Victoria University

Diversity, Inclusion and the Cocktail Connection

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Abstract

From its increase in books sales, to its presence in podcasts and websites, along with a lengthy history of references in popular literature, film and television, it is clear the cocktail has become a significant niche within contemporary consumer culture. Current market research estimates that the value of the global cocktail industry will reach US$1.4 billion by 2027. But the cocktail is not new. Archival evidence indicates the drink has been a societal phenomenon for hundreds of years. Despite the ongoing popularity of the cocktail, the current landscape of academic literature shows little if any focus on this area of tourism and hospitality. This study aims to offer some insight into a question yet to be posted in academia. What is cocktail culture, socially and historically? It also provides support for the idea that the cocktail experience employs diversity to foster social connection amongst its consumers.

This research undertakes an inductive ethnographic exploration of historical archives, including first- and second-hand accounts of cocktail drinking environments and instructional literature to discover the value systems that have historically been associated with the cocktail experience. It highlights diversity, inclusion, and social connection as foundational principles of the cultural value system that surrounded the birth and expansion of the cocktail. This data is then compared to the results of the thematic analysis of a focus group consisting of various professionals in the cocktail industry in Melbourne, Australia. It examines how these values continue to influence Melbourne's contemporary cocktail experience. These findings suggest the cocktail experience can and often does leave consumers feeling more connected.

Declaration

I, Anna Bosco, declare that the Master of Research thesis entitled 'Diversity, Inclusion, and the Cocktail Connection' is no more than 50,000 words in length, including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references, and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree of diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.
I have conducted my research in alignment with the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research and Victoria University's High Degree by Research Policy and Procedures.

Signature:  Date: 19 August 2022

Ethics Declaration

All research procedures reported in the thesis were approved by the Ethics Committee HRE20-223.

Signature:  Date: 19 August 2022

Dedication

This work is dedicated to all of the beautiful souls who throughout the years have devoted their grace, gifts, and heartfelt hospitality to serve me a proper cocktail.

Acknowledgments

Writing a thesis is hard enough, but taking this project on during a pandemic made it at times feel close to impossible. I would like to first and foremost thank my supervisors Dr Joanne Pyke and Professor Robert Pascoe for their tireless support and dedication throughout this process.

And a huge thank you to my family, for unquestionably supporting a bold move, answering the phone at all hours, and always believing in me, even during the few times when I didn't.

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And a special thanks to the all of the members of the Employees Only family, a bar that gave me the vision to see beyond the bottom of a glass.

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Preface

I never expected to write about the cocktail. When I first visited Melbourne in 2018, it was the furthest thing from my mind. At that time, I was living in New York and had spent close to a decade consistently exploring other parts of the world. Usually, I was not travelling for work. Instead, through those years, I had made a point of ensuring my experiences with travel were purely recreational. Because I travelled as a single woman, I often used a city's cocktail bar network as a sort of navigation base for exploring what the region had to offer. This was because, for me, the cocktail bar felt like a safe territory, a place I'd be looked after. In some odd way, these bars always gave me a feeling of comfort and belonging, despite the differences in the culture that hosted them.

I have not worked in the cocktail industry, nor have I ever been a bartender or bar owner. I have really only had the privilege of understanding the cocktail from a consumerist perspective. However, as a result of the parameters I used for travel, I have been to hundreds of cocktail bars. And if I sat down today and tried to list them, I am positive I could name close to every single one. I spent years acutely aware of the fact that the cocktail has left me with some of the most memorable, satisfying, and stimulating experiences of my adult life. The impetus for this research, then, has been a thorough and honest attempt to answer the longstanding, lingering, and by this point gnawing questions of ‘Why are these experiences so consistently rewarding?’ ‘How are these experiences leaving me feeling so connected to foreign environments?’ ‘Is it possible that the cocktail has its own global culture?’ ‘If so, where did that culture come from?’ This research will shed some light on those questions. Nonetheless, because of the breadth of my previous personal experience with the cocktail, it might be worth noting that my quest to understand the culture began long before I started writing this thesis and is undoubtedly developing into a lifetime pursuit.

PART I
Defining cocktail culture

Chapter 1: In search of social connection

1.1 Background

Social connection can be defined as 'the energy that exists between people when they feel seen, heard, and valued'.[1] Although sometimes seeming a bit trivial compared to things like food, water, or shelter, it has been well established in science that social connection is a basic human need. Human connections, mental health, physiological health, and emotional well-being are inextricably linked.[2] In other words, we are biologically designed to benefit from social connection. Social connection also leads to happiness.[3] In short, connection is considered one of the most basic yet essential features of human life, as social belonging is a necessary component to living a meaningful one.[4]

These findings are echoed in tourism research. Travel can be about the experience of connectedness. This particularly applies to the individual but travel also generates stronger connections within and between communities.[5] Some progressive impacts of tourism include increased community, pride, and value, cultural exchanges, community participation, and sharing of cultural knowledge.[6] This is not to mention the

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[1] B. Brown, *The Gifts of Imperfection: Let Go of Who You Yhink You're Supposed to Be and Embrace Who You Are*, Hazelden, 2010, p. 29

[2] J. Cacioppo and W. Patrick, *Loneliness: Human Nature and the Need for Social Connection*, WW Norton Company, 2008; C.A. Hutcherson, E.M. Seppala and J.J. Gross, 'Loving-kindness meditation increases social connectedness', *Emotion*, vol. 8, no. 5, 2008, pp. 720-24

[3] Cacioppo and Patrick, *Loneliness*; M.A. Moliner et al., 'Perceived relationship quality and post-purchase perceived value: An integrative framework', *European Journal of Marketing*, vol. 41, no. 11/12, 2007, pp. 1392-1421.; E. Seppala, 'The compassionate mind', *APS Observer*, vol. 26, no. 11/12, 2013; E. Seppala, T. Rossomando and J.R. Doty, 'Social connection and compassion: Important predictors of health and well-being', *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, vol. 80, no. 2, 2013, pp. 411-30

[4] S. Gössling, S.A. Cohen and J.F. Hibbert, 'Tourism as connectedness', *Current Issues in Tourism*, vol. 21, no. 14, 2018, pp. 1586-1600; R.F. Baumeister et al., 'Some key differences between a happy life and a meaningful life', *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, vol. 8, no. 6, 2013, pp. 505-16; D. Smallen, 'Experiences of meaningful connection in the first weeks of the COVID-19 pandemic', *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, vol. 38, no. 10, 2021, pp. 2886-2905

[5] Gössling, Cohen and Hibbert, 'Tourism as connectedness'

[6] H. Ramkissoon, 'Perceived social impacts of tourism and quality-of-life: a new conceptual model', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 2020, pp. 1-17, https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1858091

social benefits of increased tolerance, understanding, and cohesion.[7] The encouraging feedback of tourism effects also contributes to improved health, well-being and overall quality of life benefits.[8] These insights corroborate with contemporary research of social connection. In recent decades, positive tourism outcomes have also coincided with the exponential increase in travel. In 2018 the United Nations World Tourism Organization estimated that the number of international travellers increased from 25 million in 1950, to 1.4 billion by 2018, indicating a 56-fold increase.[9]

Travel isn't the only activity linking us together. Globalisation has also been driven by global trade and unparalleled volumes of immigration. Coincidentally, the Human Security Project at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver confirms that the number of international wars shrank from six a year during the 1950s (including anti-colonial wars) to barely one a year in the 2010s.[10]

These indicators highlight that this millennium can be characterised as the most diverse, well-travelled, and well traded era in history. People have been introduced at unprecedented levels to individuals embodying a range of differences, including ethnicity, race, religion, and culture.[11] Because of the extraordinary levels of intermingling, research and social policy have pointedly focused on the concepts of diversity and inclusion. This led to the asking of a lot of different questions. An extremely important one became: how do we connect with people who are different from us?

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[7] A. Besculides, M.E. Lee and P.J. McCormick, 'Residents' perceptions of the cultural benefits of tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2002, pp. 303-19

[8] F. Magno and G. Dossena, 'Pride of being part of a host community? Medium-term effects of mega-events on citizen quality of life: The case of the World Expo 2015 in Milan', *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, vol. 15, 100410, https://doi.org/10.1016/j/jdmm, 2020; E. Woo, M. Uysal and M. Joseph Sirgy, 'What is the nature of the relationship between tourism development and the quality of life of host communities?', in Campón-Cerro, A., Hernández-Mogollón, J., Folgado-Fernández, J. (eds.), *Best Practices in Hospitality and Tourism Marketing and Management*, Springer, 2019, pp.43-62

[9] United Nations World Travel Organization, 'International Tourist Arrivals Reach 1.4 Billion Two Years Ahead of Forecasts', United Nations World Travel Organization 2019, https://www.unwto.org/global/press-release/2019-01-21/international-tourist-arrivals-reach-14-billion-two-years-ahead-forecasts, (accessed 1 August 2022)

[10] L. Freedman, 'Stephen Pinker and the long peace: Alliance, deterrence and decline', *Cold War History*, vol. 14, no. 4, 2014, pp. 657-72

[11] J. Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*, Taylor & Francis, 2012

With the emergence of COVID-19, much of this has changed, as the hospitality and tourism industries have suffered devastating disruption.[12] For example, in 2020 international, and even sometimes state border closings caused the number of people travelling internationally to drop a massive 74 per cent.[13] Government-imposed lockdowns enforced stay-at-home mandates leading to communities and individuals feeling more isolated. As a result of the pandemic, policies were purposefully focused on elements of public health related to communicable disease. Unfortunately, this was to the detriment of various other facets of society, including timely medical care, financial stability, and general feelings of safety and well-being, all of which have exacerbated mental health issues on a significant scale.[14] It seemed as though policy makers believed social connectivity was a luxury humanity could no longer afford.

This mentality is short-sighted. On the whole, connection gives humans a better chance for survival.[15] Contemporary research affirms that human connection, mental health, physiological health, and emotional well-being are all inextricably linked.[16] Individuals who feel socially connected are less likely to experience extended periods of sadness, loneliness, low self-esteem, and problems with eating and sleeping.[17] Conversely, social isolation and loneliness are linked to higher risks for a multitude of physical and mental conditions, including high blood pressure, heart disease, obesity, weakened immune system, anxiety, depression, cognitive decline, Alzheimer's disease, and even death.[18] Lack of social connection is considered a more significant

[12] M. Nicola et al., 'The socio-economic implications of the coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19): A review', *International Journal of Surgery*, vol. 78, 2020, pp. 185-93

[13] S.A. Altman and Caroline Bastian, 'The State of Globalization in 2021', https://hbr.org, https://hbr.org/2021/03/the-state-of-globalization-in-2021 (accessed 22 July, 2022)

[14] M.C. Schippers, 'For the greater good? The devastating ripple effects of the Covid-19 crisis', *Frontiers in Psychology*, vol. 11, 2020, 57740; R. Stanton et al., 'Depression, anxiety and stress during COVID-19: Associations with changes in physical activity, sleep, tobacco and alcohol use in Australian adults', *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, vol. 17, no. 11, 2020, p. 4065; J.D. Buckner et al., 'Increases in distress during stay-at-home mandates during the COVID-19 pandemic: A longitudinal study', *Psychiatry Research*, vol. 298, 2021, 113821

[15] Cacioppo and Patrick, *Loneliness*

[16] P.A. Thoits, 'Mechanisms linking social ties and support to physical and mental health', *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, vol. 52, no. 2, 2011, pp. 145-61

[17] J.F. Helliwell and R.D. Putnam, 'The social context of well–being', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B: Biological Sciences*, vol. 359, no. 1449, 2004, pp. 1435-46

[18] Seppala, 'The compassionate mind'; National Institute of Aging, 'Social isolation, loneliness in older people pose health risks', *National Institute of Aging*, no. 11/12, 2019; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine, *Social Isolation and Loneliness in Older Adults: Opportunities for the Health Care System*, National Academies Press, 2020

detriment to health than obesity, smoking, and high blood pressure.[19] With all of this in mind, the response to the COVID-19 pandemic has had alarming implications for individual and collective health and emotional and social functioning.[20]

This suggests that the quality of our future can be improved if research focuses on how we can repair any damage isolationism has caused. As we continue to return to a more social way of life, the question we now face is: how can we reintroduce ourselves to one another in a way that helps us connect through our differences?

1.2 Research aims

This thesis provides evidence that the mixed drink we now refer to as the cocktail, has indeed been at the center of a developing culture and that this culture does foster a sense of connection. To consider how this has occurred, it explores the cultural value system surrounding the birth and expansion of the drink. The research highlights diversity and inclusion as fundamental values of this culture at specific points in history. The study then tests the relevance of these principles in Melbourne's contemporary cocktail industry, a place that even today seems distant and a bit removed from its western and European counterparts. If diversity and inclusion are indeed integral to the cocktail experience, how and why is this happening? Are these ideals able to elicit a sense of connection? If so, can the cocktail experience provide a template for other industries to become more diverse and inclusive? The findings shed a ray of light onto this underrepresented social phenomenon and offer a detailed perspective as to how a consumer culture can encourage more diverse and inclusive environments, particularly in the realms of hospitality and tourism.

1.3 A brief note on structure

Because of the wide range of disciplines this study weaves together, a brief discussion of structure can be helpful. For clarity the thesis is divided into three parts the first

[19] L.C. Hawkley et al., 'Loneliness predicts increased blood pressure: 5-year cross-lagged analyses in middle-aged and older adults', *Psychology and Aging*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2010, pp. 132-41; A. Caspi et al., 'Socially isolated children 20 years later: Risk of cardiovascular disease', *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, vol. 160, no. 8, 2006; pp. 805-11

[20] B. Pfefferbaum and C.S. North, 'Mental health and the Covid-19 pandemic', *New England Journal of Medicine*, vol. 383, no. 6, 2020, pp. 510-12.

serving as an introduction to the study. Chapter 2 begins with an interrogation into what “cocktail culture” is considered to contemporary audiences. It places the cocktail culturally as a niche market that is considerably large and growing. It reviews the literature coverage of the cocktail both academically and commercially. Chapter 3 presents academic literature on recurring themes of the cocktail experience and discusses how they can be identified or defined in this context. Chapter 4 explains the chosen methodology and outlines the social circumstances that led to some avenues of data collection.

Part II is combined as a section of its own as it primarily addresses the history of cocktail consumption and explores the cocktail from a consumerist and cultural perspective. This portion of research is meant to provide a cultural context for the drink’s consumption which is later used to add insight into the contemporary cocktail experience. Chapter 5 discusses how the cocktail experience began. It points to the necessity of connection through differences as the impetus for the initial creation of the cocktail and sets the tone for its trajectory as a connective tool. Chapter 6 explores the inclusion of diverse consumer bases, the formation of consumer culture, and the inclusive influence the coffeehouse has had on the cocktail’s emergence as a viable product. Chapter 7 defines the cocktail’s identity as a mixed or inclusive product and contemplates how the drink culture of the cocktail affected global communities with diverse consumer bases. Chapter 8 demonstrates how the cocktail was solidified as a connective tool in hospitality services and values at the turn of the century.

Part III is an exploration of the contemporary cocktail experience. It provides evidence as to whether or not the historical values of the experience are being preserved and upheld by industry professionals today. Chapter 9 applies thematic analysis of a focus group of industry professionals to provide a comparison to historical trends. Chapter 10 applies current academic literature to these topics and discusses these concepts in more depth.

Chapter 2: The forgotten history of the cocktail

For data collection purposes, marketing websites define the cocktail as 'an alcoholic drink, which consists of gin, brandy, vodka, whiskey, tequila, or rum mixed with other ingredients such as fruit juice, cream, honey, milk, sugar, herbs, or other flavourings'.[1] With this definition in mind, marketforecast.com estimates the global cocktail market size was worth US$86 million in 2021, and predicts it will reach US$1.4 billion by 2027.[2] In their published material about the cocktail, it is stated that the global market has seen significant gains over the past decade.[3] This may be a bit of an understatement.

2.1 Overview

The amount of commercial literature available on the topic of the cocktail is a testimony to this. A search of the word cocktail in Amazon's book collection turns up over 10,000 selections, most of which have been published during the 2000s and 2010s, and all of which use the cocktail as a point of focus. The internet is host to websites such as *Imbibe*, *Punch*, *Chilled*, *Liquor.com*, and *Difford's Guide*, many of which also print accompanying magazines. These sites post regularly on countless facets of the culture, including recipes, bars, and even established members of the cocktail community. In addition to these, there are active blogs, community boards, forums, and databases that engage in discussions about the specifics of cocktails and the how-to of their creation. Cities across the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Australia hold annual cocktail festivals. Liquor companies frequently host global and local cocktail competitions. There are now multitudes of cocktail conventions. The most publicly recognised and attended of these is called Tales of the Cocktail.[4] Originally dubbed the New Orleans Cocktail Tour in 2002, this event began as a

[1] Allied Market Research, https://www.alliedmarketresearch.com 2022 <https://www.alliedmarketresearch.com/cocktail-market (accessed 22 July 2022); marketdataforecast.com https://www.marketdataforecast.com/market-reports/cocktail-market, (accessed 23 July 2022)
[2] marketdataforecast.com https://www.marketdataforecast.com/market-reports/cocktail-market, (accessed 23 July 2022); Allied Market Research, https://www.alliedmarketresearch.com 2022
[3] marketdataforecast.com https://www.marketdataforecast.com/market-reports/cocktail-market, (accessed 23 July 2022
[4] C. Charming, *The Cocktail Companion: A Guide to Cocktail History, Culture, Trivia and Favorite Drinks*, Mango Publishing Group, 2018

walking tour of local bars in the Louisiana city. By 2016, the 'tour' evolved into a global cocktail convention that pre-COVID hosted up to 17,000 attendants annually. Surely a market such as this has undergone some significant academic research, right?

2.2 Review of scholarly literature

Although the cocktail's global market may seem sizeable and although it may be growing, there is actually very little academic focus placed on this product or its consumer base. For example, a quick search of 'cocktail' on Google Scholar brings up an optimistic 800,000 results. However, of the first 1,000 only four pieces of academic literature even refer to the cocktail in the context of a beverage. Instead, thousands of articles discuss what researchers refer to as the 'cocktail party problem'. Introduced by Colin Cherry, this is an auditory phenomenon where a human can selectively focus on one source of auditory output in noisy environments alive with interference from competing sounds.[5] How many of those use the cocktail as a drink experience as the basis for research? One. That is a massive gap. Nevertheless, through more concentrated efforts, some additional literature begins to surface.

In 1994, Seaton published an article that attempted to discuss the postmodern culture and its linkage to the cocktail culture of the 1920s and 1930s. This article drew parallels between the cocktail and modern consumer culture mythology.[6] However, the cocktail as a cultural phenomenon is not defined in any specific terms, and much of the data does not serve to form any linear conclusions. The article does say that despite cocktail drinking and cocktail parties gaining a foothold as an international consumer culture, these topics have attracted very little academic consideration.[7] Gatti discusses the names of some specific cocktails to discuss potential gender bias in the youth of the 1990s.[8] In *Semiotics of Drinks and Drinking*, Manning states that cocktails specifically have additional meanings that can only be understood when you consider their token relationship to the drinker. He also provides a more in-depth conversation

[5] C. Cherry, 'Cocktail party problem', *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, vol. 25, 1953, pp. 975-79
[6] A.V. Seaton, 'Cocktail culture in the 1920s and 1930s: Prefiguring the postmodern', *Hospitality Research Journal*, vol. 18, no.2, 1994, pp. 35-52
[7] Seaton, 'Cocktail culture in the 1920s and 1930s"
[8] S.I. Gatti, 'Fuzzy navels and slippery nipples: A sociolinguistic reading of the cocktail menu', *The Journal of American Culture*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2003, pp. 104-10

about the social dimensions of a cocktail party having specific attributes where the host must create an infrastructure for sociability by creating communication channels or connections among the guests.[9]

Perhaps the most comprehensive research on the contemporary cocktail to date has been conducted by Ocejo. This author has published a number of works that outline the details of contemporary cocktail service and demonstrates how cocktail bartenders and cocktail service are part of a burgeoning creative economy.[10] While his research does provide evidence that the contemporary cocktail could fall under the umbrella of creative economics, the possibility that the cocktail could be identified through its own independent set of cultural characteristics is still yet to be determined. In 1957, Gottlieb compared a cocktail lounge to a neighbourhood tavern. His study stated that people who drink in taverns tend to be locals who share similar traits. However, it did not provide any conclusive information on the cocktail lounge, other than the customers being more transient.[11] In 1967 authors Roebuck and Spray published an article about the gender dynamics of what they referred to as 'the cocktail lounge'. They concluded that men and women drank in these bars to socialise with the other genders. They stated that despite these types of drinking institutions serving a significant social purpose, little if any research has been done on such a topic.[12] Unfortunately, half a century on, this statement still rings true.

There are times when the cocktail does exist in the periphery of academic study. For example, a review of the topic of gastronomic tourism occasionally shows the cocktail being grouped into research on more broad-ranging culinary experiences. However, while there are cultural parallels between eating and drinking from a tourist perspective, a cocktail is not food. And the customer dynamic in relation to its consumption varies greatly from the dining experience, as it has been argued that the

[9] P. Manning, *Semiotics of Drink and Drinking*, A&C Black, 2012
[10] R.E. Ocejo, *Masters of Craft: Old Jobs in the New Urban Economy*, Princeton University Press, 2017; R.E. Ocejo, 'What'll it be? Cocktail bartenders and the redefinition of service in the creative economy', *City, Culture and Society*, vol. 1, no. 4, 2010, pp. 179-84
[11] D. Gottlieb, 'The neighborhood tavern and the cocktail lounge: A study of class differences', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 62, no. 6, 1957, pp. 559-62
[12] J. Roebuck and S.L. Spray, 'The cocktail lounge: A study of heterosexual relations in a public organization', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 72, no. 4, 1967

cocktail is much more personal.[13] There is some understanding in the literature that drinking local can help a tourist identify with a nation.[14] Wallin described the interaction between Western and Japanese cocktail trends in Shanghai.[15] A study of Ecuadorian tourism showed that cocktails are considered an effective way of sharing the local culture.[16] At times, it can be conducive to consider the cocktail as part of a greater gastronomic experience. For example, Brule and Bailly determined that the senses, which are a critical component to a gastronomic experience, are acquired as a source of knowledge about the environment and the world around us.[17] This could explain why the cocktail may be able to provide a consumer with a more memorable drinking experience and even connect them to local cultures. However, categorising the drink into studies like these where it has no defining features results in a loss of opportunity for insight, as the cocktail culture is not just a vessel for local culture but also acts as a distinct culture of its own.

Bell and Lugosi write at length about hospitality and hospitable spaces. But the works do not point to cocktail consumption as a unique exercise in drinking habits. Instead, the cocktail is frequently used almost interchangeably with the idea of any alcoholic beverage. This leads one to conclude that most academics have habitually lumped the cocktail in with a broader notion of pub and drinking culture. Due to this shortage of academic material, it is practical to consider some commercial undertakings of the cocktail particularly when seeking to establish a sense of cultural identity.[18]

[13] D. DeGroff, *The New Craft of the Cocktail*, revised and updated edition, New York, Clarkson Potter, 2020
[14] S.A. Widuri, 'Usefull of local drinks (arak Bali) materials as mixed drinks in tourism industry in Bali', *Journal of Business on Hospitality and Tourism*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2017, pp. 168-75.
[15] M. Wallin, 'Cocktail Culture in Shanghai: Prospects for Beverage Manufacturers', BA diss, Tampere University of Applied Sciences, 2016
[16] F.T. Oñate, J.R. Fierro and M.F. Viteri, 'Gastronomic diversity and its contribution to cultural identity', *Revista de Comunicación de la SEECI*, vol. 21, no. 44, 2017, pp. 1-13
[17] E. Brulé and G. Bailly, 'Taking into account sensory knowledge: The case of geo-technologies for children with visual impairments', in *Proceedings of the 2018 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, New York, NY, ACM, 2018 pp. 1-14
[18] T. Cowen, *In Praise of Commercial Culture*, Harvard University Press, 1998; P. du Gay and M. Pryke, *Cultural Economy: Cultural Analysis and Commercial Life*, London, Sage, 2002

2.3 Summary of non-academic literature

Since its upsurge in popularity, contemporary authors have taken great pains to unearth the forgotten history of the cocktail. On account of them, there is a selection of literature that can at least offer some insight into the culture.[19] For example, the investigation and increased interest into the cocktail have resulted in the reprinting of many books that, until the turn of the twenty-first century, were lost to time. As a result, in the 2000s and 2010s, a considerable number of books has been published by some of the culture's most respected and esteemed historians, journalists, and bartenders. Bartender and author Gary Regan calls these decades the Second Golden Age of the Cocktail.[20] In an interview with *Difford's Guide*, historian David Wondrich states: 'The sources available today as opposed to ten years ago are much wider'.[21] Although a good portion of this data is presented in the form of recipes, it does help provide some sense of social context. Robert Hess, founder of an internet cocktail database argues that by reaching back into the past and experiencing some of these recipes, we can better appreciate the mind-set of the bartenders of that era, and get that much closer to returning to the concepts of quality and dedication that they held.[22] The first and foremost of these reprints is *Jerry Thomas's Bartending Guide*, sub-titled *How to Mix Drinks or the Bon-Vivant's Companion*, which is a list of recipes originally published in the United States in 1862. A year later, the English followed up with their own interpretations of the cocktail called *Cups and their Customs*. By 1864, the Australian colonies too had their own collection. Edward Abbott, the colonial culinary connoisseur, published a set of cocktail recipes in *The English and Australian Cookery Book*. Since the 1860s, a large number of recipe compilations from across the globe have followed. In addition to cocktail ingredients and techniques, some bartenders turned bar owners took their knowledge further and published handbooks on owning and operating a bar. In 1882, Harry Johnson outlined the basic principles of operating a successful hotel, bar, or restaurant. It may be one of the most comprehensive insights into running a hospitality business during this era. In its pages, it touches on concepts that are only just today being discussed in product-based and hospitality-

[19] D.I. Hanauer, 'Focus-on-cultural understanding: Literary reading in the second language classroom', *Cauce Revista de Filografia y su Didactica*, vol. 24, 2001, pp. 389-404
[20] G. Regan, *The Joy of Mixology*, Clarkson Potter Publishers, 2003
[21] T. Sutcliffe, 'David Wondrich', *Difford's Guide*, 10 October 2020
[22] T. Haigh, *Vintage Spirits and Forgotten Cocktails*, Quarry Books, 2009

centred academia. The book marks the beginning of penned details as to what should be expected in bars and bar service, particularly those that serve cocktails. In his book, Harry states that 'the greatest accomplishment of a bartender is to exactly suit his customer'.[23] He goes further to add, 'at all times he [the bartender] must make a special point to study the tastes of his customers and, strictly heeding their wishes, mix all drinks according to their desires and tastes'.'[24] This motivation behind cocktail service has endured and is currently discussed in academic literature with a revolutionary concept more recently referred to as 'co-creation'. Harry Johnson's book continues to be recommended as one of the top ten must-reads for the cocktail curious today.

As the decades passed, bars and bartenders continued to print their recipes and techniques. As a result, material was published internationally in the years that followed. However, another niche of cocktail literature began to appear. There were a few authors who were reporters that witnessed cocktail consumption at its peak. They proceeded to share these moments with the greater public in more detail than ever before. Basil Woon's *It's Cocktail Time in Cuba* is a testimony to this as he offers an entertaining but also a descriptive account of the Sevilla-Biltmore Hotel's cocktail crowd. Not too long after this, Charles H Baker Jr penned *A Gentleman's Companion*, Volume II, *The Exotic Drinking Book*. In it, Baker's recipes are accompanied by stories of his cocktail experiences around the world. These accounts at least provide some context for the cocktail drinking experience. However, publications tapered off as the cocktail fell out of fashion.

Today, more contemporary literature has begun to mimic this same trajectory. In 2002, a bartender named Dale Degroff, who the cocktail community would later christen 'King Cocktail', wrote *The Craft of the Cocktail*. Dale is thought by many to be personally responsible for inspiring the cocktail renaissance.[25] While his book is

[23] H. Johnson, *The New and Improved Illustrated Bartenders' Manual; Or: How to Mix Drinks of the Present Style*, H. Johnson, 1888, p. 45
[24] Johnson, *The New and Improved Illustrated Bartenders' Manual*, p. 45
[25] D. Brown and R. Yule, *Spirits, Sugar, Water, Bitters: How the Cocktail Conquered the World*, Rizzoli International Publications, 2019; D. Wondrich, *Imbibe! Updated and Revised Edition: From Absinthe Cocktail to Whiskey Smash, a Salute in Stories and Drinks to 'Professor' Jerry Thomas, Pioneer of the American Bar*, TarcherPerigee, 2015; Charming, *The Cocktail Companion*

predominantly a collection of recipes, it contains a substantial amount of information about the values that were rooted in the resurgence of the cocktail among contemporary consumers. For example, emphasis is placed on the use of fresh juices, while history is suggested to serve as the contemporary standard for quality. Dale writes, 'a finely crafted cocktail is a marriage of creativity, history, and expression'.[26]

This new-found interest in the cocktail began in the late 1990s with Dale, whose work and literature paved the way for future bartenders to satisfy their growing curiosities. Dale refers to the modern cocktail creation as a craft and hails their bartending as a legitimate occupation with a longstanding history of professionalism.[27] The following year, bartender Gary Regan followed up with another compendium of drinks in *The Joy of Mixology*, where he offers a brief historical backdrop for their consumption. In 2017, Jim Meehan, owner of PDT, a cocktail bar in New York City, published a book called *Meehan's Bartender's Manual*, a detailed guide to owning and operating a contemporary cocktail bar. Currently, one of the best-selling books is the *Cocktail Codex*, which, although considered a 'coffee table' accompaniment, has won a James Beard award for its thorough and detailed instructions regarding the execution of the cocktail.

In 2020 a book called *The Shaken and the Stirred* comprised a collection of twenty essays with individual musings on the cocktail as a cultural phenomenon. This adds to a swathe of literature where self-proclaimed mavens who have treated the cocktail as a past time, compiled their own contemplations regarding their consumptive experiences. These authors include the likes of Frank Moorhouse and Kingsley Amis. As more contemporary authors continue to publish their personal views, there is certainly no shortage of opinions on the matter. At this point, it seems almost an act of heresy to drink a cocktail without one. Fictitious or not, iconic characters from Ernest Hemingway, to Franklin Roosevelt, to Carrie Bradshaw, Dorothy Parker, and James Bond, have a thread of shared identities as they have all played memorable roles in stories where the cocktail stars front and centre, making history and reaching across the globe.

[26] D. DeGroff, *The Essential Cocktail: The Art of Mixing Perfect Drinks*, Clarkson Potter, 2010. p. 5
[27] DeGroff, *The New Craft of the Cocktail*; Ocejo, 'What'll it be?'

To add to this, bars around the world have published their own content, highlighting recipes and often featuring their personal stories of opening and operating a cocktail bar. Establishments like Death & Co., PDT, Employees Only, The Dead Rabbit, and the Savoy all have best-sellers that provide their individual takes on drinks and their personal histories to share. Melbourne's cocktail scene likewise has books to contribute, including The Everleigh's *A Spot at the Bar* and Sebastian Raeburn's *1806's Complete Cocktails*. Shaun Byrne and Nick Tesar added to the local publications with selections of some at-home recipes and tips with *All Day Cocktails* and *Punch*. However, as much of the material is geared toward consumer marketing, most of this data is opinionated and entertainment-focused. As a result, from an academic perspective, they tend to provide a limited amount of evidence.

As interest in the cocktail has continued to surge, boosted attention has been directed toward the history of the drink. As a result, a handful of cocktail enthusiasts have begun to scour through archives, manuscripts, and other historical material. It is thanks to them that a chronology can be constructed. One of the most renowned of these historians is David Wondrich. His book *Imbibe!* is one of the first detailed investigations into the history of the American cocktail. Anistatia Miller and Jared Brown followed up on his work, taking a more international approach with books like *A Spirituous Journey*, Books I and II, and *Cuban Cocktails*, to name a few. In *Vintage Spirits and Forgotten Cocktails*, Ted Haigh introduces previously forgotten cocktails to a new audience. Derek Brown and Robert Yule write about the culture of cocktail in *Spirits Sugar, Water, and Bitters*, as they outline a global history of these ingredients in relation to the drink. Cheryl Charming provides a distillation and cocktail revival timeline in *The Cocktail Companion*. *New York Times* columnist Robert Simonson indulges in the specific origins of some of the cocktail classics like the Martini and the Old-Fashioned. Needless to say, as far as consumer literature is concerned, there is no shortage of material to review.

The one unifying factor that does surface in all of this literature is the understanding that the cocktail, above all things, is an experience.[28] Since fascination

[28] J. Kosmas and D. Zaric, *Speakeasy: The Employees Only Guide to Classic Cocktails*, Ten Speed Press, 2010; DeGroff, *The New Craft of the Cocktail*; Charming, *The Cocktail Companion*; R. Simonson, *A Proper Drink*, Ten Speed Press, 2016

with this phenomenon continues to expand, it would appear to be an extremely powerful one. Literature does point to a connection between hospitality and experience.[29] This present research supports that association. It also identifies ways in which the experience with the cocktail, although hospitable, is ultimately unique.

[29] N. Hemmington, 'From service to experience: Understanding and defining the hospitality business', *The Service Industries Journal*, vol. 27, no. 6, 2007, pp. 747-55

Chapter 3: Definitions and concepts

Before conducting further investigation into this experience, and given the lack of an academic body of work regarding the cocktail, there is a need to address some basic principles that began to surface as themes throughout the research. It is important to provide clear definitions of these dominant themes in order to allow interdisciplinary subject matter to add insight into these topics. This research highlights the significance of diversity and inclusion as essential elements to the cocktail and to the cocktail experience. The study is rooted in the concept of designating practices of cocktail production and consumption as a co-creative culture. Since these topics have been extensively discussed in academics, it is necessary to provide definitive interpretations that have underpinned the data for this study.

3.1 Diversity

Diversity as a concept is widely present in academic literature. Areas of application range from business and organisations, to education, to social services, health, and even biological ecosystems. Despite the breadth of literature, the definition of diversity is inconclusive across all disciplines.[1] Some environmental studies claim diversity is understood as an 'average rarity within a community'.[2] In business and organisations, diversity often refers to differences among members. This area of research tends to refer to Cox's definition, namely, 'the representation, in one social system, of people with distinctly different group affiliations of cultural significance'.[3] Diversity can also be viewed as the interaction between various differing characteristics.[4] However, numerous and varied interpretations have been used interchangeably across all disciplines**.** Harrison and Klein state there is no clear definition of diversity as it has a multitude of confusing explanations, and the lack of identifiable variables in team

[1] F.G. Stevens, V.C. Plaut and J. Sanchez-Burks, 'Unlocking the benefits of diversity: All-inclusive multiculturalism and positive organisational change', *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2008, pp. 116-43

[2] G. Patil and C. Taillie, 'Diversity as a concept and its measurement', *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, vol. 77, no. 379, 1982, 548-61; T. Cox, *Cultural Diversity in Organisations: Theory, Research and Practice*, Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 1994, p. 548

[3] Cox, *Cultural Diversity in Organisations,* p. 6.

[4] M.E. Mor-Barak, 'Inclusion is the key to diversity management, but what is inclusion?', *Human Service Organizations: Management, Leadership & Governance*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2015, pp. 83-88

diversity research has left the research inconclusive.[5] The absence of conclusive evidence is an issue for diversity research.[6] More recently, definitions and measurements have begun to include cultural, cognitive, and technical differences.[7] This requires each research exercise involving diversity to be specific about their definition of the concept, which then, in turn leads to more varied interpretations.

One of the shortcomings of previous works is that a large body of literature speaks to diversity from the perspective of exclusion.[8] This leads to the promotion of diversity as a solution for overcoming the disadvantages of excluded groups.[9] In some instances, it only seeks to achieve balance with one element of exclusion. Typically, the focal point of these types of studies is related to race, gender, and/or disability.[10] But diversity can stem from both visible and invisible characteristics.[11] This limitation in the body of research does not allow a conversation to occur where diversity can be treated as neither a holistic nor a universally accepted concept.

The complexity of diversity then requires a multilevel approach and must be both clarified and carefully acknowledged.[12] As a result of this complexity, various categories of diversity have emerged in the literature. Numerous classifications of diversity appear based on one significant factor,[13] including multicultural, racial, ethnic and educational, to name a few. The term 'productive diversity' is used to highlight an

[5] D.A. Harrison and K.J. Klein, 'What's the difference? Diversity constructs as separation, variety, or disparity in organisations', *Academy of Management Review*, vol. 32, no. 4, 2007, 1199-228

[6] M.C. Schippers et al., 'Diversity and team outcomes: The moderating effects of outcome interdependence and group longevity and the mediating effect of reflexivity', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, vol. 24, no. 6, 2003, pp. 779-802; S.F. Khatib et al., 'Nudging toward diversity in the boardroom: A systematic literature review of board diversity of financial institutions', *Business Strategy and the Environment*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2021, pp. 985-1002

[7] T. Kochan et al., 'The effects of diversity on business performance: Report of the diversity research network', *Human Resource Management*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2003, pp. 3-21

[8] B.M. Ferdman, 'Paradoxes of inclusion: Understanding and managing the tensions of diversity and multiculturalism', *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, vol. 53, no. 2, 2017, pp. 235-63; Stevens, Plaut and Sanchez-Burks, 'Unlocking the benefits of diversity'

[9] T. Jones, 'The diversity rationale: A problematic solution', *Stanford Journal of Civil Rights and Liberties*, vol. 1, 2005, pp. 171-215

[10] J.P. Shapiro, T.E. Sewell and J.P. DuCette, *Reframing Diversity in Education*, Scarecrow Press, 2001

[11] F.J. Milliken and L.L. Martins, 'Searching for common threads: Understanding the multiple effects of diversity in organisational groups', *Academy of Management Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1996, pp. 402-33

[12] S. Nielsen, 'Top management team diversity: A review of theories and methodologies', *International Journal of Management Reviews*, vol. 12, no. 3, 2010.; S. Page, *Diversity and Complexity*, Princeton University Press, 2010

[13] R.J. Ely and D.A. Thomas, 'Cultural diversity at work: The effects of diversity perspectives on work group processes', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol. 46, no. 2, 2001, pp. 229-273.

organisation's use of diversity as a resource.[14] This addresses diversity as an active dynamic trait rather than a descriptive one. Existing literature indicates that diversity can generally be classified into two different conceptual identities, one where the interpretation of diversity is understood as a characteristic, the other where diversity is understood as an application or operational dynamic. Brix defines this disparity as cognitive versus performative diversity.[15] Litvin states that the issue with diversity is that it is defined by pre-Darwinian biological science. This discipline uses uniqueness as a defining factor in creating groups or subclasses of species to classify organisms. As a result, the biological ideology is often employed as a philosophical principle for managing diversity as well. Litvin suggests that this rhetorical underpinning forces us to categorise one another via disparaging differences rather than seeing diversity as a complex blending of interconnectivity that must operate in unison.[16] For this research, I am specifying a more simplistic contemplation of the concept of diversity. While not abandoning the biological perspective that diversity is 'the variety and abundance of species in a defined unit of study',[17] in this research, diversity is considered a characteristic that stems from the recognition or awareness of differences.

3.2 Inclusion

When diversity is approached as an operational dynamic, inclusion becomes a necessary element to the research.[18] This topic is also spread across many disciplines. However, it has not garnered quite the same amount of interest as its common counterpart.[19] Recent study has pointed out that these two concepts are overlapping and potentially the same concept using different language.[20] Härtel

[14] J. Pyke, 'Productive Diversity: Which Companies are Active and Why?' PhD diss, Melbourne, Victoria University, 2005
[15] K.A. Brix, O.A. Lee and S.G. Stalla, 'Understanding inclusion', *BioScience*, vol. 72, no. 3, 2022, pp. 267-75
[16] D.R. Litvin, 'The discourse of diversity: From biology to management', *Organization*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1997, pp. 187-209
[17] S. Buckland et al., 'Monitoring change in biodiversity through composite indices', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, vol. 360, no. 1454, 2005, pp. 243-54, p. 245; A.E. Magurran, 'Measuring biological diversity', *Current Biology*, vol. 31, no. 19, 2021, pp. R1174-77, p. 8
[18] B. M. Ferdman, 'The practice of inclusion in diverse organizations: toward a systemic and inclusive framework', in Ferdman, B.M. and Deane, B.R., (eds.), *Diversity at Work: The Practice of Inclusion*, Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, pp. 3-54.
[19] Brix, Lee, and Stalla, 'Understanding inclusion'.
[20] Q.M. Roberson, 'Disentangling the meanings of diversity and inclusion in organisations', *Group & Organization Management*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2006, pp. 212-36

attempts to separate the two by distinguishing the difference between an organisation where everyone is learning from their differences and one that is merely more accessible to diversity.[21]

Thomas and Ely emphasised the importance of integrating diverse individuals into organisations.[22] Mor-Barak adds to these estimations by suggesting individual contributions must be appreciated and encouraged in organisational systems.[23] Sasaki argues that social inclusion is necessary for creative development and urban regeneration.[24] Inclusion alone, however, does not have an extensive body of literature attached to the concept,[25] despite its massive potential to positively contribute to social systems.

While a substantial amount of study proposes that inclusion is necessary for building equal and fair environments, it fails to employ a comprehensive proposition of what inclusion actually is.[26] This increased attention has not resulted in a consensus on its construct or theoretical keystones.[27] It is understood then that inclusion may be defined in a variety of ways.[28] Hyde believes the word 'inclusion' continues to be paradoxical for many observers.[29] This could be due to the fact that both inclusion and diversity as theoretical concepts are often used and referenced almost interchangeably.[30]

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[21] C. Härtel and Y. Fujimoto, 'Diversity is not the problem: Openness to perceived dissimilarity is', *Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management*, vol. 6, 2000, pp. 14-27

[22] R.J. Ely and D.A. Thomas, 'Cultural diversity at work: The effects of diversity perspectives on work group processes', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol. 46, no. 2, 2001, pp. 229-73; D.A. Thomas and R. Ely, 'Making differences matter: A new paradigm for managing diversity', *Harvard Business Review*, vol. 74, 1996, pp. 79-90

[23] M.E. Mor-Barak, *Managing Diversity: Toward a Globally Inclusive Workplace*, Sage Publications, 2016

[24] M. Sasaki, 'Urban regeneration through cultural creativity and social inclusion: Rethinking creative city theory through a Japanese case study', *Cities*, vol. 27, 2010, pp. S3-S9

[25] Roberson, 'Disentangling the meanings of diversity and inclusion'; Brix, Lee and Stalla, 'Understanding inclusion'

[26] Brix, Lee and Stalla, 'Understanding inclusion'

[27] L.M. Shore et al., 'Inclusion and diversity in work groups: A review and model for future research', *Journal of management*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2011, pp. 1262-89

[28] M. Ainscow, T. Booth and A. Dyson, *Improving Schools, Developing Inclusion*, Routledge, 2006; C.H. Keefe and R. Davis, 'Inclusion means', *NASSP Bulletin*, vol. 82, no. 594, 1998, pp. 54-64

[29] M. Hyde, 'Understanding diversity, inclusion and engagement', in M. Hyde, L. Carpenter, R. Conway (eds.), *Diversity, Inclusion and Engagement*, 2014, pp. 3-38

[30] Ferdman, 'The practice of inclusion in diverse organizations'

For decades, Booth and Ainscow have been conducting research in the field of education and have added a significant amount of literature concerning inclusion. They offer two perspectives on inclusion. One is more 'narrowed' and involves an element of integration for all or access of all groups to the mainstream. The other, called 'broad inclusion', implies an inclusive process can be complex, and its far-reaching effects are visible in multiple layers of community at the same time.[31] But even this detailed discrepancy falls short of encapsulating the complexity of the subject.

An added suggestion from the educational discipline is that inclusion is 'an attitude or belief that implies everyone belongs and is accepted'.[32] Shore demonstrated that successful implementation of inclusion results in individual feelings of uniqueness and belongingness.[33] Therefore studies imply that belonging is often associated with inclusion.

Alternative limiting factors in the majority of academic research, is that the greater part of these studies stem from the misconception that diversity is already a value of an institution or that the value will instinctively be adopted into the group when both diversity and inclusion are encouraged and practised.[34] Schein states that group norms manifest from the assumed ideas held by the members of the culture.[35] In other words, if a system does not value diversity, it is unlikely for inclusion to manifest as a diverse property.

In the hopes of avoiding the pitfalls of discussing diversity as active management, for this study, the management of diversity falls under the umbrella of inclusion. This work leans on Booth's observations of integration. Booth states that inclusion at first begins with a recognition of differences.[36] In that case, the inherent

[31] T. Booth and M. Ainscow, *Index for Inclusion: Developing Learning and Participation in Schools*, Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education, 2002
[32] Keefe and Davis, 'Inclusion means', p. 57
[33] Shore et al., 'Inclusion and diversity in work groups: A review and model for future research'
[34] B.M. Ferdman and B. Deane, *Diversity at Work: The Practice of Inclusion*, San Francisco, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2014; Harrison and Klein, 'Whats the difference?'
[35] E.H. Schein, 'Culture: The missing concept in organisation studies', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol. 41, 1996, pp. 229-40; E. H. Schein, *Organisational Culture and Leadership*, *2*, John Wiley & Sons, 2010
[36] Booth and Ainscow, *Index for inclusion*

meaning of inclusion when pertaining to diversity involves the integrative application of these differences. Inclusion is an active process where diversity is considered a valued resource.[37] This hearkens back to Pyke's definition of productive diversity.[38] Inclusion for this research will be understood not only as an active value of diversity but also as the employment of this value specifically. The definition then will be considered as the approach of managing a sum of differences with the application of distinct, individual parts combining in cooperation to create a whole. The research will demonstrate how inclusion might be a natural occurrence in a system where diversity is an inherent value.

3.3 Co-creation

The topics of diversity and inclusion offer a curious perspective when discussing the literature applied to economic systems involving the creative economy, value creation, and co-creation. For example, co-creation is currently defined as a value generated from the collective process where providers and beneficiaries participate in the producing of a good or service together.[39] An extensive amount of literature agrees with the premise that this type of experience is interactive and involves active participation.[40]

This concept has since then often been applied to tourism. It is believed that the co-creation of experience as a theoretical construct reflects on interactive networks

[37] Ferdman, 'Paradoxes of inclusion', p. 53
[38] Pyke, 'Productive Diversity'
[39] C.K. Prahalad and V. Ramaswamy, 'Co-creation experiences: The next practice in value creation', *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2004, pp. 5-14
[40] F. Cabiddu, T.-W. Lui and G. Piccoli, 'Managing value co-creation in the tourism industry', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 42, 2013, pp. 86-107; J. Füller, K. Hutter and R. Faullant, 'Why co-creation experience matters? Creative experience and its impact on the quantity and quality of creative contributions', *R&D Management*, vol. 41, no. 3, 2011, pp. 259-73; P.H. Hsieh and S.T. Yuan, 'Regional tourism service ecosystem development: A co-creation and imagery based approach', paper given at the *2011 International Joint Conference on Service Sciences*, 2011; W. Obenour et al., 'Conceptualization of a meaning-based research approach for tourism service experiences', *Tourism Management*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2006, pp. 34-41; S.H. Poulsson and S.H. Kale, 'The experience economy and commercial experiences', *The Marketing Review*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2004, pp. 267-77; S.L. Vargo, P.P. Maglio and M.A. Akaka, 'On value and value co-creation: A service systems and service logic perspective', *European Management Journal*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2008, pp. 145-52; S.L. Vargo and R.F. Lusch, 'The four service marketing myths: Remnants of a goods-based, manufacturing model', *Journal of Service Research*, vol. 6, no. 4, 2004, pp. 324-35; A. Walls et al., 'Understanding the consumer experience: An exploratory study of luxury hotels', *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2011, pp. 166-97

and processes.[41] This determination seems to mirror the concept Booth refers to as 'broad inclusion' as it shows the operational dynamic of inclusion extending to surrounding bodies and activities.[42] Campos offers a detailed definition of 'on-site co-creation' stating, 'a co-creation tourism experience is the sum of the psychological events a tourist goes through when contributing actively through physical and/or mental participation in activities and interacting with other subjects in the experience environment'.[43] This picking apart of the co-creative experience continues as academics discuss the value created when customers and providers interact with one another.[44]

Vargo and Lusch examine how co-creation leads to mutual value. It is understood that value is always co-created, jointly and reciprocally, during interactions among providers and beneficiaries through the integration of resources and the application of competencies.[45] Engagement is defined as co-created, interactive experiences with multiple actors.[46]

When viewed from the diverse, inclusive paradigm, the co-creative process can provide the argument that co-creation is the economic practice of inclusion, as it incorporates the more unique or specific perspectives of the customer in the production of consumption experiences. Payne et alia, state that a successful co-creative process must be interactive, recursive, and relationship oriented.[47] In this case, if inclusion results in feelings of belonging, a customer would value co-created experiences in such a way that they become memorable. Binkhorst et alia point out

[41] C. Sfandla and P. Björk, 'Tourism experience network: Co-creation of experiences in interactive processes', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, vol. 15, no. 5, 2013, pp. 495-506
[42] Booth and Ainscow, *Index for inclusion*
[43] A.C. Campos et al., 'Co-creation of tourist experiences: A literature review', *Current Issues in Tourism*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2018, pp. 369-400, p. 391; A.C. Campos et al., 'Co-creation experiences: Attention and memorability', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, vol. 33, no. 9, 2016, pp. 1309-36
[44] I. Rihova et al., 'Social layers of customer-to-customer value co-creation', *Journal of Service Management*, vol. 24, no. 5, 2013, pp. 553-56; I. Rihova et al., 'Conceptualising customer-to-customer value co-creation in tourism', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, vol. 17, no. 4, 2015, pp. 356-63
[45] Vargo and Lusch, 'The four service marketing myths'; Vargo, Maglio and Akaka, 'On value and value co-creation'; C. Grönroos, 'Value co-creation in service logic: A critical analysis', *Marketing Theory*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2011, pp. 279-301
[46] Vargo and Lusch, 'The four service marketing myths'
[47] A.F. Payne, K. Storbacka and P. Frow, 'Managing the co-creation of value', *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2008, pp. 83-96

that co-created experiences will lead to memorable experiences.[48] Participative experiences contribute to meaningful personal narratives,[49] and to long-lasting memories.[50] Pine and Gilmore suggest mutual value then leads to a memorable experience. Their work constructs an economic service framework entirely based on the value of experiences.[51]

Diversity, inclusion, co-creation, and memorable experience all become important themes that continuously surface when assessing the cultural composition and expression of the cocktail. This study will demonstrate how a holistic consideration of these concepts may provide a more practical understanding of how they function in social settings. There is a point in the practical application of this matrix of ideas where all of these concepts intersect; at this crossroad, lies the cocktail.

3.4 Culture

This research stems from the perspective that culture can be defined as an interpretive system of meanings and public practices within a socially defined group.[52] Interpretive analysis will uphold the viewpoint that the culture of the cocktail could be additionally categorised as a consumer culture. Consumer culture is referred to as the structures and ideological imperatives that shape the practice of consumption among consumer groups.[53] Consumer Culture Theory conceptualises culture as the fabric of experience, meaning, and action.[54]

> Consumer Culture strives to systematically link individual level (or idiographic) meanings to different levels of cultural processes and structure and then to situate these relationships within historical and marketplace contexts.[55]

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[48] E. Binkhorst and T. Den Dekker, 'Agenda for co-creation tourism experience research', *Journal of Hospitality Marketing and Management*, vol. 18, no. 2/3, pp. 311-27

[49] U. Gretzel et al., 'Searching for the future: Challenges faced by destination marketing organisations', *Journal of Travel Research*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2006, pp. 116-26

[50] S. Larsen et al., 'What makes tourist experiences interesting', *Frontiers in Psychology*, vol. 10, https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01603, 2019

[51] B.J. Pine and J.H. Gilmore, *The Experience Economy*, Harvard Business Press, 2011

[52] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, Basic Books, 1973

[53] E.J. Arnould and C.J. Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT): Twenty years of research', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 31, no. 4, 2005, pp. 868-82

[54] C. Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures*, *5019*, Basic books, 1973.

[55] Arnould and Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT)', p. 8

More simply, CCT is used to discuss the relationships between products and services and consumer beliefs, values, and practices.[56] According to Geertz's theory, practices both symbolise and communicate our values within any given cultural system.[57] If the cocktail is to be considered the key component of a specific consumer culture, a clearer definition of what this product is will help structure its social evolution and the formation of its identifying principles.

3.5 Defining the word 'cocktail'

Archival sources suggest that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the word 'cocktail' was primarily used when referring to racehorses of a mixed breed, as their tails would be primed and cocked for visual distinction. By 1806 the word was finally offered as a playful slang for the consumption of a strong, energising mixture of alcohol and other notable additives. In 1806 the authors of The *Balance, and Columbian Repository* in Hudson, New York, wrote as follows:

> Cocktail, then, is a stimulating liquor, composed of spirits of any kind, sugar, water, and bitters – it is vulgarly called bittered sling, and is supposed to be an excellent electioneering potion, in as much as it renders the heart stout and bold, at the same time if fuddles the head. It is said also to be of great use to a democratic candidate: because a person having swallowed a glass of it, is ready to swallow anything else.[58]

This excerpt perhaps still serves as one of the more comprehensive explanations of what a cocktail is to this day. That is in part due to the fact that although written in jest, the description reveals a psychological predisposition that the cocktail is not merely a drink but a drink that is produced and consumed with a social purpose. This definition has been so widely accepted that the publishing of this article is heralded as the birthdate of the contemporary cocktail amongst many influential members of the global cocktail community.[59]

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[56] Arnould and Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT)'
[57] C. Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*, Stanford University Press, 1988
[58] E. Sampson, G. Chittenden and H. Croswell, *The Balance, and Columbian Repository,* vol. 5, no. 1, Hudson, 13 May 1806, p. 146
[59] J.M. Carlin, *Cocktails: A Global History*, Reaktion Books, 2013; G. Regan, *The Joy of Mixology*, Clarkson Potter Publishers, 2003; Wondrich, *Imbibe!*; DeGroff, *The New Craft of the Cocktail*

However, the current trends in cultural mindset would indicate a cocktail to be something different to the broad population of drinkers today. Although the cocktail has become a common subject in more contemporary literature, more recent attempts at a definition are lacking. For example, Merriam–Webster provides the following: 'a usually iced drink of wine or distilled liquor mixed with flavouring ingredients'.[60] Various market research outlets such as alliedmarketresearch.com describe the cocktail as an alcoholic drink, which consists of gin, brandy, vodka, whiskey, tequila, or rum mixed with other ingredients such as fruit juice, cream, honey, milk, sugar, herbs, or other flavourings. While these types of definitions may provide a description of its physical contents, as mentioned previously, cocktail imbibers of today would agree that the cocktail is also an experience.[61] Contemporary definitions provided by the general public fail to recognise the drinks' qualities as both a tangible and intangible phenomenon.

Nevertheless, one of the distinguishing traits consistently inherent in the perception of a cocktail since its original use is the notion of 'mixture'. Therefore, for the purposes of clarity, this research is applied from the perspective that in its physical form, a cocktail is a liquid mixture frequently (but not always) involving distilled spirits in which the primary feature is the blending of a combination of different flavour profiles to achieve a palatable balance. From this theoretical perspective, the cocktail could be considered the physical manifestation or practical application of both diversity and inclusion in a glass. The aims of this research are to further understand the drinks' intangible properties through the exploration of some of the cultural characteristics that are intrinsic to the cocktail experience. The goal is to support the idea that this perspective may convey a tacit knowledge to the customer that ultimately affects their own cultural interpretations.

Therefore the questions to serve as the primary focus of the research are: What is cocktail culture? And can it provide a framework for other industries to be more diverse and inclusive?

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[60] Mirriam-Webster Dictionary, 'Merriam-webster', *On-line at https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cocktail*

[61] DeGroff, *The New Craft of the Cocktail*; Kosmas and Zaric, *Speakeasy*

Chapter 4: Methods and materials

4.1 Methodology

The methodology for this research includes an inductive ethnographic exploration of archives, including first- and second-hand accounts of cocktail drinking and data collected from the qualitative analysis of a focus group consisting of expert professionals employed in Melbourne's cocktail industry. In 2022, one of these members was awarded Diageo World Class Australian Bartender of the Year.[1] The objective of this analysis is to identify whether the data sources will reveal evidence of distinctive cultural norms associated with the cocktail's production, service and consumption. A number of factors led to the development of these decisions.

As I had intended to study a contained social environment, and seeing that academic literature on this subject is lacking, I decided on a qualitative approach, given that qualitative research allows for a more rich, in-depth, and holistic evaluation of data.[2] Upon arriving in Australia as a graduate student, the plan was the application of an ethnographic approach to study the cocktail culture. I intended to sample the press-worthy cocktail bars in the area and choose a few to directly observe the dynamics of their customer service and employee interaction in detail. Each bar under observation would be the basis of a case study. These case studies would then be compared to one another to look for consistencies amongst them. At the time, direct observation seemed one of the best ways to decipher or decode the cocktail experience.[3] I began my research soon after my arrival, during the last week of February 2020. Melbourne at the time was hosting its first-ever cocktail festival. So, I was able to make some essential but undoubtedly tenuous connections. A few weeks later, COVID-19 made its impression. On 16 March 2020, a 'state of emergency' was declared in Victoria that restricted mass gatherings. Four days later, Australia closed its borders to the rest of the world.

[1] Australian Bartender, 'Nick Tesar from Bar Liberty in Melbourne has been crowned Diageo World Class Australian Bartender of the Year 2022', australianbartender.com.au 2022, https://australianbartender.com.au/2022/07/05/, accessed 15 July 2022

[2] J. Lofland and L.H. Lofland, *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis*, Belmont, CA, Wadsworth, 1984

[3] R.K. Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*, Sage, 2018

This posed a problem for my research as it resulted in smaller crowds and the absence of a major portion of cocktail customers: tourists. I thought about changing this data collection method but persisted in hopes that the local consumer could provide some insight into the cocktail experience. It only took another three days to realize this type of methodology would not be possible as the Commonwealth government instituted a national lockdown that enforced the closure of all pubs, clubs, hotel licensed premises, gyms, sporting venues, cinemas, casinos, and any other business that involved social interaction of any kind.[4] It was not long before the Victorian state government imposed a lockdown of the city of Melbourne that prohibited residents from leaving their homes at all, except for 'essential' activities, including shopping at supermarkets and pharmacies, medical treatment such as COVID-19 testing, one hour of exercise and ironically, shopping for alcohol. As businesses pivoted to takeaway cocktails, I entertained the idea of changing my topic, but its pursuit felt personal. At that time, I had two years to complete my study. I hoped to wait it out. I did not know that in those two years, the Victorian government would impose one of the strictest and longest lockdowns in the world.

As a result of persistent instabilities in legislation, the methodology employed for this research constantly remained in flux. How did I continue to study the cocktail while trapped inside the confines of my new home with no social network to build from? I read. Of course, my reading was limited to primarily digital publications as the library was also closed. And as I will explain later, gaining access to reading material in and of itself posed a series of challenges to this data as well.

Using social media as a primary means of engagement, I employed what academics refer to as the snowball method. This is a purposeful technique of sampling used when community-based populations are less accessible.[5] This method of choice often provides a richness in data otherwise difficult to obtain.[6] Luckily, I was also able to locate and collaborate with a group of individuals who were graciously willing to

[4] R. Stanton et al., 'Depression, anxiety and stress during COVID-19: Associations with changes in physical activity, sleep, tobacco and alcohol use in Australian adults', *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, vol. 17, no. 11, 2020, 4065

[5] M. Naderifar, H. Goli and F. Ghaljaie, 'Snowball sampling: A purposeful method of sampling in qualitative research', *Strides in Development of Medical Education*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2017, pp. 1-6

[6] M.Q. Patton, *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*, 3rd edn., Sage, 2002

share their experiences with and opinions of the cocktail. Given the lack of alternative options, I conducted a series of discussions about various topics in the cocktail industry via the online platform Zoom. I termed these 'cocktail conversations'. The discussions consisted of five to seven individuals who worked professionally in the cocktail community in Australia. All of the participants had at some point operated as bartenders in the Melbourne metropolitan area. At the time these conversations were conducted, all were still employed in different facets of the industry. Employment roles ranged from bartender to ingredient ambassador. Others had become pioneers in local liquor distillation and distribution in Victoria.

The individuals were provided a consent form that relayed the subject matter of the thesis. It was understood that discussions would revolve around cocktail culture. It was communicated that the conversation would be recorded and later analysed. Participants were advised that access to transcripts was available upon request. Individuals were informed they would be contributing to a semi structured conversation about their personal opinions and beliefs toward customer service and the cocktail.

These conversations were originally intended to aid in the selection of a sample of bars where direct observation would be used to construct a series of case studies. Since the conversations were open ended they often lasted hours and had a revolving rotation of participants. However, as the lockdown continued, it became clear that it would be unwise to rely on this method to gather information. Instead, the conversation chosen for this analysis had the highest participation rate and covered the widest range of topics specific to the subject matter.

Instead, I used the longest and largest of the conversations as a source for data collection. Lofland affirms that focus group can be an insightful and productive tool for social research.[7] This Cocktail Conversation was a semi-structured dialogue that employed a handful of prompt questions. As participation ensued, these prompts evolved and developed into more extensive discussion. This structure was directly in line with Creswell's framework for qualitative data collection.[8] The conversation was

[7] Lofland and Lofland, *Analyzing Social Settings*
[8] J.W. Creswell and J. D. Creswell, *Research Design*, 5th edn, Sage Publications, 2018

recorded, transcribed, and coded using Nvivo12 software. Thematic analysis was applied to the transcription in the hopes that it could establish which values were embedded in the Melbourne cocktail experience.

As I continued to explore this subject, the questions became endless. For example, the drink that we today refer to as a cocktail is hundreds of years old. What then could be used as a benchmark for the typical cocktail experience? What about that experience is cocktail? What of it is Melbourne? What does this all say about the culture of the cocktail? And how can I even begin to write a thesis on the culture of this drink, when no one can even agree on what a cocktail is anyway?

Before engaging in a contemporary conversation about the drink, it was necessary to review the scope of the cocktail as a whole to provide a basic social definition. Yin states, when there aren't any people alive to report on past events, a researcher must then rely on primary documents, secondary documents, and cultural and physical artefacts as central sources of evidence.[9] Since I had plenty of time to read, I decided to review primary and secondary documents concerning the cocktail during specific points in history. Taking an inductive approach, the methodology for this portion of the research was to examine the existing archives of news and personal accounts at fundamental moments and compile a rough cultural backdrop for them. Archival sources included diaries, ship logs, newspapers, magazines, advertisements, and other published works from the previous five centuries. These accounts would then serve as a rudimentary benchmark for the cocktail experience. Thankfully, as a result, a substantial portion of my reading helped shape the form of this thesis.

4.2 Limitations

Impediments of COVID

Melbourne's lockdowns of 2020 and 2021 resulted in the physical absence of cocktail culture as the social environment in which the cocktail is meant to be consumed was not only eliminated but also branded as an environment that could potentially cause

[9] Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications*

harm to other individuals. Businesses were forced to pivot to takeaway arrangements, and the consumer base was required to experience the cocktail in solitude. As some restrictions relaxed and bars were able to open, there were controls implemented that discouraged, rather than encouraged, social interaction. The absence of tourists and demonising of social activity altered the entire dynamic of social interaction in the cocktail bar. For these reasons, even as restrictions were lifted, it was impossible to use any current conduct inside the cocktail bar as an example of a typical cocktail experience. As a result, research was not able to be accomplished in real-time and therefore needed to rely heavily on archive and interview or focus group where the data was built on the recollection of personal accounts.

It is also worth noting that hospitality employees were not performing their typical bartending responsibilities at this time, which means their discussion of the cocktail was entirely based on how well each individual recalled past experiences. Therefore, conversations may have suffered from inaccuracies. Since in-person interaction was prohibited, focus groups were required to be conducted online. This could potentially have affected the way individuals participated in the conversation.

As time passed, many employees and employers were more reluctant and less flexible with the sharing of information. Data collection from these individuals required an aggressive increase in pursuit. Due to the high levels of stress and anxiety that were being experienced throughout the cocktail community, I considered this continued pursuit to be unethical. In that case, research was narrowed to extremely open and willing volunteers. Because this willingness was a common characteristic amongst participants, it is possible this trait influenced their experiences with and of the cocktail. There is potential that a portion of individuals who work in the industry have more reserved personalities and hold views that differ from these results.

A further constraint included the closure of all libraries and restriction of movement in Victoria during both 2020 and 2021. Due to these closures, physical archives were inaccessible. As restrictions eased and as libraries opened, time limits were enforced, which made thorough research of physical archival material impossible. As a result, the material reviewed for this study was primarily limited to digitised archives only.

It must be stated that the effects the lockdown had on any study, particularly those involving social environments, are impossible to quantify. All research aside, between the ups and downs of government indecision, and the nonstop dramatization of the media, it did not take long for depression and social anxiety to set in.[10] This had become an ongoing impediment not just for myself but for many I had had the fortune of socialising with throughout these past three years, particularly those who had worked in hospitality. This undoubtedly has shaped the data and its interpretation.

Other Limitations

It is imperative to bear in mind that although Prohibition in the United States only lasted in legislative form for thirteen years, the change in law was a reflection of a massive Anglican cultural movement often referred to as the Temperance movement.[11] This international crusade was expanding and propagandising for decades before 1919 and continued well past the year 1933. This movement has actively pursued the elimination of any social recognition of the cocktail, leaving an absence of historical accounts. It has also added substantial propaganda to the recorded collection of drinking experiences. Articles influenced by Temperance were derogatory and tended to overinflate or exaggerate the detriments of alcohol consumption.[12] As it was an alcoholic beverage, the cocktail suffered these negative claims. It has been argued that the ideals of Temperance widely flourished in Australia.[13] This makes the historical research of all cocktail but Melbourne cocktail culture specifically quite a challenge.

In addition, a lack of academic data has resulted in the default use of commercial or non-academic literature in order to direct archival exploration and perhaps establish a set of cultural norms. As a result of these two elements, accessible information about the cocktail that does exist has been packaged, repackaged, and conveyed predominantly through the lens of privileged middle- to upper-class white

[10] Stanton et al., 'Depression, anxiety and stress during COVID-19'
[11] M.L. Schrad, *Smashing the Liquor Machine: A Global History of Prohibition*, Oxford University Press, 2021
[12] Schrad, *Smashing the Liquor Machine*
[13] R. Fitzgerald and T. Jordan, *Under the Influence: A History of Alcohol in Australia*, HarperCollins Australia, 2017

males.[14] It is important to stipulate here that it is not the cocktail but the stories of and information surrounding its consumption that is frequently portrayed through this cultural lens. Another consequence of this is that the cocktail all too often has a tendency to be predominantly associated with this consumer base. This is despite the fact that archives themselves suggest that cocktails historically were frequently produced and consumed by women as well as men, particularly in Australia, and by racially diverse populations. Cocktail literature published as a commercial pursuit also tends to prioritize entertainment and marketability over factual and systematic exploration of this subject matter.

4.3 Why Melbourne?

At the time I first visited in 2018, Melbourne was not, and arguably still, even four years later, is not entirely on the radar of the global cocktail community. Since 2018, only two of its bars have been listed in the world's top 50, a list that includes multiple entries from cities like London, Singapore, New York, Athens, Hong Kong, Berlin, Mexico City, Paris, and even a mention from Beirut. However, the quality of the drinks and the experiences I had were some of the best. I thought it interesting that it was not part of the global dialogue. In my experience, its gatekeepers were some of the humblest bartenders I had encountered until then. I attributed this to be part of the reason why it did not seem to have a global presence. Melbourne, it seemed, was recognized as a hospitality city first and foremost, a hospitable city that served cocktails. It was clear to me that its members of the cocktail community were more interested in providing a world-class drinking experience than they were in making their mark on the world. There is also the hurdle of geography. From a North American or European perspective, Australia is far and relatively isolated from the rest of the world. Due to its logistical distance from the US and Europe, the country seemed historically partially removed from the cocktail phenomenon. While the cocktail appeared to have a visible cultural system, I was extremely curious what parts of that system, if any, had made their way all the way to Australia to a city that, unlike New York, sometimes finds the time to sleep.

[14] R. Simonson., 'Cocktail history isn't all about men', *New York Times*, 7 July 2021, p. D5(L)

PART II
Four key moments in cocktail history

Beer, wines and liquor in general all have very long histories. As for the cocktail, to reflect on the drink from a cultural perspective, four historical periods of its social trajectory are considered. These eras are deemed by contemporary cocktail historians to be vitally significant to the cocktail's development. The first is the punch era, which reveals the social and cultural landscape that led to the conception of the cocktail. The second begins at the turn of the eighteenth century which is the time period when the definition of cocktail is published as it is currently considered to be 'birthdate' of the cocktail. The third is the post-1849 Gold Rush, which propelled the drink's expansion up until Prohibition and firmly established the cocktail as a global phenomenon.[1] The last period, often referred to as the Golden Age, was the start of commercial publications regarding the cocktail. Literature from this age is reviewed to discuss some of the cocktail service's defining features.

The intent of an exploratory approach to primary and secondary archives is to identify indications of a cultural identity, that is, to determine who was drinking what, and to pinpoint the overlying values that surface in this specific drinking community. Each section points to evidence of a culture of consumption. The literature focuses on the roles diversity and social connectivity play in the both the development of creativity in cocktail production and service and the community of consumers that emerges as the cocktail gains social traction. Discussion of these elements offers insight into how they operate in relation to inclusion in specific drinking environments.

[1] Brown and Yule, *Spirits, Sugar, Water, Bitters*; DeGroff, *The New Craft of the Cocktail;* Miller et al., *Cuba: The Legend of Rum*, Mixellany Books, 2009; Wondrich, *Imbibe!*

Chapter 5: European 'Exploration and Discovery'

If the cocktail were merely a mixed drink, it would be truly difficult to pinpoint its origins. Civilisations have been fermenting and mixing alcohol since, basically civilization. Ancient cultures in India, Arabia, and the South Pacific were drinking toddy and arrack, the First Nations people of Australia wayalinah,[2] the Mexicans pulque, South Americans aguardiente, even the tribes of West Africa kept fermented liquor front and centre of their tribal culture and ritual.[3] So, when does the cocktail become a cocktail? Was it ever anything more than a mixed drink? The answers to these questions begin with cocktail's most basic form, liquid. Surprisingly enough, this was a non-alcoholic liquid sometimes referred to as 'the rough and stormy seas'.

5.1 Punch: The mother of the cocktail

Cocktail history can be traced back to the high seas of the pre-industrial world. The years 1500 to 1800 were host to an era of nautical travel, the institution of global markets, the emergence of national identities, and political and ideological revolutions. This time period was once described by European historians as the Age of Exploration and Discovery.[4] These years and cultural mindsets cultivated the Renaissance, the Golden Age of Piracy, the Industrial Revolution and the Age of Reason. These centuries mark the beginning of modern history and science.[5] They also witness the beginnings of a seemingly tiny little phenomenon of what we casually refer to today as the cocktail.

This portion of history would seem a strange place to start. During this time, there was no cocktail coupe, no shakers, there was not even any ice. Spirits themselves were not a sought after commodity just yet. They were the drink of

[2] M. Allen, *Intoxicating: Ten Drinks That Shaped Australia*, Thames & Hudson, 2020

[3] S. Morewood, *A Philosophical and Statistical History of the Inventions and Customs of Ancient and Modern Nations in the Manufacture and Use of Inebriating Liquors: With the Present Practice of Distillation in All Its Varieties: Together with an Extensive Illustration of the Consumption and Effects of Opium, and Other Stimulants Used in the East, as Substitutes for Wine and Spirits*, W. Curry, Jun & Co., and W. Carson, 1838; A. Miller and J. Brown, *Spirituous Journey: A History of Drink, Book Two: From Publicans to Master Mixologists*, Mixellany Limited, 2009; Miller et al., *Cuba: The Legend of Rum*

[4] D. Arnold, *The Age of Discovery, 1400-1600*, Psychology Press, 2002; P.C. Mancall, 'The age of discovery', *Reviews in American History*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1998, pp. 26-53

[5] Arnould and Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT)'

enslaved people, the poor, and those who could not afford the palatable wines of the royalty and emerging upper class. From the years 1500 to 1650 distillation was still hardly considered a marketplace. People instead were searching for new things that could be reconstituted and sold to a wider public, things like gold, silver, jewels, pearls, new spices, even salt, and of course the irresistible new 'white gold', sugar.[6]

The nomenclature 'Exploration and Discovery' does gloss over a great deal of other less progressive values, including colonisation and the continuous quest for world power. And despite the undoubted feats of advancement achieved by European civilisation during the early modern era, a great deal of human indecencies occurred during this time. Any historical investigation of these centuries is typically characterised by moments of prejudice, genocide, slavery, and religious intolerance which are well documented by Alexander Olivier Exquemelin, Hakluyt, James Cook, and others. There are tales, some exaggerated, others not, that expose circumstances of violence, rape, pillage, murder, and torture. These atrocities were not only tolerated, they were endorsed, and as history progressed this behaviour has been popularised, often glorified, but certainly associated with this era.[7] However, while nautical travellers were exploring, discovering new worlds, and dominating control of established ones, they were also very consistently doing one other thing. They were drinking punch. And it is through the unfamiliar history of punch that we are offered another glimpse into the past that tells a very different kind of story.

> Monday, the 18th of March [1521], after dinner, we saw a boat come towards us with nine men in it: upon which the captain-general ordered that no one should move or speak without his permission. When these people had come into this island towards us, immediately the principal one amongst them went towards the captain-general with demonstrations of being very joyous at our arrival. Five of the most showy of them remained with us, the others who remained with the boat went to call some men who were fishing, and afterwards all of them came together. The captain seeing that these people were reasonable, ordered food and drink to be given them, and he gave them some red caps, looking glasses, combs, bells, ivory, and other things. When these people saw the politeness of the captain , they presented some fish, and a vessel

[6] Miller et al., *Cuba: The Legend of Rum*; A. de la Fuente, 'Sugar and Slavery in Early Colonial Cuba', *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World*, 2005, pp. 1450-680

[7] A. Neill, 'Buccaneer ethnography: Nature, culture, and nation in the journals of William Dampier', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2000, pp. 165-80

of palm wine, which they call in their language Uraca [Arrak].[8]

Antonio Pigafetta was a passenger in a crew operating under the authority of Magellan. Pigafetta, like many men during these centuries kept a journal to document his journey and record new discoveries. The excerpt is taken from a published collection of his entries entitled *Voyage Around the World* and accounts for the time they spent on the Ladrone (Mariana) Islands of the South Pacific. The occurrence noted here is significant because it not only indicates an exchange of goods but also depicts an amicable exchange of culture between the Europeans and the native inhabitants. Pigafetta's journal is filled with instances such as these. Despite the existing rarity of accounts of any exchange of goods provided by the local communities, the delicate conditions of these transactions must be considered. This harmonious depiction of trade and social interaction lies in contradiction to the commonly accepted negative associations of the time. However, the perilous nature of these journeys required explorers to document their experiences with as much detail and authenticity as possible as oftentimes, this information was vital to their continued survival.

Along with peaceful interaction, this excerpt also mentions the use of a substance referred to as Uraca, or Arrak. This spirit would become a primary component of a favourite mixed beverage that sailors would later in history refer to as punch. Could punch be considered a cocktail? Many contemporary cocktail experts would say yes, while others may agree to disagree. Regardless, punch is without a doubt the cocktail's predecessor.[9] In that case, to determine where, when, why, and how the cocktail appears, it certainly would be a good place to start.

This experience undoubtedly sets the stage for the emergence of punch through its mention of Arrack. It also establishes the type of behaviour, or circumstance that could have led to its creation. In this instance, and many others documented by the explorers of this time, there is a true blending of culture, where western explorers set foot on foreign land at the mercy of the local people, who were not always aggressive, but repeatedly enthusiastic to share their culture. In situations

[8] A. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage: a Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation*, Courier Corporation, 2012

[9] D. Wondrich, *Punch: The Delights (and Dangers) of the Flowing Bowl*, Penguin Publishing Group, 2010

where indigenous rulers had more power than the exploring Europeans (as was the case across much of Asia from the Ottoman Empire in the west to Ming dynasty China in the east) Europeans often took on the role of supplicants and observers rather than that of conquerors and settlers. Without help from the native populations, the Spanish, the Portuguese and their successors would have achieved far less than they did.[10]

These introductory societies, aside from goods, also held another very valuable resource, local knowledge. Knowing this, captains and crews would often land in hopes of encountering native intelligence to facilitate the commodification of local resources, flora, fauna, as well as the potential for foreign settlements. All of this was encouraged to occur while neither party spoke the same language. Although there may have been a few indigenous people who spoke English or perhaps Spanish or Portuguese, most of them did not. As a result, people were forced to communicate or find a way to mutual understanding without common speech. They needed to ease tension, trust one another, understand one another, they needed human connection.

In June 1586 a large fleet led by Sir Francis Drake headed for the port of Havana. It was their objective to sack the city at the request of the Royal Highness, the Queen of England. However, along the journey to the island we now call Cuba, it became abundantly clear there was a problem. The crew were sick, very sick. So sick that many of them were dying. What's more, Drake had lost close to 300 men over only a few days and a burning fever was spreading.

Under the circumstances, the captain understood his crew was in no shape to be landing at the port of Havana to attack the Spanish settlement. Instead, he crept his way north along a coast line. While surveying the coast, Drake had an idea. On 4 June, around nightfall, the captain sent a tiny fleet in a small boat to land on the shore in search of human connection. One of the select few to come ashore was his nephew, Sir Richard Hawkins. It was the hope that while Hawkins explored the nearby land, perhaps he could make contact with some local tribesmen who could shed light on the terrible illness that was taking his crew. A few days later Hawkins and the men returned with a secret remedy, mint. Hawkins then took the mint, mixed it with sugar, lime juice, and rations and served it to the crew.

[10] Arnold, *The Age of Discovery, 1400-1600*

This is the origin story of the world's first mojito, a well-known cocktail composed of sugar, lime juice, rum and mint.[11]

Unfortunately, there is very little digitised archival information to support this tale. Since the date of this event precedes any records of rum distillation, it would seem the story's validity becomes even more questionable. Perhaps it can only offer some moments of circumstance. But like much of any history, circumstance can reveal a great deal of things.

In 1985 Fernando Campoamor's *El Hijo de la Caña de Azúcar: Biografía del Ron Cubana*, included the mojito's prototype recipe with a claim that it was indeed invented for an ailing Francis Drake. The drink was named el Draque, after its imbiber.[12] Campoamor insists that it was Drake or at the very least a member of his crew who invented this drink, which does help corroborate this origin story. The recipe itself does the same listing azucar (sugar), limon (lime), hierba buena (mint), and aguardiente de caña as necessary components. The use of aguardiente de caña as a base spirit also indicates that it is probable this recipe indeed did precede rum, which could date the recipe back to the sixteenth century. If that were the case, the ingredients would have to have been provided by local inhabitants of this region of the world.

Regardless of the fact that this story may be primarily oral in tradition, it is documented by Drake's nephew himself that the crew was sick and the captain desperate for a remedy. Excerpts from his accounts reveal that the crew did often communicate and work together with local societies in some circumstances.[13] This type of desperate situation makes the concept of a reliance on local inhabitants for help extremely plausible, particularly considering Pigafetta also documents amicable interaction and cultural exchange with the native people of the region. It also

[11] A. Miller and J. Brown, *Cuban Cocktails: Drinks & the Cantineros behind them, from Cuba's Golden Age of Cocktails*, 1st edn., UK, Mixellaney Limited, 2012

[12] F.G. Campoamor, *El Hijo Alegre de la Caña de Azúcar: Biografía del Ron Cubana*, Editorial Científico-Técnica, 1985

[13] R. Hawkins, *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins Knight, in his Voyage into the South Sea, Anno Domini 1593*, *Reprinted From the Edition of 1622*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1848

demonstrates how perilous nautical exploration was at the time.[14] To provide factual evidence of this, it might be worth noting that although the journey Pigafetta records began with a crew of 270, only 18 of those men survived.[15] Magellan himself died. What both these reflections make clear is that without indigenous cultures or any harmonious connections with them, there may have never been an El Draque, or a mojito, there may never have even been a punch.

The word 'punch' is thought to be derived from the Hindi word 'paunch', meaning five. This is because the recipe in its basic form oftentimes only consisted of five ingredients, arrack or rum, citrus, sugar, water, and spice.[16] The first inkling as to what was included in punch was supplied in 1638 by the German explorer John Albrecht Mandelslo who wrote about Pale-puntz, which was a kind of drink consisting of Aquavita, Rose-water, juice of Citrons and Sugar.[17] Both the name and the ingredients once again point to a region of origin, this time it is the Indies. Although this is the first widely known reference to punch, it would seem the drink's invention must have occurred much earlier, especially considering the suggested date of the El Draque's creation. Certainly the sailors were drinking rations, what composed those rations, and when these ingredients shifted is unknown. However, there is a suggestion that once the crews were introduced to spirits such as arrack, the ships began to quickly adopt this liquor as its ration base because it took up less space on the ship and was much more resistant to spoil than wine or ale.[18] This introduction to liquor more than likely occurred during an introduction to other things, including the spices that have been incorporated into punch mixtures for centuries.

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[14] C. Land, 'Flying the black flag: Revolt, revolution and the social organization of piracy in the "golden age"', *Management & Organizational History*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2007, pp. 169-92

[15] P.T. Leeson, 'An-arrgh-chy: The law and economics of pirate organization', *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 115, no. 6, 2007, pp. 1049-94

[16] Morewood, *A Philosophical and Statistical History of the Inventions and Customs of Ancient and Modern Nations*; Wondrich, *Punch: The Delights (and Dangers) of the Flowing Bowl*.

[17] A. Olearius, *The Voyages & Travels of the Ambassadors Sent by Frederick Duke of Holstein, to the Great Duke of Muscovy, and the King of Persia,: Begun in the Year M.DC.XXXIII, and Finish'd in M.DC.XXXIX : Containing a Compleat History of Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, and Other Adjacent Countries : with Several Publick Transactions Reaching Neer thePresent Times, in VII Books : Whereto are Added the Travels of John Albert de Mandelslo, (a Gentleman Belonging to the Embassy) from Persia, into the East-Indies Containing a Particular Description of Indosthan, the Mogul's Empire, the Oriental Ilands [sic], Japan, China, &c. and the Revolutions Which Happened in Those Countries, Within These Few Years, in III Books : the Whole Work Illustrated with Divers Accurate Mapps, and Figures / written originally by Adam Olearius ... ; faithfully rendred into English, by John Davies*, Early English books, 1641-1700 ; 770:16., 2nd ed. London, Printed for Thomas Dring, and John Starkey, 1662.

[18] Miller et al., *Cuba: The Legend of Rum*; Wondrich, *Punch: The Delights (and Dangers) of the Flowing Bowl*

For the next half-century, with the emergence of the distillation of rum, the word 'punch' appeared in the journals of men such as Abel Tasman, Johan Mandelslo and William Dampier, as rum became another key ingredient for the liquid concoction. The production and consumption of punch certainly seems to have coincided with a rise in nautical traffic. By this time, the nautical waterways were host not just to explorers or navy ships, but to privateers and pirates as well.

The years 1690 to 1730 are historically considered the peak of piracy, with pirates occupying any waterways that formed all of the major trading routes at that time. That would include those connecting Central America to Spain, North America to Europe, Cuba, Haiti, Europe to Africa and Jamaica.[19] This is not to mention the waterways of Asia, New Holland, India, the Pacific Islands and the Middle East.

During this time, journals were even more common, as explorers were sent on missions to gain intelligence to report to the kingdoms of Europe.[20] Lucky for us, this intent to educate the world bequeathed written records that did not merely chronicle observations. Often these ledgers conveyed the authors' personal reflections of their experiences as well. While observation and communication with foreign communities continued during this time, there was also plenty of communication from one ship to another. By 1682, the seas were full of vessels appointed by European monarchies to sail in search of exotic goods and spoils that would be brought back to the kingdom's commission. Despite acting in service to any one particular regime, the ships themselves had become melting pots of culture. Crews of these vessels were frequently composed of indigenous peoples, escaped slaves, and escaped convicts, as well as soldiers and sailors from anywhere in the world.[21] Pirates in particular were the most racially, ethnically, and economically diverse of them all.[22]

[19] Leeson, 'An-arrgh-chy'.
[20] W. Hasty, 'Piracy and the production of knowledge in the travels of William Dampier, c. 1679–1688', *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2011, pp. 40-54
[21] Land, 'Flying the black flag'; K.A. Antczak, '"Tavern" by the saltpan: New England seafarers and the politics of punch on La Tortuga Island, Venezuela, 1682–1781', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2015, pp. 159-87
[22] Leeson, 'An-arrgh-chy'

With this increase in nautical travel, came the increase for rations, not just to hydrate a crew but also to keep them healthy. By this time, communities were noticing a connection between citrus consumption and the reduction of scurvy.[23] They were also endorsing a significant increase in rum distillation. Because these transit modes were so risky, often deadly, the products they commandeered became of great worth, with spices like nutmeg being valued as precious as silver or gold.[24] In this case, it is conceivable that all of these spices, at one point or another made it into a vat of punch. As with the crew, the locations where punch was endlessly produced and consumed were just as diverse, with records placing it in India, South Pacific, the Caribbean, Arabia, Japan, even Formosa (Taiwan). By the sixteenth century it could be safe to assume that where there was a ship, there was punch.

By the late seventeenth, and early eighteenth century it seems punch had become a standard ration, and as some archives indicate, the purpose of its consumption had slightly shifted. While William Dampier's journal is replete with examples of intellectual engagements with other travellers and settlers in the New World and with the local populations of those lands,[25] it also provides a few examples of what, when, where, even why the crew would drink punch. Dampier defines punch as a mixture of rum, sugar and lime juice. He also mentions that the product is 'free-flowing' throughout the Caribbean Islands, specifically on Tortuga, and curiously enough another nearby island known as Margarita.[26] Certainly this concoction was not only consumed for physical health. An excerpt from Dampier's records states*:*

> I have seen above 20 sail at a time in this road come to lade salt; and these ships coming from some of the Caribbean Islands are always well stored with rum, sugar and lime-juice to make punch, to hearten their men when they are at work, getting and bringing aboard the salt; and they commonly provide the more, in hopes to meet with privateers who resort hither in the aforesaid months purposely to keep a Christmas as they call it; being sure to meet liquor enough to be merry with, and are very liberal to those that treat them.[27]

[23] Antczak, '"Tavern" by the saltpan'; Wondrich, *Punch: The Delights (and Dangers) of the Flowing Bowl*
[24] Leeson, 'An-arrgh-chy'
[25] Hasty, 'Piracy and the production of knowledge in the travels of William Dampier, c. 1679–1688'
[26] W. Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World,* London, St Paul Churchyard, 1697
[27] Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*

Were the pirates of the seventeenth century really drinking margaritas on the beach? Since this excerpt was written at least 100 years after Cortez ordered the distillation of Mezcal in Mexico,[28] it is highly possible! Regardless, this excerpt does give us a context for punch, which was not necessarily sipped for the purpose of health, but to keep those hard at work, in 'good spirits'. By this era, punch had developed into not simply a remedy for physical illness, but as a prescription for emotional health, as well as an offering that could be provided to a new ship, in hopes of connecting with them. Under those circumstances, the punch would serve as a social lubricant, around which strangers felt at ease.[29] Naturally then, both punch, and its paraphernalia at that time helped to create and maintain social relations and politics.[30]

Given the diversity of the ship crews,[31] it would not be surprising that punch would serve a similar purpose to the fermented liquids of the twentieth century. Just as native populations and explorers needed to peacefully communicate, so too the members of a crew needed to successfully integrate and work together. This collective integration was vital to survival.[32] The seemingly democratic societies[33] that often formed onboard a ship would in turn provide yet another use of this liquid concoction. In 1724 Charles Johnson writes in *A History of Pyrates*:

> After this, a Counsel of War was called over a large Bowl of Punch, at which it was proposed to chuse a Commander; the Election was soon over, for it fell upon Davis by a great Majority of legal Pollers, there was no Scrutiny demanded, for all acquiesced in the Choice: As soon as he was possess'd of his Command, he drew up Articles, which were signed and sworn to by himself and the rest, then he made a short Speech, the sum of which, was, a Declaration of War against the whole World.[34]

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[28] Charming, *The Cocktail Companion*
[29] Antczak, '"Tavern" by the saltpan'
[30] M. Dietler, 'Consumption', in D. Hicks & M. Beaudry (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, 2010
[31] M. Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age*, Boston, Beacon Press, 2004
[32] Leeson, 'An-arrgh-chy'
[33] Land, 'Flying the black flag'
[34] C.C. Johnson, *A Genreal History of the Pyrates*,2nd ed., printed for and sold by T. Warner, 1724, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/40580/40580-h/40580-h.htm, accessed 7 July 2020

Here punch consumption is presented much like an Indigenous ritual,[35] except that in this instance, the drink is intimately tied to an extremely old tradition that would lead us directly into the very foundation of democratic practice in the New World: the vote.[36] This excerpt is not unique. The ritual of voting over a bowl of punch was commonplace amongst shipmates.[37]

As all these examples indicate, during this era punch served as a unification tool. The punch bowl became an object that metaphorically synthesised the Atlantic world,[38] as well as the Pacific. As Harvey states, punch itself – the blend of alcohol, fruit, water, spice, and sugar – suggested the coming together of disparate people in the hospitable act of drinking.[39] It also suggests the subliminal glorification of integration or inclusion, as its fundamental composition required the incorporation of the most diverse and varied flavours in the newly discovered world. As Rediker asserts, diversity was the key hallmark of maritime culture.[40] All things considered, there is a strong indication then that the origin of punch cannot be tied to any one culture or nation. Instead, this drink was born out of a free roaming society, consisting of men, and sometimes women, of many backgrounds, life experiences, and values, a society that embarked on journeys to find new exotic lands, connect with locals, and celebrate the wealth of their travels. Therefore, the creation of punch, the mother of the cocktail cannot be attributed to any one particular region or culture when it was in reality a product of all of them. As this punch drinking society made its way toward land and settled there, this cultural movement, first established on a ship, swiftly flowed directly into the cocktail.

Punch, then, served as a unification tool or the symbol of equality in a diverse, and as the voting process would indicate, inclusive society. As this mixture made its way to land, it continued to foster these values during its consumptive experiences.

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[35] K. Harvey, 'Ritual encounters: Punch parties and masculinity in the eighteenth century', *Past & Present*, vol. 214, no. 1, 2012, pp. 165-203

[36] Leeson, 'An-arrgh-chy'

[37] Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age*

[38] Antczak, '"Tavern" by the saltpan'

[39] Harvey, 'Ritual encounters: Punch parties and masculinity in the eighteenth century'

[40] Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age*

Chapter 6: The early modern coffeehouse

It is important to note that even before cocktails existed, the community of people who were inclined to drink them had already been formed. And as the demographics of any exploratory nautical enterprise would demonstrate, it was quite a diverse community. By the mid- to late-eighteenth century, this diversity slowly made its way to land, bringing its drinking traditions with it. By 1750 many ports across the world were host to hotels, inns and punch houses that were serving the alcoholic concoction.[1] As a result, the popularity of punch grew and spread into small towns as well, and people were congregating to take part in its consumption. But, as trade flourished and cultures continued to mingle, another drink began rapidly overtaking the social scene. This drink, too, fostered a diverse group of individuals gathering together to hash out their differences. As a result, punch was destined to share the stage with another controversial drink.

6.1 The birth of the cocktail: Coffee and the bitter truth

In 1675 Charles II believed there was a drink that was so popular, so powerful, so detrimental to society, such a dangerous threat to Royalty that he felt it was in the monarchy's best interest to ban it.[2] Surprisingly that drink was not punch, nor wine, nor any kind of spirit at all. That drink was coffee. During the reign of Charles II, coffeehouses grew into such favour that they quickly spread over the metropolis, and were the usual meeting places of the roaming adventurers, travellers, and those who seldomly spent time in their home other than to sleep.[3] Since the early sixteenth century, even the Ottoman Empire feared the coffeehouse to be a danger to the fabric

[1] Wondrich, *Punch: The Delights (and Dangers) of the Flowing Bowl*; K. Harvey, 'Ritual encounters: punch parties and masculinity in the eighteenth century'

[2] B. Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse*, Yale University Press, 2008; S. Pincus, '"Coffee politicians does create": Coffeehouses and Restoration political culture', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 67, no. 4, 1995, pp. 807-34

[3] J. Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London With Anecdotes of Its Famous Coffeehouses, Hosteleries, and Taverns, from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Time*, London, John Camden Hotten, 1872; Pincus, '"Coffee politicians does create"'

of Islamic society. By the mid-sixteenth century, the empire had taken extreme measures to outlaw the drink.[4]

Despite this, coffeehouses began popping up throughout the Arab world, greater Europe and other parts of the world as well. By the late eighteenth century, it is estimated that France had close to 1,000 cafes, and England close to 8,000. There were coffeehouses open in Amsterdam, Belgrade, Austria, Hungary, Italy and even Brazil. While society was dipping their ladles into punch, coffeehouses were gaining popularity in all corners of the globe. Why is this relevant to the cocktail? Because as the punch bowl was helping to build democratic societies at sea, the coffeehouse was having similar effects on land, reaching beyond the ports and across the European landscape.[5] It is the merging of these two cultures that led to the consumption of the cocktail.

The societal concern regarding coffee never had anything to do with public health. Conversely, because the consumption of alcohol was showing the negative effects of indulgence, coffee was often championed as a healthy alternative to wine, beer, or punch. It was instead the environment the coffeehouse fostered that had such an impact on society as a whole.[6] Since the Ottoman era, the coffeehouse had evolved into a space of public discourse, a social setting where the sharing of diverse ideas, fantasies, and philosophies was both welcomed and encouraged.[7] The culture surrounding its consumption was spreading across the world rapidly. Coffee was becoming what some would refer to as the 'drink of democracy'.[8] Inside the walls of the coffeehouse, the commonwealth came together, as it served a similar purpose to France, in that it was thought to be a place where one found liberty.[9] Haine states that the coffeehouses of France were inclusive, open equally to men and women, and were

[4] E. Karababa and G. Ger, 'Early modern Ottoman coffeehouse culture and the formation of the consumer subject', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 37, no. 5, 2011, pp. 737-60
[5] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*; M. Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2011
[6] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*; Pincus, '"Coffee politicians does create"'
[7] Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History*
[8] W.H. Ukers, *All About Coffee*, New York, The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal, 1922; Pincus, '" Coffee politicians does create"'
[9] Ukers, *All About Coffee*

the home of the beginnings of political life for women.[10]

As far back as 1674, a coffee broadside was posted entitled, 'Rules and Orders of the Coffee House'. This illustration insisted that in these establishments, equality must prevail amongst all men, and 'no man of any station need give his place to a finer man'.[11] Historians confirm that a diverse demographic of customers frequented coffeehouses, and social status was somewhat ignored, as one could participate in conversation regardless of class, rank, or political leaning.[12]

The coffeehouses widely distributed throughout England and other parts of Europe, also appear to have unanimously welcomed all people regardless of gender, social status, or political outlook. The low price of coffee made it a drink, and the ambience of the coffeehouse made it a space that was suddenly accessible to anybody.[13] In England and certainly throughout Europe, these cafes were a hotspot for young students, old politicians, ageless literati, and any average human who wanted a cheap alternative to an alcoholic drink.[14] According to *A Character of Coffee*, written in 1661:

> A Coffee-house is free to all Comers, so they have Human shape… Let any persons, who comes to drink coffee set down in the very Chair, for here a Seat is to be given to no man. That great privilege of equality is only peculiar to the Golden Age, and to a Coffee-house.[15]

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[10] W.S. Haine, *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability Among the French Working Class, 1789-1914*, JHU Press, 1998

[11] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee,* p. 103

[12] B. Cowan, 'Mr Spectator and the coffeehouse public sphere', *Eighteenth-century studies*, vol. 37, no. 3, 2004, pp. 345-66; R.F. Smith, 'A history of coffee', in Clifford, M.N., and K. C. Willson, (eds.) *Coffee: Botany, Biochemistry, and Production of Beans and Beverage*, Westport, CN, The AVI Publishing Company, Inc., 1985, pp. 1-12; Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History*

[13] J. Morris, *Coffee: A Global History*, Reaktion Books, 2018.; E. Laurier and C. Philo, ''A parcel of muddling muckworms': Revisiting Habermas and the English coffee-houses', *Social & Cultural Geography*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2007, pp. 259-81; J. Barrell, 'Coffee-house politicians', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2004, pp. 206-32

[14] Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London*

[15] M. Ellis, (ed.) M.P., *A Character of Coffee and Coffee-Houses* London, John Starkey, 1661, repr. Marryat, C.F., *Second Series of a Diary in America with Remarks on its Institutions*, Philadelphia, T.K. & P.G. Collins, 1840, Routledge, 2006; Pincus, '"Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture'.

The notation of a chair here is important. Coffeehouse seating, particularly in England during this time, was quite egalitarian. Patrons were urged to sit close to strangers and also encouraged to converse with them. Because of this, the coffeehouse was a place where one could find social intercourse, connection, and companionship. This feature extended itself to the British colony of North America as well.[16] *Clubs and Club Life* in London provides a detailed description of the coffeehouse's social diversity:

> Every profession, trade, class, and party in London had its favourite Coffee-house. The lawyers discussed law or literature, criticized the last new play, or retailed the fresher Westminster Hall 'bite' at Nando's or the Grecian, both close on the purlieus of the Temple. Here the young bloods of the Inns-of-Court paraded their Indian gowns and lace caps of a morning, and swaggered their lace coats and Mechlin ruffles at night, after the theatre. The Cits met to discuss the rise and fall of stocks, and settle the rate of insurance, at Garraways's or Jonathan's; the parsons exchanged university gossip, or commented on Dr Sacheverel's last sermon at Truby's or Child's in St Paul's Churchyard". The list goes on. The coffee house gradually became the common resort of all classes. In the mornings came the merchants, lawyers, physicians, brokers, workers, and wandering venders; in the afternoons, and until the late hours of the nights, the leisure classes, including the ladies.[17]

Diversity itself was a common feature amongst the coffeehouse clientele. Samuel Pepys who served as an administrator for the Royal Navy and also as a member of Parliament in the 1660s, became a frequenter of the coffeehouse. In his well-known diary he wrote 'I find much pleasure in it through the diversity of company and discourse.'[18] It is known that Pepys considered coffee drinking environments to be places that provided both companionship and connection to others.[19]

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[16] Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History*
[17] Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London,* p. 54
[18] S. Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, Vol. 1: 1660*, *1*, Univ of California Press, 2000 p. 315; Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History*
[19] Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History*

Like punch, the drink was in great favour among the students. Soon there was such a demand that Arthur Tilyard, with the encouragement of young students, opened 'Apothecary and Royalist' to sell coffee. This group of young scholars in time became admirers of young Charles and continued to operate as a group until after the Restoration. Eventually referred to as the Oxford Coffee Club, this group is considered the start of Royal Society.[20] To demonstrate how often coffee and punch were enjoyed by the same consumer base, it is worth noting that later on, in 1827, this same Oxford University that demanded its coffee house was also responsible for publishing 'Oxford Nightcaps', one of the first printed collections of punch recipes in the world.

As time progressed, coffee became a permanent fixture in the social experiences of Europe and other parts of the world. And although serving as an alternative to alcohol, it also became closely associated with the sale and consumption of spirits. In France, the drink was regularly found in institutions that also served spirits. By the 1670s coffee could be found in places called 'limonadiers' which served the drink alongside varieties of 'eau-de-vies' and spiced liquors.[21]

In Britain, the drink became such a competitor to punch that by the early- to mid-eighteenth century, many businesses began merging the two. *All About Coffee* states it was 'customary for Coffee-houses and other Public-houses to take 8s for a quart of Arrack, and 6s for a quart of Brandy or Rum, made into Punch.'[22] One of these noteworthy houses was called Ashley's London Coffee-house and Punch-house.[23] Opened in 1732, it was at this establishment that James Ashley decided it would be much more profitable to serve punch at a lower price. And so, he began selling single-serve, made-to-order drinks and often employed his own terminology to reference them. Single served punch was called a sneaker, tiff, or rub.[24] The idea was a success. In time, the London Punch-House enjoyed clientele such as William Hogarth, James Boswell, Oliver Goldsmith and Benjamin Franklin.[25]

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[20] Ukers, *All About Coffee*
[21] T.E. Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Princeton University Press, 2014
[22] Ukers, *All About Coffee*, p. 582
[23] Ukers, *All About Coffee*
[24] Wondrich, *Punch: The Delights (and Dangers) of the Flowing Bowl*
[25] B. Leggett, 'Drinking Cup' 2012, drinkingcup.net (accessed 6 August 2020)

Ashley's success represented a cultural transition from large, socially shared bowls of punch into swiftly mixed single serves designed for the individual, hinting at a social transition from punch into cocktail.[26] Because of this, drink historian David Wondrich has called Ashley 'the world's first celebrity mixologist' and the 'first man to become famous for compounding and selling a mixed drink.'[27] However, another source indicates it was probably Mrs Gaywood, Ashley's barkeep, that did all the mixing.[28]

It should be no surprise then that the first time we see the word 'cocktail' manifest in print, it occurs in England. In 1798, the word cocktail made its earliest known appearance in print as a drink on a list published in London's *Morning Post and Gazetteer*. It was written on the tab of politician William Pitt, the English statesman well known for his sexual indiscretions. The cocktail was listed as an item ordered at the bar for 3/4 pence along with 'perfeit amour' and 'L'huile de Venus'. Given the understanding this was written partially in jest, its inclusion in this satirical bar tab suggests the word cocktail was being used at that time as a type of slang for a drink of mixed components. It also demonstrates how from the very start, the drink served as a vessel for expressing humour as a means of social engagement. In addition, it places the cocktail at the centre of a diverse, inclusive social atmosphere that encouraged the sharing of ideas and information and allowed for its patrons to speak freely and openly without censorship.

While punch and coffee drinkers were mingling in Europe, the taverns in the United States were serving a similar social purpose to these joint institutions.[29] Taverns have been well studied as comparatively democratic locales where members

[26] B. Leggett, 'A History of Punch – Part 1: Sailors, Sack and the Number Five' 2014 <http://www.drinkingcup.net/history-punch-part-1/> accessed 9 September 2021; A. de la Fuente, 'Sugar and Slavery in Early Colonial Cuba', in S. B. Schwartz (ed.), *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2004, pp. 158-200
[27] Wondrich, *Punch: The Delights (and Dangers) of the Flowing Bowl,* p. 171
[28] Leggett, 'A History of Punch – Part 1: Sailors, Sack and the Number Five'
[29] D.D. Rockman and N.A. Rothschild, 'City tavern, country tavern: An analysis of four colonial sites', *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1984, pp. 112-21

of different classes engaged in dialogue with each other. [30] Because drinking water was considered hazardous to one's health, colonists of every rank, age, race, and gender often drank and in large quantity. As a result, taverns became arenas for political debate, business transactions, and small-town gossip sessions.[31] In some of the early Philadelphia taverns, Thompson notes, many rooms were cramped: '[In] a city with an ethnically and culturally diverse population and a relatively fluid social hierarchy, taverns drew together customers from a wide variety of backgrounds in conditions of enforced intimacy.'[32] Testimony indicates this diversity matched that of any European coffeehouse and encouraged a social discourse to match.

Taverns were also known as meeting places, for refreshment, entertainment, and venues for democratic discussion and debate.[33] Functioning as connective spaces for the performance of social norms, coffee houses and taverns played a significant role in the development and distribution of knowledge in early American history.[34] For American consumers, both tea and coffee might be best understood as beverages suitable for performative consumption as a way to convey political beliefs, class and cultural knowledge.[35] This was also true of the cocktail. This appearance of an inclusive social network developing, one which used these mixed drinks as metaphors for social inclusion, is made clear with the following quote. Old Philpot communicates the following:

[30] L. Freese, 'Hungry minds: the visual and verbal language of taverns and coffee houses in early American periodicals', *Word & Image*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2021, pp. 229-310; S. Struzinski, 'The tavern in colonial America', *Gettysburg Historical Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2002, p. 7; Rockman and Rothschild, 'City tavern, country tavern'
[31] S.V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, JHU Press, 2004
[32] P. Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010, p. 3
[33] Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*
[34] Freese, 'Hungry minds'; Rockman and Rothschild, 'City tavern, country tavern'.; R. Darnton, 'An early information society: news and the media in eighteenth-century Paris', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 105, no. 1, 2000. pp. 1-35
[35] Freese, 'Hungry minds'

> Gentlemen: life is like a good bowl of punch, the sour and the sweet make its richness; how insipid is the water alone! The sugar is not agreeable, without the dash of acids, and these are nothing comparable to spirits; spirits, gentlemen, I say, if you have none of your own, import them from the land of content. […] I have had souring plenty, but ever kept the real sweets to mix with them; life is like a bowl of punch; the sweets would be tasteless without the souring; tis in the mixing of ingredients, that's all.[36]

This excerpt, which demonstrates an ethos that flavours are different and operate their best when they are functioning together, could be considered an effective metaphor for inclusion. What it reinforces is that there is indeed a philosophy behind mixed drinks, one that involves the application of diverse parts working in harmony. These depictions of drinking culture in early American periodicals were highly intelligible tools that communicated more complex ideas while confirming the status and values of viewers.[37]

Although punch and coffee were both a standard part of the menu, taverns were also serving cocktail prototypes, such as flips, sangaree, toddies, punch, juleps and many more.[38] One of the more everyday drinks of the eighteenth century commonly served in taverns was the sling. Given the cocktail's 1806 definition designated the drink as a 'bittered sling', the assumption that the cocktail emerged from this consumer crowd would not be much of a stretch.

A book called *The Compleate Housewife*, written by Eliza Smith, had appeared in 1727 in the United States. It was the nation's first cookbook. While the book was filled with recipes of all kinds, it also included a section on medicinal salves, draughts, and other remedies. This segment contained an entry that provided directions for making one's own Staughton's elixir.[39] Dating back to the 1690s, Staughton's elixir

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[36] Francis Hopkinson, "Account of the Grand Federal Procession in Philadelphia, July 4, 1788", p. 71, cited by Freese, 'Hungry minds'

[37] Freese, 'Hungry minds'

[38] Struzinski, 'The tavern in colonial America'; Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*.; P. Thompson, '"The Friendly Glass": Drink and Gentility in Colonial Philadelphia', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 113, no. 4, 1989. pp. 549-73

[39] E. Smith, *The Compleat Housewife: Or, Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion*, London, J and J Pemberton, 1727

was a type of bitters produced and mixed with other compounds, including beer, ale, canary wine, water, or tea, to aid an uneasy stomach.[40] For this recipe to appear in a cookbook implies it was a medicinal substance that was in fairly high demand, or at the very least, one with which everyone was familiar at that time. In this case, bitters, the key component of the first cocktail, was understood to be a medicinal treatment and was already being consumed by the general populace. According to Smith, 'a large teaspoon of this bitters should be added to a glass of wine and taken in the morning'.[41] Bitters then, was also often added to another alcoholic liquid in the hopes of producing a remedy of some sort, especially if taken in the morning. Oddly enough, this is precisely when the early cocktail was originally suggested to be consumed, often as a remedy for drinking too much punch.[42]

How long it took for a sling to become bittered, no one knows. But the widespread practice of mixing bitters with other liquids suggests it's highly likely that many people were drinking cocktails in the eighteenth century. They just didn't know it yet. What is known is that inside these coffeehouses and taverns of the eighteenth century, a social group distinct in its drinking habits was forming. A consumer culture was on the rise.

Ten years after America's first cookbook, another piece of literature was published in the *Philadelphia Gazette*. This one was not a list of recipes but rather a list of playful, satirical words and phrases used to address drunkenness.[43] The document was entitled *The Drinker's Dictionary* and was authored by a colonial American famous for his thirst for punch as well as other alcoholic beverages, Benjamin Franklin. In the closing of this list, the document reads:

[40] E. Harrold, *The Diary of Edmund Harrold, Wigmaker of Manchester 1712–15*, UK, Manchester Metropolitan University, 1712-15; Thompson, '"The Friendly Glass"'

[41] Smith, *The Compleat Housewife*

[42] Yeatman & Co, *Drinks and How to Make Them. Yeatman's Calisayine Cocktail Bitters, The Prince of Pick-me-ups*, Yeatman & Co, 1879

[43] H.G. Levine, 'The vocabulary of drunkenness', *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, vol. 42, no. 11, 1981, pp. 1038-51

> the Phrases in the Dictionary are not (like most Terms of Art) borrow'd from Foreign Languages, neither are they collected from the Writings of the Learned in our own, but gathr'd wholly from the modern Tavern Conversation of Tipplers.[44]

What this indicates is that a unifying language, or type of slang, had begun to emerge from a community of drinkers and that a culture was indeed developing. The adoption of a form of slang is a distinctive mark of class or clique and sets it apart from other groups in society that are speaking the same language.[45] While slang is used as an indicator of group identity,[46] there is also evidence that this group wanted to distinguish themselves from the average drunk. For this body of individuals, drinking was considered a component of other socially inclusive activities[47] rather than a means for inebriation. In agreement with the punch philosophy, the mixed drinkers were using alcohol as an agency of an inclusive social atmosphere.

Seven years after the public mockery of William Pitt, the word cocktail appeared again in *The Balance and Columbian Repository* in Hudson, New York. This time a journalist put together a cleverly worded definition for a curious subscriber, who wrote into the paper asking what a cocktail was. It is here that the first and famous definition of the cocktail was printed:

> Cocktail, then, is a stimulating liquor, composed of spirits of any kind, sugar, water, and bitters – it is vulgarly called bittered sling, and is supposed to be an excellent electioneering potion, in as much as it renders the heart stout and bold, at the same time if fuddles the head. It is said also to be of great use to a democratic candidate: because a person having swallowed a glass of it, is ready to swallow anything else.[48]

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[44] B, Franklin, 'The Drinker's Dictionary', 13 January 1737, in L.W. Labaree (ed.) The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, vol. 2, January 1735 through December 31, 1744, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961, pp. 173-178

[45] S.N. Herman, 'Explorations in the social psychology of language choice', *Human Relations*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1961, pp. 149-64; E.A. Nelsen and E. Rosenbaum, 'Language patterns within the youth subculture: Development of slang vocabularies', *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1972, pp. 273-85

[46] G.F. Drake, 'The social role of slang', *Language*, Elsevier, 1980, pp. 63-70.

[47] Thompson, '"The Friendly Glass"'

[48] E. Sampson, G. Chittenden and H. Croswell, *The Balance, and Columbian Repository*, 1806

This definition interpreted the cocktail as both a concept and as an item which had not yet been clearly understood or identified by the general public. This suggests that there was some kind of slang or lingo being spoken in the bar or other drinking environments and that the slang was used to reference this specific concoction. There is evidence of slang being used for different types of mixed alcoholic beverages in other documents as well. Words like gum-tickler, phlegm-cutter, anti-fogmatic, and even gall-breaker all appeared around the same time the word cocktail began being used as part of the drinking nomenclature.[49] This good-humoured, witty language indicates the perpetuation of a drinking culture.[50] This use of language and the wide distribution of its meanings function to create a hegemony amongst consumers. This indicates the development of a consumer culture, along with an ethos composed of overlapping values across the globe.[51] The emerging values of this culture become more evident when looking at the consumer society and its behaviour in contrast to the societal norms of the time.

Captain Frederick Marryat, an English statesman who visited North America noted the habits of American spirituous drink consumption in his journal.

> The Americans do not confine themselves to foreign wines or liquors; They have every variety at home, in the shape of compounds, such as mint-julep and its varieties; slings in all their varieties; cock-tails-but I really cannot remember, or if I could, it would occupy too much time to mention the whole battle array against one's brains.[52]

Despite the potential for a breadth of mixed drink concoctions to be embraced during the early half of the nineteenth century, the cocktail shared the spotlight with only two other extremely popular mixed drinks. Those were the mint julep and the sherry cobbler. These drinks were so popular even Charles Dickens had something to

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[49] J. Lambert, *Travels Through Canada, and the United States of North America, in the Year 1806, 1807, & 1808: to Which are Added, Biographical Notices and Anecdotes of Some of the Leading Characters in the United States*, *2nd ed.*, C. Cradock and W. Joy, 1813; C. Gohdes, 'American liquor lingo of days gone by', *The Georgia Review*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1959, pp. 53-57

[50] C. Kramsch, 'Language and culture', *AILA Review*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2014, pp. 30-55

[51] Arnould and Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT)'

[52] C.F. Marryat, *Second Series of a Diary in America with Remarks on its Institutions*, Philadelphia, T.K. & P.G. Collins, 1840, p. 41

say about them: ‘The mint-julep and sherry cobbler they make in these latitudes are refreshments never to be thought of afterwards, in summer, by those who would preserve contented minds’.[53]

News and journal archives indicate it was during the early nineteenth century that the world began to acknowledge there were specific types of alcoholic beverages being mixed and individually served, therefore differentiating them from punch. And while punch was a combination of many exciting, new and exotic flavours and liquors from other parts of the world, these mixed drinks appeared to be more subtle. Instead of a borage of ingredients, the cocktail kept it down to a handful, introducing either one unique ingredient to the mix or exploring a more delicate inclusion of a strong one. The familiar sling was now spiced with aromatic bitters. As for the cobbler and julep, they too had diverted from the punch. At this time, both sherry and brandy (the original ingredient in a julep) were quite well known and quite popular. But there was one thing these drinks had that no wine, ale, or even a punch could offer. That was the new, exciting inclusion of exorbitant amounts of broken ice. This tailored process of taking something distinct and often unusual and tempering it with more familiar ingredients to create something new is a technique that may not have been intentional. Still, it went on to define the world of mixed drinks throughout the past two centuries.

During this time period, coffeehouse and punch society was experiencing a peak in the diversity of people and their individual ideas. This resulted in the eruption of consumer common spaces where newness and exchange were embraced, encouraged, and accepted. It was in the midst of this punch drinking, coffee sipping environment and its imbibers that the world’s first cocktail was born. The cocktail, along with juleps, cobblers, and smashes, emerged as a genre of drinks that, for a good century, were welcomed as a new, different concoction that mixed foreign with familiar and balanced it into a glass; a drink that was tempered, mixed, and inherently ‘American’. For the next two decades, the cocktail's identity as an American obsession continued to emerge. However, by the end of the 1840s, another United States

[53] C. Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1850, p. 170

commodity would become the nation's new claim to fame, one that would change the fate of the cocktail forever.

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Chapter 7: The Golden Forty-Niners

A campaigner for the abolition of slavery in the American South, Hinton Rowan Helper described what he observed in 1855, just a few years before the Civil War:

> The crowd is probably one of the most motley and heterogeneous that ever occupied space. It is composed of specimens of humanity from almost every clime and nation upon the habitable globe. Citizens from every State in the Union, North and South, Americans, French, English, Irish, Scotch, Germans, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Russians, Poles, Greeks, Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos, Sandwich Islanders, New Zealanders, Indians, Africans, and hybrids—all stand before us. We see all grades and conditions, all ages and sexes, all colors and costumes, in short, a complete human menagerie.[1]

Surprisingly, Helper is not writing about a pirate ship, or a coffeehouse, or even a tavern for that matter. This excerpt was written to describe the social composition of a mining town during the California Gold Rush.

7.1 The Gold Rush

Between 1850 and 1860 the population of California grew from 92,597 to 379,994 people, a 310 per cent increase.[2] Opportunists capitalised on this abrupt increase in population. Barren fields developed into farms, and towns. And as newcomers reached this region they enjoyed the luxuries that came with development. As Helper indicates, and as migration continued, the community that settled in mining towns was extraordinarily diverse.[3] The diary of journalist Edward Gould Buffum attests to this. The documentation of his travels in California in 1850 includes moments of interaction

[1] H.R. Helper, *The Land of Gold: Reality versus Fiction*, Baltimore, H. Taylor, 1855
[2] United States Census Bureau, 1850, https://www.census.gov/history/www/homepage_archive/2018/january_2018.html, (accessed 15 July 2022)
[3] M.J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation*, University of California Press, 1997; S. Chan, 'A people of exceptional character: Ethnic diversity, nativism, and racism in the California gold Rush', *California History*, vol. 79, no. 2, 2000, pp. 44-85; S.L. Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush*, New York, W.W. Norton, 2000; R.J. Roske, 'The world impact of the California Gold Rush 1849-1857', *Arizona and the West*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1963, pp. 187-232

between people of different races, genders, religions, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds.[4]

Contrary to popular belief, the prospect of discovering gold did not only attract poor, uneducated men looking to purchase their way out of poverty. The communities of these towns often consisted of wealthy, educated families, and women as well.[5] While the demographics of towns and cities were becoming more varied, the mining camps themselves were also filling with clusters of diggers of different classes merging and working together from various parts of the world in order to uncover those lucrative pieces of gold.[6]

As the discovery of gold spread, travellers who were able to reach San Francisco by boat were leaving their lands behind in hopes of discovering some precious metal of their own. This included travellers from Australia who could reach California in seventy days or fewer. In 1849-1850 there were more than 200 ships that sailed from Sydney to the West coast, carrying thousands of Australians and New Zealanders.[7] While many of the enthusiastic settlers of the Gold Rush period did reach California via the harsh and dangerous conditions of a ship, they arrived to find the sparsely inhabited west was not altogether much better. There was an absence of doctors, no agriculture, and even worse, clean drinking water was very hard to come by.[8] Buffum writes: 'Many, who could obtain no vegetables, or vegetable acids, lingered out a miserable existence and died.'[9] '[I]n that wild region, where the comforts and attendance that should ever surround a sick man's bed are unknown, disease is usually followed by death.'[10] Smith agrees that men and women of the Gold Rush often got sick and many of them died. But 'rarely did any of them simply accept their

[4] E.G. Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines: From a Journal of Three Years' Residence in Upper and Lower California, 1847-8-9*, Lea and Blanchard, 1850; G.F. Kurutz, 'Popular culture on the Golden Shore', *California History*, vol. 79, no. 2, 2000, pp. 280-315

[5] Kurutz, 'Popular culture on the Golden Shore'; Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*; Roske, 'The world impact of the California Gold Rush'; N.J. Taniguchi, 'Weaving a different world: Women and the California Gold Rush', *California History*, vol. 79, no. 2, 2000, pp. 141-68

[6] Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*; D. Goodman, 'A global history of Gold Rushes', in M. Benjamin and T. Stephen (eds.), *3rd edn, Gold and the Public in the Nineteenth-Century Gold Rushes*, University of California Press, 2018; Starr and Orsi, *Rooted in Barbarous Soil*

[7] N. Bartlett, *Australia and America Through 200 Years: 1776-1976*, Sydney, SU Smith Fine Arts Press, 1976

[8] J. Agnew, *Alcohol and Opium in the Old West: Use, Abuse and Influence*, McFarland, 2013.

[9] Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines,* p. 97

[10] Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines,* p. 134

fate without experimenting with a variety of treatments that tell much about the state of medicine in this generation'.[11] Because of these conditions, many miners arrived in the gold fields equipped with two essential items to keep them hydrated and, in their mind, healthy: spirits and bitters.[12] While the cocktail multiplied in more populated cities, in the barren fields of the West, these two were also destined to share a glass.

Aside from the abundant dangers to one's health, the diggers' environment posed numerous other challenges, including where and how to dig. These were problems demanding creative solutions.[13] As to be expected, the creativity this spawned poured out of the minefields and into the towns that settled around them, resulting in a new, enriched culture. As this occurred, diversity was no longer a characteristic of the populace. It was a distinguishing trait of the lifestyle as well.[14]

Many newcomers to California abandoned their cultural norms and bravely embraced new social forms, in the process providing the state with an extraordinary vitality.[15] Buffum provides an example of this when he writes:

> I have seen Indians at Culoma, who still within the previous three months had been nude born babies, and had lived on roots and acorns, clothed in the most gaudy dresses and purchasing raisins and almonds at sixteen dollars a pound.[16]

As this observation indicates, the crossing of ethnic boundaries also occurred with the consumption of food.[17] Consequently, the demand for imports was on the rise. Countries as far away as Australia exchanged a large variety of goods with California. These items included jerked beef, bacon, lard, butter, cheese, split peas, beer, champagne, sherry, pharmaceutical drugs, woollen blankets, boots, shoes, nails,

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[11] D.A. Smith, 'Life and death jostle one another: Medicine in the early gold camps', *Mining History Journal*, 1994, p. 48
[12] Agnew, *Alcohol and Opium in the Old West*
[13] K. Lahiri-Dutt (ed.), *Between the Plough and the Pick: Informal, Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining in the Contemporary World*, ANU Press, 2018
[14] Starr and Orsi, *Rooted in Barbarous Soil*
[15] Johnson, *Roaring Camp*
[16] Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines,* p. 126
[17] Chan, 'A people of exceptional character'

axes, window glass, paint, rope, candles, cooking utensils, and prefabricated wooden houses.[18]

The increase in various imports was accompanied by the expansion of culture. Seemingly overnight, theatres, music halls, circuses, literary societies, bookstores, lending libraries, and other forms of recreation blossomed.[19] And as many a miner's diary will attest, one of those recreations was the cocktail, as saloons became one of the most iconic features of the region. As Lucius Fairchild, American Civil War hero stated: 'This is a true picture, Every body drinks freely, even myself have swallowed enough cocktails to float a skiff'.[20]

Unlike the gentlemen's clubs that littered England and the East Coast of the United States, saloons served the social purpose of the previous century's taverns. Saloons were a place of commonality between people of different races, cultures, and religious beliefs. Khoury points out that this level of mingling with others was unconventional anywhere else in the newly formed country at the time.[21]

Saloons were not the only places where mixed drinks were served. The Gold Rush also led to the formation of luxury bars. Sometimes referred to as 'drinking palaces', these places specialised in ambience, quality products, and impeccable service. McDonnell provides a detailed description of these types of watering holes, stating that the Gold Rush's west included extraordinarily civilised marbled drinking palaces where cocktails were shaken in tin and served in copper mugs.[22] An image preserved from the era showing a barman mixing liquids to and from two tins supports this statement. Theatre houses too offered refreshments allowing audiences to imbibe before and after performances. Cocktails were also a prominent feature of fandangos, or miner's balls, extravagant events where miners would commune to drink, dance,

[18] C. Bateson, *Gold Fleet for California: Forty-Niners From Australia and New Zealand*, Michigan State University Press, 1964
[19] Kurutz, 'Popular culture on the Golden Shore'
[20] Johnson, *Roaring Camp*
[21] M. Khoury, 'Wicked California: Leisure and morality during the Gold Rush, 1848-1860s', *Historical Perspectives: Santa Clara University Undergraduate Journal of History, Series II*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2012, p. 9
[22] D. McDonnell, *Drinking the Devil's Acre: A Love Letter From San Francisco and Her Cocktails*, Chronicle Books, 2015

and dine together. Buffum offers an egalitarian description of these events that echoes the coffeehouse environments of earlier decades:

> At these balls, there is no exclusiveness, the high and the low, the rich and the poor, all meet on perfect equality and dance away their sorrows, if they have any, upon the same mud floor. No scented cards of invitation are sent to the favoured few but all who choose enter and participate freely.[23]

The magnitude of commercialised alcohol consumption that did occur in the west can be seen in the following statistic. In 1853, the press reported that San Francisco supported 537 liquor vendors and employed 743 bartenders.[24] Because of the increased competition, bartenders began differentiating themselves by showcasing their level of skill.[25] This was often displayed by theatrically mixing a cocktail in front of the customer and also by creating exciting new concoctions for consumers to imbibe. Once again, the cocktail became the leisure drink of choice in a diverse environment that fostered a sense of inclusion and equality.

Interestingly enough, many discernible characteristics of California's Gold Rush were visible in other parts of the globe as well. One of those regions happened to be all the way across the other side of the world in the fields of Victoria, Australia.[26] Like the United States, the discovery of gold in Australia brought a mixed variety of migrants seeking fortune in the tens of thousands.[27]

The number of foreign ships arriving in Australia in 1851 totalled 52. By 1855 that number had surged to 14,647. As a result, this region of Australia received a similar diverse boom such as California did just a few years earlier.[28] In a detailed

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[23] Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines.,* pp. 139-40
[24] Kurutz, 'Popular culture on the Golden Shore'
[25] Wondrich, *Imbibe!*
[26] Lahiri-Dutt, (ed.), *Between the Plough*; Goodman, 'A Global History of Gold Rushes'; D.F. Bryceson, 'Artisanal gold rush mining and frontier democracy: Juxtaposing experiences in America, Australia, Africa and Asia', in K. Lahiri-Dutt, (ed.), *Between The Plough and the Pick: Informal, Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining in the Contemporary World*, ANU Press, 2018, pp. 31-62
[27] Bryceson, 'Artisanal gold rush mining'; G. Serle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria 1851–1861*, Melbourne University Publishing, 1963
[28] J. Gerber, 'Gold rushes and the trans-Pacific wheat trade: California and Australia, 1848–57,' in D.O. Flynn, (ed.) *Pacific Centuries: Pacific and Pacific Rim History Since the Sixteenth Century*, London, Routledge, 1999, pp. 135-61

account of his experiences during the Victorian Gold Rush, Henry Brown provides the following description:

> They were from nearly all classes of life: one was closely connected with the French nobility, another had been a squatter, and had one time had a large share in a station fifteen miles square, another had been a merchant, many were well connected, others were runaway sailors, and some had never risen above the rand of labourers; but in this mixed assemblage we never had any difficulty in preserving order.[29]

In that case, did the company interact in the same egalitarian manner that some saloons of the west upheld? Ernest Scott provides the following:

> truly a wonderful place .. a perfect Babel. The Chinese is jostled by the Russian. The polite Frenchman is abused by the African... The people of our own country are called to order by its more precious offspring the American…. Men from all nations sit down at the same table and drink from the same bowl, they each talk and sing in their own tongue, get drunk according to their own peculiar fashion, quarrel, jangle, fight and embrace as their various natures dictate and… reel off to their respective beds.[30]

These depictions imply that the diverse characteristic of the migrant populations would have influenced the value system that underpinned the drinking experience overseas. Certainly it helped to shape the consumer habits of those who rushed to Victoria in search of gold.

The Gold Rush of Victoria turned the state into an 'El Dorado richer than California and a magnet for gold-seekers from all parts of the world'.[31] Much like northern California, the mining regions of Australia began to feel a substantial creative surge. In his history of Victoria, Serle describes the character of the immigrant population at the diggings during the gold rushes, claiming that gold populated the region with people of more diverse talents, skills, backgrounds, and dynamism than

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[29] H. Brown, *Victoria, as I Found It, During Five Years of Adventure, in Melbourne, on the Roads, and the Gold Fields: With an Account of Quartz Mining, and the Great Rush to Mount Ararat and Pleasant Creek*, TC Newby, 1862, p. 287

[30] Serle, *The Golden Age*

[31] Bartlett, *Australia and America*, p. 116

the colony had seen.[32] Certainly, the Gold Rush of Victoria had the ability to attract adventurous types ready to accept different cultural norms as well. For example, it did draw in numbers of women who had notions of living independently. Levy offers a depiction contrary to common assumptions about suffering pioneers, stating that many women truly enjoyed their frontier adventure and describes some women to have been as gold hungry as the men. There were women who planted crops, wore bloomers, discussed philosophy, and made their own independent living.[33] Some of those women would end up making their living selling alcohol to the miners. Often these sales were unlicensed and operated under the guise of a coffee tent, a place known by thirsty customers as a 'sly-grog shop'.

Although it is not a secret that Australians loved their rum,[34] any alcohol sold without a license in the Australian colonies was commonly referred to as sly grog. While contemplating when the cocktail came to Australia, it is worth noting that grog, in and of itself, was known to the world as a cocktail prototype. Made of rum, lime, sugar, and water, this concoction closely resembles the recipe for a modern day daquiri.

Brown provides a personal account of drinking in a sly grog tent, as a stranger at the end of the table shouted:

> 'Well, one shout more, and we'll let you go. Now then, claret spiders all around.' And I was then, for the first time, introduced to that very pleasant compound. It ought to be made with ice, lemonade, and claret,[35]

Though spiders were the drink of choice amongst miners,[36] other mixed drinks were being consumed as well. Personal accounts attest to sherry cobblers, juleps, and cocktails being part of the drinking culture in Melbourne, particularly during the Gold Rush. Frank Fowler's book, *Southern Lights and Shadows*, documents his life experiences during this era. His testimony mentions these drinks and lists titles of quite

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[32] Serle, *The Golden Age*

[33] J.A. Levy, *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush* Hamden, CT, Archon Books, 1990

[34] A.E. Dingle, *Drink and Drinking in Nineteenth-century Australia: A Statistical Commentary*, Monash Papers in Economic History, no. 6., Monash University Department of Economic History, 1978; K.C. Powell, 'Alcohol and the eastern colonies, 1788-1901', *Australian Drug and Alcohol Review*, vol. 7, issue 4, October 1988, pp. 403-11

[35] Brown, *Victoria, as I Found It,* p. 106

[36] Fitzgerald and Jordan, *Under the influence*

a few more, including stone-fences, constitutionals, and even a concoction of gin, ginger, lemon, and hot water, referred to as a 'Lola Montez'.[37]

This consumer behaviour was not limited to drinking habits. Australia's influx of diverse migrants coincided with an increase of a variety of imported goods. Kelly states, 'In 1853, the stores were wholly insufficient to hold the teeming influx of importations'.[38] GeorgeTrain's importation records show that the total spend for imports to Australia from around the world in 1851 was £875,828. By 1854 that number increased to £8,556,068.[39] Lawrence points out that Australia was also the destination for significant numbers of non-English speakers from a diverse range of European, and non-European countries.[40] Foreigners began to outnumber Australians in the camp, reflecting a wide array of occupations mining side-by-side.[41] During the Gold Rush, Australians were introduced to more variations of culture than ever before. Just as it had in America's West, this sharing of culture and goods resulted in more creative lifestyles.

Like the Californians, Victorians too had circuses and balls, dancing and singing, horse racing, and even bowling once the Gold Rush swept the region.[42] This sharing of culture also cultivated the development of the Australian theatre.[43] The appetite for these theatrical performances was so welcoming to diversity that the colony found it lucrative to bring entertainers and celebrities from overseas to perform. These personalities included the highest paid actress in the United States at the time.[44] Known by her stage name, Lola Montez was an icon during the California Gold Rush

[37] F. Fowler, *Southern Lights and Shadows: Being Brief Notes of Three Years'Experience of Social, Literary and Political Life in Australia*, London, Sampson Low, 1859
[38] Symons, *One Continuous Picnic*
[39] G.F. Train, *A Yankee Merchant in Goldrush Australia: The Letters of George Francis Train 1853-55*, London; Melbourne: Heinemann, 1970
[40] S.E. Lawrence, 'After the Gold Rush: Material culture and settlement on Victoria's central goldfields', in I. McCalman, A. Cook, and A. Reeves (eds.), *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 2001; Roske, 'The world impact of the California Gold Rush 1849-1857'
[41] Lahiri-Dutt, *Between the Plough and the Pick*; Goodman, 'A global history of Gold Rushes'
[42] J. Lesh, 'Cremorne Gardens, gold-rush Melbourne, and the Victorian-era pleasure Garden, 1853-63', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 90, no. 2, 2019.; Bartlett, *Australia and America*
[43] C. Threadgold, *In the Name of Theatre: The History, Culture and Voices of Amateur Theatre in Victoria*, Cheryl Threadgold, 2020
[44] Kurutz, 'Popular Culture on the Golden Shore'.

celebrated for her famous spider dance.[45] There is no known correlation between Lola's dance and the drink. However, the dancer was renowned for buying the audience a complimentary drink during her performance. It was because Lola was so popular throughout the colony (and liked despite the negative press) that her name was attributed to one of Australia's gin concoctions.[46] The economic prosperity and leisure time culture practised during this era suddenly connected Australia to the rest of the world.[47]

The masses of migrants coming into Melbourne also included some cocktail loving Americans. George Train's account of his time in Australia refers to a quite sizeable American population during the decade.[48] But California's influence was not limited to population count and leisure activity. The economic composition of Melbourne during the 1850s Gold Rush provides evidence that American influence was everywhere.[49] In the fields there were many mines managed by Americans. Tools like ploughs, windmills, watercarts, barbed wire, fire brigades, and buggies were American made. In the city there was the San Franciscan influence on architecture, along with the employment of American cable trams, omnibuses, and railways.[50] American merchants came seeking lucrative business endeavours.[51] This cultural exchange also included foods. Authors Kelly and Train speak of Yankee clippers 'filled with consumer goods', including flour, butter, bacon, cheese, beef, preserves even copious amounts of New England champagne.[52] Hotels and theatres, including the famous Cremorne gardens, which served alcohol habitually on Sundays, excitedly advertised their employment of 'American' bartenders.

[45] M. Anderson, 'Mrs Charles Clancy, Lola Montez and Poll the grogseller: Glimpses of women on the early Victorian goldfields', *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 2001; Kurutz, 'Popular culture on the Golden Shore'
[46] Fowler, *Southern Lights and Shadows*
[47] Serle, *The Golden Age*
[48] Train, *A Yankee Merchant in Goldrush Australia*
[49] Goodman, 'A global history of gold rushes'
[50] L.G. Churchward, 'Australian-American relations during the gold rush', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 2, no. 5, 1942, pp. 11-24; R. Waterhouse, 'The beginning of hegemony or a confluence of interests: The Australian-American relationship, 1788-1908', *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1990, pp. 12-19
[51] Churchward, 'Australian-American relations during the gold rush'; Waterhouse, 'The beginning of hegemony'
[52] Symons, *One Continuous Picnic*

But were the Australians drinking American cocktails? Indeed, the cocktail as a pastime is difficult to trace in the formative years of Australia. However, there is one import that suggests these mixed drinks were not only consumed during this time period but also that they were actually consumed quite regularly. This massive import that was spawning excitement throughout the continent was ice.[53] In addition to the sly grog shops that were multiplying across the towns and fields, during the 1850s, legally permitted hotels were popping up all over Australia, especially in Melbourne. Newspaper archives indicate these institutions often advertised the sale of 'authentic American Iced Drinks', including sherry cobblers, mint juleps, and brandy smashes. Unsurprisingly, in the years 1853 and 1854 Victoria had the highest per capita spirit consumption among the colonies.[54] It is also worth noting that on 8 January 1854, at the height of the Australian summer, Melbourne received its first international shipment of ice directly from Boston. The cargo weighed in at 379 tons.[55]

William Kelly, an Irishman who had visited both California and Victoria, shared his admiration for the Union Hotel. He touted the bar as an elaborate setting, which served sophisticated international cuisine and champagne. He also described the offerings at the bar as 'a fluid revolution' and lists the following on offer:

> Brandy-smashers, gin-slings, sherry-cobblers, cock-tails, spiders, thunder-and lightning, phlegm -cutters, eye-openers, singarees, being only admissible at the bar or in the great room with the orchestra at the end, which filled every night with musical devotees, who applauded every performance in fresh nobblers.[56]

Perhaps the most compelling evidence for both cocktails and their culture being consumed by Australians during this time would be provided by Kelly's description of what he refers to as a 'Yankee' hotel. In 1853, Americans Samuel Moss and Charles Wedel renovated and reopened a hotel in the Melbourne city district. The establishment was called the Criterion. Kelly describes the lavish insides as being ornamented with grand mirrors and marble counters, with settings quite comparable to that of the luxurious drinking palaces found in California's Gold Rush. He describes

[53] Symons, *One Continuous Picnic*
[54] Dingle, *Drink and Drinking in Nineteenth Century Australia*
[55] N. Isaacs, 'Sydney's first ice', *Sydney Journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2011, pp. 26-35
[56] Kelly, *Life in Victoria*, p. 331

the bartenders as 'undeniable-looking down-Easters in snow-white shirts and pointed beards who would have a cock-tail under your nose before your lips had finished its utterance'.[57] Kelly was so impressed with this institution he goes on to describe the service in comprehensive detail:

> ….. I never saw anything that can compare with the sleight of hand, the gymnastic skill of the group behind the bar at the Criterion in Melbourne. The rapid way in which they would range a string of tumblers from hand to elbow-bow filling at the same time out of different cocks, and flinging them to different customers, without spilling a drip, was a sight in and of itself, not to mention the magical manner in which the described arched brandy bows, ceiling high, from tumbler to tumbler, without a spatter, manufacturing multifarious compounds with one hand and counting change with the other, dashing plain nobblers and whisky drinks, ales and Old Toms about with a reckless indifference, as if glass were cast-iron, and fluids never lost their centre of gravity.[58]

Considering Kelly had not only lived in Great Britain but also travelled to the United States during the early stages of the Gold Rush, his amazement at the service offered by the Criterion is significant, as it implies that at the time Melbourne had some of the most sophisticated and cutting-edge bar service in the world.

This use of the word 'nobbler', sometimes spelled 'nobler', is also noteworthy. Although the nobbler is often referred to as a drink consisting of spirits and water, there are also accounts of it simply implying the drink was mixed.[59] Therefore, it is possible that the word was also used as an Australian slang when referring to cocktails. During this time in the United States, the word cocktail referred specifically to a type of mixed drink that included brandy, sugar, bitters, and water.[60]

Although the bar may have been filled with Americans, the patrons of the Criterion were as diverse as they come, with Kelly testifying to an international clientele

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[57] Kelly, *Life in Victoria,* p. 333
[58] Kelly, *Life in Victoria,* p. 335
[59] J. Sherer, *The Gold-Finder of Australia: How He Went, How He Fared, and How He Made His Fortune, London,* Clarke, Beaton & Co, 1853, M. Cannon (ed.), Penguin Colonial Facsimiles, 1973
[60] J. Thomas, *How to Mix Drinks: Or, The Bon-vivant's Companion, Containing... Directions for Mixing All the Beverages Used in the United States, Together with the Most Popular British, French, German, Italian, Russian, and Spanish Recipes*, Dick & Fitzgerald, 1862; H. Johnson, *The New and Improved Illustrated Bartenders' Manual; Or: How to Mix Drinks of the Present Style*, H. Johnson, 1888

that included townsmen, immigrants, tourists, and diggers alike.[61] Given the fact that most immigrants during this time were those in search of gold, it should be no surprise that miners frequented this and other institutions that served the cocktail in such form. News items suggest hotels and other establishments that specialised in serving 'American iced drinks' often served as meeting places for the diggers and also as hosts to the miners balls.

While the Gold Rush was primarily responsible for this sudden burst of racial, religious, and cultural diversity in Australia,[62] it would be mistaken to say that it did not coincide with the rise in consumption of the cocktail. If the colony was drinking cocktails, did that mean they were assuming a diverse and inclusive cultural awareness as well? Brown's further account of the sly grog tents suggests this was the case.

> …queer looking as he [the shouter] was, he had shown me rough kindness … and I could not help feeling and showing some signs of gratitude as I stretched my palm across that of a man who, however rough, was perhaps worthier than myself.[63]

Shouts were common practice in the gold fields. A shout in Australia became the custom of buying a drink for another person regardless of social, class, or cultural barriers. Wayne Kelly describes it as 'a sign of friendship based on equality'.[64] Historians suggest this practice eventually became the foundation for 'mateship', a concept believed to be an integral part of the evolving Australian culture.[65]

The phenomenon of Victoria's Gold Rush did suggest even further American impact on the culture of Australia. There was also a feeling that Americans brought their republican ideas with them.[66] The Gold Rush is understood to have at this time fostered an overwhelming sense of fraternity that developed among the diverse gold fields.[67] This later developed into a cultural norm considered to be intrinsically

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[61] Kelly, *Life in Victoria*
[62] Serle, *The Golden Age*; Goodman, 'A global history of gold rushes'; E.D. Potts and A. Potts, 'The Negro and the Australian Gold Rushes, 1852-1857', *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 37, no. 4, 1968, pp. 381-99
[63] Brown, *Victoria, As I Found It,* p. 107
[64] W. Kelly, *Booze Built Australia*, Boolarong Press, 2018, p. 22
[65] J. Fiske, B. Hodge and G. Turner, *Myths of Oz: Reading Australian Popular Culture*, Routledge, 2016
[66] Goodman, 'A global history of gold rushes'
[67] Goodman, 'A global history of gold rushes'; Bryceson, 'Artisanal gold rush mining and frontier democracy'

Australian.[68] As individual miners have attested, there was a strong bond between the diggers, especially those who explored the fields together, regardless of their ethnic and cultural backgrounds. It is a documented fact that the fields of Ballarat were diverse.[69] Even there, an absence of racial disparity among group members is noted. Rafaello Carboni, in his account of John Joseph, an African American who migrated to Australia in search of gold, states:

> under a dark skin, [John Joseph] possessed a warm, good, honest, kind, and cheerful heart; a sober, plain-matter-of-fact mind; and that is more that can be said of some half-a-dozen grumbling, shirking, snarling, dog-natured state prisoners.[70]

This excerpt demonstrates a societal ideal filtering through gold fields similar to that of the coffee, punch, and taverns. Carboni's sentiment, along with the example of a shout, demonstrates that a person's worth was considered to be more rooted in their behaviour and values rather than obvious physical features or racial background. It also shows the intimate link between this value system and the drinking environments that were developing in the region. This expression of equality that was shared amongst the miners is what Bryceson speaks of as a 'Eureka ethos'. The author describes this as a distinguishing value system that fostered a common identity and camaraderie that went beyond typical social norms. This would have been an important ideal to practise, as, just like California, conditions in Victoria's gold fields were harsh and oftentimes life-threatening. It required an interpersonal bond built on trust that supported one another's safety and well-being. It required human connection. Bryceson believes that both trust and cooperative interaction amongst labourers was a cultural phenomenon that resulted in the engagement of collective political protest.[71]

The bond that had developed amongst the diggers was so strong and the spirit of equality so significant during this time, that these varied individuals came together in unison to participate in Australia's first ever people's rebellion.[72] 'One thing the gold

[68] G. Serle, 'The digger tradition and Australian nationalism', *Meanjin Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1965, pp. 148-58
[69] J.C. Molony and J.N. Molony, *Eureka*, Melbourne University Publishing, 2001
[70] Raffaello Carboni, *The Eureka Stockade*, Melbourne, 1855, p. 124
[71] Bryceson, 'Artisanal gold rush mining and frontier democracy'
[72] Serle, *The Golden Age*; Goodman, 'A global history of gold rushes'; Molony and Molony, *Eureka*

diggers had in common was a democratic spirit.'[73] The ethos of the diggers exhibited an uncanny resemblance to the ideas of inclusion and equality that were spreading through the taverns, saloons, and punch houses of the United States and Europe. In Australia, those who harboured these values during this era felt a passionate impulse to fight for them.

Consisting of a motley crew of Australians, Irish, Americans, Dutch, Jamaicans, African-Americans, and Jews, the Eureka Stockade is considered to be the birth of democracy in Australia.[74] By 1853, only two years after the discovery of gold, the Ballarat Reform League was created to protest against the Victorian government's policies and their management of enforcing them. A major gripe among the miners of this time was the government's over-priced, limited permitting, and over policing of the mining towns.[75] Their rebellion was also in part a response to the incongruous and often brutal policing of unlicensed alcohol sales.[76] Hall states it is 'impossible to describe the excitement produced by these arbitrary and unjust measures, on the part of the government, towards a large body of wealthy and influential men, whose avocations produced no inconsiderable portion of the revenue of the colony'.[77] The Ballarat Reform League not only called for legal reform and fairness in licensing but also demanded full representation and suffrage for the first time in colonial history.[78]

By December 1854, the diggers took part in the Eureka Rebellion, a physical revolt against the government demanding equal and fair treatment. This event led to democratic representation for gold diggers.[79] Lawrence believes gold was responsible for building the colony of Victoria by giving it a 'distinct sense of self' as a society.[80] Correspondingly, the demands of the Ballarat Reform League are believed to be the

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[73] Bartlett, *Australia and America*

[74] Serle, *The Golden Age*; Bryceson, 'Artisanal gold rush mining and frontier democracy'; L. Gollop, 'Releasing democracy: Giving real power to the people', *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*, vol. 24, 2007, pp. 23-45; R.D. Walshe, 'The significance of Eureka in Australian history', *Historical Studies: Eureka Supplement*, 1954, p. 112.

[75] Goodman, 'A global history of gold rushes'

[76] Fitzgerald and Jordan, *Under the Influence*

[77] W.H. Hall, *Practical Experience at the Diggings of the Gold Fields of Victoria*, Effingham Wilson, 1852, p. 47

[78] D. Goodman, 'Gold fields/golden fields: The language of agrarianism and the Victorian Gold Rush', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 23, no. 90, 1988, pp. 19-41; Bryceson, 'Artisanal gold rush mining and frontier democracy'; Gollop, 'Releasing democracy'; D. Hill, *The Gold Rush: The Fever that Forever Changed Australia*, Random House Australia, 2011

[79] Goodman, 'A global history of gold rushes'

[80] Lawrence, 'After the gold rush'

start of Australian independence.[81] So while the cocktail community grew into its own industry during the booming creativity of the Gold Rush in California, Down Under it was witness to the stirring of a nation.

What is interesting about this time, place, and event in history is that, like its predecessor punch, the cocktail was once again being consumed in an environment where a diverse group of individuals needed to operate in groups on premises of trust and mutual respect. Once again, human connection was vital to survival. And much like the cocktail and coffee cultures, this company employed equality as a social mechanism for inclusion.

[81] Hill, *The Gold Rush*

Chapter 8: The twentieth century

While historians, sociologists, and anthropologists can wax lyrical about the impact the Gold Rush did indeed have on modern society, a careful assessment of the cocktail's timeline reveals that the Gold Rush may have been one of the most important and influential historical moments for the cocktail.

8.1 The Golden Age of cocktail culture

During this peak of creativity, the makers of the cocktail were exposed to massive amounts of different cultural flavours and ingredients and were presented with a mass populace that was eager and willing to try something new. Of course, this willingness to try new things didn't always have such positive results. For example, Australia's famous ‘Blow My Skull Off’ punch was modified during the Gold Rush to include ingredients like opium, cayenne pepper, and copious amounts of water.[1] Hubert Howe Bancroft noted that

> There were all grades and descriptions of saloons, from the lowest 'bit' house, where 'rot-gut' whiskey, 'strychnine' brandy, and diverse other poisonous compounds with slang names were sold, to the most gorgeous drinking palaces" which served high grade spirits and the best quality champagne.[2]

During the time of the Gold Rush, there were varying degrees of what constituted a saloon. As a result, many cocktails were mixed disproportionately, and their ingredients were repeatedly compromised. As mixed drinks became more popular, bar owners looking to increase profits would either attempt to distil their own liquor or mix the concoctions with substandard and even dangerous ingredients.[3] This challenge to producing and consuming quality products is reinforced in the preface of *Barkeepers’ Ready Reference*, a publication authored by Bevill in 1871. Here attention

[1] R. Annear, *Nothing But Gold: the Diggers of 1852*, Text Publishing, 1999
[2] H.H. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula*, San Francisco: The History Company, 1888, cited by G.F. Kurutz, 'Popular culture on the Golden Shore', *California History*, vol. 79, no. 2, 2000, pp. 280-315
[3] J. Agnew, *Alcohol and Opium in the Old West: Use, Abuse and Influence*, McFarland, 2013

is called to the ineptitude of some saloon servicemen and the sub-par quality of some products. He states:

> It is worse than suicide to drink the miserable compounds of poisonous liquors that are sold at such low figures that you get a good sized quart for a dram. Beware of cheap drinks.[4]

America's West was not the only place to serve low grade, or even dangerous beverages. In *Booze Built Australia*, Wayne Kelly uses accounts from the 1800s commentator known as 'The Reformer', to provide a list of cocktails that were laced with poisons and mind-altering narcotics.[5] Because the disparity in quality was so high, some leaders of the mixed drink community felt it necessary to differentiate themselves. This resulted in the publication of numerous books featuring recipes and techniques for how to make cocktails. The first known of these, entitled *Bartenders Guide*, was published in 1862 by Jeremiah, a.k.a Jerry, Thomas. The *Guide* is a comprehensive list of over 100 drink recipes and corresponding preparation instructions. The publication was an opportunity for the bartender to promote himself as one of exceptional knowledge and creativity. Another perhaps less intended result was that Jerry's book, in conjunction with future publications, allowed the sharing of the recipes to establish consistency in drink making practices, solidifying the cocktail as a distinguishable, above standard product rather than a cheap or careless one. It also turned Jerry Thomas into a celebrity of his era.[6]

While the industrial revolution resulted in increased international travel and expedited the evolution of the printing press, it did not take long for the cocktail to spread its wings. By the end of the nineteenth century, the cocktail had secured itself as a quality product and worldwide phenomenon. By this point, cocktail competitions were being conducted and world fairs were hosted all over the globe. At these fairs, the cocktail was consumed at unprecedented levels, once again indicating the development of global consumer culture. In November 1867, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* reported that the Exposition Universelle, hosted in France that same year,

[4] A.V. Bevill, *Barkeepers' Ready Reference*, A.V. Bevill, 1871
[5] Kelly, *Booze Built Australia*
[6] Wondrich, *Imbibe!*

featured the sherry cobbler at one of its stands. At the stand, 500 bottles of sherry were opened and consumed in one single day.[7]

Recent biographical research indicates that bartenders of this era could and did often travel to gain more experience with the cocktail. For example, Jerry Thomas spent his formative bartending years refining his list and his drink making abilities in various parts of the United States and overseas.[8] Containing a range of mixed drink recipes, Thomas's collection boasts influence from many other countries outside of America, including England, Italy, France, Germany, and Russia. This piece of literature substantiates the theory that diversity and cultural inclusion were at the heart of the cocktail-making world, even in these early moments of its evolution. It also provides evidence that the cultural and creative diversity of the Gold Rush encouraged this colourful development.

Two years later, in 1864, Edward Abbot also published a collection of mixed drink and cocktail recipes in *The English and Australian Cookery Book*. This book, distributed throughout the Australian colonies, supports the idea that the cocktail, although considered an American phenomenon, was being consumed, created, and produced in many countries across the globe, with not every recipe originating in America.

The cocktail grew to be so globally prevalent that travel had become a lucrative investment for American bartenders. During this Golden Age, barmen were finding homes in places as far off as Japan to explore culturally diverse experiences that could build on their drink making abilities.[9] Often referred to as 'the Dean of Bartending', bartender and later bar owner, Harry Johnson issued a *Bartenders' Manual* that attests to this, as he writes 'Having travelled extensively in this and other countries… for the sole purpose of learning different methods of preparing many types of mixed drinks'.[10] As this excerpt indicates, it was customary and indeed considered essential that bartenders expose themselves to the diversity of culture the world had to offer, the

[7] M. Conway, 'More of the Great Show at Paris', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 35, 1867, pp. 777-92
[8] Thomas, *How to Mix Drinks: Or, The Bon-vivant's Companion*; Wondrich, *Imbibe!*
[9] Miller and Brown, *Spirituous Journey*
[10] Johnson, *The New and Improved Illustrated Bartenders' Manual*, p. 6

idea being that there were always new flavours and techniques to discover. Various countries began publishing books loaded with cocktail recipes that could showcase and at the same time also instruct on a particular culture's flavours or bartender's expertise. Once all of these recipes became shared and standard practice, the competition over who was making the best drinks became more about the mixer than the contents of the glass. In 1892, celebrity bartender William Schmidt, author of *The Flowing Bowl* is quoted as asserting, 'However well-mixed a drink is, much of the flavour will be lost unless politeness is added'.[11] The New York *Sun*, who referred to Schmidt as 'a source of refining culture', published the following about him: 'No foreigner however hostile he might be to America, could absorb one of William's masterpieces without kinder sentiments warming his heart toward a nation that possessed such a treasure'.[12]

This evolution of bartending philosophy is visible in cocktail service to this day. As the literature of the cocktail's Golden Age indicates, a cultural value system was becoming universal to the service of mixed drinks at this time.

Throughout the latter part of the century, while the cocktail culture continued to expand globally, the bartender emerged not as an average occupation but as a skilled trade and specialized profession. Harry Johnson's *Bartenders' Manual* is one of the most noteworthy of these publications to surface during this time. Said to have originally been published in 1868, Harry Johnson's *Manual* is thought to have sold 10,000 copies. Unfortunately, none of these copies have been confirmed to be found. However, in 1882 at the request of The International News Company, Harry wrote a new and improved version that printed over 50,000 copies, which in turn, sold out.[13] This version is still being reprinted and is available to be purchased today. At the time, the book was so welcomed and admired amongst the professionals of the bartending community that many entries and excerpts appeared in introductions to other

[11] W. Schmidt, *The Flowing Bowl*, New York, Charles L Webster & Co, 1892; Miller and Brown, *Spirituous Journey*, p. 132

[12] 'The only William is dead', *The Sun* (New York), 10 January 1905, p. 4, https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn83030272/1905-01-10/ed-1/?sp=4&r=-0.116,0.044,1.267,0.637,0, (accessed 21 September 2021)

[13] Johnson, *The New and Improved Illustrated Bartenders' Manual*

publications, some of them almost verbatim. As a result, this 189-page manual functioned to streamline cocktail service for the next 140 years.

Rather than focus its emphasis on bartending ingredients and techniques, the manual contains comprehensive instructions on acquiring, owning, and operating a business that serves mixed drinks. Harry suggests that it is of supreme importance to foster a respectful professional environment, recommending any proprietor to consider themselves a 'public servant', and any bartender to ensure they are able and willing to 'cater to the needs of the "inner man".' His ideal customer service relationship was one that featured trust, respect, and inclusion. A key element of customer service that is mentioned in the *Bartenders' Guide* is the unbiased nature of its execution. Harry believed 'No one should make distinctions between patrons on account of their appearance',[14] and 'all customers rich or poor, should be served alike'.[15] This democratic approach to service demonstrates, at the very least, that tolerance for diversity is at the forefront of barkeeping philosophy. He wrote a bartender must 'make a special point to study the tastes of his customers and strictly heeding their wishes mix all the drinks according to their desires and tastes'.[16]

A list of regulations to aid in this effort includes the following:

> The principal endeavor for bartenders… is to attempt the moral and mental elevation and education of themselves… to advance himself in every direction, reading what will help him, associate with the best people whenever possible, visit the places that are of benefit to him, and to study their own personal welfare and set an example… to such a degree that the entire public will recognize them as gentlemen and useful businessmen in the community.[17]

Johnson includes a chapter dedicated to bartenders' personal lives, explaining the importance of travel, experience, reading, and education as they were encouraged to maintain a mindset of constant learning and personal growth. This was understood to increase their value as employees. Additionally, they were encouraged to

[14] Johnson, *The New and Improved Illustrated Bartenders' Manual,* p. 41
[15] Johnson, *The New and Improved Illustrated Bartenders' Manual,* p. 41
[16] Johnson, *The New and Improved Illustrated Bartenders' Manual,* p. 45
[17] Johnson, *The New and Improved Illustrated Bartenders' Manual,* p. 34

acknowledge, respect, and support one another in the wider community, stressing a sense of unity. At the time, Harry felt it essential to develop a bartenders union that would ensure fair wages, limited work hours, and employer behaviour that catered to this attitude toward employee well-being and personal growth.

As these directives continued, the publication built an ethos behind cocktail service that meant to lay the foundation for distinguishing features of self-identity within the service industry for the mixed drink community. With so much of Harry's philosophy coinciding with the contemporary craft cocktail industry, Harry's ideas continue to influence the cocktail community today.[18]

Despite the disparities in style, some of these features are corroborated by Jerry Thomas, who includes the following excerpt in his own material:

> 'There's philosophy' says Father Tom in the drama, 'even in a jug of punch.' We claim the credit of 'philosophy teaching by example'.[19]

This harkens back to the 1788 quote by Old Philpot, where he states that life is like a bowl of punch. Almost 100 years later, the mixed drink was still used as a metaphor for life experiences. This attitude suggests that the technique of incorporating new and unique elements and mixing them to create a superior product influenced other areas of the cocktail experience, reaching beyond its consumption to its accompanying customer service and social interaction. The suggestion here is that the philosophy employed in drink making also permeates into other aspects of the cocktail world. And bartenders, in particular, are expected to consider themselves ambassadors for this philosophy. Harry Johnson makes this clear when he states that a bartender must first and foremost be a gentleman.[20] His writing indicates that he believed this example would inspire patrons to act in a similar fashion creating a cyclical set of behaviours that built value and ensured the success of any business.

[18] DeGroff, *The New Craft of the Cocktail*; Miller and Brown, *Spirituous Journey*; R.E. Ocejo, *Masters of Craft*
[19] Thomas, *How to Mix Drinks: Or, The Bon-vivant's Companion*, p. 4
[20] Johnson, *The New and Improved Illustrated Bartenders' Manual*

Although the cocktail world sought to encourage responsible and civilised drinking habits, a not so tiny movement called Temperance fought to stifle this drink making world with its sober and often isolationist mindsets.[21] As Temperance gained political support, cocktail drinking countries began endorsing the implementation of laws seeking to perpetuate a 'safe' public environment. These legislations ended up limiting cocktail drinking to the home, making mixed drinks inaccessible to the wider public. As a result, bartenders fled their established businesses to flourish in other parts of the world.[22] Unfortunately for Melbourne and the rest of Australia, the temperance movement would ensure that none of these bartenders would make a home for themselves Down Under. As closing times occurred at 6 p.m. there was essentially time for any other alcohol to be consumed but the cocktail. The United States, too, felt the wrath of Temperance with its 'noble experiment' to make the public sale of alcohol illegal. Prohibition, however, only fostered the growth of the cocktail in places like Cuba and France, countries that reaped the benefit of hosting educated and talented bartenders.[23] These celebrities drew crowds from all over the world, especially those who loved the cocktail so much that they were willing to travel to foreign lands with unfamiliar languages and unique cultures, just to drink one.

For example, in the early part of the century, Havana only saw between thirty to forty thousand tourists a year. Post Prohibition, this number went on to increase. Statistics show between 1920 and 1940, Cuba's capital city welcomed an estimated two million visitors.[24] Although the cocktail might not have been wholly responsible for this rise in tourists, it certainly was a popular attraction.[25] Actually, it was so popular the island was being referred to as a 'paradise of cocktails'.[26]

Miller writes: 'Cuba itself is like a well-balanced cocktail'.[27] And there is hardly a historian or journalist who would have disagreed. Even in its foundations, the Cuban

[21] J.R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*, University of Illinois Press, 1986
[22] Brown and Yule, *Spirits, Sugar, Water, Bitters*; Kosmas and Zaric, *Speakeasy*; G. Regan, *The Joy of Mixology*
[23] Kosmas and Zaric, *Speakeasy*; Brown and Yule, *Spirits, Sugar, Water, Bitters*; DeGroff, *The New Craft of the Cocktail*; Regan, *The Joy of Mixology*
[24] L.A. Pérez Jr., *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture*, UNC Press Books, 2012
[25] E. Sáenz Rovner, 'North-American prohibition and the flow of contraband between Cuba and the USA during the 1920s and 1930s', *Innovar*, vol. 14, no. 23, 2004, pp. 147-57
[26] Pérez Jr., *On Becoming Cuban*
[27] Miller et al., *Cuba: The Legend of Rum*

culture was a well-balanced mix of the world, carrying influences from Spain, Africa, Caribbean indigenous, British and French colonists, Chinese workers, Arabs, and North and South Americans.[28]

In his 1928 book, *When It's Cocktail Time in Cuba*, Basil Woon describes the island's cocktail crowd:

> Havana is a meeting-place of the world's adventurers and headquarters of the tragic order of Tropical Tramps, and between quests the aristocrats among them haunt the Sevilla patio and bar. It is a strange mingling this, of worldly-wise men and women and bronzed travelers of the never-never lands; of monocled men and beautifully-dressed women of fashion and somber, star-faced poppers of the jungle.[29]

In the United States, far from the radar of social discretions, speakeasies too fostered diverse drinking atmospheres, quietly opening their doors to both men and women.[30] The emergence of the speakeasy also resulted in racially diverse drinking crowds, as all skin tones were welcomed to imbibe together for the first time in the nation's history.[31]

As this history indicates, clipping the cocktail's wings did not result in the drink's complete disappearance. Nor did it result in an environment without cultural diversity. The forces of Temperance did, however, make the mixed drink experience limited in its global reach and, in many instances, inaccessible to the average person. Instead, the cocktail became a luxury that could mainly be indulged in by people who were wealthy enough to throw parties in private spaces, those who had powerful connections, or to those who could afford the time and expense to travel to other parts of the world.[32] Whatever the mission of Temperance, it undeniably resulted in the vanishing of the diverse, inclusive expression of thought that had until then been characteristic of the cocktail experience inside the bar. As a result of the zero tolerance propaganda issued by this movement, any spirited beverage, mixed or not, ended up

[28] Miller et al., *Cuba: The Legend of Rum*
[29] B. Woon, *When It's Cocktail Time in Cuba*, H. Liveright, 1928
[30] Brown and Yule, *Spirits, Sugar, Water, Bitters*
[31] Wondrich, *Imbibe!*; Kosmas and Zaric, *Speakeasy*; Brown and Yule, *Spirits, Sugar, Water, Bitters*.
[32] M.L. Schrad, *Smashing the Liquor Machine: A Global History of Prohibition*, Oxford University Press, 2021

clumped together with all alcoholic drinks, as well as those individuals who consumed them. Bars devolved into generic drinking spaces, and drinking itself became an activity drastically segregated by class, culture, and clout. As a result, it would take close to a century for the fundamental experience of the cocktail to reemerge.

In the 1990s, Joe Baum, owner of the city's famous Rainbow Room, was looking to reinvent the cocktail experience.[33] To aid in this endeavour, Baum hired an aspiring actor named Dale Degroff. Degroff took the job at this New York City restaurant which was at the time operating off the back of a culinary revolution that included fresh ingredients and well-crafted luxury foods.[34] During his employment at this restaurant, Dale created a bar program that not only echoed the rituals of mixed drink antiquity but also reinstituted some of its values. Dale's philosophies relied heavily on the words of Harry Johnson and other ghosts of the cocktail's past.[35] The bartender realised there was a rich history behind mixed drink making. Many contemporaries consider Dale 'the most influential figure in the rebirth of the cocktail'.[36] As a result, the 'King Cocktail' ensured the cocktail experience would reemerge as a highly individualised and personal experience that entitled anyone and everyone to the best the bar had to offer. It only took a few years for Dale's efforts to influence others. By the end of 1990, a band of bartenders were inspired by what the bar at the Rainbow Room was doing. In turn, they enthusiastically joined forces to awaken an ethos that had been asleep for close to a century. A man named Sasha Petraske was so taken with the cocktail that he brought his passion to the next level and, in 2004, opened a very quaint and intimate cocktail bar that catered to the individual on a level never before experienced by a contemporary New York drinker. Petraske's bar Milk and Honey was one of the few selected for case study in Ocejo's research.[37]

Melbourne was not too far behind the curve with the resurrection. In the 1990s, Australia's hospitable city took its first steps to re-welcome the cocktail with the opening of Gin Palace. In 1997, Gin Palace's proprietor Vernon Chalker did more than introduce the contemporary cocktail to a new generation. He also fought vigorously for

[33] DeGroff, *The New Craft of the Cocktail*
[34] Charming, *The Cocktail Companion*
[35] DeGroff, *The New Craft of the Cocktail*
[36] Kosmas and Zaric, *Speakeasy,* p. 4
[37] Ocejo, 'What'll it be?'

changes to legislation that made the cocktail bar's location more hospitable. He argued extensively with the city council that an extension of closing hours would result in laneways littered with customers rather than drug addicts and hypodermic needles.[38] Vernon was right, and once late closing was instituted, the laneways of Melbourne's CBD were alight with a nightlife that would become a defining feature of the city for the next two decades. *The Age Good Bar Guide* from 2012 reads:

> Where once the definition of a Melbourne-style bar would invariably involve a dumpster-strewn laneway or rickety flight of stairs, now there are original and interesting watering holes to be found in suburban parking strips, beside river and railway lines, atop city towers, in car parks, five-star hotels and former convents. There are bars where food and booze are equal priorities, where the bartender's cocktail techniques emulate those of the best chefs.[39]

Did Melbourne resurrect the same values that fueled the cocktail culture of the past? That is what the following analysis is looking to explore.

[38] S. Reaburn, 'Remembering Vernon Chalker, with Sebastian Reaburn'' *Living Proof* [podcast] interviewed by N. Haack, M. Motteram, Apple Podcasts, 11 May 2020
[39] M. Harden, *The Age Good Bar Guide 2012*, Fairfax Books, 2012

PART III
Cocktail culture in contemporary Melbourne

Chapter 9: Six experts reflect on cocktail culture

It is understood that the cocktail could be categorised as a component of hospitality. Traditionally hospitality has been defined as a human exchange that occurs through the provision of accommodation, food, and/or drink, which results in the enrichment of mutual well-being.[1] It is additionally recognised as a mixture of both tangible and intangible parts.[2] Although studies concerning hospitality are relatively new,[3] contemporary findings have demonstrated that hospitality caters to the psychological needs of a customer.[4] Selwyn states hospitality has the power 'to convert strangers into familiars, enemies into friends, friends into better friends, outsiders into insiders, non-kin into kin'.[5] It is now understood that hospitality provides a space where people can engage with and learn from one another.[6] In this case, it can be said that hospitality itself is an agent for social connection.

Research indicates most visitors travel to Melbourne in search of hospitality experiences.[7] Even after the damaging effects of COVID-19, accommodation and food services is still the fifth largest industry in the state of Victoria. Given the city's propensity toward hospitality businesses, it seems a perfect fit for the cultivation of the cocktail.

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[1] B. Brotherton, 'Towards a definitive view of the nature of hospitality and hospitality management', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, vol. 11, no. 4, 1999, pp. 165-73

[2] C. Lashley, 'Towards an understanding of employee empowerment in hospitality services', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1995, pp. 27-32

[3] Hemmington, 'From service to experience'; M. Ottenbacher, R. Harrington and H. Parsa, 'Defining the hospitality discipline: A discussion of pedagogical and research implications', *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2009, pp. 263-83

[4] Brotherton, 'Towards a definitive view'

[5] T. Selwyn, 'An anthropology of hospitality', *In Search of Hospitality: Theoretical Perspectives and Debates*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000, pp. 18-37

[6] P. Lynch et, al., 'Theorizing hospitality: A reprise', *Hospitality & Society*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2021, pp.249-270

[7] R.R. Perdue, H.J.P. Immermans, and M. Uysal, *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure*, vol *3*, CABI Publishing, 2004

Historically, the cocktail industry did not hold a prominent place in Melbourne's hospitality scene. In Australia, the main location for publicly consuming alcohol during the twentieth century has primarily been hotels or pubs. Contrary to cocktail bars, where the drink was the main feature of the venue, cocktails were more often served as a complement to a theatrical or dining experience. Otherwise, the drink was a component of public celebrations or predominantly kept inside the home. Even current economic research does not consider the cocktail as it categorises hospitality as food and wine services.[8] Since the 1990s, however, the number of bars specialising in cocktail service has grown exponentially. This suggests the cocktail bar may be supplying something a little more unique than its competing alcoholic products and venues. So what are the cocktail's intangibles and how do those differ from other areas of hospitality?

9.1 Focus group findings

Since the lockdown so drastically altered many facets of the cocktail experience, the next best way to determine what was going on in the local industry was through recollection and personal experience. Therefore instead of engaging in observation, a focus group was conducted via Zoom with six volunteer experts who work professionally in the cocktail community in Melbourne. The ages of the individuals, two of whom identified as women, four as men, ranged from mid-twenties to mid-thirties. One of the group members was born outside Australia. All of the participants had over five years of experience in the industry. Industry experience included bartending along with other facets such as publishing, journalism, distillation, marketing and brand ambassadorship. The participants were contacted via the snowball method.[9]

The format was a semi-structured set of conversations surrounding the cocktail and its culture. Questions served as prompts to encourage conversation. However, no formal structure was instituted. The main topics for discussion were surrounding the differences between punch and the cocktail, the history of cocktails in Australia from their personal viewpoints, and the differences between a cocktail bar and other types of drinking establishments.

[8] Miller and Brown, *Spirituous Journey*

[9] M. Naderifar, H. Goli and F. Ghaljaie, 'Snowball sampling: A purposeful method of sampling in qualitative research', *Strides in Development of Medical Education*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2017, pp. 1-6

The analysis of this conversation is meant to provide an industry perspective on the key defining features of the cocktail. It also allows a more in-depth view of the psychology behind cocktail service, which can then be compared to past value systems. Since bartenders are considered cultural purveyors, it is important to recognise how they define the drink and what they employ to build the experience for the customer. It is understood that servicescapes transform cultural characteristics into realities.[10] In that case, deciphering the social environment these employees are seeking to cultivate adds insight into the culture as a whole.

9.2 Behavioural observation

It is worth noting that all participants were enthusiastic to share their thoughts, opinions, and personal experiences. They also encouraged one another to continuously participate in conversation. There was an effort to engage one another to continue discussion. This engagement was prompted by acknowledging other participants may have differences of opinion or different expertise, asking one another questions, engaging in playful banter and sharing personal experiences via the telling of stories. This behaviour was indicative of inclusion as each individual encouraged one another to participate in the conversation in a range of playful and genuine manners. Imagination was applied in circumstances where there was no factual content to discuss.

Each participant exhibited a resourceful attitude regarding complicated concepts and toward continuous exploration of the topics. Korkman, Storbacka and Harald argue that resource integration is central to the enactment of market practices. They suggest that as practices are engaged to create value, resources are integrated.[11] Overall, the general approach to knowledge was rooted in story, history and personal experience. As the conversation progressed, participants began to feel more comfortable using playful language and building on imaginative experiences together.

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[10] Arnould and Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT)'

[11] O. Korkman, K. Storbacka and B. Harald, 'Practices as markets: Value co-creation in e-invoicing', *Australasian Marketing Journal*, vol. 18, no. 4, 2010, pp. 236-47

9.3 Summary of content

Thematic analysis of the dialogue produced the following results. The themes in this conversation are grouped into four main categories: diversity, inclusion, connection, and experience. Some of the adjectives often used to describe mixed drinks were: creative, elaborate, complex, different, unique and a compilation of different ingredients. This type of wordage indicates a thematic propensity toward diversity when considering the cocktail's identity. Themes around cocktail service involved ideas of engagement or prompting, as the cocktail is meant to stimulate the senses and appeal visually to the customer. These efforts for customer engagement are considered to be inclusive activities. It was understood that connection must occur for the cocktail to be served and consumed with enjoyment. It was relayed that connection played a vital role to the cocktail.

The dominant theme of the conversation was experience. Experience was used consistently throughout the discussion to create context for understanding concepts, as it was believed that definitions or ideas may differ based on their context. For example, in response to the question of when precisely cocktail may have become the umbrella term for all mixed drinks, Participant 1 responded, ‘You can draw that line in the sand at a million different places’. The group shared this sentiment. Because experience is so valued, there is a confidence and a generally enthusiastic approach toward exploring the unknown. It is understood this will produce another experience which can then lead to either a new idea or new knowledge. Exploration, experimentation and learning are considered essential to professional improvement in the cocktail industry.

Cocktail vs Punch

Participants pooled from various sources of knowledge to discuss this topic: history, personal experience, individual personal opinion, cultural knowledge, imagination, and storytelling. The general consensus amongst participants was that punch is a communal drink, while cocktails are considered to be more individualised. This revealed that there is a great deal of emphasis put on experience as a defining factor

of a drink. Stimulation of the senses was assumed to be an important aspect of this experience. As the conversation continued, other characteristics, such as taste and temperature, were considered. It was understood that punch is usually spiced, and cocktails are consumed with ice. Punch was considered a drink that could be served at room temperature. The adjectives used to describe mixed drinks were: creative, big, boisterous, strong, elaborate, complex, engaging, attractive, and a compilation of elements from all over the world. Both types of drinks were considered to be historically associated with wealth and prestige.

Origins of the cocktail and its introduction to Australia

During this portion of conversation, the participants became more relaxed. There was increased enthusiasm and banter as the discussion progressed. History, imagination, individual personal opinion, cultural knowledge, and storytelling were again used as sources of knowledge to answer the questions. There were several suggestions that the cocktail as a particular type of drink evolved out of drinking environments where the demographics of communal drinkers consisted of mixed classes, gender, and cultural backgrounds. It was proposed that the cocktail may have been adapted to accommodate mixed drinkers who could not afford to purchase punch. It was considered that the cocktail served a medicinal purpose which evolved to become more recreational. It was understood that the true origin of the cocktail is unknown. Most participants offered the proposition that the cocktail evolved from terminology used for something specific to becoming a broad type of slang that meant something more generalised. The participants believed that the strong influence of prohibition and temperance had historically resulted in a lack of creativity for the cocktail in Australia. Participant 5 stated, ‘It was an unfortunate period where it was a real lack of creativity’, as there was ‘no new pairing of ideas when you were preparing a drink.’ It was also believed that due to this movement, most of the cocktail history in Australia still remains a mystery. It was discussed that people in Australia might have drank cocktails during the Gold Rush. The participants believed the Japanese Slipper to be Australia's first national cocktail. Words used to describe the cocktail here were: creative, recreational, different, spiced, stirred, but also something more. For example, Participant 1 said, ‘The definition of a cocktail is psychological.’

When discussing the Gold Rush, the cocktail was associated with terms like: opulence, expensive, elaborate, and extravagant. This was because it was assumed that cocktails contained ice, a product that was very expensive and difficult to obtain in Australia. It was thought that ice may have been a personal request made by diggers to openly display their wealth to others. Participant 3 made reference to a digger or another member of society who could afford to drink ice being called a ‘pimp’. There were jokes that the julep, a drink traditionally served with lots of mixed ice, could be considered an original ‘pimp cup’.

While the word pimp often takes on a sexual connotation, its use here does not appear to be overtly sexual in nature. It is rather employed to suggest an individual who was flashy or showy, someone who was not born into wealth but was able to obtain it and therefore celebrated by putting it on display. In this instance, the ice drinker (that is, a cocktail drinker) would then be celebrating their inclusion as they suddenly had access to a luxury that was previously unavailable to them.

Participant 5's mention of the Japanese Slipper led to a brief discussion about different cocktails and suggestions of recipes for new drinks. While discussing this topic, it was understood that a drink is associated with an enjoyable experience. Participant 3 described the cocktail as ‘a good time’. The focus group also reminisced on specifically Australian cultural drinking experiences, especially the nonalcoholic ‘spider’, which was defined as an ice cream float.

Without a prompt, the discussion progressed from enjoyment of drinks to the topic of bartending and cocktail service in Australia. Participants felt a sense of pride in being a bartender. They agreed that bartending required listening to other people, helping people, talking to people, and relating to people. This suggests each individual undertook and enjoyed their job because they have a genuine interest in other people. It was a great source of pride and accomplishment when customers developed into regulars. The unanimous conception that bartending was a way to service others was another expression of inclusion.

Cocktail bar vs other bars

This portion of the conversation arose quite naturally. At this point, participants were increasingly enthusiastic about sharing more personal opinions and personal experiences. As they offered comparisons between cocktail versus other bars, their expertise in cocktail service became a major point of discussion. This topic relied heavily on the interpretation of experience as a commodity and also the themes of engagement and connection.

The conversation surrounding the differentiation between cocktail bars versus other types of drinking institutions revealed how important the concept of experience was to the cocktail. Although senses are accepted as a necessary component of the experience, it was also understood that there are many different variables involved. These elements included service, atmosphere or setting, music, lighting, other people, mood and 'vibe'. Vibe could be defined as more of a collective mood that is experienced as a group rather than individually. According to Participant 2, the consumption of a cocktail should give a sense of 'everything coming together nicely.' It is believed that bartenders can manipulate any of these elements but also utilise them as resources for aiding in the manufacture of an individual experience. In this respect, environmental awareness is a key component of cocktail service. Again this points to an awareness of differences or diversity being a distinct characteristic of cocktail creation and consumption.

While experience could be considered a commodity in any service industry, there were other themes that arose to suggest that there is a clear signal of a cocktail experience, as opposed to any other bar or customer service. Participant 1 made the suggestion that there is a 'specific set of cultural markers' that could be categorised as cocktail. Participant 6 added, 'You go there [a cocktail bar] for a very specific experience.' When pressed to discuss these cultural markers, the suggestions ranged from enthusiasm, intense, and passion, to reverence, complexity, excitement, retreat, and escape. As opposed to other service environments, the cocktail was meant to 'really take care of you.' Interestingly enough, these characteristics are pretty general and do not imply anything specific other than perhaps hospitable and specific. So what is different about the cocktail?

Defining the cocktail experience

From the bartending perspective, most imbibers consume a cocktail as a means of escape. The concept of escape implies a departure from ordinary or everyday life. More often the cocktail is associated with a celebration or an exceptional circumstance. Participants described the cocktail as something of an accessible luxury. Therefore, the cocktail provides a situation where a common individual has the opportunity to partake in something less common or special. The cocktail is thought to evoke something different.

Newness was also considered a trait of the cocktail experience. According to the focus group, customers who drink cocktails seem more open to trying new ingredients. Participant 1 specifically stated that because of this, bartenders often seek to 'push their boundaries a little bit.' All participants agreed with this assertion. This hints at the idea that exploring the unknown is common practice in cocktail service by both the bartender and the customer.

Uniqueness is another factor associated with the cocktail, as it was understood that the drink is versatile enough to provide customers with an extremely individualised experience. In order to offer something unique each time, the drink must also allow for a great deal of versatility. This versatility is made possible when resource diversity is acknowledged and employed. This uniqueness lies in direct contrast to the notion of sameness that was communicated to be a more dominant feature of the Australian pub. Difference, newness, and uniqueness were all assumed to be desired characteristics amongst customers of a cocktail bar. There were mentions that the cocktail customer needed to be more 'open' in order to enjoy their drink fully. There is an insinuation then that the customers are choosing cocktails over other drinks because they are seeking to experience some level of diversity.

9.4 Building the cocktail experience: The four levels of connection

A deconstruction of cocktail service suggests four levels of connection and engagement in the cocktail experience: first, between the customer and the bartender,

and second, between the customer and their drink. The third level is the interaction of one customer with other customers. Lastly, the experience continues as the customer acts as an individual component of the overall environment. Therefore the cocktail experience is layered and complex, as it consists of many different pieces of engagement, stimulus, and interaction operating together.

Connection between customer and bartender

The group agreed that as an industry standard, a bartender in a cocktail bar has the professional responsibility of building or enhancing the cocktail experience for the customer. Participant 6 mentioned, '…[people] can come to a place where they are going to get looked after and feel like absolute royalty and made to feel like a million dollars.' From an industry viewpoint, the cocktail experience must cater to an individual's specific needs with the understanding that those needs at any given time might be altered based on their personality, mood, and surroundings. In order to successfully produce and serve a drink, the bartender must be aware of the variety of resources available to achieve this. However, they must also be mindful of the range of a customer's attitudes, beliefs, and desires, which upon primary interaction is impossible to know. In this case, there is an awareness that diversity is a characteristic that applies even regarding each customer. Although it was understood that this is common practice, and although the participants all had worked in cocktail bars before, a bit of difficulty was encountered when attempting to explain how this occurs.

It was revealed that there is no set of rules or framework that could be applied to customers in general terms, as each individual is likely to have their own unique personality. It was also acknowledged that any of these factors could differ at any particular time. There was a mention that visual appearance was not necessarily an accurate indicator for any of these variables and didn't always add insight into what the customer was looking for in their experience.

Instead of using visual markers, the bartender must employ a personal prompt to stimulate engagement. Participant 2 stated 'until you actually start chatting with someone, you really have no idea'. In that case, every interaction with a customer involves the navigation of the unknown. Both parties experience the unknown as the customer may be unaware of the options available to them, just as the bartender is

unaware of their personal taste. As a result, the focus group agreed with Participant 2 that the cocktail is ‘a fun, good, risk and a little bit tantalising’, which entails placing a great deal of trust in the bartender's ability to make connections.

It is assumed engagement is the most accurate method a bartender can apply to begin making a determination of the needs of each customer. In other words, a successful cocktail experience from its start is unable to occur without some element of inclusion or inclusive behaviour.

The next step in building the cocktail experience involves making connections to discover information that helps minimise the level of risk. One of these connections enables a pleasurable sensory experience by aiding the customer in navigating the variety of options available to them. Once enlightened with an awareness of options, the customer is then invited to provide additional feedback as to their desires. This shows how both parties participate in the production of the cocktail during cocktail service. It also demonstrates how awareness of diversity is an integral part of this experience.

The approach to service in a cocktail bar demonstrates how connection and, therefore inclusion is necessary and essential to the cocktail experience, as it helps generate a level of understanding and mutual trust between the customer and the bartender. Participants of the discussion referred to this successful establishment of trust as the ‘magic’ of the cocktail. The results are a highly personal and intimate experience that is rewarded with continued experimentation and customer loyalty, which the bartender typically cherishes. When discussing the concept of ‘regulars’, or repeating customers, Participant 3 described it as ‘the kind of monogamy I don't think I'll ever experience in my life. So amazing.’

Connection to drink

As a result of this co-creative experience, the customer digests a highly individualised product that, in turn, results in more connection to their drink. The drink itself becomes the vessel for a memorable experience as it stimulates the five senses, introduces the drinker often to something new, and gives a positive reward for that open engagement. All of these elements have been associated with memorable experience in academic

research.[12] There has been further research in tourism to support the idea that these memorable experiences lead customers to feel more connected to one another and also to other tangible components of their experience.

Connection to others

While connection is used to create a personalised physical drink, it is common practice for the drink itself to serve as a connective tool for continued social engagement. In this case, the cocktail is referred to as a 'prop' to aid in further enhancement of the experience. Participant 1 shared an example:

> I love that thing of seeing people being on a kind of awkward date. And then you bring the drinks over and put them down in front of them. And immediately you see the conversation start-up because they've got now something to talk about and discuss.

Participant 5 mentioned that the cocktail 'is there to grab attention and provoke conversation.' In this case, the cocktail demonstrates social purpose as it encourages others to share their sensory experience with one another. Therefore, one experience becomes a tool or commodity for another. As these commodities are actively shared, another layer of human connection is fostered. Here the bartender is only a catalyst or guide for the customer to then construct a new experience on their own.

Connection to environment

As individual customer participation in pleasurable experiences continues, an overall environmental mood results inside the cocktail bar. It was discussed that different customer bases tend to encourage different types of moods, but that the bartender continuously works toward encouraging safe, fun and exciting social environments.

The focus group considered it a bartender's responsibility to 'read the room', or understand the 'vibe' of the crowd in order to help curate this mood. Customer participation in connective and enjoyable interaction is expected to produce this type

[12] Pine and Gilmore, *The Experience Economy*; Hemmington, 'From service to experience'; A. C. Campos et al., 'Co-creation of tourist experiences: a literature review'; H. Kim, J.B. Ritchie, and B. McCormick, 'Development of a scale to measure memorable tourism experiences', *Journal of Travel Research*, vol. 51, no. 1, 2012, pp. 12-25

of engaging atmosphere inside the cocktail bar. Participant 1 offered the following example for explanation:

> My favourite moment of all time working behind the bar was, I used to work at the Attic at Black Pearl, which is all table service. And we generally didn't let people get up out of their chairs and sort of mingle and dance around, because that's what you would do in the downstairs part of the bar. But there was just this one night when we were playing the soundtrack to the Blues Brothers right before we were about to stop service. And this one couple got up and started dancing. And one of the bartenders started to go over to tell them to sit down. And I just put my hand on his shoulder and was like, no way, this is good. We're closing in ten minutes. Let's just go and just crank the stereo all the way up. And everyone in the entire bar got out of their seats and started dancing with each other. And we started dancing around behind the bar and then, the song was over, and we turned the lights on, it was done. It was just this beautiful moment of everyone kind of having this great little party to end the night.

Overall, analysis from the data of this focus group suggests that the cocktail is an experience in connection. Connection was the dominant theme in the conversation. According to these industry professionals, the cocktail is not just a drink but an experiential phenomenon composed of diverse variables that converge to cultivate moments of collective enjoyment. Participant 4 stated, ‘The thing with the cocktail is, it's really got to be greater than the sum of its parts.’ This statement indicates the drink itself could be interpreted as a holistic illustration of the successful implementation of inclusion. This differentiates it from other areas of hospitality, as it sees diversity as a resource and an inherent feature of its experience.

This research shows that since its birth, the cocktail has historically provided humanity with a way to connect and engage with one another, despite prevalent differences. While archives demonstrate how the cultural themes of diversity, inclusion and the need for connection continued to surface in the social environment of the cocktail since inception, analysis of the focus group revealed they still manifest in the cocktail culture in Melbourne even today.

Chapter 10: The cocktail as both history and culture

10.1 Discussion

Analysis of the focus group identified some contemporary cultural values that underpin the cocktail experience. When compared to Ocejo's exploration of cocktail service, it draws many parallels, if not direct similarities. Ocejo's interviews concluded that there is a 'shared set of values on what makes a quality cocktail'.[1] It was also discovered that industry professionals understand the cocktail to be a highly customised product that caters to each individual's needs or wants, with the understanding that those can differ at any given time.[2] Ojeco suggests that cocktail service is part of a creative industry that requires innovative thinking, insinuating the identification of diversity as a resource.[3]

Uniqueness indicates a value of diversity, as the two are often psychologically linked. Tian argues that consumers' need for uniqueness is defined as an individual's pursuit of differences relative to others. These differences then become integral to the development of each consumer's social identity.[4]

Both Ocejo and the focus group agree the cocktail is meant to provide a unique experience.[5] When compared to history, the inclusion of ingredients like nutmeg or even ice, which were considered foreign and difficult to access, provided a unique experience for both punch and cocktail consumers. As time progressed, Harry Johnson and other bartenders of the late nineteenth century applied this concept to service in the hopes that highly individualised attention would make the cocktail experience unique and help distinguish the cocktail service from its other alcoholic competitors. As the focus group attested, this approach to service is still employed today.

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[1] R.E. Ocejo, 'At your service: The meanings and practices of contemporary bartenders', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 15, no. 5, 2012, p. 648

[2] Ocejo, 'What'll it be?'; Ocejo, 'At your service'

[3] Ocejo, 'What'll it be?'

[4] K.T. Tian, W.O. Bearden, and G.L. Hunter, 'Consumers' need for uniqueness: Scale development and validation', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2001, pp. 50-66

[5] Ocejo, 'At your service'

In the cocktail experience, the concept of uniqueness as it presents itself also provides support for the theories concerning memorable experience and connection, particularly in the academic exploration of tourism and tourist experiences. Creating a unique experience involves both customer participation and a connection that links the customer to the experience.[6] Therefore uniqueness is also employed as a connective tool.

With the characterisation of tourism as a service that provides individuals with unique experiences,[7] it is possible to consider the cocktail experience a tourist experience that does not necessarily require the inconveniences of travel. Certainly, the uniqueness of the cocktail correlates its service experience with the concept of connection.

Although academic literature specifically focused on the cocktail is limited, studies concerning gastronomic consumption often include drinking as well as eating.[8] This study agrees with research that suggests gastronomic experiences build on the concept of diversity.[9] It is understood that people who enjoy the exploration of gastronomy, particularly those willing to travel to do so, tend to demonstrate a curiosity and openness to the new.[10] Experience with new foods is considered a symbol of diversity.[11] Long even suggests that in some cultures, culinary diversity is a reflection of democratic openness. The author maintains that because food is common to all cultures, it gives people a safe way to 'embark on adventures into otherness'.[12] Applying this theory to the cocktail demonstrates how the cocktail can provide a drinker

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[6] G. Shaw, A. Bailey, and A. Williams, 'Aspects of service-dominant logic and its implications for tourism management: Examples from the hotel industry', *Tourism Management*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2011, pp. 207-14

[7] L.M. Long, *Culinary Tourism*, University Press of Kentucky, 2004

[8] J. Kivela and J.C. Crotts, 'Tourism and gastronomy: Gastronomy's influence on how tourists experience a destination', *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, vol. 30, no. 3, 2006, pp. 354-77; B. Santich, 'The study of gastronomy and its relevance to hospitality education and training', *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2004

[9] Kivela and Crotts, 'Tourism and gastronomy: Gastronomy's influence on how tourists experience a destination'

[10] Long, *Culinary Tourism*

[11] E. Cohen and N. Avieli, 'Food in tourism: Attraction and impediment', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 31, no. 4, 2004 , pp. 755-78; Long, *CulinaryTourism*; M. Hall and R. Mitchell, 'The changing nature of the relationship between cuisine and tourism in Australia and New Zealand: From fusion cuisine to food networks', in A.M. Hjalager and E. Richards (eds.), *Tourism and Gastronomy*, London, Routledge, 2002, pp. 187-206; G. Richards, 'An overview of food and tourism trends and policies', in *Food and the Tourism Experience: The OECD-Korea Workshop*, Paris, OECD Publishing, 2012

[12] Long, *Culinary Tourism,* p. 15

with tempered risk into the experience of diversity. Gastronomic diversity arises from a value of differences.[13] This concept is corroborated by the focus group results, which imply that bartenders seek to explore newness and then make that newness available to their customers as a feature of their consumption experience. Ojeco's study of cocktail bartenders also supports this idea.[14] Therefore diversity plays an essential role in both the production and consumption of the contemporary cocktail.

Historical archives also provide basic recipes that indicate that the principle of combining new and different ingredients has been the defining characteristic of a cocktail from its inception. Integration of diversity also surfaces as a recurring feature of its consumer base at pivotal moments of the cocktail's growth or evolution. Instances when the cocktail is at its peak, are also the circumstances when the drinking crowds are some of the most diverse yet seemingly connected consumer bases in history. This suggests the concept of diversity reached beyond the composition of a drink and into the personal value systems of its producers and consumers as well. Harry Johnson's manual supports this notion when he suggests that a bartender must remain in a constant state of learning, including travel and exposure to cultural differences as necessary to their professional development.

While the inclusion of differences manifests itself in the creation of a drink, the focus group also confirmed how customer engagement and participation are characteristic of the cocktail. This idea is corroborated by Ocejo's research of the cocktail experience in New York.[15] This attitude toward service also agrees with contemporary concepts of hospitality.[16] This helps to provide more insight into the cocktail experience. This type of engagement in academic literature is often referred to as co-creation. In their book *The Future of Competition*, Prahalad and Ramaswamy stated that value is created when both a company and its consumer participate in the

[13] J. Germann Molz, 'Eating difference: The cosmopolitan mobilities of culinary tourism', *Space and Culture*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2007, pp. 77-93
[14] Ocejo, 'What'll it be?'; Ocejo, *Masters of Craft*
[15] Ocejo, 'What'll it be?'
[16] P. Chathoth et al., 'Co-creation and higher order customer engagement in hospitality and tourism services', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, vol. 28, no., 2016.; W. Wei, L. Miao and Z.J. Huang, 'Customer engagement behaviors and hotel responses', *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2013, pp. 316-30; K.K.F. So et al., 'The role of customer engagement in building consumer loyalty to tourism brands', *Journal of Travel Research*, vol. 55, no. 1, 2016.

creation of a product together. They stipulate that in order for co-creation to occur, four factors need to be in place: dialogue, access, risk benefit, and transparency.[17] The focus group touched upon these elements as they all continue to be present in the breakdown of customer service in a cocktail bar. Resource integration, which in the focus group's analysis surfaced as a practice of bartenders in cocktail service, is a central practice in value co-creation.[18]

Co-creation was further investigated more recently in relation to what scholars label 'the experience economy'. The experience factor is currently known to be integral to a company's success, as intangible elements are linked to the emotional value of customers.[19] This type of transaction is said to occur when a service is commoditised and the customer is personally engaged, as it leaves the patron feeling a greater sense of value.[20] When applied to tourists, it is understood that active participation and interaction in co-creative experiences are what leave them feeling satisfied and ultimately more connected.[21] Accordingly, the hospitality industry has evolved from viewing culinary experiences as passive toward recognising their potential as vessels for co-created experiential consumption.[22] Roeffen concludes that the customer prefers a product tailored to their individual desires.[23] Therefore, the concept of inclusion as it manifests itself in the cocktail industry highlights this entrenched relationship with connection.

Vargo and Lusch define a service as the use of expertise for the enhancement or wellbeing of others.[24] In its basic form, this desire for customer engagement or

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[17] C.K. Prahalad and V. Ramaswamy, 'Co-creation experiences: The next practice in value creation', *Journal of interactive marketing*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2004, pp. 5-14

[18] M. A. Akaka and J.D. Chandler, 'Roles as resources: A social roles perspective of change in value networks', *Marketing Theory*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2011, pp. 243-60; M.A. Akaka, S.L. Vargo and H.J. Schau, 'The context of experience', *Journal of Service Management*, vol. 206, no. 2, 2015 pp. 206-23

[19] P. Chathoth et al., 'Co-creation and higher order customer engagement'; C. Gentile, N. Spiller, and G. Noci, 'How to sustain the customer experience: An overview of experience components that co-create value with the customer', *European Management Journal*, vol. 25, no. 5, 2007, pp. 395-410

[20] Pine and Gilmore, *The Experience Economy*; Chathoth et al., 'Co-creation and higher order customer engagement'

[21] Campos et al., 'Co-creation of tourist experiences: a literature review'

[22] A. Ellis et al., 'What is food tourism?', *Tourism Management*, vol. 68, 2018, pp. 250-63

[23] D. Roeffen and U. Scholl-Grissemann, 'The importance of customer co-creation of value for the tourism and hospitality industry', in R. Egger, I. Gula, & D. Walcher (eds.), *Open Tourism: Tourism on the Verge*, Berlin, Heidelberg, Springer, 2016, pp. 35-46

[24] S.L. Vargo and R.F. Lusch, 'The four service marketing myths: Remnants of a goods-based, manufacturing model', *Journal of Service Research*, vol. 6, no. 4, 2004, pp. 324-35; S.L. Vargo, P.P. Maglio and M.A. Akaka, 'On

engagement of the 'other' for mutual benefit can be viewed as the commercial expression of inclusion. It is understood that co-creation, or inclusion, leaves all parties involved in an economic exchange feeling more connected.[25] This connection is considered as a compilation of trust, commitment, and satisfaction,[26] as these outcomes are commonly attributed to co-created services.[27] Trust is known to result in consumer commitment as it operates to decrease decision making uncertainty.[28] This navigation of uncertainty is precisely what a cocktail bartender is expected to provide in contemporary culture. In agreement with the focus group, Ocejo's work also discusses the importance of trust in the cocktail service experience. This trust is considered an essential element of cocktail service and results in continued patronage.[29] However, examples of this can be applied to the cocktail's past as well. When these concepts are reviewed in the context of the historical development of punch, it can be observed that the need for human connection along with the employment of trust can and will result in co-creative or inclusive practices. In this case, the explorers' and indigenous peoples' need for mutual trust and therefore connection, led to the creation and consumption of punch. Trust served as an important factor of the drink during the Gold Rush as well. Purveyors of the cocktail set out to distinguish themselves from the average saloon by advocating ingredient transparency and quality service. This formula for inclusion appears to continue throughout time as equality and unbiased treatment of customers is specifically addressed and maintained as a necessary component of cocktail service.

The contemporary cocktail experience indicates that inclusion is not only employed in the realm of customer exchange but also in the practice of combining resources. Studies show that successful implementation of resources, as bartenders

value and value co-creation: A service systems and service logic perspective', *European Management Journal*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2008, pp. 145-52

[25] Vargo and Lusch, 'The four service marketing myths'

[26] M.A. Moliner et al., 'Perceived relationship quality and post-purchase perceived value: An integrative framework', *European Journal of Marketing*, vol. 41, no. 11/12, 2007, pp. 1392-1421; J.R. Segarra-Moliner, M.A. Moliner-Tena and J. Sánchez-Garcia, 'Relationship quality in business to business: A cross-cultural perspective from universities', *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2013, pp. 196-215

[27] C.K. Prahalad, *The Future of Competition: Co-Creating Unique Value with Customers*, Harvard Business Press, 2004; Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 'Co-creation experiences'; V.A. Zeithaml, L.L. Berry and A. Parasuraman, 'The behavioral consequences of service quality', *Journal of Marketing*, vol. 60, no. 2, 1996, pp. 31-46

[28] R.M. Morgan and S.D. Hunt, 'The commitment-trust theory of relationship marketing', *Journal of Marketing*, vol. 58, no. 3, 1994, pp. 20-38

[29] Ocejo, 'At your service'

often accomplish in the formation of pleasurable social environments as well as products, results in market value.[30] Resource integration is thought to be a fundamental practice in value co-creation.[31]

In addition to tangible products and intangible services, value can moreover be established by how the customers perceive these offerings.[32] This is further evidence that the customer's engagement is a vital part of their consumer experience.[33] It also demonstrates a symbiotic relationship between businesses and their customers that ultimately operates to shape their actions and perceptions.[34]

What theorists have come to understand is that practice stems from a value system and that active participation in specific practices becomes an effective way to connect people to tacit (*or indirectly suggested*) knowledge or understandings.[35] Practices are not simply methods of conveying meaning, they are also one of the essential elements of culture.[36] The enactment of practices drives the creation of individual forms of value (for instance, evaluations of value propositions), contributes to the formation and reformation of structures (as well as systems) and additionally influences changes in norms, meanings, and resources in markets.[37] In other words, practices are one of the building blocks of culture. In that case, the practice of mixing different substances together for a pleasurable experience is a way to subliminally assert positive associations with diversity and inclusion to participants. Since this activity is the defining feature of a cocktail, these two principal values in turn, serve as the building blocks of its culture.

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[30] O. Korkman, K. Storbacka and B. Harald, 'Practices as markets'

[31] Akaka, Vargo and Schau, 'The context of experience'; Archpru Akaka and Chandler, 'Roles as resources'

[32] D. Hartsuiker, 'Towards a "Unified experiences theory"', paper given at the *Proceedings of the POMS 19th Annual Conference*, La Jolla, CA, 2008; J. Angelis, E.P. de Lima and J. Širaliova, 'Servitised experiences: Business and management implication', *Current Issues of Business and Law,* vol. 5, no. 1, 2010, pp. 6-21

[33] S.E. Sampson and C.M. Froehle, 'Foundations and implications of a proposed unified services theory', *Production and Operations Management*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2006, pp. 329-43

[34] Arnould and Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT)'

[35] H.J. Schau, A.M. Muñiz Jr and E.J. Arnould, 'How brand community practices create value', *Journal of Marketing*, vol. 73, no. 5, 2009, pp. 30-51

[36] Geertz, *Works and Lives*

[37] Vargo and Lusch, 'The four service marketing myths'

In 2005 Arnould and Thompson published a study that applied nearly 20 years of academic research into consumerism and cultural identity. These studies led to the development of a concept called Consumer Culture Theory. CCT is defined as 'a family of theoretical perspectives that address the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace, and cultural meanings'.[38] The collective bodies of work were used 'to examine the relationships among consumers' experiences, belief systems, and practices and these underlying institutional and social structures'.[39] The conclusion of their examination speaks to an undeniable existence of culture amongst consumers. Consumer culture theory research shows that many consumers' lives are constructed around multiple realities and that they use consumption to experience realities. One of the ways Arnould and Thomspon believe this discipline of focus could be employed is through cultural history via commodity, which suggests that a commodity could be a driving factor in history.[40]

Several studies have shown that objects can express social meaning and that there is a strong connection between the meaning of an object or product and the social group in which it is consumed. In other words, all goods consumable or no, portray a cultural identity.[41] This demonstrates how consumerism can and does often lead to the development of culture. Friedman states that a historical perspective of consumption may give way to a deeper understanding of societal change.[42]

If the cocktail's consumer culture began at the conception of punch, it would appear the positive associations with diversity and the inclination toward integration of these differences have been cultural attributes that not only led to the creation of the cocktail but have continued to help build a customer base that was and is influenced by these characteristics. As a result, diversity and inclusion have continued to underpin its development for the past 500 years. This suggests these values serve as foundational principles of the culture. While it is not abundantly clear from this study

[38] Arnould and Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT)'
[39] Arnould and Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT)', p. 874
[40] Arnould and Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT)'
[41] D.B. Holt, 'Poststructuralist lifestyle analysis: Conceptualising the social patterning of consumption in postmodernity', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 23, no. 4, 1997, pp. 326-50.; H. Dittmar, *Consumer Culture, Identity and Wellbeing: The Search for the'Good Life' and the 'Body Perfect'*, New York, Psychology Press, 2007
[42] M. Friedman, *Consumer Boycotts: Effecting Change Through the Marketplace and Media*, Routledge, 2002

whether or not a framework exists, it does support the notion that a culture certainly does. Cocktail culture then can be said to be one that endorses the practice of observing and integrating differences, and this process results in experiences that leave its participants feeling more connected. It can also be said that cocktail culture is a Consumer Culture that employs diversity as a resource to foster inclusive attitudes that result in feelings of enjoyment and connection.

10.2 Future implications

Analysis of the cocktail culture as consumer culture is a new and uncharted area of research that requires further development. Future studies can focus their analysis specifically on the cocktail's consumers, which would provide deeper insight into the culture's value systems. It would also be enlightening to readdress historical studies through this cultural lens. As Arnould and Thompson indicate, CCT should be viewed in relationship to culture as a whole as it may have contributed to societal evolution.[43] It would be illuminating to investigate the cocktail as a possible contributor to historical, social movements considering its presence at pivotal moments in history.

As future research surrounding social connection continues to demonstrate its importance to health and wellbeing, the cocktail culture can provide deeper insight into this phenomenon's holistic intricacies. Research supports the idea that social connection and customer satisfaction are indeed linked. This could be the reason why the cocktail has experienced a global increase in customer base and popularity, especially in the last few decades. Since the cocktail highlights social connection as the impetus for service, this upsurge in consumer interest suggests an increasing appetite for social connection.

What this research indicates is that the cocktail industry is a relatively unexplored landscape that lends itself to the discovery or development of systems, practices, and attitudes that lead to more diverse and inclusive environments. Certainly, it demonstrates a relationship with both diversity and inclusion and certain practices in which these elements can ultimately be employed to enhance social

[43] Arnould and Thompson, 'Consumer culture theory (CCT)'

connection. While cocktail service also encourages inclusion, it remains a host to the underlying concept of blending differences. It maintains vigilance to the understanding that although each customer may differ in personality, their mood and immediate desires are subjected to change. This predisposition challenges the more outdated appetite to categorise customers into specific groups that are fixed and solely based on people's similarities to one another. An alternative perspective should be considered when researching consumer bases.

As the effects of COVID-19 and its legislations continue to unfold, there is evidence that some adaptations of the industry have required practices to wander from their original focus. Business owners who have pivoted to less social interaction for the customer and less customer integration, (ie table service, takeaway cocktails, and vaccine regulations) no longer allow connection to function as the primary inspiration for cocktail service. This research has identified connection as a key component of the cocktail experience, which must be embraced for the production to continue its increasing appeal.

Another issue that has arisen from COVID 19 and lockdown interruptions to business is the loss of cultural ambassadors. The industry's loss of employees, many of whom were immersed in the cocktail's cultural lifestyle, has created a void between new and trained, knowledgeable employees. As a result, current employees have added stresses which impact their own performance.[44] This does not simply affect the quality of service, it also undermines the integrity of the culture. Overall the cocktail industry must look to its past to survive and evolve. The industry's customer service practices should serve as a template to foster more diverse, inclusive, and connected environments in the future.

[44] Y. Tu, D. Li and H.-J. Wang, 'COVID-19-induced layoff, survivors' COVID-19-related stress and performance in hospitality industry: The moderating role of social support', *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, vol. 95, 2021, 102912

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Appendix

Schedule 1A

Predetermined questions to guide conversation 1.

1. Explain the differences between cocktail and punch. Which do you prefer and why?
2. What is your primary influence when making a cocktail versus your primary influence when making a punch?
3. Where do you think Tiki falls in the spectrum of punch versus cocktail?
4. Can a single serve punch be considered the first cocktail?
5. When did the terminology “cocktail” become the umbrella for mixed drinks?
6. How may have bitters birthed the nomenclature of the word cocktail?
7. What do you think would be considered Australia’s first cocktail?
8. Would you say that the cocktail bar is a modern thing in Australian culture?
9. Can you explain the difference between a cocktail bar and other bars that may serve a cocktails?
10. Do you have any indicators you use to determine what a person is looking for when they come into your bar?