# Breweries and Beer Bottles at El Paso, Texas



Bill Lockhart 2012

Chapter 5a Prohibition at El Paso and Ciudad Juárez



# Chapter 5a

## Prohibition at El Paso and Ciudad Juárez

Although this is a book about the El Paso brewing industry, the bulk of this chapter will be centered in Juárez, Mexico. The histories of the two cities are intertwined – one affecting the other continuously. During Prohibition, drinking essentially shifted across the border. The bars were in full swing and alcohol of all types was readily available – just a short walk over the bridge.

## **National Prohibition (1917-1933)**

The fight against alcohol began in 1826, with a religious temperance movement in the city of Boston. The movement grew and fermented sporadically throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and gained momentum during the 1900-1920 period. Congress outlawed the sale of liquor to military personnel on May 18, 1917 (Baron 1962:191-198; Langston 1974:25).

Although most people associate National Prohibition with the legislation that went into effect in 1920, actual restrictions on the production and availability of alcohol occurred much earlier. Officially titled "An Act to Provide Further for the National Security and Defense by Encouraging the Production, Conserving the Supply, and Controlling the Distribution of Food Products and Fuel" – more popularly known as the Lever Act (after its founder, Asbury F. Lever) – a heavy restriction law went into effect on August 10, 1917. The Act prohibited the use of agricultural products in the production of alcohol. Congress repealed the legislation in May 1919 (Baron 1962:306; Wikkipedia 2012).

A rider to the Act took effect on November 21, 1918. From that date until the repeal of the law, President Woodrow Wilson decreed that "no grains, cereals, fruit or other food products shall be used in the manufacture or production of beer, wine, or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquor" (quoted in Baron 1962:307). The follow-up was almost anticlimactic.

On June 27, 1919, Andrew Volstead introduced the act that would create the official national prohibition of alcohol throughout the United States. Along with outlawing the production, distribution, and imbibing of alcoholic beverages for recreational purposes, the act

also provided controls for the continued manufacture of some alcohol for scientific and medicinal needs. Although President Wilson vetoed the measure on October 22, 1919, Congress overrode the veto on October 27, followed by the Senate the next day. On January 16, 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution went into effect on a country that was already effectively "dry" (Baron 1962:307-308; Langston 1974:2).

As national Prohibition continued, people began changing their behaviors – but not in the way that the government – and churchgoers – had predicted. Initially, cereal beverages or nearbeer were widely used during the 1917-1919 period, but that popularity rapidly decreased. Most people wanted the effect of beer – not merely its taste. Instead of eliminating alcohol from their diets, many Americans became lawbreakers.

Nationally, the illegal use of alcohol took several forms. Entrepreneurs set up stills at remote or concealed locations and began local/regional distribution systems as well as illegal imports. Other formerly law-abiding citizens made their own. The terms "home-brew" and "bathtub gin" became a normal part of the American lexicon. One innovative method of beer production was to buy near-beer and pour in a bit of grain alcohol.

# Repeal

Prohibition had never been popular with a major portion of the population, and the Great Depression – in full force by 1932 – almost certainly played a part in the decision to end the national drought. Initially, Congress had set ½ of 1% by weight as the level of alcohol required to be "intoxicating." In late 1932, the legislature redefined the volume of alcohol at 3.2%, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law the Cullen-Harrison Act on March 22, 1932, making 3.2% beer legal in states without their own prohibition laws (Baron 1962:320-321).

Of course, this meant that the breweries began preparation in anticipation. Many were ready when 3.2% beer sale became legal in 19 states on April 7, 1933. Breweries that had offered near-beer generally had an easy preparation. Most near-beer had been processed by brewing regular beer, then removing the alcohol. All that was needed was to disconnect the unit that separated the alcohol. By June 31, brewers were back in business (Baron 1962:322-323). The required states rarified the Twenty-third Amendment on December 5, 1933, and the U.S. was "wet" again.

## Prohibition at El Paso (1918-1933)

As noted in the overview (Chapter 1), three additional events occurred almost simultaneously in early 1918 that certainly altered local history. At the El Paso County Commissioners' Court, on January 5, 1918, petitioners called for a local election to determine whether the county would remain "wet" or go "dry." Both the "wets" and the "drys" made arguments in print to validate their viewpoints and swing votes. One contention offered by the "wets" was that only two business in El Paso – the El Paso Brewery and the California Wine Co. – were paying internal revenue taxes. The El Paso County Sheriff's Office opposed prohibition, prophetically fearing that clandestine liquor sales would range beyond control. On January 30, both the city and county of El Paso voted down the local prohibition option – by only 200 votes (Langston 1974:8-33).

Only a month after the election, in early March 1918, Texas Governor William Pettus Hobby decreed a ten-mile zone around any military encampment in the state of Texas where the transportation of liquor was prohibited – creating a ring around Fort Bliss that encompassed the entire city of El Paso. Just over a month after the decree – on April 15 – the Texas legislature ratified the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment, bringing state prohibition to Texas. The various federal laws to follow were thus rendered irrelevant (Langston 1974:34).

# The Final Day

As per the new Texas law, all 250 El Paso bars and saloons closed their doors at 10:30PM on April 15, 1918. Despite a congressional law passed on May 18, 1917, that forbade the sale of liquor to military personnel, many soldiers from Fort Bliss joined the throngs on the streets – and undoubtedly found a way to some of the drinks. An unusual sight was "scores of women" buying large quantities of liquor from the wholesale firms. The dealers received so many orders that they did not even attempt to fill them all. Zach White – a noted El Paso figure – claimed that he purchased the entire stock of the Del Norte Bar for his home use (Langston 1974:42-43). The *El Paso Times* (6/16/1918) described what happened at one of the major liquor houses:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Langston (1974:8-33) presented a much more complete story of the election. El Paso also voted strongly against the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment.

At Houck & Dieters [sic], the big wholesale house on San Francisco street, the stock was so depleted that buyers had to take what they could get during the evening hours. The last bottle of "Black and White" was sold by 10 o'clock and other Scotch whiskeys were equally hard to get. American whiskeys were also sold heavily, and sales in the evening were confined to odd lots of wines. Officials were loath to estimate the quantity of goods sold, but put it in the thousands of dollars.

At the Gem – described by Langston (1974:46) as "the most famous of all El Paso bars" – eight bartenders and numerous porters served the huge crowd (see Figure 4b-2). Hours before closing time, the staff stopped trying to keep up with orders and set up bottles, mixers, chasers, and beer on the bar for self service. When John Ruggli, veteran bartender, shouted "10:30 o'clock," patrons obligingly downed their current drinks and filed out of the bar. Many stopped to say good-bye to Joseph Kopp, another well-known bartender, and the Gem closed.

Many of the saloon owners allowed their bartenders to keep all of the money they took in that day – presumably as a form of severance pay. Despite the money, most were unhappy with the future prospect of becoming soda jerks – as many bars planned to reopen to sell soft drinks. The term "soda squirter" was guaranteed to bring harsh looks or hostile actions. One insulted bartender hopped over the bar and chased a customer into the street (Langston 1974:45-46).

Considering the flow of alcohol, the city remained remarkably peaceful. There were no deaths in El Paso that day, and the police only recorded a total of nine arrests. In the words of Langston (1974:47), "John Barleycorn had died alone." Drinking, of course, continued.

#### The Aftermath

The only local effect of National Prohibition was to deaden all hopes that the state restrictions would soon be lifted. As noted above, the only choice in most of the U.S. – aside from stark sobriety – was home brewing/distilling or buying someone else's concoctions. Since the quality and ingredients of these creations were often unknown, some people were stricken blind or even killed by their drinks. El Paso was at least removed from most of these evils because of the proximity to Ciudad Juárez (Sonnichsen 1980:9).

For El Pasoans, crossing the Rio Grande was the easiest solution. The Mexican government offered "border cards" to local U.S. residents for \$10.<sup>2</sup> These allowed unlimited border crossings, while a visa known as the "tourist card" allowed other U.S. citizens a more limited access. By 1920, 37, 288 Americans had obtained border cards – 5,610 of them El Pasoans (Langston 1974:90).

Both U.S. and local distilleries made bonafide liquor at Juárez, and the recently relocated El Paso brewery (now the Juárez Brewery) sold high quality beer. Juárez was filled with bars, clubs, and casinos to fit almost any pocket book, open at all hours. For those not wanting to leave El Paso, there were plenty of Mexicans willing to make the crossing; illegal but high quality booze was readily available (Lockhart 1995:79; Sonnichsen 1980:6-9; Timmons 1990:228-229).

In addition, smuggling became rampant. There were no enforced laws in Mexico to inhibit the practice, so the smuggler only had to deal with U.S. authorities. Although the smugglers never organized into organizations similar to the Mafia in Chicago, the small bands were so violent that former sheriff Chris P. Fox recalled that "border smuggling gangs were too tough for the Mafia" (quoted in Langston 1974:244). The various systems used by the smugglers were highly ingenious (Figures 5a-1 & 5a-2), and struggles between the rum-runners and the border law enforcement personnel were frequent and bloody. Further, the smugglers fought among themselves with at least as much ferocity and brutality as they showed to the legal enforcers (e.g. Langston 1974:257).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Langston (1974:182) called the cards a "wartime measure" and hinted that they did not remain in use. However, I have not discovered when the rule was rescinded (although it was probably over by 1920). It appears that entry into Mexico (and back) was unrestricted throughout most of the Prohibition era – except by periodic closing of the bridges over the Rio Grande.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Langston (1974) devoted three chapters to discussions about the U.S. law enforcement, conflict between the Mexican and American governments, the role of the *fiscales* (Mexican border guards), and altercations with smugglers. These incidents, often as riveting as fictional portrayals, are beyond the scope of this work. Also irrelevant to this study, Langston discussed the problem of drug smuggling from Mexico to the U.S. during Prohibition. The reduced availability of alcohol was accompanied by an increase in drug use.



Figure 5a-1 – Innocent-looking truck – 1920s (Courtesy of Cliff McDonald)



Figure 5a-2 – Same truck with hidden alcohol cache revealed (Courtesy of Cliff McDonald)

#### Cordova Island

Other unique venues were available to El Pasoans. Just at the foot of Eucalyptus St. was an area called Cordova Island. The island was created by a natural function of the Rio Grande. Periodically, the river would jump its banks and form a new channel. Typically, these phenomena have presented no major problems, but some have created diplomatic issues at El Paso/Juárez because the river is the international boundary. An early example concerned three formerly Mexican towns just southeast of El Paso. Due to a raging flood ca. 1831, the river changed its channel and shifted San Elizario, Socorro, and Ysleta out of Mexico and into Texas – where they have remained to this day (Lockhart 1995:26).

In the Treaty of December 30, 1853, the U.S. and Mexico agreed on the course of the Rio Grande at that time as the international boundary. Thus, future shifts in the river would *not* alter the border. The area called Cordova Island was created by a major bend in the Rio Grande, where the U.S. virtually surrounded Mexican land (Figure 5a-3). When the river jumped the bank in 1864, the boundary around the "island" soon became brush instead of water (Langston 1974:259-260; Metz 1989:304-313).

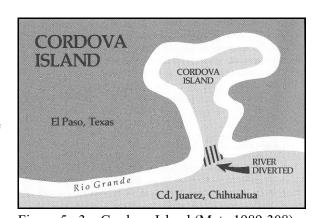


Figure 5a-3 – Cordova Island (Metz 1989:308)

This created a very nebulous boundary to an area where neither

Mexican nor American law prevailed – the perfect setting for an illegal bar. 
Such an opportunity was soon availed when the Hole in the Wall – a thriving gambling casino, dance hall, and saloon opened on August 16, 1927 (Figure 5a-4). El Pasoans could easily squeeze through the brush to enjoy all the booze they wanted – and take home everything they could carry. Severo González, proprietor of the Central Café in Juárez,

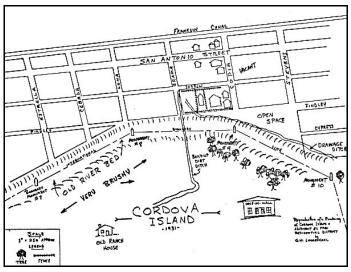


Figure 5a-4 – Hole-in-the-Wall on Cordova Island (Langston 1974:340)

actually owned the building, and Manuel Mungia was the manager (Langston 1974:260; Metz 1993:211, 220; Sonnichsen 1980:9; Timmons 1990:230).

Shortly after the Hole in the Wall opened, the Juárez city government closed it down because Mungia had not obtained a license. However, when they discovered that the bar was three miles outside the city limits, the place reopened. Next, Mexican customs officials stationed guards along the border to prevent crossings, but this measure, too, was temporary. With the removal of the *fiscales*, the only U.S. officials offererd any border control, and they were constrained by American law to allow U.S. citizens to both leave and return to their own country (Langston 1974:260-261).

The saloon stood within two blocks of an El Paso public school, and parents were concerned – with good reason – that their children were frequenting the bar. It was also clear that Americans were returning home with illegal liquor. The El Paso authorities petitioned the Secretary of the Treasury to construct a fence around the "Island," but he replied that a fence would require authorization from congress. Diplomatic contact with Mexican officials resulted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> According to Metz (1993:220), there had been "17 gunfights between inspectors and smugglers, resulting in one inspector and eight smugglers dead. Thirty people received serious wounds." Langston (1974:264, 298) also described the struggles and called Cordova Island "the most dangerous place on the river."

in the closure of the Hole in the Wall on October 1, 1928, but it was operating again a month later. Manuel Mungia borrowed \$3,500 from General Francisco Martínez, commander of the Juárez Army garrison, to buy the saloon from González. The general then received half the profits from the operation (Langston 1974:262-264)

Although no researchers have revealed the reasons behind the closing, workmen demolished the building in January 1931. Langston (1974:265) quoted an *El Paso Herald-Post* description:

A turn of a large crowbar uprooted the huge wooden bar, nearly half a block in length, where hundreds of celebrators reeled to a honky-tonk orchestra . . . . Broken bottles, once glittering "soldiers" of splits, lay about the floor accompanied by hundreds of bottle tops of all brands.

Staunch board racks, holders of once generously played slot machines, met an infamous end in a common woodpile. The spacious dance floor was ripped from warped joints and the orchestra pit became a damp space on the ground. Even the outhouses are doomed!

The city constructed a wire mesh fence around the island. Even then, an American could pass a quarter through the fence and receive a good drink of Waterfill & Frazier whiskey. Even without the saloon, Cordova Island remained a liquor outlet until the Repeal of Prohibition (Langston 1974:265-266; Metz 1993:211, 220; Sonnichsen 1980:9; Timmons 1990:230).

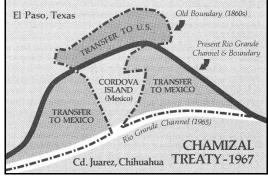


Figure 5a-5 – The Chamizal Settlement of 1963 (Metz 1989:352)

As a post-script, the Cordova Island "problem" was not solved until August 29, 1963, when the Chamizal Convention agreed to trade parts of the Chamizal area to Mexico in return for the northern section of Cordova Island (Figure 5a-5). In addition, the settlement straightened the Rio Grande and actually paved the river – to avoid any future boundary shifts. The earlier Elephante Butte and Caballo dam constructions had reduced the problems with flooding, so the migrations of the river were over; the Rio Grande was tamed (Metz 1989: 347-355).

#### San Elizario Island

A similar situation prevailed on San Elizario Island. Located south of the town of San Elizario (30 miles southeast of El Paso), this, too, was a Mexican enclave that was essentially on U.S. soil – with no adequate law enforcement by either country. Although not located in as populated an area, San Elizario Island also boasted a Hole in the Wall (Figure 5a-6). Like its Cordova namesake, the San Elizario



Figure 5a-6 – Hole-in-the-Wall on San Elizario Island (M.G. McKinney collection)

location provided easy access to booze and entertainment – as well as a convenient avenue for smuggling (Lockhart 1995:77).

## The El Paso Brewery

Like most similar businesses in the U.S., the El Paso Brewery initially attempted to ride out Prohibition by shifting its focus. Initially, the plant brewed two near-beers – Bravo and Bock – but that only lasted as long as the grain supply held out. Brewing was finished by 1920 (see Chapter 4a and 4b for more information).

Next, the Board of Directors formed a subsidiary corporation, the Tri-State Beverage Co. to manufacture its own Triangle Brand of sodas. The firm also carried numerous nationally franchised brands – with apparently little success. They were overshadowed by the older, well-established bottlers in the city – like the Magnolia Coca-Cola Bottling Co., Empire Products Corp., and Woodlawn Bottling Co. Tri-State went out of business in late 1923 or early 1924.

Finally, when both of those solutions failed, it became obvious that the dry period was going to be a long one. None of the temporary fixes was working. Unlike most places in the U.S., the El Paso Brewing Assoc. had a unique solution. The Long brothers moved the brewing equipment across the Rio Grande to Juárez. Brewing at El Paso was at an end, but the Juárez Brewery was about the begin.

#### Near-Beer

El Paso followed the national trend toward near-beers or cereal beverages. Three different patterns of advertisers emerged in the city: soda bottlers, grocers, and new firms. Surprisingly, few (if any) of the former brewery agents converted to the sale of near-beers – even though many of the breweries offered cereal beverages. For example, the Goldoff brothers (discussed in Chapter 3) had carried Blatz and Pearl beers, and both breweries made near-beers. Goldoft, however, apparently closed as soon as Texas Prohibition became imminent.

Some local soda bottlers added near-beer lines. Empire Bottling Works, for example, carried Famo, a cereal beverage made by Schlitz Brewing – and, later, the near-beer with the Schlitz name. Empire also offered Budweiser in cereal-beverage form. The Woodlawn Bottling Co. tried Barlo, the Blatz cereal beverage, and the Nicholson Bottling Works distributed three brands: Goldcrest, Golden Glow, and NIB (Non-Intoxicating Beverage – see Figure 2-57).

Another group that pushed near-beer, however, was the grocers. Big wholesalers, like M. Ainsa & Sons and A.B. Dick & Co. advertised cereal beverages – as well as carrying mixers. Ainsa began offering Bevo, the original near-beer from Anheuser-Busch. A.B. Dick picked up Bevo later as well as carrying Circle-A ginger ale. The Zork-Smith Fruit Co. offered La Perla, although Crombie & Co. later picked up the brew.

A final group was composed of small, independent merchants who had not been involved with beer, soft drinks, or groceries, prior to Texas Prohibition. E.M. McCoy advertised Jus-Rite, a cereal beverage, in May of 1918 – an apparent early failure. Border Beverages, open from 1919 to 1922, was more successful. The firm carried two near-beers: Bone-Dry and Graino. Despite the innovative name, Bone-Dry was *not* a resounding success. The Mackin Brokerage Co. – a latecomer – pushed the Falstaff Dublin Style Cereal Beverage from 1928 to 1933.

## Bevo – A Case Study of the First Cereal Beverage

Anheuser-Busch was the first brewing organization to see the potential for alcohol-free (or *very* low alcohol content) beer. Although the laboratories began experimentation on a cereal beverage by 1906, the brew was not offered to the public until May 27, 1916. August A. Busch selected a squat, 10-ounce bottle for the new drink – similar to the ones used for Malt-Nutrine –

so that Bevo would not be confused with beer containing alcohol (Figure 5a-7).<sup>5</sup> Busch had

registered the Bevo name as a trademark on September 21, 1909. Busch named the new beverage Bevo (pronounced *bee-vo*) – a corruption of *Pivo*, the Czech word for beer (Krebs & Orthwein 1953:96-103; Plavchan 1976:158-159).

Initially, sales rocketed upward, and Bevo was sold on five continents. However, by mid-1920, popularity began to decline, and sales fell to almost nothing by 1923 – although Busch continued to produce the brew until 1929 (Krebs & Orthwein 1953:96-103; Plavchan 1976:160). Baron (1962:314-315) noted the drop from 300 million gallons of near-beer in 1921 to 85.7 million a year later – a decrease of 71.4%!.



Figure 5a-7 – Malt Nutrine compared with Bevo bottle

Bevo was much more popular in the South; Northerners "preferred to drink real beer." This preference – eventually nationwide – was the main cause of the decline in popularity. As the bootlegging of both beer and liquor increased – along with home brewing – the usefulness of Bevo (and other near-beers) decreased (Plavchan 1976:160-162).

A second reason for the decline in popularity was a change in formula. Once beer was completely banned on July 1, 1919, Busch could no longer obtain the residual yeast necessary to maintain the high-quality flavor of Bevo. Consequently, Anheuser-Busch commenced the brewing of Budweiser as a near-beer on September 8, 1919, and presented the first non-alcoholic Budweiser for sale on February 3 of the following year. At first, sales soared, but the popularity of Budweiser – like Bevo before it – rapidly plunged (Krebs & Orthwein 1953:96-103; Plavchan 1976:162-.166). The era of near-beer died without even a whimper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Plavchan (1976:159) noted that other brewers initially copied Anheuser-Busch in the use of the squat bottles – but soon returned to the 12-ounce export bottle style. I have personally seen almost no evidence of these squat bottles used by any brewer except Anheuser-Busch. August Busch continued the use of the squat bottles for the life of Bevo – although the firm sold non-alcoholic Budweiser in typical export bottles.

#### Repeal at El Paso

As with the rest of the country, El Paso returned to drinking with the Repeal of Prohibition. On April 12, 1933, the sale of 3.2% beer began again, and the Cottage Bar was the first business to serve beer in the city. By October, 10 bars, stores, and clubs had opened in El Paso – creating a 40% decline in booze sales at Juárez (Langston 1974:239; Metz 1993:224).

The Texas legislature amended the State Constitution on October 31, 1933, to allow the sales of beer and wine via local option. El Paso voted for legalization of the lighter drinks on September 14, 1933, and the sale of Liquor resumed on January 1, 1934. In September 1935, Texas state law allowed the wholesale importation of liquor, permitting El Pasoans and tourists to return to the U.S. with literally thousands of quarts of Juárez whiskey (Langston 1974:239, 322; Metz 1993:225). Slowly, "normal" drinking habits returned.

#### The Prohibition Era at Juárez

With the advent of U.S. Prohibition, the action moved to Juárez. Many El Paso bars and saloons migrated across the river, and brand new ones sprang up. Harry Mitchell's Mint Café and Mint Bar, the Central Café, the Oasis Café, Jimmy O'Brien's Bar, the Lobby Café, and many others opened with freeflowing booze and at least some gambling; slot machines were a normal feature of most clubs (Figure 5a-8).



Figure 5a-8 – Clubs and Bars along Juarez Ave. – including Central Café (2<sup>nd</sup> business from right) and Lobby Café (yellow building – left of center) plus neon ads for Straight American, Carta Blanca beer, and Waterfill & Frazier

In addition, a great deal of American liquor also migrated to Juárez. Many distilleries had retained stocks of their product, hoping that wartime measures and local/state regulations would lift, so that they could resume business. When National Prohibition became official in 1919, the distilleries had to dispose of their stocks prior to January 16, 1920. One of the main shipping points to move the liquor out of the U.S. was Ciudad Juárez. The El Paso Times (12/16/1919) stated that "Juarez will become one of the wettest spots in the world" (Langston 1974:222-223).

This placed the customs officials at El Paso in an interesting position, where huge quantities of alcohol arrived at a city where no one was legally allowed to drink it. By December 14, 1919, 448 barrels and 7,218 cases of whiskey had arrived at El Paso – mostly from Kentucky – for shipment across the border. During a two-week period in January, 741 barrels and 5,507 cases of whiskey – valued at \$2,812,032 – circulated through customs (Langston 1974:224).

Joe Dwyer and three assistants conducted a short ceremony at 4:00 PM on January 16, 1920, as they loaded the last thirty-seven gallons of Kentucky whiskey onto a wagon bound for Juárez. The customs officials wore black crape-paper mourning bands on their uniform sleeves and attached a black streamer to the final barrel. They were now faced with the monumental task of assuring that none of those thousands of gallons of liquor found their way back to American soil (Langston 1974:224-225).

# **Night Clubs**

As noted above, a large variety of bars, clubs, and cafés moved to Juárez. These served every imaginable class of people. On May 15, 1923, for example, a club opened up specifically for Black Americans. The *El Paso Times* announced:

Grand Opening of the Central Garden Cafe for Colored People. The largest Cafe in Jarez under the management of J. Brown, Jr. Music by the Blue Wilson Jazz Band. Come White Folks, and enjoy yourself. We got a private section for you (quoted in Langston 1974:108).

## **Oasis Café**

The Oasis Café opened on April 23, 1921, on the first floor of the Hotel Rio Bravo on Avenida 16 de Septiembre. Owned by George Evans, the establishment had an extra-large stage, large dance floor, draped windows, and immaculately covered tables. A newcomer to Juárez – Harry Mitchell – managed the operation, while Harry Pooley produced the shows. When Evans was arrested for smuggling whiskey in the U.S., he sold the business to A.T. Licata, who reopened the Oasis on May 15, 1923. Although the Oasis was an American favorite, Licata was forced to close the doors in late 1923 and was deported. Mitchell opened his own place – The Mint – described in Chapter 7a (Langston 1974:106-109).

# The Lobby

Three Italians – Hugo Bonaguidi, August Lammori, and Frank Dispenza – opened the Lobby at Juárez. Langston (1974:115) described the place as "a firstclass supper club" that served blue channel catfish, lobster, and red snapper to its patrons in "mischievously curtained booths." Thirty waiters, busboys, bartenders, chefs, and hat-check girls served the customers to tunes played by a ten-piece orchestra – with entertainers



Figure 5a-9 – Lobby No. 2 Café and Night Club

from as far away as California and New York. At some point, business was so good that the partners opened the Lobby No. 2 Café and Night Club (Figure 5a-9).

Bonaguidi also formed an informal drinking club – the Mystic Order of Mañana (MMOM). Membership soon became a "coveted distinction among many El Paso businessmen." The idea could be summed up in the MMOM motto: "One for all and all for fun." A humorous club "rule" noted that "if an unusual number of members are found in the gutters at one time, the city council will be asked to pass a law eliminating all gutters" (Langston 1974:115).

#### Central Café

The Central Café opened in 1918 (Figures 5a-10 & 5a-11). Like many of the Juárez clubs, Cental featured gambling whenever it was legal. Governor Enríquez of Chihuahua closed the casino in the Central Café for the first time on April 24, 1921. Virtually



Figure 5a-10 – Central Café – inside, looking back



Figure 5a-11 – Central Café – inside, looking front

Central Café remained open until the Repeal of Prohibition (Figure 5a-12), when it moved closer to the border then migrated across the river to downtown El Paso, where it became Miguel's Central Café. V. Trae Apodaca III and Michael Lynch redecorated the establishment in 1991, adding a "New Orleans style courtyard." In 2008, Alejandro and Eduardo Orozco acquired the business,

every level of Mexican government – federal, state, and local – forced a gambling closure at some point during the years of U.S. Prohibition, although gambling quickly returned each time – sometimes legally, sometime clandestine (Central Café 2012; Langston 1974:128, 143).<sup>6</sup>



Figure 5a-12 – Central Café – menu postcard 1925

combining "innovative taste with 80-year-old traditions" (Central Café 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Langston (1974:130-179) devoted an entire chapter to gambling in Juárez.

## The Juárez Brewery

At the end of
Prohibition, R.W. Long,
president of the El Paso
Brewing Assoc., and his
associates disbanded on the
American side of the river and
formed a new corporation –
Cía (Compañia) Cervecera de
Juárez, S.A. [the Juarez
Brewing Assn.]. As was often

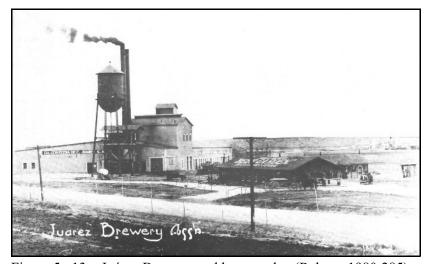


Figure 5a-13 – Juárez Brewery and beer garden (Rakocy 1980:285)

the case during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the business used two names. The first – noted above – was the operating or managing firm – the Association. The other name was Cervecería Juárez – the Juárez Brewery – the actual building or brewing location.

Long retained the presidency, while T.C. Cuellar became vice president, and Ulíses Irigoyen obtained the secretary and treasurer positions. At least some of the El Paso crew migrated with the firm. S.C. McVey, who had been with the brewery since 1904, remained as chief engineer, and Frank Brenk – who had ten years with the El Paso Brewery – continued as brewmaster (Langston 1974:226; Timmons 1990:229).

The plant was completed and opened on January 15, 1922 – exactly two years after the beginning of official Prohibition. The plant offered free beer the first day to the more than 5,000 people attending, and the new operation removed any remaining chance for the success of near-beer in El Paso. The visitors to the brewery ate 1,000 pounds of barbecued beef and drank 100 barrels of beer. The new operation was geared for success, with an annual capacity to



Figure 5a-14 – Early postcard from the Juárez Brewery

produce 60,000 barrels of beer – twice the amount made by the former El Paso brewery (Langston 1974:226; Timmons 1990:229).

Three postcards and one photograph of the brewery help complete the story. Both the Rackocy (1980:285) photo (Figure 5a-13) and the earliest postcard (Figure 5a-14) show the same side of the brewery, although they were



Figure 5a-15 – Later postcard from the Juárez Brewery

taken from different angles. Both featured twin smokestacks and a water tower as well as the name of the brewery – Cia. Cervecera de C. Juarez S.A. However, the Rackocy photo exposed a wider-angle view and also showed a low building – separate from the brewery – with "JUAREZ BREWERY / BEER GARDEN" painted in large letters on the roof.

The second two postcards (Figure 5a-15) illustrated the brewery from a bird's-eye-view of the other side. Since these show the Franklin Mountains in the background, they were probably drawn from the south side of the building. A railroad siding ran along the west side of the structure flanked by a pond and fountain. Three additional bits of information were rubber stamped in red on the card. Along the top was added "VISIT THE GERMAN HALL S.W. COR. MAIN BLDG." with "A.G. GONZALEZ Mgr. (See Mark X)." A red "X" and "German Hall" were stamped at the southwest corner of the building.

A second postcard was identical, but the purple stamp in the upper left corner stated: "CRUZ BLANCA BEER / 'THE BEST IN MEXICO" – with "AZTEC HALL" stamped on the south wall. This suggests that the German Hall had been renamed. I suspect this card was used during the 1930s, just about the time that U.S. Prohibition was repealed. Both postcards advertised "JUAREZ / Y / RICHELIEU / SPLITS" – the brands made by the Juárez Brewery.

With the opening of the brewery, beer was available just across the river, so thirsty El Pasoans simply migrated. The brewery, itself, lasted for several years after beer was again legal in the U.S., but it simply could not compete with the Harry Mitchell Brewery – located *in* El Paso (Timmons 1990:229).

#### The Distilleries

Ciudad Juárez became the home to several distilleries during the Prohibition period, two of which became very successful. Only one – Waterfill & Frazier – continued to market a brand that had been popular in the days of the Kentucky distillery. The greatest success story, however, was Straight American Whiskey, made by the DM Distillery. The brand continued to be advertised in the *El Paso Herald-Post* until least 1975.

Many of the alcohol interests – including distillers, wholesalers, retailers, saloonkeepers, and cabaret owners – became involved in local and regional politics. For example, Antonio Berúdez – the driving force behind DM Distilleries – was the president of the Juárez Chamber of Commerce, with Ulíses Urigoyen – secretary and treasurer of the Juárez Brewery – as vice president. Despite the sale of liquor and beer in conjunction with the casinos, the men were opposed to legal gambling – noting that it siphoned off profits from their own businesses (Langston 1974:206-207).

## Pulque and Jim Schoolfield

Prior to U.S. Prohibition, the primary Mexican alcoholic beverage was pulque, a sour drink that tasted like buttermilk – with a kick. Distilled from the maguey plant, the brew spoiled rapidly and had to be consumed soon after it was prepared. The drink was fermented and transported in pigskin pouches, and Juárez pulquerías and cantinas sold huge quantities during the season (Langston 1974:220).

A former Tennessee saloonkeeper named Jim Schoolfield added toasted malt to the pulque mash to create a stronger-tasting brew that resisted spoilage. Located on Mariscal St., Schoolfield served a predominantly Mexican clientele at five pesos per tumbler. Eventually, he operated a small corn still, but his entire output went to his saloon customers (Langston 1974:221).

#### **DM** Distillery Co.

J.W. Campbell and his son migrated to Juárez from Safford, Arizona, to open a distillery in 1904 in building concurrently occupied by the Juárez Grist Milling Co. Even though the still could only produce six gallons per day, the Campbells were licensed by the Mexican government to make both corn and grain whiskey (*El Paso Herald* 1/9/1905). At some point, prior to World War I, a man noted only as "a Mr Pigg" purchased the business. Most Americans still preferred brands of whiskey made in the U.S. – even though they were more expensive than the booze sold by Campbell or Pigg (Langston 1974:221-222).

Pigg sold his distillery to Frank O. Mackey and Luis Domínguez, who named the new firm DM Distillery Co.<sup>7</sup> Louis J. Morris brought additional capital to the company in 1923. The new infusion of money allowed the owners to increase the plant's daily capacity to 30-40 barrels of bourbon (Figure 5a-16). They called their product Straight American Whiskey (Langston 1974:228).

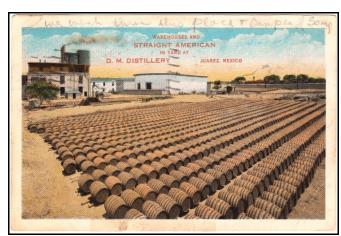


Figure 5a-16 – Postcard from the DM Distillery

Although none of the principals in the firm was ever implicated, U.S. officials claimed that much of the liquor produced by DM was ultimately sold north of the Rio Grande. The bulk of the legitimate sales went to Julián Gómez through his liquor and wine dealership, Gómez y Cia [Gómez & Co.]. American Consul John W. Dye commented that "most of the larger shipments [from the Gómez firm] go to towns of few inhabitants and near the American border." Gómez, too, was apparently selling legally, although some of his customers very likely dealt with smugglers (quoted in Langston 1974:229).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Langston repeatedly inserted an ampersand (&) between the letters for this firm (D&M instead of DM) and DW Distilleries (he consistently used D&W). All other sources – including labels on actual whiskey bottles – left out the ampersand.

Morris sold his interest in the company to Julián Gómez, probably in the late 1920s, when Gómez and Mackey continued to operate the firm. Gómez became a Director of the Chamber of Commerce in 1928 and 1929 (Langston 1974:230; Timmons 1990:229). Straight American continued to be advertised in the *El Paso Herald-Post* until at least September 14, 1975 (Figure 5a-17).8

# **Mexican Distilling Co.**

Wayne Russell of Denver, transferred the equipment of a defunct Lewisburg, Kentucky, distillery to Juárez. Russell announced that his plant would need 3,500 bushels of grains per month – imported from the U.S. The firm intended – like the other Juárez distilleries – to only operate during the cooler months of



Figure 5a-17 – Postcard for Straight American Whiskey

February, March, and April. The plant opened on February 9, 1926, producing 20,000 gallons of whiskey per month. The brand was called Border Bell Whiskey, but it developed a reputation for poor quality. Russell was accused of shipping most of his product – illegally – to his native Colorado. The distillery closed shortly after the end of Prohibition (Langston 1974:231; Timmons 1990:229).

# **DW Distillery**<sup>10</sup>

Mary Dowling, the majority stockholder of the dormant Waterfill & Frazier Distilling Co. of Anderson County, Kentucky, eventually selected Juárez as the new home for the brand – at least partly because of the availability of "sweet crystal water purified over limestone." Dowling and local financiers – including William Wahl, Antonio J. Bermúdez, and E.F. Flores – formed a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> An advertising mirror with the same photo as the postcard, listed "F.O. Mackey and J.M. Gomez" as the principals. The postcard and picture are thus probably late 1920s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The *El Paso Times* may have confused this distillery with Waterfill & Frazier, located near Lawrenceburg, in Anderson County, Kentucky, prior to Prohibition.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  Langston repeatedly used "D&W" in the name; all labels on actual bottles, however, use "DW" – without the ampersand.

new corporation, DW Distillería, S.A. The plant began producing Waterfill & Frazier bourbon whiskey in 1927. Initially, the plant made eight barrels a day, but capacity soon increased to 12 barrels (Langston 1874:232-233).

#### Waterfill & Frazier - Pre-Prohibition

John Bond and his son, David, built the original distillery that would become Waterfill & Frazier in 1810 along Baily's Run at Tyrone (three miles east of Lawrenceburg), Anderson County, Kentucky. In 1858, Jeff Mountjoy purchased the business from David Bond. Just two years later, in 1860, Mountjoy sold the property to Jesse H. Waterfill and Holman Frazier (Cecil 2000:53; Pre-pro.com; *Wine and Spirit Bulletin* 1903).

By 1870, the firm was called Waterfill & Frazier, composed of W.J. Waterfill and R.H. Frazier.<sup>11</sup> The pair certainly bottled Waterfill & Frazier whiskey in Anderson County by that time. Waterfill sold his share to Frazier in 1882. Just three years later (1885), Frazier sold half of the Waterfill & Frazier distillery back to W.J. Waterfill and the other half to John and Edward Dowling – "together with the exclusive privilege to use the brand of Waterfill & Frazier in the manufacture of whisky" (*Southwestern Reporter* 1897:45-46).<sup>12</sup>

Two occurrences ca. 1890 confuse the history of Waterfill & Frazier at that point. First, W.J. Waterfill sold his share of the old factory to the Dowlings. Second, G.O. Frazier (son of R.H.) and J.M. Waterfill (a cousin of W.J.) erected a distillery at McBrayer in Anderson county to manufacture Waterfill & Frazier whisky. About two years later, the Dowlings sued G.O. Frazier and J.M. Waterfill over the use of the Waterfill & Frazier name and received a judgment in favor of the older firm (*Southwestern Reporter* 1897:46).

<sup>11</sup> It is possible that "W.J" stands for William Jesse Waterfill. A few online records suggest that name – although not in direct association with Waterfill & Frazier. William Jesse may always have been called "Jesse" – or this might refer to a son. Sources also disagree about Frazier's initials and/or first name. Candidates include Holman, George H., R.H., and F.H. It is likely that the "H" in any case was Holman.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> One source (Pre-pro.com), claimed that the distillery was rebuilt in 1889, but I have not seen that substantiated in any of the source literature.

Insurance underwriter records from 1892 noted that the property included a three bonded and one free warehouse and that John Dowling was the owner, operating as "Waterfill & Frazier" (Pre-pro.com). G.O. Frazier and J.M. Waterfill apparently challenged Dowling in a higher court in 1897, but the court upheld Dowling's right to the Waterfill & Frazier name (*Southwestern Reporter* 1897:46)

John Dowling died during the spring of 1902, and his eldest son, William Dowling, took over the operation of the business. In 1903 or 1904, the distillery was destroyed by fire but was rebuilt the following year. At some point, possibly 1904, Mary Dowling bought out the other heirs and continued to run the business until she was forced to cease operations by the onset of Prohibition in 1918 (Cecil 2000:53; Pre-pro.com; *Wine and Spirit Bulletin* 1903:24).

#### Waterfill & Frazier at Juárez

Anonio Bermúdez was the guiding light of the DW Distillery. Progressive and capable, Bermúdez got his start refurbishing railroad cars in Laredo but relocated to Juárez shortly after the advent of Prohibition and opened a wholesale liquor firm, appropriately called Antonio J. Bermúdez y Cia. Bermúdez's involvement in the distillery made a perfect vehicle for the distribution of Waterfill & Frazier whiskey. The U.S. consul, however, firmly believed that Bermúdez was involved in smuggling whiskey into the U.S. (Langston 1974:233-235). At some point, probably in the late 1920s or early 1930s, Bermúdez and his

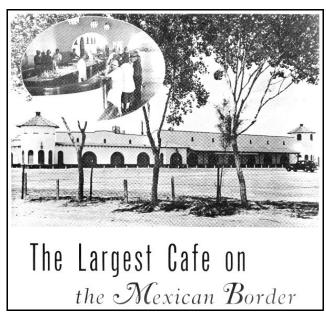


Figure 5a-18 – Waterfill Gardens – the largest café on the Mexican border (M.G. McKinney collection)

associates opened the Waterfill Gardens at Zragosa (a few miles southeast of Juárez). The establishment was billed as the largest café on the Mexican border (Figure 5a-18).

Unfortunately, I have been unable to discover when DW Distillery closed or when production of Waterfill & Frazier ceased at Juárez. Since I have not found ads for the brand in

post-Prohibition El Paso newspapers, DW probably shut down shortly after the declaration of Repeal, and the brand resurfaced on the American market (Figure 5a-19).

#### Waterfill & Frazier – Post-Prohibition

The post-Prohibition history of Waterfill & Frazier is much more confused than the earlier story. At some point after Repeal, someone – possibly the Dowling family – built a new distillery at Anchorage, Kentucky, on the site of the old Grosscurth plant and began production of Waterfill & Frazier there. Meanwhile, Tom Pendergast had purchased the old Independent Distillery at Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1936. Pendergast renamed it as the Shawhan Distillery and eventually sold the plant to Joe Makler of Chicago. Makler acquired the Waterfill & Frazier brand at



Figure 5a-19 – Ad for Waterfill & Frazier (*El Paso Times* May 4, 1934)

some point and continued production of the whiskey until 1974, when he sold the brand to James B. Beam (Cecil 2000; Hall 1988; Shawnahan & Francis 2012).<sup>13</sup>

#### The Aftermath at Juárez

Toward the end of U.S. Prohibition, the Mexican government responded to a temperance movement. Under Provisional President Emilio Portes Gil, the Mexican congress initiated a revenue tax on hard liquor and slot machines. Saloons had to pay between 250 and 1,000 pesos (\$125-500) along with a 500-peso state and local tax. First-class saloons – with at least one slot

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The discussion between Chuck Crowdery and Mike Veach on a Bourbon enthusiast site, for example, was quite complex. However, I have been unable to verify most of the discussion from independent sources (BourbonEnthusiast.com 2008). Unfortunately, more online information is available about pre-Prohibition distilleries than about those in business *after* Repeal.

According to Mike Veach (BourbonEnthusiast.com 2008), Dowling may have sold the brand to Schenley, who owned it during the 1940s and 1950s. The Medley Bros. acquired the brand from Schenley, then sold it to Glemore. The brand then went to United Distillers and from there to Heaven Hill.

machine – paid the highest taxes. Prices on "pint" bottles of beer rose from a dime to a quarter, while splits increased from a nickel to 15¢. Many bars canceled the free lunches they had always offered (Langston 1974:104-105).

The Repeal of U.S. Prohibition was disastrous to Juárez. Many of the bars and clubs closed or returned to the north bank of the river. S.G. González of the Central Café expressed the tenor of the time: "We will be open all this week, including Sunday, with the usual service, good food, and good music. Then adios." Soon, the Central Café was replaced by "a soft drink stand and a lunch counter" (Langston 1974:128 – also see the section on Central Café above).

The timing could not have been worse. The entire world was affected by the Great Depression, and U.S. tourist dollars flowing into Juárez had been a major source of income. According to Sonnichsen (1980:42), "Conditions were so bad, and resentment against Americans was so intense, that the mayor of Juárez called for a boycott of American goods and services." Municipal income decreased so drastically that even minimal services were sometimes discontinued – including a water shortage that may have caused the deaths of some Juárez residents. For many years, begging children were the norm. Gradually, conditions improved.

Despite the trauma and drama experienced by most Jarenses, the distilleries prospered during the early post-Prohibition period. The Juárez distilleries and distributors had on hand 160,000 gallons of "excellent-grade bourbon and rye." U.S. distilleries were not yet in production, so the Juárez plants shipped 21,000 gallons of 100-proof whiskey across the border during the first three months. Because the import tax was high, smuggling continued unabated, although it eventually decreased and halted. Not only did the businesses prosper for the next several years, people along the border had become used to the Mexican brands, so some – especially Straight American – continued to be popular for the next four decades (Langston 1974:240, 320-321).

## Postscript: Cervecería Cruz Blanca

According to MEXinsider.com (2008), Cervecería Cruz Blanca (White Cross Brewery) originated in Mexico City in 1869. An Alsatian immigrant, Emil Dercher, founded the firm. The site noted that Cruz Blanca survived "well into the 20th century." <sup>14</sup>

Beer Daily (2012) presented a completely different history, with a founding date of 1896 and a location in Chihuahua. Names, however, become complex almost immediately. Cía. (Compañia) Cervecera de Chihuahua, S.A. [Chihuahua Brewing Co., Inc. or Assoc.] – a managing firm – opened the Cervecería Cruz Blanca [the Cruz Blanca Brewery] in 1896 (Figure 5a-20). Different sources use each of these names – occasionally both – for the same company. This use of two names – operating firm



Figure 5a-20 – Cruz Blanca Brewery – Chichuahua (eBay)

and a physical structure – was very common during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

It is possible that the original brewery moved from Mexico City to Chihuahua in 1896, although I have found no corroboration for either the earlier (1869) date or a move from Mexico City. At some point after the Repeal of Prohibition, Cervecería Cruz Blanca opened a branch at Ciudad Juárez. As noted in the Juárez Brewery section, one postcard included "CRUZ BLANCA BEER / 'THE BEST IN MEXICO" rubber stamped in the upper left corner. This suggests that the Juárez Brewery evolved into the Cruz Blanca plant.

Cruz Blanca eventually opened at least four branches, including the original brewery at Chuhuahua and plants at Ciudad Juárez and La Laguna – as well as one other unidentified

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> This same information – copied and pasted – appears at numerous online sites. Although I have been unable to determine which was the original, all are copies and use the exact wording. These do not form any sort of corroboration for each other. There is only *one* actual source for this claim.

location shown on a beer tray (Figure 5a-21).<sup>15</sup> The view of the Juárez branch clearly shows a water tower that is virtually identical to the ones in the photos of the Prohibition-era Juárez Brewery (see Figures 5a-13 & 5a-14). The older operation may have carried Cruz Blanca beer in addition to its own brands about the time of the U.S. Repeal, and Cruz Blanca probably bought the plant soon thereafter.

A group created the holding company Valores Industriales, S.A. (VISA) in 1936. VISA, owner of the Cuauhtémoc Brewery, purchased Cervecería Cruz Blanca – headquartered in Chihuahua – in 1965 – and may have closed the original factory and two branches. A September 17, 1970, letter (Figure 5a-22) from the Juárez branch only included offices at Chihuahua and Juárez – with the only listed brewery at Juárez. At various times, the brewery sold several brands, including Cruz Blanca, Chihuahua, Cerveca Hombre, Liston Azul, and Nude Beer. FEMSA (Fomento Económico Mexicano, S.A.B. de C.V.) was created in 1988 as a successor to VISA, thereby acquiring Cervecería Cruz Blanca (FEMSA 2009; Wikipedia 2012). 16



Figure 5a-21 – Cruz Blanca tray showing four locations – including Juárez, Chihuahua, La Laguna, and one unidentified location (Rogers 2010)

On November 9, 1983, Cervecería Cruz Blanca, S.A., at Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua,

<sup>15</sup> At least one of these trays was offered at an eBay auction and another (the same?) was posted on <a href="www.Trayman.net">www.Trayman.net</a>. The tray was illustrated with a bottle of Cruz Blanca beer in the center along with drawings of four different breweries. The Chuhuahua and Juárez plants are self explanatory, but there were several locations in the State of Chihuahua called "La Laguna de . . ." I have been unable to track the other location shown on the tray. If the information from MEXinsider.com is correct, the fourth location may be Mexico City.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Most Americans are unfamiliar with Mexican corporate abbreviations.

S,A. = Sociedad Anónima (Public limited company or corporation – similar to a U.S. limited partnership or limited corporation – possibly association)

S.A. de C.V. = Sociedad Anónima de Capital Variable (Public limited company with variable capital stock)

S.A.B. de C.V. = Sociedad Anónima Bursátil de Capital Variable (Public Corporation) Bursátil indicates stocks as in Mercado Bursátil (Stock Market)

Mexico, registered "CRUZ BLANCA" as a U.S. trademark (Serial No. 73452062). However, the registration was canceled on May 15, 1991 (Trademarkia 2012). The brand certainly received the Mexican marca regisrada much earlier. Because of the border location, it seems odd that a U.S. registration was not obtained sooner.

Since the U.S trademark was canceled in 1991, it is likely that the Juárez branch closed by then, possibly earlier. Evidence from some of the brands offered by Cruz Blanca suggest that the plant probably shut down shortly after the FEMA acquisition in 1988

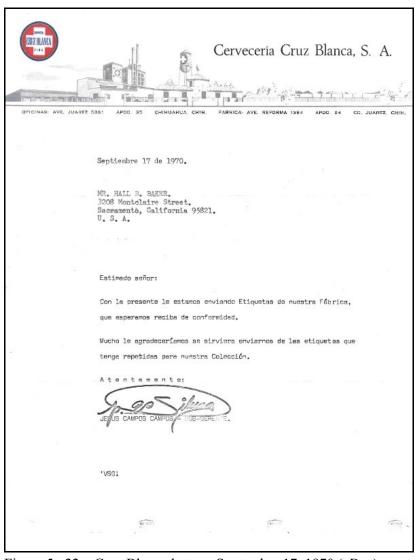


Figure 5a-22 – Cruz Blanca letter – September 17, 1970 (eBay)

(see Chapter 5b for more information.

#### Conclusion

There is no question that Prohibition was a failed experiment, *especially* in the area around El Paso, Texas. The proximity to the Mexican border effectively eliminated any chance that the drinking of alcohol would be stopped. Instead, formerly law-abiding citizens became law breakers. Smuggling became common, and Juárez became an alcohol tourist center. It was a colorful time – but one that caused a great deal of death and destruction.

Although I have also discussed the distilleries, the main focus of this book is on breweries and beer. Although the end of Chapter 4 sounded like the final chapter of the El Paso Brewery, in reality, the firm just changed its name and location. Many of the same men who had once captained the brewery at El Paso also comprised the Board of Directors of the Juárez Brewery. The migration across the border should be viewed as a shift – although there were many changes.

The brewery at Juárez continued to flourish (Tables 5a-1 & 5a-2). Even though the Board of Directors sold the brewery at the end of U.S. Prohibition, the Cruz Blanca plant continued to function for another half century. When a major reorganization occurred in 1965 (the takeover by VISA), the major result was an apparent increase in brands and an acceleration of exports to the United States. It was not until the 1988 FEMSA reorganization that the Juárez plant was apparently closed.

Table 5a-1 – Chronology of Brewing Firms and Breweries in El Paso and Juárez

Brewery	Operating Firm	Location	Date Range
El Paso Brewery	El Paso Brewing Assn.	El Paso	1904-1905
El Paso Brewery	El Paso Brewing Assn. (Sucs.)	El Paso	1905-1920
Juárez Brewery	Juárez Brewing Assn.	Juárez	1922-ca. 1935
Cruz Blanca Brewery	Chihuahua Brewing Assn.	Juárez	ca. 1935-1965
Cruz Blanca Brewery	VISA	Juárez	1865-1988
Cuauhatemoc Brewery	FEMSA	Monterrey	1988+

Unfortunately, I have only been able to find a minimal history of the alcohol-related industries of Juárez, Unlike the heavy coverage of the El Paso Brewery by the El Paso newspapers, the same sources only recorded a modicum of news about the brewery and distilleries of Juárez. According to Langston (1974), most of the Juárez newspapers from the period were destroyed in a major fire. This work will at least record a basic history of an incredible period in the life of the Border City.

Table 5a-2 – Full Names of Breweries and Operating Firms

Brewery Name	Operating Firm Name	
El Paso Brewery	El Paso Brewing Assn.	
El Paso Brewery	El Paso Brewing Assn. (Successors)	
Cervecería Juárez	Cía Cervecera de Juárez, S.A.	
Cervecería Cruz Blanca	Cía. Cervecera de Chihuahua, S.A.	
Cervecería Cruz Blanca	Valores Industriales, S.A. (VISA)	
Cerveceria Cuauhtemoc	Fomento Económico Mexicano, S.A.B. de C.V. (FEMSA)	

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