

Carl Conrad & Co. – The Original American Budweiser

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Although Carl Conrad was neither a brewer nor a bottler, he contracted with Anheuser-Busch, at that time the brewers of St Louis Lager Beer, to brew and bottle his beer for him. Conrad advertised his beer as “the Original Budweiser,” and there seems to be no doubt that this was the first use of that name on the American market. Although he was only in business for about six years, his use of embossed monograms on export beer bottles assured him a place in the history of manufacturer’s marks.

History

Carl Conrad & Co., St. Louis, Missouri (1876-1883)

Carl Conrad, a friend of Adolphus Busch, toured Europe in the mid-1870s, returning by 1876. According to Clint (1976:74), Conrad dined at a small monastery in Bohemia “where he was served a brew he declared to be ‘the best he ever tasted.’” Upon his return, Conrad began setting up Carl Conrad & Co. to market Budweiser Beer (named for the town of Budweis in Bavaria), although Conrad neither brewed beer nor manufactured bottles. Adolphus Busch actually made and bottled the beer, and a series of glass factories made the bottles. Conrad was initially successful, rapidly expanding his territory until his beer was sold nationwide (Toulouse 1971:117). However, the business went downhill in the early 1880s, and Conrad declared bankruptcy on January 15, 1883 (Clint 1976:75; *New York Times* 1/17/1883).

Baxter (1998:4) hypothesized that Conrad was forced out of business because of the bottle shortage in the West. Beer and other bottled products were shipped long distances by wagon under difficult conditions. Because of this, the empty bottles became an important commodity. Miles (1986:78) confirmed this shortage during an earlier period, when he noted that “teamsters could purchase a dozen bottles of liquor in Missouri for four dollars each, drink the contents along the way, and trade the empty bottles for six dollars worth of produce each in

New Mexico.” Thus, virtually all bottles were reused. It is particularly true of the Southwest that a proliferation of bottles was directly tied to the arrival of the railroad (see Lockhart 2001 for a more complete discussion of the railroad connection).

For breweries to profit from container sales, it was important that most bottles be returned. Unfortunately for the original bottler, the bottles were often not returned to the owner (the brewery) but continued to be refilled by competitors at the point of sale or elsewhere. The railroads alleviated the problem to some extent, but there were still many remote areas where bottles continued to be valuable well into the late 1880s or even later. Baxter’s argument that Conrad may have lost so much money on bottles that he was forced into bankruptcy thus is plausible. Baxter’s hypothesis, however, fails to explain why other brewers remained in business under the same circumstances.

The *New York Times* (1/17/1883), however, offered an alternative explanation, claiming that the very success of Conrad’s venture led to its demise. Conrad had grown so fast that he “erected new buildings on Sixth street, entered them, and established branch houses throughout the country.” Because “their branch houses were so scattered they found it impossible to get in collections as rapidly as they were needed” (*New York Times* 1/23/1883). Clint (1976:75) provided examples of this expansion, noting that Conrad opened Colorado “outlets” at Denver and Leadville in 1881 and two more at Gunnison and Salida in 1882.

Although “collections” probably referred to money, the beer bottle problem noted by Baxter may also have contributed to the overall problem. At the top of the list of Conrad’s principle creditors was Anheuser-Busch, although Adolphus Busch informed the paper that Conrad’s assets were expected to be sufficient to cover the debt. A meeting of the creditors on January 22, however, showed that Conrad’s assets would actually be about \$140,000 short of paying all his bills (*New York Times* 1/23/1883).

When Conrad declared bankruptcy in January 1883, the Lindell Glass Co. was one of the largest creditors, being owed between \$32,000 and \$33,000 by Conrad. Although the loss hit Lindell hard, a local source stated that Lindell’s “continuance in the bottling business is almost an assured fact” (*Crockery & Glass Journal* 1883:30) – and that certainly proved true (see Lindell Glass Co. section for more information about the company).

According to the Anheuser-Busch sources, the company “acquired rights to bottle and sell Budweiser” in 1883, the year Conrad declared bankruptcy (Anheuser-Busch 2003; Carroll in Berge 1980:114; Jones 1964:[16]). The transfer almost certainly occurred because Anheuser-Busch was the largest creditor (much larger than Lindell) at \$94,000. Busch apparently accepted the Budweiser trademark as payment of the debt (Clint 1976:75). Carroll noted that Conrad “eventually became an employee of Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association” (Jones 1964:[16]), although he was unclear about the time period. Conrad did not actually assign the trademark to Anheuser-Busch until 1891, and the “CCCo (*sic*) insignia and the name C. Conrad & Co. remained on the [paper] label until around 1920” (Berge 1980:114).

Although not germane to this study, there was a dispute in 2006 between Anheuser-Busch and Budejovicky Budvar of the Czech Republic about which company had the right to the name “Budweiser.” The name, itself, derives from a Czech town, Ceske Budejovice, or Budweis (in German). Although Anheuser-Busch claimed rightful use of the name due to its import to the United States in 1876, Budejovicky Budvar maintained its right to the title because the name was used in Czechoslovakia for years prior to that. There is little doubt of the Anheuser-Busch claim: Carl Conrad and his wife both confirmed that they transferred the name and rights to Anheuser-Busch as part of the January 15, 1883, bankruptcy (Plavchan 1976:72-73).¹ For more details about the case see Lee (2006).

Containers and Marks

During the six years that Carl Conrad was in business, he only used a single identifying logo, although we have identified four major variations.

¹ The transfer in 1883 could possibly conflict with the claim by *both* Berge and Anheuser-Busch that the actual reassignment of the mark occurred in 1891. Toulouse (1971:118) solved the dilemma by stating that Conrad informally transferred the “title to the brand ‘Budweiser’ . . . at the time of settling the accounts” (i.e., during the 1883 bankruptcy proceedings) but the title “was officially transferred in 1891.”

To add to the complication, Victor H. Sturm registered a California trademark for “Budweiser Lager Beer” in 1878, possibly a simple infringement case.

CC&Co monogram (1876-1882)

Toulouse (1971:117) illustrated the simple initials “C C Co” and associated them with Carl Conrad & Co. He dated the alleged mark as used from 1876 to 1883. We have been unable to find a single bottle with this mark, and it appears that he probably intended to describe the CC&Co monogram (actually found on Conrad’s Budweiser bottles) from references sent to him. Toulouse apparently obtained his information from Thomas J. Carroll. Carroll wrote at least two letters to May Jones about the AB-connected manufacturer’s mark and about Carl Conrad’s involvement with Anheuser-Busch (Jones 1963:[19-20]; 1964:[16]) – Toulouse was a part of Jones’ bottle collectors’ network. Another letter with the same information about Conrad (and much more) was written in 1967 and published by Berge (1980:114-115).

Toulouse likely obtained his information from the 1967 letter, prior to its publication by Berge. Carroll wrote that “the letters CCCo appeared on the bottom of the bottle. This type of bottle was in use from 1878 to 1883” (Berge 1980:114). Jones (1964:[16]) quoted Carroll as stating the mark was “C.C.C & Co.” The mark is more correctly described as a CC&Co monogram.

Conrad did not actually manufacture containers but contracted with an established glass house (or various companies) to make each bottle embossed with his name on the side and his monogram on the base as well as generic bottles with the monogram on the bases. All the examples that we have observed are export-style bottles with applied, two-part finishes. These finishes all have sharp lower rings, a characteristic associated with a manufacture between 1873 and ca. 1882 (Lockhart 2007:54-55).

Conrad’s trademark application actually included three trademarks: “Carl Conrad & Co.”; “CC&Co”; and “Budweiser,” although all were shown on paper labels. Trade Mark No. 6376 was registered by the Patent Office in 1878, with Conrad claiming first use in January 1876 (Berge 1980:114; Jones 1964:[16]; 1968:13). The *Oakland Tribune* (10/19/1876:3) advertised “Budweiser, Milwaukee, Culmbacher, Boca and Lager Beer” as being sold in California in late 1876, and Plavchan (1976:72) confirmed that Conrad began business in 1876.

The Toulouse end date for the mark is the date of Conrad's insolvency; however, since Conrad declared bankruptcy on January 16, 1883 (*New York Times* 1/17/1883), it is unlikely that any bottles were made for him that year. A more likely end date would be late 1882. However, there has been some dispute about the length of time the mark was used on bottles. Ayres et al. (1980:11) followed the lead of Jones (1964:[17]) in dating the mark's use from 1876 to 1891, evidently in the belief that Anheuser-Busch continued using the mark after Conrad's bankruptcy. We have found no evidence to support the use of the embossed monogram after the 1883 bankruptcy, although Anheuser-Busch continued to use the monogram on paper body and neck labels on beer bottles.

The CC&Co monogram was reported and/or illustrated by Ayres et al. (1980:10-11), Baxter (1998:4), Herskovitz (1978:11), Jones (1966:6; 1968:13), Lockhart & Olszewski (1994); Wilson (1981:114), and Wilson and Wilson (1968:176). Variations in accompanying numbers, letters, and symbols from these reports, eBay auctions, and our observation of bottles include one or more small "x" marks around the logo, letters from A to L, "two dots," and numbers from 1 to 11.

Wilson (1981:3, 6) noted an important variation. He showed two bottles embossed with C. Conrad & Co. labels on the side and the CC&Co monogram embossed on the base. In addition, the bottles were embossed with D.O.C.² on the heels. We discovered additional CC&Co-marked bottles, with the DOC mark, in the Tucson Urban Renewal collection, Fort Laramie, and from Fort Bowie (Figure 1). The D.O.C. mark was used by D.O. Cunningham from 1880 to 1931 (Lockhart et al. 2005:18-19). Therefore, Cunningham made at least some of the bottles for Conrad within the last two years prior to Conrad's bankruptcy.



Figure 1 – DOC heelmark (Tucson Urban Renewal collection)

² Note that the D.O.C. mark was used both with and without punctuation. We have therefore not tried to be consistent in our use of punctuation with the mark.

Variations in Logos



Figure 3 – Type II, Style A – simple serif C

Variations in Conrad's products may be divided using two classifications – variations in logos and variations in bottles. The logos form a dichotomy based on the presence or absence of serifs on the letters. Type I logos used a sans serif font (Figure 2). These may be centered in the base or may be above the center and may be alone

or accompanied by a one- or two-digit number embossed below the logo. The D.O.C. variant was Type I. Type II monograms included three subsets: Style A, with serifs at the upper termination of each "C" (Figure 3); Style B, with additional embellishments at the curve of each "C" (Figure 4); and Style C, with serifs at top and bottom plus embellishments. Style A may be accompanied by a single-digit number or letter immediately below the logo (Table 1)



Figure 2 – Type I – Sans serifs (eBay)



Figure 4 – Type III, Style B – serifs + embellishments

A photo of a bottle with no side embossing had a Type II monogram on the base. Thus, Type II monograms may be the older style. That is supported by the presence of Type I monograms on the later (1880-1882) bottles with DOC heelmarks. Finally, a serif on each "C" was used for the logo on the earliest paper labels used by Conrad (and all subsequent labels used by both Conrad and Anheuser-Busch). However, see the discussion section for another possible explanation.

To further test this hypothesis of ordering, we looked at our convenience sample³ for frequency (Table 2). Using the assumption that the most common bottles were the most recent, the ordering supports the hypothesis:

³ Our sample was obtained from our personal collections, archeology collections we have examined, and photos downloaded from eBay.

Table 1 – Variations in Conrad monograms⁴

| Type | Description, Variation, or Style |
|---------|--|
| Type I | Sans Serif Logos – may be accompanied by a number from 1 to 11 (and F) |
| | Variation 1 – “DOC” embossed on heel |
| Type II | Serif Logos – always accompanied by a letter from B-E (and 3) |
| | Style A – A single serif at the upper termination of each “C” |
| | Style B – Serifs plus embellishments at the “C” curve |
| | Style C – Serifs at upper and lower termination; embellishment at curve* |

* Baxter (1998:4), illustrated a bottle with serifs *only* on the lower terminations of each “C.” This may only be an engraver’s error or a mis-recording. The Style C noted in the table *only* had the serif at the lower termination of the final “C.”

Table 2 – Frequencies of Logo Styles

| Type | Description | Frequency |
|------------------|--|-----------|
| Type I | No Serif | 35 |
| Type II, Style A | Serif on top of “C”; no center embellishment | 14 |
| Type II, Style B | Serif on top of “C”; center embellishment | 3 |
| Type II, Style B | Serif on top & bottom of “C”; center embellishment | 1 |

Variations in Bottles

The second classification was by bottle styles. This was complicated when a previously unknown bottle was offered on eBay and later at the American Bottle Auction. The bottle had a blob top and a “champagne” shape (See Lindsey 2014 for typing of beer bottles). The front was embossed “ORIGINAL / BUDWEISER” with “THIS BOTTLE / NOT TO / BE SOLD” on the reverse (Figure 5). The base was embossed “UST / 6376” (Figure 6). We originally thought that

⁴ In Lockhart et al. (2006:39-40), we unnecessarily complicated the classification.



Figure 5 – Original Budweiser blob-top bottle (American Bottle Auction)

this bottle was Conrad’s first, but the evidence indicates that it was probably an interim bottle between the export bottles with unembossed sides and the later export bottles with the “C. CONRAD & CO.” side embossing. Our reasoning follows several points:

1. Conrad claimed first use of his logo in 1876.
2. The logo was actually registered as a trade mark in 1878.
3. Only bottles without the trademark number (6376), whether marked “UST” (probably

United States Trademark) or “PATENT No.” (incorrectly) could have been used prior to 1878.⁵

4. The “champagne” style bottle – *with* the trademark number – therefore, could not have been used prior to 1878 and was thus likely an interim bottle used ca. January 1878, right after Conrad received the trade mark.

We have only seen the serif logo on “slick-sided” bottles – with no embossing on the sides (Figure 7). Both logo Types were recorded on bottles marked on the side with “C. CONRAD & CO. / ORIGINAL / BUDWEISER / U.S. PATENT No. 6376” (Figures 8 & 9). As noted above, the D.O.C. heelmark was only associated with Type I logos. Table 3 provides a probable sequence for both embossed bottles and paper labels (although any of these could overlap).



Figure 6 – Base of blob-top bottle (eBay)



Figure 7 – Slick-sided bottle (eBay)

⁵ Despite the word “PATENT,” this was a trademark number. Possibly because English was his second language, and trademarks were (and are) registered through the Patent Office, Conrad was confused.



Figure 8 – Embossed bottle (American Bottle Auction)

As mentioned above, all of these bottles had two-part applied finishes with sharp lower rings. Almost all of these (possibly all) have the lower ring configured with a downward flare (Figure 10). It is possible that a few of these had a wedge shape, but we have not seen an actual example or a photo with high enough resolution to detect a wedge-shaped lower ring for certain. A few also appear rounded, but the “rounding” is caused by a build up of lubricant on the finishing tool. For a thorough description of the applying and tooling process, see Lindsey 2014).

Variations in Labels

Both Conrad and Anheuser-Busch affixed paper labels on various styles of bottles. Anheuser-Busch continued the tradition of the Conrad monogram on both neck and body labels until the end of Prohibition. Sometimes the upper neck and finish of the bottles were wrapped in foil, in which case, there was no neck label. When either firm used a neck label, it was bright red with white letters (Figures 11 & 12).

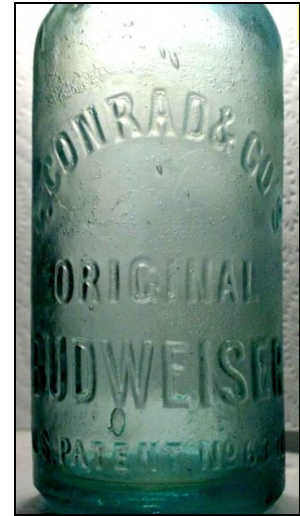


Figure 9 – Embossed closeup (eBay)



Finish 10 – Applied finish (eBay)



Finish 11 – CC&Co Neck label (eBay)



Figure 12 – Neck label on bottle (eBay)

Table 3 – Pre-Prohibition Bottles & Labels used by C. Conrad & Co. and Anheuser-Busch

| Date Range | Bottle Style | Logo | Paper Label |
|------------|--|--------------|--|
| 1876-1878 | Logo on base or generic – no side embossing | Type II | Conrad – two part (Variation 1) |
| 1878 | Embossed ORIGINAL / BUDWEISER on side; base unmarked | none | none; THIS BOTTLE / NOT TO / BE SOLD embossed on back |
| 1878-1880 | Logo on base – ORIGINAL BUDWEISER on side | Type I or II | Conrad – two part (Variation 2) Conrad – one part (red) |
| 1880-1882 | Logo on base – ORIGINAL BUDWEISER . . . on side; DOC on heel or unmarked | Type I | Conrad – one part (red) |
| 1883-1908 | Generic | None | Anheuser-Busch – small Conrad & Co.; German |
| 1908-1914 | Generic | None | Anheuser-Busch – large Conrad & Co.; German |
| 1915-1917 | Generic | None | Anheuser-Busch – English (no volume of alcohol) |
| 1917-1919 | Generic | None | Anheuser-Busch – English (2.75% alcohol) |
| 1920-1924? | Generic | None | Anheuser-Busch – only Budweiser (no “Lager Beer”) |

These neck labels were quite complex. We have divided their components into nine areas that changed over time (Figure 13): 1) the top scroll; 2) the left eagle; 3) the right eagle; 4) the left and right “crown” tabs; 5) the lower text area; 6) bottom of the label; 7) top of the lower text area; 8) above the lower text area; and 9) the right and left edges. An additional area – the upper central logo with the CC&Co monogram – remained constant from the initial Conrad label to the one used during Prohibition.



Figure 13 – Label areas

The central logo consisted of the CC&Co monogram with “TRADE / MARK” below it, surrounded by an oval “belt” within a diamond-shaped white area. This had the names of continents around the outside edges (respectively AUSTRALIA, EUROPE, ASI, and AFRICA clockwise), surrounded by a circle with AMERICA below. All of this was surrounded by a fancy border inside the final outer circle.

Bob Kay (2010) – in conjunction with the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Assn. – published a study about Budweiser labels used by both Conrad and Anheuser-Busch prior to Prohibition that we have used as the basis for our analysis. In addition, we have discovered three variations from other sources and added a discussion of a Prohibition label from a newspaper advertisement. We have divided the labels into two broad categories – C. Conrad & Co. and Anheuser-Busch – along with an analysis of the major and minor changes in the labels.

C. Conrad & Co.

During his short six years in business, Carl Conrad used at least four label variations, and these may be attributed to various date ranges based on characteristics of the changes.

Variation A – First Two-Part Label

The earliest paper label for C. Conrad & Co. by was made in two pieces with black lettering on a white background. The upper label consisted only of parts 1 and 4 in our analysis scheme, along with the CC&Co monogram and logo in the center, that showed a serif on the top of each “C” and an embellishment at the center of each letter. This demonstrates that the serifs were part of the earliest logo design. Parts 2 and 3 had not yet been developed.

The message in the top scroll (Area 1) was written in English:

We guarantee that this Beer is brewed especially for our
own trade according to the Budweiser Process of the best Saazer
Hops and Bohemian Barley and warranted to keep in any climate. [all italics]
ALL OUR CORKS ARE BURNED WITH OUR TRADEMARK.

Later corks, under Anheuser-Busch, were branded with the BUDWEISER trade mark on the side of the cork, so it is logical to assume that the same brand (rather than the CC&Co trade mark) was used by Conrad.

The lower label only consisted of Area 5 (lacking 6, 7, 8, and 9). It was written entirely in German (Conrad's native tongue):

Budweiser Lager Bier
gebraut aus feinstem
Saazer Hopfen und Bömhischer Gerste
für
C. Conrad & Co. [large]
Mainz, Geisenheim ^a/R. & St. Louis, Mo. [all italics]
(Figure 14)

which translates to:

Budweiser Lager Beer
brewed from
Saazar Hops & Bohemian Barley
for
C. Conrad & Co.



Figure 14 – Conrad's first label (Bob Kay)

The final line indicates Geisenheim, Germany, a small village near Mainz along the Rhine River (^a/R = am Rhine or along the Rhine River).

The inclusion of Mainz, Germany – on the label as a company location – is intriguing. Mainz was the birthplace of Adolphus Busch, but we have been unable to find any other connections. The label suggests, however, that Conrad had a business in Mainz (or possibly Geisenheim), as well. The upper label not only noted five continents, it also called Budweiser “World Renowned” – suggesting that the beer was exported to numerous locations outside the U.S. and Germany. Of course, this may have been a marketing ploy.

Kay (2010) noted that the label was used from ca. 1877-1879. The dates we suggest for the first Conrad labels are only slightly different from those attributed by Kay. The trade mark number (6376) was granted in 1878 as reflected on the next label. Kay's 1879 end date on the original label might reflect the use of the labels until the supply ran out, and it is likely that the generic bottle supply was similarly used until the supply was exhausted. We suggest that these labels were used mostly (if not entirely) on bottles marked only with the CC&Co monogram on the base and/or generic, export beer bottles – probably from 1876 to 1878 (see Table 3). Neck labels during this period incorrectly noted that the trademark was registered in 1877 (see Figure 11). Later ones corrected the date to 1878.



Figure 15 – Variation of Conrad's first label (Clint 1976:74)

Variation B – Second Two-Part Label

Clint (1976:74) illustrated a slight variation of the two-part label. The upper label was exactly the same, but the lower label had “TRADE MARK N^o 6376” (with a dot in place of the underline) at the top of the label (Area 7) and “REGISTERED N^o 1790” at the bottom (Area 8). The label was probably used ca. 1878 or 1879. In Clint's photo, the label was applied to one of the embossed bottles (Figure 15).

Variation C – First Red-Background Label

The third Conrad label wedded the original two labels together on a red background with two small, yellow-orange rectangles (Areas 2 and 3) at the upper corners. The left rectangle showed the right-facing profile of an eagle with wings spread above his head and a small shield below his breast labeled “U.S.” in red. Scrubby stems and leaves extended to the right of the shield, and the eagle sat upon the top section of a globe. The right rectangle depicted a two-headed upright eagle with spread wings, very similar to the coat of arms of Montenegro or that of the Greek Orthodox Church. A crown adorned the right head, and the CC&Co monogram

appeared in red at the center body. The eagle held a scepter in its left claw and a Christian censer (with cross) in its right.

Another area (4) was also added to the left and right sides of the top of the new combined label. The left side consisted of a crown leaning toward the center of the label, surrounded by a wreath of grains – probably barley and hops. The words “THE WORLD / RENOWNED” appeared on the right edge of the left side. The right side was identical but in mirror image, with the words “BUDWEISER / LAGER BEER.”



Figure 16 – Conrad’s first red label (Bob Kay)

Area 1 had the same wording as in the initial two labels, but the layout was different:

We guarantee that this Beer is brewed especially for our own trade,
according to the Budweiser Process, of the best Saazer Hops and Bohemian Barley, and warranted to keep in any climate.
All Our Corks Are Burned with Our Trademark. [all italics]

The lower text area (5) contained the same information as the earlier two labels but added “REGISTERED No 1790” at the bottom (Area 6) and “CALL ATTENTION TO OUR TRAVELERS’ SUPPLY CASES WITH 4 BOTTLES BUDWEISER, GLASS & CORK SCREW” below in the margin of the label (also Area 6). Area 7 added “AMENDED APPLICATION FOR” to the left and “TRADE MARK APPLIED FOR” to the right – with “TRADE MARK” to the left and “No. 6376” to the right above the text area (Area 8). Area 9 was also new to this label with “ORIGINAL / AS DECREED BY THE COURTS” on the left side and “ONLY GENUINE / AS DECREED BY THE COURTS” on the right (Figure 16). Kay (2010) dated this label ca. 1879-1886. We suggest that the use of these labels ceased ca. 1881 or 1882, prior to the Conrad bankruptcy. The lack of the words “Anheuser-Busch” makes the use of this label after the Conrad years very unlikely.

Variation D – Second Red-Background Label

As with Variation C, the words in the top scroll (Area 1) were identical with the preceding label but the configuration had again changed:

We guarantee that this Beer is brewed especially for our own
trade, according to the Budweiser Process of the best Saazer Hops and
Bohemian Barley and warranted to keep in any climate.
All Our Corks Are Burned with Our Trademark. [all italics]

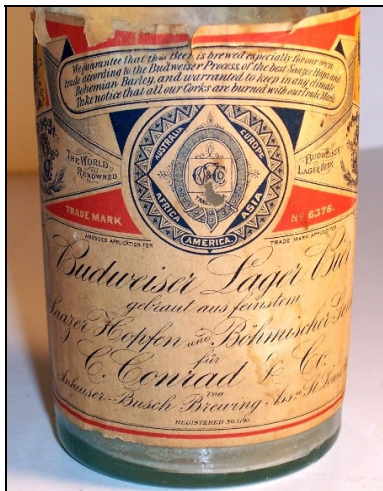


Figure 17 – Final Conrad label (eBay)

Area 2 was the same as Label C, but the eagle had higher wings and bald (white) head. There was better definition to the stems and leaves extending from the shield, and the drawing was generally of better quality. Area 3 was not included in the eBay photos, and there was almost no change in Area 4 except that the definition was much sharper.



Figure 18 – Bottle with final Conrad label (eBay)



Figure 19 – Back cork label (eBay)

On the lower section, Area 5 was the same except that the bottom line had “Anheuser-Busch Brewing Assⁿ, St. Louis, Mo.” instead of Mainz or any other German reference. Area 6 remained the same as Variation B (no “Call Attention to Our . . .”) and both Areas 7 and 8 were identical with Variation C. Although only the left side was visible, Area 9 was probably also the same as Variation C (Figures 17 & 18). This variation was a transitional label and was probably only used by Conrad during 1882, his final year

in business. By at least this point, a back label warned: “CAUTION: SEE THAT / EVERY CORK IS BRANDED / {drawing of a cork with the word “BUDWEISER”} / Anheuser-Busch / Brewing Association St. Louis USA (Figure 19).

We have assumed that these were all used during the Conrad years because “C. Conrad & Co.” was in much larger letters, and the first three labels had the reference to Geisenheim and Mainz, both on the Rhine River in Germany. The final label in the set *did* reference Anheuser-Busch but in much smaller letters, but the label still said “für C. Conrad & Co.” – for C. Conrad & Co.

Anheuser-Busch

Anheuser-Busch also used at least four different label variations during the period between 1883, when the brewery acquired the Budweiser label and the advent of Prohibition in 1920. All of these continued to feature the central logo with the CC&Co monogram.

Variation A – The First Anheuser-Busch Label

This label was much the same as Conrad’s final label – with a few notable changes. The top scroll (Area 1) had reverted to the format used in Variation C of the Conrad labels, and Area 2 was the same except for a crest that appeared on the eagle’s head. There were clearly visible differences in Area 3, mostly due to an improved drawing, but both eagles now sported crowns, and their heads were white. There was no change in Area 4.



Figure 20 – First Anheuser-Busch label (Bob Kay)

The two changes in Area 5 were small, but one was very important. “Böhmischer Gerste” had been changed to “Bester Gerste” (Finest Barley rather than Bohemian Barley), and “für / C. Conrad & Co.” was now “früher für / C. Conrad & Co.” The term “formerly for”

indicated that this was now an Anheuser-Busch brand – despite the larger size of “C. Conrad & Co.” Area 6 was unchanged, but the printing in Area 7 had vanished. Area 8 remained the same, but both sides of Area 9 now read “GENUINE / AS DECREED BY THE COURTS” (Figure 20)

Although Kay (2010) dated this label ca. 1886-1908, we feel that the label was likely used by Anheuser-Busch shortly after the Conrad Bankruptcy in January 1883. It is unlikely that Adolphus Busch, noted for his arrogance, would have used any of the Conrad labels after Anheuser-Busch acquired the brand in 1883. The label may have been used as late as 1908.

Variation B – The Second Anheuser-Busch Label

The second label reflects greater confidence in Budweiser as an Anheuser-Busch brand. Area 1 was identical with Variation D of the Conrad labels. This is a bit odd. Area 1 of the third label in the Conrad series matches the same area in the first label in the Anheuser-Busch series, while Area 1 of the final Conrad label is identical with the same area on the second Anheuser-Busch label – yet the “früher für” (formerly for) above the Conrad name makes the order of the labels virtually certain.

The only difference in Area 2 was a change from “U.S.” in the shield below the eagle’s breast to the CC&Co monogram and the elimination of the red color. The red was also missing from the same logo on the eagle in Area 3. Area 4 was the same.

In Area 5, the C. Conrad & Co. name had shrunk dramatically, while “Anheuser-Busch Brewing Assn.” had grown so much in size that an extra line had to be added for “St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.” “REGISTERED N^o 1790” in Area 6 had become “REG.U.S.PAT.OFF.” – although Area 7 remained blank. Area 8 had changed to “TRADE MARK” on the left and “REGISTERED” on the right, but Area nine remained identical to the



Figure 21 – Second Anheuser-Busch label (Bob Kay)

former label (Figure 21). Kay (2010) suggested a ca. 1908-1917 date range for this label, although we believe that the end date should be ca. 1914 (explanation below).

Variation C – ALCOHOL 4½%

The top scroll on Variation C had again changed configuration along with slight alterations in wording, especially the addition of “rice”:

We guarantee that this Beer is brewed especially for our own trade, according to the Budweiser Process of the best Saazer Hops, best barley and rice. This Beer is brewed in St. Louis and warranted to keep in any climate. Take notice that all corkage bears Our Trademark. [all italics]

Most of the other areas (2, 3, and 4) in the top portion were unclear in the photographs.

The only change in the bottom part of the label was the addition of “ALCOHOL 4½%” and “CONTENTS 25 OZ.” (or 12 ½ OZ.) across the top of the lower text section of Area 5 (Figure 22). This was an obvious response to the Gould Amendment of 1913, a rider to the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 that required among other things that the volume of all bottles appear on the package. Bottlers of all types were given until September 1914 to comply. The label is therefore probably no older than 1914, and this probably decreases Kay’s date for the previous label by three years. These labels were likely used from 1914 to ca. 1917.



Figure 22 – Variation of second label (eBay)

Variation D – English Only

The final pre-Prohibition label used for Budweiser by Anheuser-Busch still retained the CC&Co monogram but included small, significant changes. Area 1 remained the same, but the “corkage” message now read, “Take notice that all crowns bear our trade mark.” The left eagle (Area 2) now had no crest, no shield, and no leaves; The eagle now stood on a rock branded with

the CC&Co monogram. The double-headed eagle logo on the right (Area 3) had now become a mirror image of the profile eagle on the left, including the CC&Co monogram. Finally, in Area 4, the crowns had been eliminated, leaving only the barley and hops.

The message in Area 5 had been entirely translated into English:

Budweiser Lager Beer
brewed from
Choices Hops, Rice, and Best Barley
formerly for
C. Conrad & Co.
by
Anheuser-Busch Brewing Assn [large]
St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A. [all italics]

Area 6 remained the same, but Area 7 had been altered to “ALCOHOL NOT EXC. 2.75% WT.” on the left and “MIN. CONTENTS 1 PT. 8 FL.OZ.” on the right (Figure 23). The other areas were unchanged. Kay (2010) dated this label ca. 1917-1919, and we concur.

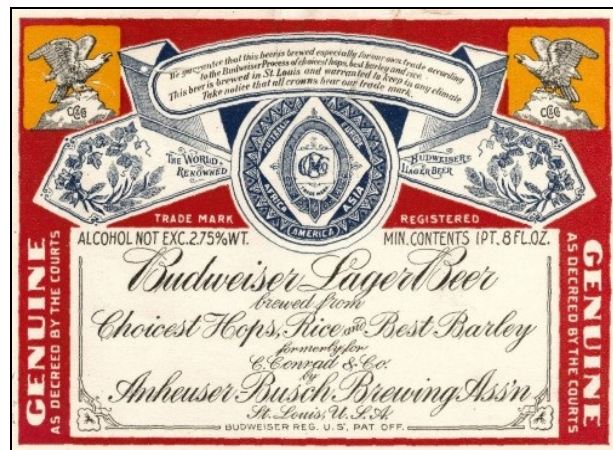


Figure 23 – Final Anheuser-Busch label (Bob Kay)

This label has three intriguing features, all significant. First, corks had been replaced by crowns. This apparently occurred ca. 1915. During a period that may have begun by 1905 or earlier, advertisements for Budweiser offered a choice of corks or crowns – as the customer preferred. The last ads of this sort we have found were in 1914. The inference, of course, is that crowns entirely replace corks the following year. Second, all German references had been removed from the label, clearly as a patriotic response to the U.S. entry into World War I. This became common among breweries with German backgrounds during the period immediately preceding the 1918 U.S. involvement in World War I. Finally, the limited percentage of alcohol was decreed in many jurisdictions prior to the implementation of Prohibition.

Anheuser-Busch – Prohibition

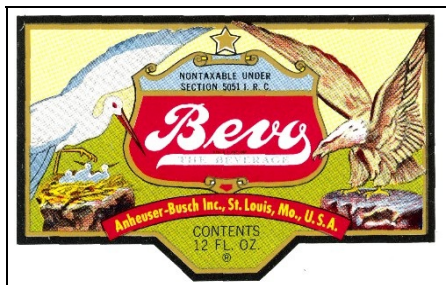


Figure 24 – Bevo label (Bob Kay)

Prior to Prohibition, Anheuser-Busch began brewing a near-beer (non-alcoholic cereal beverage) called Bevo (Figure 24). For more on Bevo, see Lockhart (2010). Anheuser-Busch also brewed Budweiser near-beer during Prohibition. As Bevo declined in popularity, the firm emphasized its old standby, Budweiser. A 1922 ad showed an illustration of a bottle of Budweiser near-beer with a label that closely resembled the one used from 1917 to 1919. Although most of the label in the ad was illegible, the name “Budweiser” in cursive replaced the former “Budweiser Lager Beer” at the top of the lower section (Figure 25). The following three lines appeared to be different, but the Anheuser-Bush identification was legible (*El Paso Times* 8/18/1920).

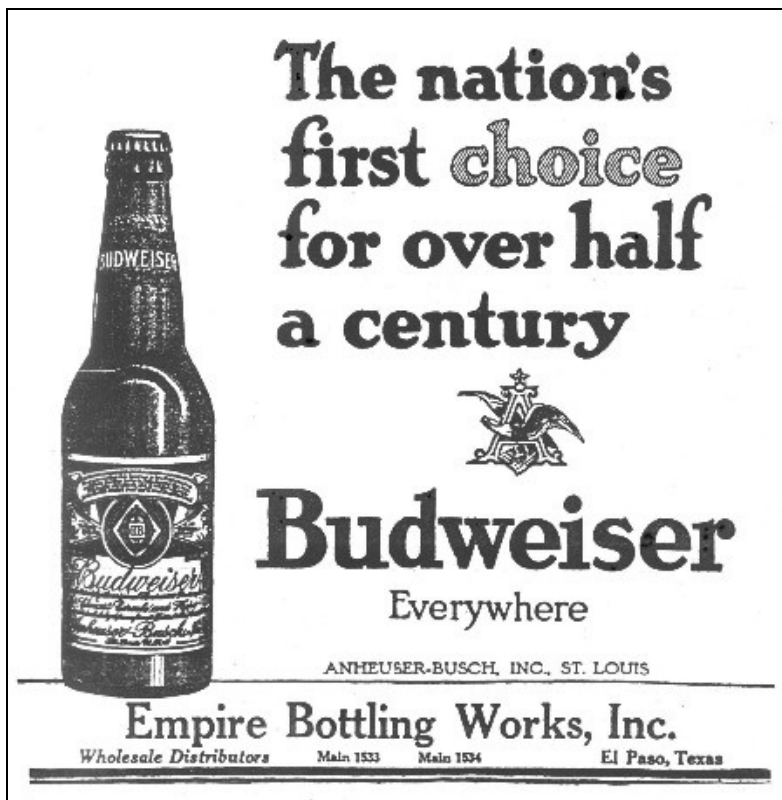


Figure 25 – Prohibition label (*El Paso Times* 8/18/1920)

Missing Labels

The addition to Kay’s chronology (based on a collaboration with Anheuser-Busch) of three label variations (one from Clint 1976:74, two from eBay) suggests that there may be additional labels currently not cataloged.

Beer Glasses



Figure 26 – Pilsener Glass (Mike Lawson)

Early on, Conrad also offered Budweiser drinkers two glasses embossed with his logo. These were stemmed pilsener glasses with flutes at the base of the bowl and upper stem. The bowl was tall and tapered in an inverted cone shape from the rim to the base of the bowl. The side of the earliest example was embossed “Budweiser (cursive) / {CC&Co logo}” (Figure 26). The other glass was identical, except that “Patent appd for” – also in cursive – was in an inverted arch below the logo (Figure 27). The first was likely made in 1876, the second in 1877. Glasses made later would almost certainly have the trademark (“patent”) number.



Figure 27 – Pilsener Glass (Clint 1976:75)

Connections with the OGCo Monogram

In an earlier publication (Lockhart et al 2006:41), we hypothesized and tested the relationship between the OGCo monogram and Conrad’s CC&Co monogram (Figure 28). The two resemble each other closely, although the Conrad logo has only been found on aqua bottles, and the OGCo monogram only appeared on amber ones. Both have been recorded surrounded by small “x” marks. However, this was an era when few glass houses made their own molds. The “x” connection and similarities between the two marks may well indicate a connection with the mold maker rather than a bottle producer. See Ottawa Glass Co section for a discussion of the OGCo monogram.



Figure 28 – OGCo monogram (Hillsboro, NM)

Discussion and Conclusions

The CC&Co monogram is clearly associated with Carl Conrad and his company that procured (but did not manufacture) bottles for beer actually brewed by Anheuser-Busch. Bottles embossed with the Conrad name and logo were probably made as early as 1876 when Conrad first began producing Budweiser. Since the CC&Co monogram is also found on bases of otherwise unembossed export beer bottles, those bottles were probably used prior to the ones embossed with the Budweiser and trademark number. In all probability, manufacture of the bottles with the embossed monogram stopped abruptly at the end of 1882 to coincide with Conrad's bankruptcy in January 1883.

The large amount of money that Conrad owed to the Lindell Glass Co. at the time of his bankruptcy almost certainly indicates that Lindell made at least some of the bottles used by C. Conrad & Co., likely many of the containers. This connection also makes it fairly certain that Lindell made bottles for Conrad during the last few years of the firm's existence. It is also certain that D.O. Cunningham made at least some of the bottles used by Conrad during the 1880-1882 period.

The connection with D.O. Cunningham *may* also indicate a connection with his father's company, Cunninghams & Co. The older company made some beer bottles for Anheuser-Busch, and that allegiance may have transferred to Conrad. However, the Mississippi Glass Co., Lindell Glass Co., both located in St. Louis, and the De Steiger Glass Co. of La Salle, Illinois, and Buffalo, Iowa, also made bottles for Anheuser-Bush and cannot be excluded from consideration.

Since the Conrad logos on bottle bases divide themselves into two distinct categories (those with serifs and those without), there may have been two major manufacturers of the Conrad bottles. The bottle we have observed with the DOC heelmark had the sans serif logo on the base. Thus, the Cunningham companies *may*, therefore, have made the bottles with the sans serif logos, while Lindell *may* have made the serif style. As noted above, Lindell certainly made bottles for Conrad, and was one of his larger creditors at the time of the 1883 insolvency (*Crockery and Glass Journal* 1883). Unless new methods are discovered to better pinpoint individual manufacturing companies, the lack of manufacturer's marks on all but the D.O.C. bottles limits our search to speculation.

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