundland's craft beer offerings. One of the more unique characteristics of the Newfoundland craft beer and liquor industry is the practice of open sourcing for foraged ingredients. The Newfoundland Distillery asked Shawn to forage juniper berries for their gin, but also released a call on social media for people to bring them juniper berries. As Shawn explained to me, "everybody grew up picking berries." Similarly, Quidi Vidi Brewery produced a series of foraged beers in the summer of 2019 called "Open Saison" and put out a call for crabapples on social media. Shawn told me that although he did pick some apples for them, it was a "bad year for crabapples" and Quidi Vidi would not have been able to produce this beer without the contributions of everyone who foraged for them. Without the collective effort and knowledge of Newfoundlanders and the continued practice of foraging on the island, foraged beers would be less common because they often rely on community involvement.

Like the produce and crafts on sale at the local Farmers' Market, people are willing to buy craft beer because it is produced in Newfoundland. As Shawn told me: "There's a lot more people that are willing to spend a few extra dollars and buy a good beer...There's not a ton of money here right now, but people are still willing to come to the Farmers' Market and buy local." Craft breweries use of foraged ingredients show how the industry is both drawing on Newfoundland heritage and customs for their branding,

events and even flavors, while also tapping into current trends like the increased popularity in wild ingredients.

Beers featuring foraged ingredients are at an interesting intersection between heritage-based beer that draws on Newfoundland customs, and experimental brewing that taps into current culinary trends. In the next section, I explore the ways craft breweries have engaged in folkloric branding that reflects contemporary Newfoundland culture, complicating the established presentation of Newfoundland identity.

Contemporary Newfoundland Culture in Craft Beer Branding

In the following examples, I show how Port Rexton Brewing is complicating the representation of rural Newfoundland identity by drawing on contemporary bay culture in their branding. Port Rexton Brewing's folkloric branding references local people and places, but resists static or quaint representations of the island. Some of the marketing materials released by the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Tourism, Culture and Innovation, such as the department's promotional videos, present Newfoundland as a place you can "go back to," as if travelling to Newfoundland can transport visitors to a simpler time. The ads feature subdued music, beautiful nature scenes of whales, icebergs, and sunrises, boats, and the ubiquitous clothesline with white sheets or patterned quilts. The videos do not show technology like cell phones or cars. They only hint at the fact that most Newfoundlanders are not fishermen.³²

Newfoundland is not the only place where rural life is presented as existing in a simplified past while these communities face instability and change. Maria Kennedy's

³² My opinion of the Newfoundland and Labrador tourism videos was informed by watching the promotional videos on the department's website. <https://www.youtube.com/user/NewfoundlandLabrador/videos> (accessed on April 25, 2019).

research also considers the construction of rural identity through the “cider poetic,” or cider making and the cultural performance surrounding craft cider production in Britain. Kennedy explains that as Britain’s countryside grapples with globalization and instability, “the cider poetic represents an active arena for refashioning of rural heritage discourse” (Kennedy 2017, 28). I think Newfoundland craft breweries are also “refashioning” rural representation through beer branding.

For example, I was inspired by Port Rexton Brewery’s annual collaboration beer, produced with the breweries that opened on the island in the past year. I have discussed examples of folkloric branding of individual breweries, but the collaboration beer is a way to examine how multiple craft breweries come together to represent Newfoundland. The label of the 2018 collaboration beer, named “Next Generation,” reads:

Next Generation is a celebration of the growing NL craft beer community with new microbreweries collaborating to create and brew a new beer together, promoting positive vibes all around. We’ve invited all new breweries that opened in 2018 to join us in this fun new beer series.

The beer label depicts an artistic rendering of a map of Newfoundland with red triangles that mark the locations of the breweries (Figure 2.1). On this map are minimalist graphics, which are also printed on Port Rexton’s merchandise. If this beer is a tangible embodiment of Newfoundland’s craft beer industry in 2018, the label is a composite representation of Newfoundland identity. On the map, graphics of a cruise ship, a hiker, icebergs, a camping trailer, a kayaker, moose, and lighthouses represent the island as an outdoors destination. The cod fishing trawl, codfish and lobster signify Newfoundland’s fishing industry, but these symbols are a small part of the label and are shown side-by-side with images of recreation, such as hiking, kayaking and cruise ships. In this context, cod fishing appears to be more of a cultural past time than an industry, which it has

become by necessity of the 1992 cod moratorium (Hirschfield-Shibley 2017, 21). These images show a move away from solely connecting Newfoundland's environment with fishing towards a more general representation of nature and outdoors recreation.

Cultural Codes: Understanding the "Next Generation" Label and Port Rexton Branding

In this section, I consider the images depicted on the "Next Generation" label and similar graphics printed on Port Rexton Brewing's merchandise (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3). These graphics are an example of how cultural codes can convey different levels of meaning to different consumers. Geographer Derrek Eberts interprets cultural codes, or "cultural signals," as inherently tied to place. Eberts theorizes that craft brewery marketing utilizes cultural signals that connect to consumers' sense of identity, which is often tied to place (Eberts 2014, 192). Based on this premise, Eberts posits that craft breweries often have a difficult time expanding beyond their geographical consumer base, such as producing beer at a national level, because their branding is not understood by consumers in other places (Eberts 2014, 197). In my own experience, I found that Newfoundland brewery marketing used insider cultural codes that were unclear to me as an American. In previous examples, I discussed the use of Newfoundland language and slang that would hold greater meaning for those with a greater understanding of local culture. My own process of moving from an "outsider" to an "insider" understanding of craft brewery marketing helped me understand that the target audience of this branding is other Newfoundlanders.

After taking multiple trips to Port Rexton for my research, reading about Newfoundland culture, and interviewing brewery co-owner Sonja Mills about these images, I gained a greater understanding as a local, or at least Newfoundland resident, of

the brewery's branding. At first, I understood Port Rexton Brewing's branding as a tourist. I saw the branding as a representation of rural Newfoundland and different recreational activities a visitor could participate in, such as hiking or mountain biking. As a researcher, I understood that images relating to the fishery have a significant historical context. From an insider perspective, I began to recognize local landmarks in this imagery.

While outsiders may be able to identify some of these images and connect them to Newfoundland, some are also specific landmarks in Port Rexton. For example, Newfoundland is well-known for large numbers of moose and has long been a tourist destination for its wilderness and natural beauty (Pocius 1994). Therefore, the graphics of the moose, evergreen trees, and the bears fit this construction of Newfoundland as an outdoors destination for hikers, hunters, and fishermen. Ocean images, such as the boat, kayak, and lighthouse allude to Newfoundland's island geography.

However, these symbols may have another meaning to Newfoundlanders familiar with the area; the boat is a cod fishing trawl and the cabin is actually a specific fishing shed located in Ship Cove, NL. On the glass, a particular rock formation called a sea stack, also seen on the Skerwink Trail, is depicted (see Figures 2.4 and 2.5). As my example shows, Port Rexton's merchandise can be interpreted differently by different consumers and, as LeBlanc suggests, convey cultural codes to different audiences. For residents of the Bonavista Peninsula, the brewery's merchandise depicts well-known landmarks. For those less familiar with the area, these graphics represent the bay as a destination for outdoors activities like hiking, camping and fishing. In addition, I found

this specific graphic design interesting because it is an excellent example of Dean MacCannell's touristic markers.

Markers of Bay Identity

In contrast to the representations of rural Newfoundland as frozen in time, Port Rexton Brewing has constructed an image more in line with contemporary bay culture and the transformation of the Bonavista Peninsula into a thriving rural economy attracting young Newfoundland entrepreneurs.³³ In this section, I apply Dean MacCannell's theory of touristic markers to show how the graphics of Port Rexton Brewing's merchandise are representations of actual places in Newfoundland, as well as symbols of contemporary bay identity. In *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, MacCannell analyzes the modern tourist from a sociological perspective. In the Introduction to the 1989 edition, MacCannell states:

My approach was to undertake a study of tourists, to follow and observe them with seriousness and respect, as a method of gaining access to the process by which modernity, modernization, modern *culture* was establishing its empire on a global basis. (xxvii)

One aspect of the tourist experience that MacCannell analyzes is how tourists experience and understand tourist attractions, whether that attraction is a monument or an entire city. In the chapter, "A Semiotic of Attraction," MacCannell posits that tourists experience attractions through markers. He explains: "I have adapted the term marker to mean information about a specific sight. The information given by a sight marker often

³³ Chris O'Neill-Yates, "It's the perfect place for us': Millennials flock to rural Newfoundland" (February 2, 2018) <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/millennials-rural-newfoundland-trend-lifestyle-bonavista-trinity-1.4344151> (accessed July 16, 2019).

amounts to no more than the name of the sight, or its picture, or a plan or map of it”

(MacCannell 2013, 110). In the following example, MacCannell applies his theory of markers to the tourist attraction of San Francisco:

Sightseers do not, in any empirical sense, *see* San Francisco. They see Fisherman’s Wharf, a cable car, the Golden Gate Bridge, Union Square, Coit Tower, the Presidio, City Lights Bookstore, Chinatown, and, perhaps, the Haight Ashbury or a nude go-go dancer in a North Beach-Barbary Coast club. As elements in a set called ‘San Francisco’, each of these items is a symbolic marker. Individually, each item is a sight requiring a marker of its own. (MacCannell 2013, 111-112)

Port Rexton Brewing’s graphics are “markers” of Newfoundland. Some of these graphics are, as MacCannell proposes, pictures of specific attractions, such as the lighthouse. Other graphics do not represent a specific landmark, but are references to sights and attractions people can expect around the bay, such as moose, evergreens, or fishing sheds. As Port Rexton Brewing’s Sonja Mills explains, these images also show less typical representations of Newfoundland. For example, Sonja pointed out that they have a surfer on their sweatshirts and that many people would not know that people surf in Newfoundland. In my time living in St. John’s, I have not encountered any other representations of surfing in the province. As Sonja said, “We’re [Port Rexton Brewing] trying to be more about, here are all the cool things you can do here.” Including activities like surfing, as well as markers more typical of bay tourism such as fishing sheds in their branding is one way that Port Rexton Brewing negotiates recognizable and new, contemporary representations of the bay.

Through these minimalist graphics, the images are able to express cultural identity in Newfoundland: the popular pastime of camping; the importance of cod fishing as part of the island’s cultural identity; specific natural landmarks in the area; and the popularity

of outdoor activities like mountain biking, hiking, and kayaking. These images are significant because they show the bay as a destination that offers outdoor activities, not as a place that exists to present or preserve Newfoundland's rural heritage. Throughout my research, I found that craft breweries are engaged in folkloric branding that draws on constructions of Newfoundland heritage, but also challenges those same ideas by reimagining contemporary Newfoundland by representing rural areas such as the bay.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I considered the ways craft breweries simultaneously integrate Newfoundland's past and present into their branding, events and even flavors. As a new industry to the island, craft breweries creatively frame their products as local through heritage branding such as mummers and the island's unique language. At the same time, breweries like Port Rexton embrace their newness by reinterpreting representations of rural Newfoundland as a region in decline. The entrepreneurial energy of these small breweries is captured in the ways they present themselves and their communities as vibrant, or as desirable baycation destinations. In the following chapter, I reorient my analysis from the outward presentation of the craft beer industry in Newfoundland to its inner workings and explore what it is like to be a craft brewer in Newfoundland. I found that people working in the industry often collaborated with local consumers, forming overlapping networks of beer drinkers and brewers.

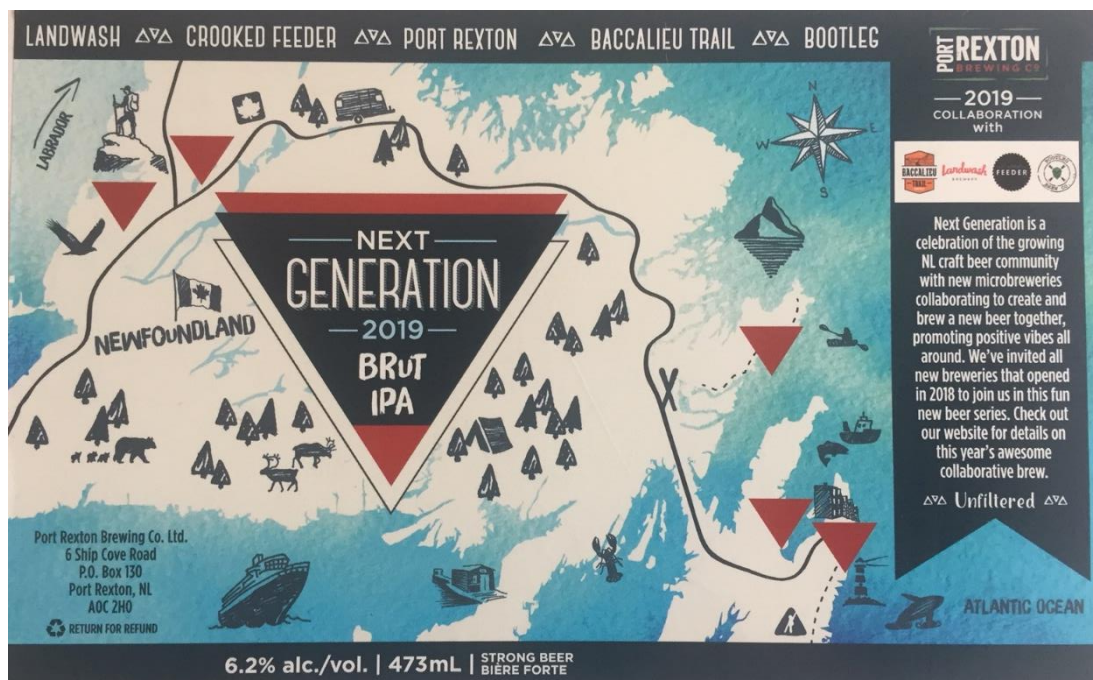


FIGURE 2.1: The label for a can of the beer “Next Generation” layed flat. The red triangles are locations of craft breweries in Newfoundland. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)



FIGURE 2.2: Port Rexton Brewing’s “tek” glass and a can of the “Next Generation” Brute IPA. This photo shows the similar graphics on the glass and beer label. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)



FIGURE 2.3: Port Rexton Brewing’s stainless steel growlers feature the same minimalist graphics as the glassware. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)



FIGURE 2.4: Close up of the “sea stack” graphic on Port Rexton Brewing’s glassware. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)



FIGURE 2.5: Two sea stacks seen from the Skerwink Trail in Port Rexton, NL. September 2018. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)

Chapter 3

“Brewers Don’t Spit”: Inside the Newfoundland Craft Beer Industry

This chapter is a look inside Newfoundland’s craft beer industry between 2017 and 2019. As I expand upon further, beer brewing retains craft characteristics because brewers have creative control of their product, i.e. the beer, and they have material knowledge such as their palate that cannot be replaced by machinery. I base my analysis on historian Glenn Adamson’s definition of craft as “the application of skill and material-based knowledge to relatively small-scale production” (Adamson 2010, 2). As Adamson points out, craft and handicraft typically consist of a few familiar categories; “ceramics; metalwork... the various textile arts; glassmaking; and woodworking” (Adamson 2010, 2). Using this broader definition, Adamson aims to “draw connection across a much wider range of activities” (Adamson 2010, 3). Similarly, I consider why craft brewing is indeed a craft industry.

I contextualize this analysis within the history of beer brewing on the island of Newfoundland, and in Canada as a whole, and present what it is like to be a contemporary craft brewer in Newfoundland. I also delve into defining characteristics of the craft beer industry, including noncompetitive collaboration between breweries and community involvement.

The Brewing Process

This chapter is not a technical analysis of brewing, but rather an examination of the skills and techniques of the brewing process. This description is generalized because craft breweries have various levels of mechanization. Some breweries have a designated

lab to test the consistency and quality of their beer, while others complete lab testing in the brewhouse to determine ABV (alcohol by volume) and IBU (International Bitterness Units), or how bitter the beer will taste. The following description is based on my personal experience brewing beer.

On a brew day, the brewer will grind the grains for their batch of beer using a grain mill. Barley is a main ingredient in most beers, but oats, wheat, corn and other grains can also be used. Next, these grains are mixed with water and heated up in a piece of machinery called a mash tun. After a certain amount of time, usually sixty to ninety minutes, the grains are stirred by hand using a paddle or by using a mechanized paddle to release the sugars from the grains. This creates a mixture called the wort. The wort is then recirculated to release more sugars. Recirculation is usually done by siphoning off some of the liquid into a smaller container through a hose that feeds the wort back into the mash tun. Lastly, in a process called sparging or lautering, boiling water is added to the mash tun to extract the rest of the sugars from the grains. The process of boiling the grains and water, mixing the wort, recirculating the wort, and sparging is called “mashing in.”

In the sparging process, the liquid separates from the grains and creates a grain bed on the bottom of the mash tun. Most mash tuns have a false bottom that looks like a metal screen. The liquid wort filters through this false bottom, leaving used or “spent” grains behind. The wort is transferred into the kettle, a large metal container used to boil the wort, via a hose. The kettle also has a hatch on the top where brewers add additions to the beer. This is the point in the process where hops are commonly added.

After the boil, the wort is transferred to a fermentation tank and cooled. Most breweries use glycol chillers, which circulate glycol between the metal walls of the fermentation tank in order to cool the beer quickly. The temperature of the beer depends on the style being brewed, so some beers are cooled to a lower temperature than others. Once cooled for fermentation, the brewer adds the yeast and may add other additions to the beer. During fermentation, which lasts about two weeks for most beers, brewers can add more hops in a process called “dry hopping,” which makes a beer have a hoppy aroma and hazy appearance. Fruit or other additions, like lactose for milkshake style beers or lactobacillus for sour beers, can also be added during this stage. After the fermentation time, which can vary depending on the style of beer, the beer is transferred to kegs using hoses and carbonated with CO₂. Finally, the beer is ready to drink!

While this explanation describes the brewing process at a modern craft brewery, brewing done at home follows the same basic steps, but some home brewers do not have CO₂ tanks and bottle their beer after fermentation. In this case, the beer is carbonated by the yeast, which creates CO₂ in the beer bottle as it consumes the sugars provided by the grains.

Craft Origins: The History of Brewing in Canada

In North America, beer brewing began at home. Much like cooking, colonial women in North America would brew ale, a weak beer, for their families (Heron 2003, 19). In “Folk Crafts,” Warren E. Roberts defines brewing as a “household craft” in early America: “Other household crafts include such tasks as brewing, soap making, and candle making. Prior to the religious revivals of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century ale was brewed in many households and drunk at home as well as in inns and

taverns” (Roberts 1978, 250). As the temperance movement gained popularity in Canada and the United States, brewing and distilling were taken out of the home and into the capitalist marketplace. In *Booze: A Distilled History*, historian Craig Heron describes the beginning of small-scale production of beer in Canada in the early 1900s: “Although brewing had often been women’s work in early modern Europe, British North America’s brewery workers were all men. Owners hired one or more craftworkers for the job—maltsters, brewmasters, and brewers— all whom generally learned their trade through apprenticeships” (Heron 2003, 22).

Like the rest of Canada, Newfoundland also established breweries in the late-1800s and early-1900s. The three main Newfoundland breweries during this time period were Bennett Brewing, Newfoundland Brewing Limited, and Bavarian Brewing, established in 1827, 1893, and 1932, respectively. Chris Conway, creator of the *newfoundlandbeer.org* blog and co-owner with his wife Christina of Landwash Brewing in Mount Pearl, NL, has spent years documenting Newfoundland’s beer history. Before opening Landwash Brewery in 2018, Chris had been pursuing a PhD in history in Toronto. He is an experienced home brewer, but at Landwash he is responsible for operations, while Christina, who attended a professional brewing program in Ontario, is the head brewer. In an interview in October of 2019, Chris and I sat on the second floor of Landwash Brewery, overlooking the brewing tanks and taproom. Chris described how Newfoundland brewing companies recruited head brewers from Germany to come to the island in the early 1900s:

People have assumed that Newfoundland would be an English beer culture. But we really don’t have much precedent for that. Whenever a Newfoundlander was setting up a brewery, even going back to the 1900s, they would try to get a German person that was professionally trained because Germany had a really

strong beer culture and Newfoundlanders liked the lagers that they'd make. So traditionally, all the beers that you'd find here were German influenced more than English influenced and that culture kind of changed.

Chris explained that in 1962, all of the independent Newfoundland breweries were brought by Molson or Labatt, larger Canadian brewing corporations. These large corporations still produce versions of Newfoundland beers brewed before 1962 solely in the province. Chris calls these beers the “nostalgic-macros,”³⁴ five mass-produced beers with a loyal following in Newfoundland. The continued production of these beers speaks to the island's consumer culture, which values Newfoundland-branded products that are manufactured on the island and cannot be purchased elsewhere in Canada.³⁵ Another example of this phenomena is pineapple soda by the company Crush, a popular flavour only available in Newfoundland.

Chris and I agreed that the craft beer industry is fundamentally different from these large-scale macro breweries. The craft beer industry is focused on small-scale production and experimentation instead of producing a single consistent beer. I consider the technical knowledge and creativity needed to be a craft brewer in Newfoundland, and further analyze its designation as a “craft.”

“The Perfect Blend of Art and Science”: Brewing as a Craft

To analyze beer brewing as a craft, I drew on David Shuldiner's research on sheet metal work and his criteria for craft occupations. In “The Art of Sheet Metal Work: Traditional Craft in a Modern Industrial Setting,” Shuldiner interviews his father Max, who has over thirty years of experience as a sheet metal worker. Shuldiner contrasts

³⁴ The “nostalgic macros” are: Blackhorse Lager, India Lager, Jockey Club, Blue Star Lager, and Dominion Ale.

³⁵ Chris Conway, “History,” *newfoundlandbeer.org*, <https://newfoundlandbeer.org/timeline/> (accessed on May 15, 2019).

industrial sheet metal work and craft sheet metal work, which primarily takes place at small shops. According to Shuldiner, the following characteristics make sheet metal work a “craft:” workers craft the product from start to finish; the work requires a wide range of skills; workers feel a “sense of creativity and pride of workmanship;” and the work involves “more than technical mastery” (Shuldiner 1980, 37-38). In the article, Max’s description of installing an air conditioner in an office building with complicated wiring demonstrates the craft component of his job (40-41). In this scenario, Max creates an original design and crafts the air conditioner unit from start to finish. In addition, Max references an Abraham Lincoln fable as inspiration for the solution to this difficult installation, and thus relies on folk wisdom, not just technical skill, to solve the problem. Trouble-shooting problems with creative solutions cannot be learned in a manual.

Shuldiner describes many modern sheet metal jobs in “the age of the assembly line” as “highly mechanized and automated” and “confined to repetitive detail” (37). The contrast between the work being done in small sheet metal shops and the modern industrial work in larger operations is similar to modern beer brewing. Although I tried to interview employees of large brewing corporations, their employee contracts forbade them from disclosing their brewing process. However, I imagine that large breweries still have brewers taste their beer to determine consistency, but the production process is much more mechanized. In addition, macro breweries typically produce the same beers over and over again, rather than experimenting with recipes like in the craft brewing industry.

In contrast, the craft beer industry requires brewers to be more hands-on, not only by tasting each batch of beer and creating recipes, but also by physically moving bags of

grain and kegs. Despite the use of industrial equipment such as mechanized mash tuns, craft brewing is a craft because workers maintain creative control of the product from start to finish. Brewers create recipes, troubleshoot problems, name the beers, and are sometimes present to interact with patrons as they enjoy the final product. To understand the occupation of craft beer brewer, I interviewed Les Perry, the co-head brewer at Port Rexton Brewing, and Jane Tucker, co-owner of Port Union Electric Brewing Company. At the time of our interviews in September 2018, Jane was also working as an assistant brewer at Port Rexton Brewing. Both Les and Jane described technical mastery and creativity as important aspects of their jobs.

On September of 2018, I interviewed Les in his home in Port Rexton. As we sat in his basement, where Les was in the process of constructing an at-home bar, we talked about his experiences as a brewer in Newfoundland. Les grew up in Nova Scotia and moved to St. John's in 2003 to attend Memorial University. During that time, he began working at the Quidi Vidi Retail Store and started home brewing in his free time. Soon after, Les began brewing professionally at Quidi Vidi Brewing Co.

Both Les and fellow brewer Jane Tucker described brewing beer as a creative pursuit. In our interview, Les said:

I always feel like brewing is a big mix of art and science. It's very technical, you have to have your numbers right and everything like this, but you can't always design a recipe and put everything on paper and it's just going to work.

Like Les, Jane first experimented with brewing her own beer before becoming a professional brewer. She has a background in environmental science and enjoys the scientific aspects of the job, but she also views brewing as a creative outlet. Jane explained:

It is the perfect blend of science and creativity. I've talked to other brewers as well who have similar backgrounds as me and are like, I'm sort of into music and I'm kind of into art, but I've never had my own creative outlet. And then they find brewing, and it hits all the marks.

As Jane's comment shows, while knowledge of the brewing process is important to the job, brewers must have more than technical mastery to brew craft beer. In the following section, I identify craft brewers' "material knowledge," as Adamson describes the skills that are beyond the technical mastery of a craft. I focus on the sensory knowledge of taste that brewers perfect as part of their job.

Sensory Expertise: Brewers Don't Spit

One reason that small scale brewing retains characteristics of craft is the occupation's reliance on brewers' material and sensory knowledge. Physically, brewers haul the grain, stir the mash (the mixture of water and grains that eventually becomes beer), lift kegs, and transfer the beer from the boiling hot kettle to the fermenting tank. Brewers also taste the beer at almost all stages of the brewing process to detect off flavors, smell the beer as it boils in the kettle, and listen to the loud thrum of the kettle heating the water, grains, and hops to make sure the machinery is working properly. A brewers' well-tuned sense of smell, touch, sight, hearing, and especially taste cannot be replaced by a machine if the beer is to be considered *craft* beer.

Most importantly, brewers typically taste the beer at every stage of the brewing process, from the non-carbonated, unfermented liquid to the finished product. Even larger craft producers practice this. My childhood friend, Ashley Howard, spent a summer working as a lab technician at Bell Brewery in Michigan, a craft brewery with a relatively large annual production of over half a million barrels of beer. In the spring of 2019, Ashley and I texted about her job and her thoughts on the brewing industry. Although

Ashley does not work in a Newfoundland brewery, her experience in the United States helped me understand how important a brewer's palate is, even at large craft breweries.

Ashley said:

Most smaller breweries rely on the brewers to do small amounts of quality work like ABV/gravity testing, yeast health, IBUs... Well even at large breweries every batch is still tasted. Since there are compounds that the lab doesn't test for. Humans can do a better job than equipment often.

Brewers in Newfoundland also personally taste their beer. In an interview at Mill Street Brewery in downtown St. John's, brewer Nardia McGrath told me that unlike winemakers, "Brewers don't spit. You have taste buds at the back of your mouth that can taste different flavours." Nardia has extensive experience in both the wine and beer industries. She is the head brewer at Yellowbelly Brewing in St. John's, NL. Previously, Nardia worked in a high end wine store in Australia. She started to acquisition craft beer for the store, and decided to attend a 3-month brewers training program in the United Kingdom. Nardia worked as a brewer in Connecticut, U.S.A. and New Brunswick, Canada before moving to Newfoundland in 2012.

I experienced the kind of beer tasting brewers like Nardia do all the time the day I brewed at Port Rexton Brewing on July 26, 2018. At the end of our brew day, Port Rexton Brewing's Alicia MacDonald poured small tasting glasses of un-carbonated beer straight from the fermentation tanks for me and the other brewers. At the time, I thought this was unusual, but after interviewing Ashley and Nardia, I realized that a highly trained palate is an important skill for a craft brewer.

Although Les did not have formal training as a brewer, he is a Certified Cicerone. This designation is similar to a sommelier in wine, and shows that a person has mastered beer tasting. The Cicerone Certification website states: "The Certified Cicerone exam

allows individuals to quickly demonstrate that they possess a professional body of knowledge and essential tasting skills related to beer.”³⁶ There are four levels Cicerone; the Certified Cicerone is the second level. Les told me that the test was very challenging and required a written portion on the history of different beer styles, as well as a tasting portion where the test-taker identified off-flavors in beer. A brewer must taste beer to determine its quality, even in breweries equipped with a full lab. Brewers’ ability to taste and identify different flavors, and determine if the beer is ready to be sold is a necessary skill. In fact, while the brewing process involves technical knowledge, innovation, and creativity in order to create recipes and work with equipment, I consider the sensory knowledge, specifically taste, required by beer brewers to be the skill that defines brewing as a craft. Taste is a skill honed by brewers, and formally tested through programs like the Cicerone Certification.

While material-based skills are part of what make brewing a craft occupation, the job can be physically demanding, especially in small breweries where brewers, not machines, do the heavy lifting such as hauling heavy kegs and bags of grain. While our conversation largely explored his day-to-day responsibilities as a brewer, Les also shared how having a hernia has posed additional challenges because brewers are so hands-on with their work. Les told me, “It’s hard, especially when you’re in a workplace and it’s a job you’re passionate about. It’s easy to push yourself too far sometimes.” At Port Rexton, Les said that he’s able to get help from the other brewers, use a dolly, or adjust

³⁶ Cicerone Certification Program, “Cicerone Certification Levels,” <https://www.cicerone.org/us-en/cicerone-certification-levels> (accessed December 1, 2018).

his own lifting method. At Quidi Vidi, a larger craft brewery in St. John's, Les found it more difficult to work with his injury:

Unfortunately, at Quidi Vidi, the nature of the brewhouse itself was -- I have a hernia right now, so I can't lift kegs. The way that they fill kegs, their apparatus, you had to like lift and move them. On a much larger system, you're pumping out 180, 200 kegs a day, and when I can't lift, I couldn't work in there. So when I got a hernia, I had to take a step back away from brewing and do some more office stuff and different things like that. But, where we're a smaller system here at Port Rexton, I'm able to brew even with an injury like that. We have other people that can move the kegs and do that stuff... and we fill them on the ground and I can move them on a dolly, so I don't actually have to physically pick them up. I was able to continue doing a brewing job out here that I wasn't able to do at a much larger brewing just based on the nature of the equipment.

For Les, his passion and love of brewing has brought him from homebrewer to head brewer, but the pleasure of doing a job he enjoys has not come without challenges. As Les points out, it's the small production size of Port Rexton that allows him to continue brewing, although the job is no less hands-on. In the following section, I explore how the occupation of craft brewer in Newfoundland resembles other crafts in that many brewers learn professional brewing on the job from master brewers, rather than through formal brewer training programs.

Tradition, Transmission, and the Master Brewer

While craft beer is known by consumers for its innovative flavours and styles like milkshake beers or fruited sour beers, the mode of transmitting brewing knowledge, at least in Newfoundland, is still traditional. I am using the word "traditional" as it is used in the field of folklore, meaning that a skill is transmitted or passed along from one person to another. Lynne McNeil offers this concise definition in her book, *Folklore Rules*; "Traditional simply means passed on, whether that's over many generations or over just a few days, resulting in the same expressive form cropping up in multiple places" (McNeil

2013, 13). In “Folk Crafts,” Roberts bases his much stricter definition of craft (specifically, folk craft) on the element of tradition. Roberts states:

Certain general requirements will determine when a craft is a folk craft. The element of tradition is more important than the element of age... In order to be a folk craft, too, a craft must have been in fairly general use and not restricted only to the upper layers of society where learned, academic, or sophisticated models of transmission exist... Finally, crafts in which primarily one man creates and designs the finished product have better claim to consideration as folk crafts than those involving mass production...
(Roberts 1973, 234)

Furthermore, Roberts also differentiates between an occupation and a folk craft, arguing that “craft demands, on the whole, a greater degree of training and skill than does an occupation” (Roberts 1973, 235). Roberts’ definition of craft is useful as a reminder of how the field of folkloristics has conceptualized craft in the past as strictly bounded by a traditional mode of transmission, meaning person-to-person or master craftsman to apprentice (Roberts 1973, 234). This conception of folk craft also seems to have been influential in occupational folklife research in the 1970s, where craft is considered an activity that happens alongside or outside the bounds of an occupation.³⁷ Unlike Roberts, I apply a broader definition to craft in order to explore craft within the occupational setting.

As a folklorist, I am interested in how brewing knowledge is transmitted in the occupation of brewing. Two main themes emerged from my interviews with Newfoundland brewers. First, many brewers begin their journey to professional brewing by teaching themselves to home brew. This may not seem all that surprising, but Chris

³⁷ For example, in “Rob Theisse: Industrial Folk Sculpture” (1978), folklorist Bruce Nickerson considers the ways his informant Rob Theisse engages in craft outside his job as an industrial metal worker by creating belt buckles and metal figurines. Nickerson does not consider craft components within the occupation of metal working.

Conway pointed out that this is actually a stark departure from how the brewing industry in Newfoundland worked in the past. While breweries sought professionally trained German brewers in the 1900s, many craft brewers on the island in 2019 do not have this level of professional training or certification from a brewing program. At the time of our interview in October, 2018, Chris said:

I don't know if anybody, except for [Christina and myself] has professional experience... Most people are coming from a home brew background or a learn-it-yourself, or, you know, maybe help out in a brewery for a couple of weeks and learn the ropes a little bit then go open your own. So that's a totally different world from a kind of pedagogical tradition of German beer-making to this more DIY [do it yourself] mindset that follows most local brewers now.

Secondly, I learned that many Newfoundland brewers learned their professional skills on the job. Below is a segment of my conversation with Les:

Les Perry: It's difficult to get in a brewing job if you don't have brewing experience or brewing school. Most of the people I know that have done brewing stuff, they've either gone to school for something and got hired into it, or they started as a bartender or they started as a retail thing like that.

Natalie Dignam: So you really learned on the job?

LP: Mostly, yeah. Pretty all there, a lot of research at home, but all of my technical hard skills came from working in the brewhouse and I had been doing some home brewing and stuff like that.

Jane Tucker also described the transition between home brewer to professional brewer in an interview in September 2018 on my visit to Catalina: "All the concepts are the same as home brewing... I remember Sonja asking after my first brew day, how was it? How does it compare to home brewing? I was like, it's the same goals." Jane and I agreed that while home brewing uses different equipment that may not look similar to the set up in a professional brewery, the process is similar. For example, a home brewer will use a modified cooler as a mash tun, which has little resemblance to the large metal tank in a

professional brewery. In both instances, the cooler and the mash tun are both used to steep the grains in hot water to release their sugars.

I wondered if home brewers would be able to continue to transition from home brewing to professional brewing without formalized brewing education as the craft beer industry matured in Newfoundland. Les said that the ability to learn brewing from a master brewer on the job is not the same in other provinces:

Province to province it's very different. Like, you'll see in Ontario, where the market is much different, so there's a lot more breweries and they actually have a brewing school there. Quite often people will put call outs for brewers with either industry knowledge or school. Where, over here, it's been a little more organic that you're seeing brewers in places. Like there are certainly people that have brewing education...

When I asked Port Rexton Brewery co-owner Sonja Mills if she thought brewers would need formalized training in the future to enter the industry, she replied that the “market forces” will dictate which breweries are successful, not the level of formal education attained by brewers. In this scenario, consumers will naturally seek out better beer, and breweries with inferior beer will be less successful. As Sonja points out, working or volunteering at a brewery is another way people can gain this knowledge instead of attending a brewing course or program:

I don't think in the [United] States it's required and that's a much more mature industry... I think what you will see is that it will be an option, you don't have to have the education but your success will be reflected in how well you do. If you can make really good beer and you don't need to go to school to make really good beer and you've got all the business experience and you volunteered, there's no reason why you should have to do that. But if breweries open that don't go through that process and they only make okay beer because they don't know all the ins-and-outs of making it on this level with consistency and all that stuff, then they'll suffer by making bad beer.

At Port Rexton, Les and Jane both learned to brew beer first by home brewing and then on the job. In contrast, Chris Lacour, the co-head brewer at Port Rexton, attended a

brewer certification program in Alberta. By Roberts' definition, this combination of formal and informal training may exclude professional beer brewing from crafts. However, I looked to Adamson's definition of craft as, "the application of skill and material-based knowledge to relatively small-scale production" (Adamson 2010, 2), rather than the mode of transmission. In any case, I consider beer brewing a craft either way. As I explore in the following section, Les and Sonja identified this combination of informal home brewing experience, on-the-job training and formal training as a particular strength at Port Rexton.

Brewing Backgrounds: Creativity and Trouble-Shooting

Les and Sonja both described how the combination of formal training, home brewing experience and working experience in the industry are advantageous at Port Rexton Brewing. Sonja Mills described how the transition to canning beer at Port Rexton Brewing has drawn on the skills of all the brewers there:

As soon as you start packaging into cans, you have to care about shelf life and shelf stability [of the beer]. So you need have things a lot more dialed in. You need to be able to repeat your recipes to create the same ABV [alcohol by volume] every time... To create that consistency, you really need to have your process and your procedures and your knowledge really dialed in. So Chris on our staff, he's formally educated, so he provides a lot more information and knowledge to our whole team, and Les' experience, and Alicia's experience all together combine to allow us to package [our beer] into cans.

As Sonja notes, packaging craft beer into cans is a big step for many craft breweries that have a small team and, often, a more hands-on process than larger, more mechanized breweries. For instance, at Port Rexton Brewing Co., brewers stir the grains in the mash tun by hand. If a different person stirs the grains from one batch of beer to the next, it can affect the beer's flavour and alcohol percentage. More vigorous stirring will release more sugar from the grains, the yeast will have more fermentable sugar to turn into alcohol,

and the alcohol percentage will be higher. Therefore, creating the consistency necessary to package beer into cans with pre-printed labels denoting the alcohol percentage can be tough for some craft breweries.

The team's different backgrounds can be particularly helpful when something goes wrong in the brewhouse because Alicia, Sonja and Les can offer different perspectives and creative solutions. Les said: "Sometimes things go wrong. Sometimes, our glycol chiller heats up a little bit too much and the beer doesn't crash³⁸ and you have to get creative with the stuff, so having both backgrounds in the brewhouse, it's amazing."

The unpredictability of the brewing process and difficulties with equipment are what makes a brewer's creativity, and ability to collaborate such a valuable assets. The transition from a recipe on paper to brewing the beer is not always smooth. In a craft brewery, where new recipes are being made all the time, having brewers with technical knowledge and creativity is essential to actually bringing a good, high-quality beer to the consumer. The following story about one of Port Rexton's beers, named "9:30 Knockout," demonstrates the necessity for creative troubleshooting. Les described how they were able to create "9:30 Knockout," despite a brew day gone awry:

We just released a beer -- "9:30 Knockout." And the whole story behind that -- like the "knockout" is the end of the boil when you start cooling the beer and sending it to the fermenter. The reason we called it "9:30 Knockout" is that was supposed to happen at like 4:30, 5 o'clock and it didn't happen until 9:30 [p.m.] because of some equipment failures, some of this, some of that. Basically, if anything could have gone wrong, it did go wrong that day. So it ended up adding five extra hours so the day, so we kind of wear that as a badge of honor rather than like, anything else. You know, things happen... and the beer was good, so it didn't matter, so here's the story. If it wasn't good, we wouldn't have sold the

³⁸ To "crash" or "cold crash" a beer means to cool it down before kegging or bottling it. This process gives the beer more clarity because the yeast, hops, or any grains sink to the bottom of the fermentation tank.

beer. But we were trying to figure out other names, fun names for it, and we were like, ah screw it, let's just own up to what happened that day.

As Les explains, the brewers consider their extra five hours of work a “badge of honor” because, at the end of the day, they were able to make a high-quality beer despite their technical difficulties. By giving the beer this name, the brewers at Port Rexton reinterpret what could have been considered a failure -- a failure to brew the beer as it was supposed to be done -- as an example of their skill and creativity as brewers. In addition, that extra five hours of work, highlighted in the name of the beer, also shows the team's commitment to work on a batch of beer until it's not only done, but also tastes good. As Les points out, “If it wasn't good, we wouldn't have sold the beer.” I reorient my analysis in the next section to a typical day at Port Rexton Brewery. I focus on how patrons' ability to observe the brewing process affects brewers at work.

Performing Craft: A Brewer in the Taproom

We arrive at 7 a.m. through the backdoor into the brewhouse. The ceilings are low and the space is dim and filled with metal tanks of different sizes. Jane, the assistant brewer, is kneeling by one of the tanks with a hose, emptying a yellowish sludge into a bucket. Alicia [co-owner of Port Rexton Brewing] explains that she is extracting the yeast from a finished batch of beer to reuse in a new batch. Past these tanks is a long plywood table with handwritten notes and recipes spread across its surface and pinned to the wall. There are plastic drawers full of bolts and a binder of what I assume to be recipes. Past this table are the largest tanks, which are probably twenty feet high. This space is open to the second floor (the taproom). Visitors can look down on us as we stir the grains in the mash tun, fill kegs, shovel spent grain, circulate the wort, and do everything else a brewer does.

Field Journal. July 26, 2018.

I wrote this passage after I spent a day brewing with Alicia MacDonald and Chris LaCouer of Port Rexton Brewing. For a day, I experienced what it was like to be a brewer at Port Rexton. I shoveled spent grains from the mash tun, I helped fill kegs with beer, and I also noticed what it was like to be observed as I brewed.

The Port Rexton brewhouse is located in the same building as the taproom, a renovated schoolhouse. The brewhouse space is on the first floor, and the taproom is on the second floor. A large portion of the taproom floor was removed to accommodate the largest tanks. There is a clear plastic barrier surrounding this area with a ledge for patrons to rest their drinks. The taproom feels like an observation deck where visitors can look down on the brewers doing their work. Like glass blowers or basket weavers, brewers are observed by tourists as they practice their craft. This may not be the case at every brewery, but at Port Rexton, performing your job as a brewer in front of an audience is part of the occupation.

In *The Tourist*, Dean MacCannell explores tourists' fascination with observing others at work, proposing that occupational displays are meant to showcase regional identity through occupations, obscuring social and economic inequality by turning work into a touristic experience, and portraying human and machine labor as "inextricably linked" (MacCannell 2013, 62). In the section, "Work Displays," MacCannell explains;

The worker-as-tourist is permitted to 'look down' on his comrades... to offer remarks and suggestions expressive of great expertise and experience or moral superiority... There is a restructuring of the workplace in response to its display; it is neutralized or modernized; practical joking stops; the 'girlie' calendars come off the wall; traditional male solidarity is broken up. (MacCannell 2013, 62-63)

Obviously problematic is MacCannell's assumption that the work space is a male space. The implication that "girlie" calendars and male solidarity must be shielded from public view suggests that the kinds of male solidarity MacCannell is describing are misogynist expressions that objectify women, like MacCannell's visual example of the 'girlie' calendar. The tourists may be people (i.e. women and children) who disrupt this type of male expression. Port Rexton Brewing is owned by a lesbian couple, has one female

assistant brewer, and also employs a majority of women in the taproom, so to call MacCannell's generalization of a male-dominated, hyper-masculine workspace is quite off-base is an understatement. However, MacCannell's point that tourists' presence changes the occupational setting is important to consider.

Drawing on Erving Goffman's concepts of front-stage and back-stage regions, MacCannell describes different kinds of occupational touristic settings (MacCannell 2013, 100). For example, a broom closet would be, according to MacCannell, an authentic backstage because it is not altered to be viewed by outsiders. The Port Rexton brewhouse, on the other hand, would be somewhere between "a back region that is open to outsiders" and "a back region that may be cleaned up or altered a bit because tourists are permitted an occasional glimpse in" (MacCannell 2013, 101-102). MacCannell claims that back regions open to outsiders are staged, but the brewhouse at Port Rexton is a workspace that is not entirely staged.

For example, on a tour of the brewhouse in 2018, I had noticed that some brewing tanks were labeled with pieces of painter's tape. Les explained that brewers nicknamed the different kettles and fermenting tanks. He described how one tank, dubbed "Dave Matthews," got its name:

It gets named very organically. It won't stick, the name, until we've got it. Like our two pumps are Jeff and Jeffery, we have a long hose called Lenny, which is Lenny Kravitz because it looked like a bunch of scarves around the tank one time...Dave Matthews the tank. Oh, yeah because it was being really annoying for little while. A few things have names, and the other stuff there, it'll get a name when it needs a name.

Brewers at Port Rexton individualize their workspace, which consist of the same kettles and tanks produced at the same factory in Prince Edward Island, named DME (Diversified Metal Engineering), as many of the craft breweries currently operating in

Newfoundland. The “Dave Matthews” tank functions as a joke among the brewers, describing the tank with a culturally significant and humorous moniker which did not have meaning to a patron of the taproom like myself until it was explained to me. The joke is for the brewers’ enjoyment, not for the patrons observing them at work. With Les’ help, I understood that the Dave Matthews tank was named that because it was “really annoying,” and that the brewers similarly consider music by the Dave Matthews band to be annoying. The Lenny Kravitz hose is a reference to a much circulated paparazzi picture of the musician Lenny Kravitz wearing an oversized scarf that became so popular it was transformed into a meme (Figure 3.1). However, some aspects of the brewers’ informal culture remains unclear to me; I do not know the meaning of the pumps named Jeff and Jeffery. Even though the brewing area is exposed to observation, these in-jokes are part of an informal workplace culture among brewers at Port Rexton that fosters solidarity and creates separation from onlookers.

In addition, even though the brewhouse is physically constructed like a staged area for outsiders to observe, the brewers themselves are not necessarily performing for the onlookers. In my interview with Les, I described my experiences of being uncomfortable with tourists watching us brew, only to do the same intentional watching when I spent time in the taproom. Similarly, Alicia MacDonald said that she felt like a zoo animal when people observed her brewing, a sentiment that I related to as well. Les said that he had adjusted to the presence of onlookers in the taproom:

When I first started here, it was a year ago last week, and the taproom wasn’t open during the week, so I was never really exposed to working while there was people there until the summer, and at first it was super stressful because we were closed last winter, so we worked the exact same way whether there was people there or not. But at first it was really strange and I felt like I was hypersensitive to people watching me and then after a month or two it just became part of the job,

part of what's happening every day. There are people there, they stare, eventually you don't even notice it.

Aside from being sensitive to the presence of people in the taproom, Les describes his job as a brewer as unchanged. As Les says, they “worked the exact same way whether there were people there or not.” However, interacting with tourists did add a new dimension to Les' job as brewer. MacCannell generalizes tourists' interactions with workers as negative, positioning these interactions as a way for tourists to feel superior to workers. However, this is not always the case. Les said, “Usually I- if people are yelling over the side, I just do my thing and work. But if they're asking intelligent questions or something like that, usually I'll say, hey, I'm off work at five, I'm going up for a beer if you want to talk more about it, super happy to chat.” Les did not speak negatively of interacting with onlookers, and voluntarily would engage with those asking “intelligent questions.” Les said he does not appreciate it when people try to distract him, or simply yell remarks at him, when he is trying to focus on a task that requires all of his attention, like standing on a ladder to add hops to a batch of beer. In contrast, when I first met Les on my trip in Port Rexton in June 2018, he was wrapping his workday and was happy to chat when my husband Ethan and I engaged him conversation. After explaining my research plans, Les even gave us a tour of the brewing area.

I found patrons' desire to engage with Les to be particularly interesting because it showed that visitors to the taproom recognized that the brewhouse was not merely a show, but a place where work was being done. In addition, the onlookers are not merely conflating the work being done by Les with the work of the brewing machinery. Rather, they express their recognition of Les' expertise as an individual and a brewer through their efforts to engage in conversation. In my interpretation, it is easy to see that Les and

other brewers are perceived by onlookers as craftsmen who are highly skilled and knowledgeable.

Open workspaces like taprooms with viewing access to the brewhouse floor, and open kitchens are common across North America. While MacCannell explains the theoretical consequences of this kind of touristic viewing of occupational spaces, such as obscuring socio-economic concerns by transforming work into spectacle, people's experiences of these kinds of workspaces may not easily conform with this interpretation. In my conversations with Les and Alicia, it was a matter of adjusting to the gaze of an audience rather than altering their work. However, Les does interact with onlookers by answers questions when he feels inclined, which interrupts the brewing process and changes his work.

In Newfoundland, all of the taprooms I visited had a visible brewing area. Often, brewers are at work while the taproom is open. As of May 2019, both Quidi Vidi and Port Rexton Brewing are in the process of constructing warehouses that will function as larger, off-site production facilities away from the taprooms and onlookers. As I spoke with Les and Alicia, I thought about how the work conditions at the production facility would more closely resemble brewing in the off-season, when the Port Rexton Brewing taproom is closed to visitors during the week and brewers go about their work without an audience. An occupational study comparing the in-house brewing facilities and off-site production warehouses would further illuminate how a brewers' job changes when they are not on display to taproom visitors, providing more information on the positive and negative aspects of highly visible workspace in craft breweries.

In this section, I have examined the ways brewers engage with their work environment and each other. One of the most interesting characteristics about the craft beer industry is the level of collaboration with people outside the industry. In the following section, I explore how craft breweries engage with different groups, from home brewers to the local fire department.

Collaboration and Community Involvement

In Newfoundland, craft breweries collaborate with each other by brewing beer together, putting on events, sharing recipes, and sharing business strategies. For consumers, one of the most obvious examples of brewery collaboration is the Newfoundland Craft Beer Festival. I attended the 2019 beer festival in St. John's and observed almost all the breweries on the island in attendance, in addition to breweries from other provinces in Canada. I found it interesting that breweries do not only collaborate for consumers' benefit, such as putting on a beer festival or featuring beer on a "guest tap" so that drinkers can try many different kinds of beer. Craft breweries also share information among themselves to improve their beer and businesses in a noncompetitive way.

For example, the day I interviewed Chris Conway at Landwash Brewery, a brewer from Ninepenney Brewing was touring the brewhouse floor and chatting with Landwash co-owner Christina Coady about equipment. At this point, neither brewery was open to the public, but both were open to sharing their experiences in starting their businesses. Similarly, Sonja and Alicia of Port Rexton Brewing received such a larger number of queries from other people hoping to start breweries in Newfoundland that they decided to host an informational session in their taproom. Sonja and Alicia invited hopeful brewers

out to Port Rexton to learn about the brewing process, their equipment, and even browse their financial books to learn about the cost of starting a brewery.

Brewers are also open to sharing recipes and brewing techniques, which I assumed would be closely guarded information. Port Rexton Brewing has an open book policy so anyone can use their recipes, including home brewers like myself. Chris Conway of Landwash Brewery explained that sharing ideas is common in the industry and he had a similar experience while living in Toronto, where breweries communicated about construction, business and recipes. Using the recent popularity of sour beer in Newfoundland as one example, Chris said: “When you have fifteen people all talking about kettle sours, you get good at it a lot faster than when you have one person brewing it.”

Chris also pointed out that the internet has had a global effect on craft beer. The internet has made it possible for brewers to learn about new beer styles being made all over the world and then bring those new beers to Newfoundland. He also noted how quickly consumers will want something different:

With the internet and being able to see what’s happening in every part of the world simultaneously with beer styles, somebody could make a new beer style in Tasmania, Australia tomorrow- some crazy milkshake IPA with some unknown fruit and some weird adjunct, and by next week, Bellwoods in Toronto will have made it and two weeks after somebody in California will have. And then it will be a fad that everybody is like, ‘oh, I’m so sick of seeing these everywhere.’ (Interview on October 10, 2018)

The reason that craft breweries are so open to sharing their ideas is because most craft brewers see themselves as a small part of the beer market, so there is no need to be competitive. Chris explained that craft beer is only about 3% of the beer market in Newfoundland, so there is plenty of room for more craft breweries in the industry. Chris

also explained that breweries in Newfoundland will differentiate themselves as the industry matures by becoming more known for certain types of beers, thus offering a variety of different experiences.

In addition, I think that the craft beer industry, as opposed to the macro-beer industry, values experimentation and new flavours over creating one consistent beer that consumers will buy again and again. Even though many breweries will have flagship beers, or beers they brew consistently, brewers expect that craft beer drinkers will seek out new flavours and buy from a number of different breweries. Nardia McGrath posits that people want to “drink adventurously.” Brewer Jane Tucker explained that Port Union’s proximity to Port Rexton Brewing is an advantage because the two breweries will share the same clientele, who will travel from one to brewery to the other to try different beers. As my first chapter on Newfoundland brewery taprooms shows, craft beer drinkers are thinking about brewery tours and trips to multiple breweries instead of exclusively drinking one brewery’s product. Brewers’ willingness to share each other’s products, combined with consumers’ desire to buy from multiple producers, supports this noncompetitive attitude in the industry, especially at its beginnings.

However, Sonja Mills pointed out that this open attitude could change as the industry matures. After a recent trip to Nova Scotia, Sonja observed:

So it just seems like it started off very similar here, super friendly environment between breweries, this is just an example. Then, I think, as time goes on little dramas occur and then you start to see... there’s now time for people to do things and screw things up or get mad at somebody about something, or whatever the case is. So there’s now a change in the dynamics. It’s still very helpful, people are still helping each other and friendly with each other, but there’s definitely breweries that are friendlier with others. It’s almost like now there are friend groups.

As Sonja points out, it is not economic competition within the craft beer industry that results in the formation of sub-groups among breweries. These subgroups seem to be based on personal relationships between different brewers and brewery owners. As I explained in the Introduction, craft breweries function as a network that is highly localized and based on personal relationships. Thus, friend groups connoting personal ties between brewers may be the most accurate way to think about how individual breweries are connected to one another. It follows that the industry is reliant on fostering these personal relationships, both between other industry members and community groups.

In Newfoundland, craft breweries' interest in collaboration also extends to groups outside the beer industry. I have briefly described my own trip to Port Rexton to brew in the summer of 2018. This is when I learned that having home brewers in the brewhouse is not unusual. As I have touched on previously, Quidi Vidi Brewing has participated in a number of collaborations, including brewing beers with home brewers from the Newfermentors club in 2019.

While the Brewers Association identifies community involvement as a defining aspect of craft breweries,³⁹ I found it especially interesting that Newfoundland breweries do not only support local groups and causes, they also invite many of these groups to participate in the brewing process. Port Rexton Brewing also invites the Port Rexton Fire Department to brew their Firehouse Red Ale annually, which raises money for the department. In May of 2019, Landwash Brewery made a beer with Admiralty House Communications Museum, a local museum in their city of Mount Pearl, NL. Sonja

³⁹ Brewers Association for Small and Independent Craft Brewers, "Craft Brewer Defined," <https://www.brewersassociation.org/statistics/craft-brewer-defined/> (accessed March 18, 2019).

pointed out to me that this collaboration between craft breweries and community groups and home brewers is not unique to Newfoundland, but can be observed in breweries from California to Denmark. However, this hands-on involvement seems to be unique to craft breweries among small local business. By contrast, local restaurants do not typically invite community groups to learn how to cook in their kitchens. I think direct participation of non-industry groups is made possible by the fact that brewing is a craft which is still often taught through personal hands-on instruction, even with the benefits that formal brewing certification programs and the internet have brought to the industry. In addition, the collaboration between groups in the industry and local consumers creates a sense of community and support for local breweries because locals can not only observe local beer being brewed in many taprooms across the island, they can also participate in the process.

Conclusion: Why Craft, Why Now

As I attempted to differentiate between craft and macro brewers, I found myself wondering why the craft market beer exists at all when large breweries can provide consistent, relatively cheap beer. Why are brewers producing craft beer and why are consumers interested in it? I stumbled across a possible answer in a 130 year-old essay by William Morris, a craftsman, artist, writer and political thinker in the 19th century. In his essay “The Revival of Handicraft,” Morris examines the romanticization of handicraft by the upper and middle classes during the late 1800s, when cheaper, industrially-produced goods proliferated the market. Morris argues:

People interested, or suppose that they are interested, in the details of the arts of life feel a desire to revert to methods of handicraft for production in general; and it may therefore be worth considering how far this is a mere reactionary sentiment incapable of realization, and how far it may foreshadow a real coming change in

our habits of life as irresistible as the former change which has produced the system of machine-production, the system against which a revolt is now attempted. (Morris 1888, 147)

Morris claims that consumers want handmade products because they desire the “arts of life,” and machine-produced goods eliminate this artistic component. In addition, Morris predicts that handicraft will not be entirely replaced by industrial production for two reasons; consumers’ desires for handmade products (even if they are unsure why they desire them) and the pleasurable nature of the non-industrial work for craftspeople (Morris 1888, 152). Morris is not optimistic that this rise in craft will happen any time soon. In fact, he believes future generations will have “the history of the long wade through the putrid sea of ugliness” of industrial production to contend with before returning to handcrafted work (Morris 1888, 152).

Despite being written over a century ago, Morris’ observations that handcrafted work would become more valuable because machine-produced goods would be so easily available seems to be true today. In the beer industry, the coexistence of mass-produced beers, which provide consistent beer in taste and cost, alongside small-scale craft breweries, which provide the experience of the handmade and unpredictability of flavors, is an example of how industrial production spurred a parallel craft industry. As Morris points out, consumers desire the experience of craft goods, and the idea that a product has been made with pleasure, even beauty (Morris 1888, 152). I think that craft beer drinkers’ desire to experience different flavors and consume local, handcrafted products is one of the reasons the craft beer industry has grown so quickly not only in Newfoundland, but across North America.



FIGURE 3.1. Musician Lenny Kravitz wearing a giant scarf in 2012. This image has become an internet meme. Source: *People.com* (September 18, 2018) “Lenny Kravitz Opens Up About His Giant Scarf Meme: ‘I Cannot Escape This.’” <https://people.com/style/lenny-kravitz-giant-scarf-meme/>. Accessed July 15, 2019.

Conclusion

A Beer Lover Walks into a Brewery...

A few weeks ago, I sat at the bar at Mill Street Brewery in downtown St. John's sharing a pint with my husband Ethan. We chatted with the bartender, who knew us as regular visitors and recommended beers he thought we would like. But I was there for one beer: Mill Street's Chaga Mushroom Porter, made with mushrooms foraged by Shawn Dawson. As Ethan and I talked to each other about what beers we liked best, a woman sitting next to me at the bar asked; "What do you think of that beer?"

Since I arrived in Newfoundland in 2017, this question has sparked many conversations with strangers, some of whom became good friends. By sharing our opinions on beer, we identify each other as fellow craft beer lovers of Newfoundland, and the conversation can turn from beer to breweries to, well, anything.

As I sat at the bar at Mill Street Brewery, I described the earthy-sweet taste of the porter. The woman revealed that she is actually Mill Street's head brewer, Jacoba. We talked about what beers she is brewing next, and shared samples of a new batch of Indian Pale Ale (IPA) straight from the fermentation tanks. I thought; it's amazing that I am able to have these conversations with brewers and beer lovers all over Newfoundland, just by walking into a bar.

In completing this research over the past two years, I was struck by the collaborative nature of craft beer in Newfoundland. In my Introduction, I call this collaboration — between people working in the industry, local communities, and craft beer enthusiasts — the "craft beer network." I think the term "network" aptly conveys

how interconnected these different groups are across the island. For me, the craft beer network helped make Newfoundland feel like home as I met new people and visited different breweries across the island. Along the way, I even learned a thing or two about Newfoundland. I took a baycation, tried to brew beer with foraged spruce tips that turned out quite awful, and attended my first kitchen party at Quidi Vidi Brewery.

I initially thought that my trips to Port Rexton, my home brewing, and my research were separate spheres. At first, I considered myself a researcher only when I was completing an audio-recorded interview. All the other groups or activities I was involved in could not be research – I was having too much fun. It turns out that all of those experiences were important when I began writing because I was not only considering the industry-side of craft beer in Newfoundland. From my own experiences, I was able to see myself as part of an island-wide network of craft beer drinkers, brewers, and brewery owners that often interacted online, through Facebook groups like the Brewnettes, as well as in-person at taprooms or bars.

I realized that I was a part of this network the day I brewed at Port Rexton with my home brew group, Queer Beer NL. This brew day informed my later interviews because I had experienced the brewing process at a craft brewery first hand. I could not have learned what it is like to brew at Port Rexton from my brewing manuals, although I tried. I had to get out there and do it myself. Brewing at Port Rexton made me feel like a real brewer and gave me the confidence to ask other craft beer drinkers; “What do you think of that beer?” This led me to forge more connections with people like Chris Scott, owner of Tos.low, a craft beer bar in downtown St. John’s. This experience also helped me understand what it means for craft breweries to collaborate with local groups or other

breweries. A brew day is a hands-on experience. Participants take part in creating the beer, and I think that opening their production space to outsiders and non-professionals is a special aspect of the craft beer industry.

The willingness to engage with the people as amateur beer consumers, through community initiatives like fundraisers, and by welcoming groups onto the brewhouse floor, sets craft beer apart from more passive forms of consumption. Involving community groups, home brewers, and enthusiasts in the brewing process welcomes people into the brewery as patrons, and something more. I think that the craft aspects of brewing, especially the mode of transmission from person-to-person, makes it easier for craft breweries to bring nonprofessionals onto the brewhouse floor for hands-on instruction. This type of first-person involvement made me feel like I was personally connected to the industry and local breweries.

I also felt that I was part of the excitement of all the new breweries because when I visited a brewery taproom, I had the opportunity to talk with other craft beer drinkers and sometimes the brewers themselves. I slowly realized that so many of my experiences living in Newfoundland have revolved around craft beer, not only because I am studying it, but also because there is a welcoming network of beer lovers and brewers across the island. Based on my research about the craft beer industry in other places, I think that other regions of North America have their own interwoven craft beer networks, too (see Carroll, Swaminathan 2000; Eberts 2014; Fletchall 2016). For me, it made me feel a sense of community to know Sonja, Alicia, Les and Jane at Port Rexton, or Chris and Christina at Landwash, and to see them at the breweries.

Directions for Further Research

One of my favourite aspects of the Newfoundland craft beer industry is the open-sourcing of foraged ingredients in beer. Foraging is still widely practiced among Newfoundlanders, especially berry picking. In fact, I have picked my own spruce tips and blueberries since I moved here. As previously discussed, by putting out requests for foraged berries or crabapples on social media, craft breweries are involving consumers directly in the brewing process. I attended Quidi Vidi Brewery's release party for their "Open Saison" series in the summer of 2018. People who had contributed crabapples to Quidi Vidi Brewery were invited to this event to sample and bring home a free growler filled with the beer they had helped create. The community aspect of open-sourcing ingredients reflects how the craft beer industry operates as an interwoven network where consumers can also take part in the brewing process. I think there is an opportunity for further foodways research on the resurgence in popularity of wild ingredients in Newfoundland, not only in restaurants and breweries but also in people's home cooking.

The growth of the craft beer industry in Newfoundland has also coincided with a renewed interest in exploring the province. In 1996, James Overton's *Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development* analyzed tourism in Newfoundland from many different perspectives, from environmental tourism like iceberg and whale watching tours, to archeological tourism at L'Anse Aux Meadows, the location of an archeological dig that uncovered evidence of a Viking settlement (Overton 1996). Decades later, tourism in Newfoundland continues to advertise these experiences to visitors. Meanwhile, visiting craft brewery taprooms are another way Newfoundlanders explore their island.

One aspect of this research that I did not focus on was the local geographical communities where these breweries are located. On the Bonavista Peninsula, the growth of rural tourism has led to an increase in the number of businesses in the area, along with changes for permanent, year-round residents. I live in St. John's, Newfoundland's largest city, and it was through other craft beer enthusiasts like myself that I first learned about the industry and began thinking about why urban dwellers visit rural breweries. While my research was often constrained to other craft beer enthusiasts living in St. John's, further research could be done on the effects of new breweries in rural towns like Port Rexton.

In September of 2018, Port Union Brewery co-owner Jane Tucker gave me a walking tour of Port Union, a town located a short drive from Port Rexton on the Bonavista Peninsula. Jane pointed out the row houses under construction, which would become artist residences (Figure 4.1), the marijuana growing facility that was being developed across the harbor (Figure 4.2), and the building that will become the Port Union Electric Company Brewing Co. (Figure 4.3). Jane also hopes that new businesses and possibly the re-establishment of a program by the College of the North Atlantic will bring more year-round economic activity to the area, not just seasonal tourism jobs. As Jane led me on this tour of Port Union, I began to see her vision for this town and also her larger vision for the Bonavista Peninsula: a place where culinary tourism thrives, heritage buildings are preserved and re-adapted for new businesses, seasonal and year-round employment in the form of marijuana or brewery manufacturing jobs, and an enclave for artists. I was curious if the increase in tourism to the Bonavista Peninsula had resulted in similar changes in Port Rexton.

In May of 2019, I made an additional trip to Port Rexton and interviewed Mayor Dean Bailey, also the co-owner of a bed-and-breakfast a short walk from the brewery.

The town of Port Rexton has seen an increase in tourism and seasonal residents as a result of the overall growth in the tourism industry on the Bonavista Peninsula. Mayor Bailey remarked that he had noticed an increase in visitors at his bed-and-breakfast, Sherwood Suites, since the brewery opened in 2016. In addition, he observed an increase in the number of summer residents in Port Rexton. As one of the only accommodations open year-round, Mayor Bailey noted that the Sherwood Suites had more guests in the winter months when the brewery is hosting an event.

In some ways, this increase in tourism has also coincided with efforts to make Port Rexton more livable for its year-round residents. Mayor Bailey described the beginning of these efforts around 2011:

We had a project here maybe 2010, 2011. We did a community park by the school up there, so that included a ball field, a playground, [and] a community garden. On build day, we had like 500 people come, locals and seasonal residents out to do that. Since that initiative was put together, a lot of different initiatives have sprung up in the community. I guess people did see, yes we can do things as a group. So stuff is happening. Right now, we're researching a multi-purpose ice rink and there has been some fundraising for that and we've some grants have been approved for that. But there is quite a bit more community involvement, even with seasonal residents. And we have some residents who came here mostly because of the brewery, and they're livyers⁴⁰ now, staying here all year and they're quite involved in the community as well.

As Mayor Bailey notes, residents who had initially visited Port Rexton, or people who relocated to work for the brewery, like Les, now call the town home. In our interview,

⁴⁰ "Livyer" is a Newfoundland term for a permanent resident of Newfoundland. Historically, "livyer" referred to fishermen that live in Newfoundland permanently, in contrast to seasonal fishermen from Britain or France (*Oxford English Dictionary*). It is interesting that Mayor Bailey uses the term "livyer" to differentiate between different types of Newfoundland residents or visitors, as well as seasonal residents from outside the province.

Mayor Bailey also described future development in the town centre, located in the area surrounding the brewery. Additions include a new building and possibly a restaurant. Some of these improvements, like a new restaurant, will benefit tourists visiting Port Rexton. The construction of a multi-season ice rink will mainly serve the year-round community and the Bishop White School as a location for local hockey teams and skating. As I learned about the development and growth in Port Union and Port Rexton, I was intrigued by the possibility of future research on the broader theme of rural revitalization in this region, including craft breweries' role in attracting short term visitors, seasonal residents, and permanent residents.

Research Conclusion

Craft beer tourism in Newfoundland is a departure from having a “watering hole,” or hang out that one visits over and over again as a regular. Instead, brewers and beer enthusiasts are travelling all over the island to explore new places, new breweries, and new flavours. As brewer Nardia McGrath told me; “People want to drink adventurously.” Whether this is because Newfoundlanders want to experience the bay, tourism close to home is more affordable, or because new businesses like craft breweries and accessible accommodations like Airbnb and hostels are encouraging travel, it means that people are taking leisure trips close to where they live. Craft breweries are spread out in rural locations across the island, and this geography has spurred a kind of brewer-driven, baycation tourism. Craft breweries are especially suited to cater to these baycation tourists because their taprooms are hubs for visitors in rural areas, they invite local groups and brewers travel to their breweries, and even their marketing is aimed at Newfoundlanders who have an understanding of the province's culture. As I completed

my research, I slowly began to understand the word-play and cultural references used in beer and brewery names. This made me realize that craft breweries occupy an interesting niche. They serve local residents of their towns, tourists from outside the province, and often tourists from other parts of Newfoundland and Labrador.

While tourists from all over the world may visit breweries in Newfoundland, the heart of this thesis is the brewers and business owners who started this industry, and all the craft beer lovers who make it a vibrant and welcoming network by contributing foraged ingredients, brewing their own beer, and travelling all over the island to get a taste of Newfoundland. When I visit a Newfoundland taproom, I make sure to ask the next person at the bar; “What do you think of that beer?” I just might meet another beer enthusiast, brewer, or learn something new.



FIGURE 4.1: A row house in Port Union, NL being renovated into artist residences. September 2018. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)



FIGURE 4.2: View from Port Union Electric Brewing Co. on Main Street in Port Union, NL. The warehouses across the harbour are being developed into a marijuana growing facility. September 2018. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)



FIGURE 4.3: Brewer Jane Tucker standing in front of the building that will become the Port Union Brewing Electric Co. in Port Union, NL. This is a heritage building originally occupied by the Port Union Electric Company. September 2019. (Photo by Natalie Dignam)

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