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AND

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FOR THEIR INVALUABLE ASSISTANCE IN PUBLISHING

THIS SPECIAL ISSUE OF THE MAGAZINE

Editor's Corner:

This issue combines as well as any in recent memory the results of professional and nonacademic historical research. Jean B. Lee's essay on Charles County contributes to scholarly discourse on social-political change during the revolutionary era. Both Kenneth L. Carroll and Margaret W. Sparrow—though coming from different research backgrounds—write compellingly of family history in its context. James H. Brady, long a favorite among readers of the *Baltimore Sun*, herein demonstrates what a lover of a special subject can accomplish with vivid historical imagination and plenty of hard work in dusty sources. Compliments to them all.

Cover Design: The Maryland Rye back bar bottle on the cover, unearthed by a bottle digger in Massachusetts in May 1990, probably dates from the 1880s. The accompanying shot glasses are typical of the turn of the century. Photographed by Jeff Goldman.

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Maryland Rye: A Whiskey the Nation Long Fancied—But Now Has Let Vanish

JAMES H. BREADY

Since very early in the [nineteenth] Century the whiskies distilled in Maryland have been renowned.... The equable climate, remarkably soft water, together with the Superior rye grown on the uplands of Maryland, combine to make the product of her stills peerless among the whiskies of America.

From the back label (c. 1900) of Waldorf Maryland Old Rye Whiskey.

The finest all-rye whiskey in the United States.

From an advertisement (c. 1910) for Braddock Maryland Rye, Cumberland.

All Whiskey is Good. Some is Better. Tourist is Best.

From a 1906 house-brand advertisement, Thomas F. McNulty & Son, 414-16 North Gay Street., Baltimore.

There is no one article made in Baltimore that has done more to spread the fame of the city as a commercial centre than has Hunter Baltimore Rye.

From *Baltimore: Its History and Its People* (New York & Chicago: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1912), p. 508.

You might've liked our special house brand, Sunshine Whiskey. It sure beat moonshine.

Zanvyl Krieger, 1987, on behalf of H. Krieger & Sons, formerly of 1 East Lee Street, Baltimore.

Across two centuries, the distilling of whiskey from rye grain was an important Maryland industry. Beginning quietly before and during the Revolutionary War and lapsing into abeyance within the decade just past, the story of this industry is overdue for systematic attention.¹

The narrative divides into a long section and a short: the years before 1920, when the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act implementing

James H. Bready, a retired newspaperman, has also written *This Parish Under God*, a history of the Church of the Redeemer and *The Home Team*, a history of baseball in Baltimore.

it forbade the production and distribution of beverage alcohol, and the years following 1933, when the Twenty-first Amendment restored legality. Of the two periods, the earlier is the less known and the more interesting. Between 1865 and 1917—the years of coast-to-coast marketing's inception—Maryland Rye commanded national respect. To a legion of fanciers, the best Maryland Rye was on a par with whatever else might be nominated as the *ne plus ultra* of American whiskey. In manufacture and sales, small Maryland stood a distant but unvarying third, behind only the vastness of Kentucky's bourbon and Pennsylvania's rye.

After an apex at about 1900, however, slippage was manifest, the consequence of rising anti-alcohol sentiment, suggestions of product inconsistency, and evident undercapitalization in Baltimore. Meanwhile, growing New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago firms moved toward industry dominance and built new, large distilleries in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Following the repeal of Prohibition, a new group of local distillers emerged, their ambition being to reawaken regional demand, at least, for Maryland Rye; they, too, eventually lost out as national enterprisers bought them up and, in many instances, closed their plants. After World War II the downturn accelerated as American tastes changed or were changed. Favor went to whiskies less pronounced in taste than Maryland Rye; then, away from whiskey to other alcoholic drinks. In 1983 Standard Distillers Products, Inc., of Baltimore, the one remaining distributor of Maryland Rye, closed its doors and commerce ended. The present business-history survey concentrates on the earlier of these two periods, the years before 1920.

A scarcity of information frustrates the researcher trying to explore Maryland whiskey. Particularly between the Civil War and World War I, the attitude of most members of polite society toward the drinking of alcohol was to see, smell, hear, say, and record nothing. That silence among educated people bespoke a stigma overlying the liquor business: it was

TABLE 1

U.S. WHISKEY PRODUCTION IN MILLIONS OF GALLONS, 1881-1913
(The first, second and third states, nationally)

| | Kentucky | Pennsylvania | Maryland |
|---------|----------|--------------|----------|
| 1881-82 | 30.4 | 4.7 | 2.4 |
| 1890-91 | 33.4 | 6.4 | 2.5 |
| 1900-01 | 30.6 | 7.2 | 3.9 |
| 1911-12 | 43.6 | 10.6 | 5.6 |

Number of states with commercial distilleries (1886): 31

Number of states producing rye whiskey (1886): 17

(Sources: *Durner's Price List*; *Bonfort's Wine & Spirit Guide*)

legitimate, yes; genteel, no. What historical work, what turn-of-the-century guidebook mentions the presence, in their odorousness, of two good-sized operating distilleries within a five-minute walk of Baltimore City Hall? (Monticello, at Holliday and Bath streets; Maryland, at Guilford and Saratoga.) William T. Walters (1820-1894) first attained wealth by wholesaling whiskey in Baltimore, from 1847 until well after the Civil War; but on his death the *Baltimore Sun*, in its half-page news story, tiptoed wordlessly by that phase of Walters' career. A second obstacle is the emotionalism of those who did speak out regarding liquor, hard or soft. While abstinence organizations like the Sons of Temperance and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union were growing more and more hostile, their adversaries in the Liquor Dealers' Protective Association of Baltimore City sometimes organized mass meetings too, but more often hugged the ground. Neither side in the long-drawn-out wet/dry war had a statistical bent or disseminated facts unadorned. Finally, there were occasional public-print salutes to Maryland Rye, subject to discounting for local patriotism, yet sometimes of value. For example, the contemporary author and critic Frederick Gutheim, of Dickerson, evokes a glorious echo: "In olden time, the men drank beer; the heroes, rye."²

In general, the single largest scholarly difficulty is the absence of extended business records from any pre-World War I distiller, rectifier, wholesaler, or retailer (rectifying is the process of mingling the contents of barreled whiskeys of diverse origins and ages, and bottling them under brand names in supposedly uniform flavors). Equally absent are printed interviews with reliable persons who had careers in the liquor trade. How helpful it would be, had some Baltimorean ever monitored the flow of business at a neighborhood saloon (or downtown club), noting the quantity of whiskey consumed per month, the number and range of patrons and their bar orders, the ingredient variety and taste difference if any among competing brands. Lacking such aids, the student must delve among directories, obituaries, advertisements, sales-promotion objects, photographs, government and industry statistics, and artifacts in historical societies or private collections.



Beneath distilling success in Maryland was the Middle West's great limestone shield, which spreads eastward into Pennsylvania and western Maryland, with one prong reaching Baltimore. "American whiskey had its beginnings in Pennsylvania and Maryland," writes Michael Jackson, the present day's top international whiskey critic.³ Soft limestone water can reconcile throats to the rasp of ardent spirits. To start with, it is true, the strong drink of popular favor, in manor or cabin and at the traveler's tavern

or ordinary, was rum.⁴ Its source was distilleries mostly in Massachusetts and Rhode Island (in the colonies' notorious slaves-molasses-rum trade triangle). But in the 1770s, owing to parliamentary excises and then to naval blockade, rum became scarce. A replacement was at once available: grain whiskey from the western counties, distilled by settlers from Scotland and Ulster. These farmers, desiring a strong drink for themselves, knew ancestrally how to make it, with or without the manuals available from London publishers. A further incentive was the mile/pound shipping contrast: barreled whiskey was more cost-effective than barreled grain or flour. Whiskey made in crude lambecs (pot-stills) and aged briefly in rough-hewn cooperage must have taken some getting used to; but, as quartermaster records indicate, the Continental Army was equal to that task. An oft-told detail is that one or more stills was in operation on the right bank of the Potomac River, on the estate named Mount Vernon.

Hardly was the new federal government in organized operation when in 1791 Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, raising money to pay off the large national debt, induced Congress to enact its first domestic levy—on the distilling of spirituous liquors. (Three of Maryland's four congressmen voted against "the excise law.") This was big-business legislation. The tax applied not only to its output but, if a still were idle, to its capacity. More, by insensitively requiring payment in cash, the new government gouged the people of the moneyless frontier, where barter was the custom. In the ensuing 1794 Whiskey Rebellion, suppressed almost without bloodshed by federal militia from four states including Maryland, two points have escaped attention. The locus for noncompliance and violence against tax agents was largely western Pennsylvania, but not entirely. Early local newspapers reported disturbances, such as the erection of 1776-style townsquare liberty poles, in Cumberland, Hagerstown, and Middletown.⁵ Marylanders were reluctant to be called up, partly because their summons came at the height of the harvest, partly because their farms, too, had stills. At one point, even Frederick was tense—rumor had "the Whiskey Boys" headed that way, to empty its state arsenal of weapons. Second, the outcome—the triumphant imposition of the central government's will—led directly to the quiet departure of many a tax resister, coasting down the Ohio River to collector-free Kentucky. Bourbon whiskey, rye's victorious rival, would have happened eventually anyway; but in the Whiskey Rebellion, a modern view holds, western Marylanders lost twice.

Once Thomas Jefferson had become president his adherents in Congress reduced the whiskey excise in 1802 to a minimum.⁶ There followed, roughly between 1810 and 1840, the heaviest drinking in American experience. The modern scholar W. J. Rohrabough estimated that "the number of distilleries...rose from 14,000 in 1810 to 20,000 in 1830."⁷ Then the number fell, but capacity per distillery kept increasing. For Maryland, these totals would



Luke A. Sweeney's saloon, pictured in the background, was on Greenmount Avenue, below Eager Street. Photograph from the author's collection. Royal Blue Club was from Southern Distilling Co.

pro-rate to many hundreds of farm and tavern distilleries. And whiskey was one more of the consumer goods available at the county seat or crossroads general store. In the later 1860s, in the then-rural village of Waverly, Lizette Woodworth Reese as a girl filed away a memory of the two rival “dispensers of groceries, bacon, small drygoods and liquors.”⁸ “Each [Waverly general store] had a bar”—saloons, a specialized venue, came later. Nationally, the advertising word “grocer” meant retail liquor on the premises.

In Baltimore there was circumstantial evidence: Whiskey Alley and Bottle Alley (dating from before 1800) and the four commercial distilleries listed in Baltimore's first published census—Thompson and Walker's *Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory* (Baltimore: Pechin, 1796). It is unclear just what liquids Peter Garts, Conrad Hoburg, Francis Johonnot, and John Tool, the separate proprietors, distilled, but turpentine was among them. Among early distilleries, the longest lived (from the 1810s into at least the 1840s) was that of Joseph White, chiefly at Holliday and Centre streets, hard by Jones' Falls. No telling today as to the quantity and quality of output, but gin would have been prominent; storage adding nothing to its palatability, that form of spirits could go directly to the customer without aging. Leftover mash went to nearby hog-raisers. In any event, the typical American city was equipped with distilleries just as it was with breweries. One other set of remains: bottles in aqua, cobalt, green, amber and clear glass—pocket liquor containers, spoken of today as historical flasks. To make them,

Baltimore glassblowers blew molten glass into wooden molds bearing designs that related to politics, wars, architecture, fraternal orders. Locally and nationally, these still-glowing wares now rank as high-priced aesthetic triumphs.⁹

In the western reaches, distilling was no less commonplace. Washington County offered the richest detail. Robert Downey and Jacob Leiter had been active there in the mid-eighteenth century; shortly before the Civil War, the Washington County Historical Society has estimated, twenty-six grain distilleries were doing business (these were commercial operations, not the individual farmer's barnyard coil). The route to market was by wagon to Williamsport, and thence on barges down the Potomac or, later, the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. The county's most active sector was perhaps Leitersburg, north of Hagerstown. In 1898 Herbert C. Bell, Leitersburg's historian, reported that the largest of the sixteen local distilleries before 1861 was that on Antietam Creek operated by Robert Fowler and Frederick K. Ziegler.¹⁰ It had "a twenty-horsepower engine" and consumed fifty or sixty bushels of grain daily. Then came the Civil War, with baneful effects on the small operator. The federal need for revenue translated into a rapidly increasing liquor excise. Bell observed sententiously that, for the "wealthy, prominent and influential men engaged in it," the distilling business "almost invariably resulted disastrously to their fortunes and families." Other distilling centers in Washington County included Indian Springs, Clear Spring, Kemp's Mill, Pen-Mar, and Smithsburg.

Transportation improvements in mid-century were in one respect something of a detriment. Since earliest times, Pennsylvania and its broad uplands had been home to many times the number of Maryland stills, and in 1810 the United States Trademark Registry entered Pennsylvania's A. Overholt & Co. Pure Rye as its first whiskey brand name. A Pennsylvania river name, Monongahela, early assumed a cachet rather like that held today by the word Highland in Scotch whiskey. In the advertising of Baltimore merchants, Monongahela whiskey commanded a premium—an early example of the inferiority complex enveloping many a home product or attainment, of the attitude that "imported excels domestic." Was Pennsylvania whiskey really pleasanter in taste, kinder in after-effect? The Baltimore firm founded in 1847 by William T. Walters and Charles Harvey encouraged its clientele to think so, Walters being the agent for four upstate Pennsylvania distillers.¹¹ One early Baltimore label read, "Maryland Monongahela Rye Whiskey," as if counting on consumers not to know that the Monongahela River never touches Maryland.

What in the latter part of the century upgraded Maryland Rye's reputation, locally and nationally? Was there nothing to equal western Maryland's waving fields of rye grain?¹² Hardly; a reverse consequence of rail transport was the opportunity it gave Maryland distillers to try rye grown elsewhere

(especially New York and Wisconsin), and scattered admissions indicate that they found the imported article preferable, for wild onion kept intruding into Maryland ryefields. Was Maryland's advantage a matter of superior distilling technique? Perhaps, although the backgrounds, the devices, the very identities of the master distillers employed in Maryland are largely lacking.¹³ Cleverer advertising, then, and larger ad budgets? Yes; the same gimmickry, however, assisted whiskies in a spreading number of other states. (In this connection, what was the earliest proprietary brand name, distinct from the generic Maryland Rye? No definitive answer is possible; but Helen Hopkins Thom, profiling her famous Quaker ancestor, averred that Johns Hopkins, soon after founding the Baltimore wholesale-grocery firm of Hopkins Brothers, accepted payment in kind from some of its Virginia and North Carolina customers.¹⁴ Their staple of barter was grain, liquefied. Hopkins Brothers then "sold it under the brand of 'Hopkins' Best'" in the 1840s or earlier. That this consumer good came in a glass bottle with a paper label is doubtful. For dealing in whiskey, Hopkins was temporarily turned out of Friends' Meeting; late in life he told a nephew "he wished he had never sold liquor.")

As distribution progressed, the name stenciled on barrelheads or printed on labels, and used as a brand, was often that of distiller or distillery; still oftener, a whiskey's name repeated that of its wholesaler or retailer. What put "sell" into it was the nineteenth century's invention of consumer-commodity advertising. In Maryland the first documented stretch of the whiskey trade's imagination was at Lanahan & Stewart, Baltimore rectifiers and wholesalers. In 1855 the firm federally registered Hunter Pure Rye, invoking the timber-topper's image (later the phrase changed to Hunter Baltimore Rye; the brand survived into Repeal times). In 1860 the first known published ad for a Baltimore whiskey trade name appeared in the city directory—Old Diploma Rye Whiskey, proffered by John E. Wilson, a Baltimore firm dating itself to 1807. The "diploma" harked back to the 1852 Exhibition of Articles of American Manufacture at the Maryland Institute. In reality, not only was a diploma inferior to the gold, silver, and bronze medals there awarded but, as both *Sun* and *American* reported at the time, Wilson's diploma was "for [a] lot of American wines." By 1860, a cynic seems to have been thinking, the public would have forgotten such details.

To the later eye, it has to have been something other than catchy names that vaulted Maryland Rye to eminence—though Maryland's dealerships or agencies did harbor a few playful, or sentimental, minds. As with the christening of pets, boats and streets, so with the printing of whiskey labels. Local brand names included Solace, Comforter, Faultless, Marieland, Royal Blue Club, Lake Roland, Maryland Queen, Belle of Baltimore, Triple (horse racing, not baseball), Verdict, and Old Velvet, Cahn, Belt Co.'s Emory Grove whiskey was an evident attempt to annoy the abstemious Methodists for

whom Emory Grove was a Baltimore camp-meeting site. Swallow Maryland Rye pictured, on its label, a bird. Another brand, another quip: "Full Dress Maryland Rye (picture of a man wearing white tie and tails) Will Suit You." Hunter (by this time the company name was William Lanahan & Son) captioned its picture of a steeplechase rider with, "First Across the Bars." Another Lanahan brand name was 365, the number suggesting a daily nip. Soon after the fire of 1904 had burned itself out, the citizen proposing a salute to the new Baltimore could pour from a bottle of New Baltimore.¹⁵

Elsewhere about the country, however, keener or livelier wits were devising such zingers as Kriskrinkel, Old Parchment, Silk Velvet, Old Blarney Stone, Tarantula Juice, Palmam Qui Meruit Ferit, Custer's Reserve, Hoo Hoo, Pompeii, Prehistoric Rye, Hercules Rye, Rubicon Rye, Old Glory, Battle Ax Rye, McKinley Rye, Bryan Rye, King of Baltimore, Sweet Violets, and To Hell With Spain. The customer could have Bedroom Whiskey, Climax Whiskey, Tea Kettle Whiskey, Police Whiskey, Doctor's Prescription Whiskey and W.C.T.U. Whiskey. As the vogue for Maryland Rye strengthened, G. H. Goodman, a four-state transmontane wholesaler, put on sale something called Marland [sic] Rye.

To repeat: how account for the sudden prominence of Maryland Rye in the last third of the century? The student falls back on an obvious circumstance: the Civil War, which brought thousands and thousands of outsiders into Maryland, where many of them would have given the local liquor a try and then gone home deeming Maryland's rye preferable to more familiar beverages. Thanks to the postwar advances in rail freight service, it had become possible to satisfy quickly this wide demand for Maryland's product. In the distance, distillers were imitative—in a recurring 1885 *Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Guide* ad, B. J. Semmes & Co. of Memphis, Tennessee, declared, "We have been distilling the Celebrated Yannissee Whiskey since 1823. It is a Pure, Sour Mash, Rye Malt Whiskey, made on the Old Maryland Plan...."

In Baltimore, at least five individuals or groups of business men moved fast, after war's end, to meet this demand. Who first? The honor is uncertain, but Malcolm Crichton at Holliday and Bath streets was distilling as early as 1865. Born in Illinois in 1842, the son of a Scottish-born wholesale grocer, Crichton took over the defunct Joseph White distillery and rebuilt it—twice. On 24 July 1868, a Jones Falls flood, Baltimore's greatest natural disaster of the nineteenth century, "washed away [his plant] with all its contents." Whiskey, but with too much of a splash. Help came from a partner, Charles E. Dickey, a next-door meter manufacturer. Crichton meanwhile christened plant and product Monticello. A self-styled "perfect distillation," Monticello Pure Rye asserted 1789 as its date of birth, without elaborating. By Crichton's death in 1891, Monticello was available nationally.



The work force at Edwin Walters' Orient Distillery in Canton (probably 1880s). "Orient Pure Rye Whiskey" appears on barrelhead labels. Photograph from the author's collection.

Simultaneously, Edwin Walters, fourteen years younger than his brother and employer, William T., went into business for himself. (W. T. Walters & Co. disbanded in 1882, its principal figure having turned to marine and rail transportation.) No doubt with family backing, Edwin Walters bought Maitland & Bryan's Canton Distillery, one of the city's three or four existing commercial installations. The new owner renamed it Orient Distilleries, called his top product Orient Pure Rye and presently proclaimed his expanded plant to be Baltimore's largest. The 1869 *Sachse Bird's Eye View of Baltimore* pictured and identified Orient, showing it to have its own dock; in time Orient whiskey was on sale in San Francisco.

In a third transaction, Edward Hyatt bought into a small Cockeysville distillery and raised it to national eminence. Begun in 1868 by (John J.) Wight & (William H.) Lentz, local grocers, the enlarged distillery took the name Sherwood, from a nearby land tract. Hyatt, born in 1829, the son of Alpheus Hyatt, a downtown grocer, entered business with his own West Baltimore Street liquor store; in 1860 he and Nicholas R. Griffith were Water Street whiskey dealers. (Griffith & Hyatt rye came in a memorable handled flask.) In 1863 Hyatt left for New York; after five years there, as Hyatt & Clark, he had amassed sufficient capital and connections to move back and realize his dream: the broad-scale producing and marketing of a brand-name Maryland Rye. By 1878 the Army's Medical Purveying Depot in New York was stockpiling Sherwood Rye Whiskey for hospital use. In 1882 Hyatt incorporated the firm as Sherwood Distilling Co., with himself as president. Sherwood and Orient each had headquarters in downtown Baltimore office

buildings. After Hyatt's death in 1894, John Hyatt Wight took over. Altogether, during the last century and this, four generations of Wights distilled whiskey in Maryland, the last being John Hyatt Wight 2d, who died aged seventy-eight in 1990.¹⁶

Mount Vernon, though, was the distillery and brand that brought Maryland Rye most effectively to public notice—at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. This time the origin was Baltimore's other leading commercial distillery of the 1850s, that of Edwin A. Clabaugh and George U. Graff at Ostend and Russell streets. About 1873 they sold it to Henry S. Hannis, a Philadelphia liquor merchant. Hannis stayed put, but his Baltimore agents rebuilt and enlarged the distillery. Shortly, the plans for the exposition's Agriculture Building included an operating model distillery, with numerous states eligible. Did Hannis's Philadelphia presence affect the outcome? The specific U.S. distilling apparatus thus reproduced, for the awed gaze of the strolling multitudes, was that of the new Mount Vernon Distillery in Baltimore.

Finally, in 1873 Thomas J. Flack & Sons, a downtown wholesaler dating itself back to 1825, took over a second small, lower-harbor distillery. Named Globe, and situated only a block from Orient Distilleries, the operation seems soon to have lapsed into brewing.

Two factors were controlling in all distilling locations: water (Orient and doubtless others drew from artesian wells) and transport. Always rail lines were close by and, therefore, access to shipping. Success was never guaranteed, but the canny distiller did well. The residential addresses of men such as Walters, Crichton, Lanahan, Hyatt, and Wight were large, gentry-district townhouses.

By 1881 J. Thomas Scharf in his *History of Baltimore City and County* was asserting, "The rye whiskies of Baltimore have for years been appreciated all over the country, and many of their brands are so well known as to be preferred beyond all others."¹⁷ A year later, for a different audience, Scharf in his *History of Western Maryland* trained the same pleased regard on its product. And he narrowed his focus. "Probably no whiskey in the United States bears a better reputation than that produced at the Needwood Distillery," Scharf declared.¹⁸ Near Burkittsville in Frederick County, Outerbridge Horsey, a former United States senator from Delaware, settled on an estate called Needwood that had passed down in his wife's family from Maryland's second governor. In the 1840s Outerbridge Horsey II set up a commercial distillery, using water from Catoctin Mountain. The Civil War's passing armies were privy to the location; soon the distillery was in ruins. Horsey, abroad in those years, studied Scottish and other distilling techniques. With peace, he returned to Needwood and rebuilt, installing late-model machinery. He imported Irish rye grain. James Dall (later, Oliver Flook) supervised the manufacture, and Needwood Distillery acquired a

Baltimore agent. Prospering, Horsey and his wife (a Carroll, of Signer stock) wintered elegantly in Washington. Horsey, born in 1819 and deceased in 1902, sat on the board of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and for years was Maryland's member of the Democratic National Committee.

The firm seems to have marketed a single, prime grade only—a deliberately high-priced whiskey. But it was a technique for aging that brought Old Horsey its greatest reclame. Routinely, barrels of it went via ship around Cape Horn to San Francisco, and thence via rail back to Maryland for bottling. The sloshing about during ocean travel, so the notion went, outdid warehouse calm as a mellowing agent. The practice was far from unique (or unimitated?); some early Sherwood Rye was shipped to Cuba and back; according to Scharf, Antietam Rye, from Burkittsville's other distillery, that of John D. Ahalt, went to Rio de Janeiro and back. Glasgow merchants may have originated the idea (cf. the "Round the World" version of King's Ransom Scotch). But a statement stenciled on the crate containing Old Horsey beguiled the connoisseur: "This whiskey...was shipped by sea to San Francisco per S.S. _____, thus acquiring a unique and most agreeable softness."

George Alfred Townsend ("Gath"), one of Horsey's postwar neighbors, gave the brand a free ad in his 1887 novel of Civil War times, *Katy of Catoctin*. At one point a local civilian says, "Here's a flask of old Needwood whiskey I know I can recommend."¹⁹ In its advertising Horsey's Pure Rye (later Old Horsey Very Fine Rye and Old Horsey Maryland Rye) called itself "The First Eastern Pure Rye Distillery in the U.S." (perhaps in the sense of foremost). And for many years, this funny-name whiskey from an obscure coil somewhere in the outback, this hundred-proof Maryland marvel, "rich in all the qualities that epicures require," had a Massachusetts-to-California clientele—at hotels and clubs, not corner saloons.

Other salutes to Maryland distillations occurred in this era. The lower-Manhattan firm of P. W. Engs & Sons, Wine Merchants ("Established 1808," its ads said; New York City directories concur), put on sale a special whiskey in two varieties of handled, embossed, heavy-earthenware jugs. They read, "1808 Engs Baltimore Rye 1808." Support for this age assertion is lacking now, but it may be that the firm had brought up from its cellar a barrel or two that had been there from the start. Philip W. Engs (the name is akin to Inglis) and his descendants were prominent New York figures. In the nineteenth century, the trade had not yet acknowledged that whiskey left in the barrel ceases to improve after a decade or so—and the public was not yet aware of the extent to which barreled whiskey evaporates. For commercial advantage, would a firm owning aged elixir augment it with later liquids? No way to check, then or now. What matters is that in the liquor-trade annals of Kentucky or Pennsylvania, nothing comparable to "1808 Baltimore Rye 1808" occurs.



Ten leading turn-of-the-century brands: (rear) Hunter, Old Horsey, Braddock, Sherwood, Wilson, (front) Monticello, Melrose, Roxbury, Maryland Club, Friedenwald's Maryland.

In the 1880s and 1890s the flow of Maryland Rye entering the market sizably increased. In or near Baltimore at least eight additional distilleries opened for business: Pikesville, operated by L. Winand & Bro. in Scott's Level (adjacent to today's Pikesville); Melvale, operated by John T. Cummings, at what is now Cold Spring Lane and Jones Falls; Maryland, founded by the business leader Albert Gottschalk, at Guilford Avenue and Saratoga Street (the premises of a former brewery); Spring Garden, operated by Baltimore Distilling Co., hard by Mount Vernon Distillery; Carroll Springs, also in southwest Baltimore; in then-separate Highlandtown, Monumental, operated by Charles H. Ross & Co., wholesalers, on O'Donnell Street, and Stewart, operated by Robert Stewart, on Bank Street; and farther east, on the banks of Colgate Creek, Malone, operated by Daniel Malone.

Western Maryland was a similar scene, enterprisers constructing twenty or so commercial distilleries. Many were small. Some sold their entire output to city wholesalers, and thus had no house brand or label. Distilleries in general slacked off from the end of May till the first of October, and some shut down altogether during market slumps. The small workforce—at Canton's big Orient Distilleries, the employee lineup in an early photo comprises only sixteen people—could, in rural districts, then hire out as farmhands.

Among the more prominent western Maryland distillers and distilleries were Melchior (Melky) J. Miller, near Accident (Garrett County, with warehouse at Westernport); Braddock (in a self-evaluation, "America's Greatest Whiskey!"), owned by the James Clark Distilling Co., at LaVale (Allegany County); James T. Draper, at Clear Spring (Washington County); Benjamin Shockey, at Leitersburg (Washington County); Roxbury, "The Purest Rye Whiskey Made in the United States," also "The Pure Food Whiskey," founded and headed by George T. Gambrill (Charles E. Shadrach, manager), at Roxbury (Washington County); Levi Price, at Hyattstown (Montgomery County); Luther G. King, at Kings Valley (Montgomery County); Abram S. Burkholder, at Cranberry Station (Carroll County); Adam Rohrback, at Lineboro (Carroll County).²⁰ The largest by far were Roxbury and Braddock: the one, a former grist mill bought by Gambrill (who was from a prominent Frederick milling family) and converted in the 1870s to large-scale whiskey making; the other, an 1856 distillery (Clabaugh & James) bought in 1883 and rebuilt by James Clark who, born aboard ship en route from Ireland in 1846, was by his death in 1932 a principal Cumberland property holder. Washington and the Shenandoah Valley were Braddock strongholds.

A century later, the ownership of many of these distilleries, even the exact site, is hard to ascertain. The word for these buildings' architectural design would be "functional." (Few photographs remain. Sometimes labels and billheads offer a likeness—a drawing, stylized and flattering.) A rare clue to technology occurs in a description of the Ahalt Distillery at Burkittsville: the "triple distillation" it boasts is the method still favored in Ireland (in Scotland and the United States, the spirit is ordinarily condensed only twice).

Simultaneously, three interstate episodes illustrated the complexity, then as ever, of private enterprise. S. (Samuel) Taylor Suit, born in Bladensburg in 1830 and schooled in commerce and manufacturing in Iowa, Kentucky and New York, returned to the Washington suburbs in 1867 and assembled an estate of some 8,000 acres, calling it Suitland. He served a term as state senator; he went into the whiskey business. With characteristic flair Suit marketed a Little Brown Jug—glazed earthenware quarts reading, "The Whiskey in This Jug Was Made 1869 and Jugged by Me 1880." Collectors have unearthed jugs thus impressed or stenciled as far away as Colorado. Did Suit Distilling Co. erect a distillery and use Prince George's County water, or did Suit, a Kentucky colonel, have his old Louisville distillery invoice carloads to him? Possibly both. (In those times, many a self-styled "distilling company" was merely a rectifier, or even a jobber.) Suit Distilling Co.'s outward shipments went via Anacostia Wharf. This is the same S. Taylor Suit who later turned up, aged fifty-three, at Berkeley Springs, West Virginia,



At Wolfe and Aliceanna streets, about 1910, a Phillip Lobe Co. vehicle speeds barrels of Ram's Horn whiskey to saloons. Photograph courtesy Baltimore Public Works Museum.

building a facsimile English castle to please his twenty-two-year-old third wife; he died within five years.

In 1884, Walter P. Duffy arrived from Rochester, New York, hoping to cash in on Maryland's prestige. The Duffy's Pure Malt Whiskey Co. set up a large rectifying plant in downtown Baltimore. It contracted for ad space across the bottom of all 1,684 pages of Woods's Baltimore City Directory for 1886 to proclaim:

Duffy's Pure Malt Whiskey!
Cures Malaria. Price One Dollar Per Bottle.
Sold by Druggists, Grocers and Dealers.

Duffy also launched Maryland Star Rye Whiskey, in xx, xxx and xxxx grades. But by 1887 the firm was bankrupt and Walter P. Duffy had gone back to Rochester. There, he rebuilt and recouped—indeed, his malt nostrum won lasting national popularity.

Alfred J. Ulman and Charles H. Goldsborough, whose South Gay Street firms had merged about 1878 with Ulman as president, soon after assumed control of a leading Pennsylvania distillery. The location was Highspire, downriver from Harrisburg. Its founder, in 1823, had been Robert Wilson, an immigrant from Ulster.²¹ The Ulman-Goldsborough Co. then built a large

bottling plant at 10 Belair Road; soon advertising emphasis shifted, coast to coast, from Atlas, the firm's previous main brand, to Wilson Whiskey ("Wilson, That's All"). The only clue to origin was, on every bottle, the firm's address: "Baltimore, Md." (until just before World War I, when "New York, N.Y." replaced it). Buyers could thus assume, wrongly, that this was a Maryland whiskey. Concurrently, whiskey labeled Highspire was in stock at several of the fancy grocers on North Charles Street.

The national economy's periodic slumps notwithstanding, success, nay a family fortune, awaited the whiskey merchant of intelligence and self-control, particularly in Maryland's principal city. Today's public remains well aware of William T. and Henry Walters (as a youth, Henry worked briefly for his father in W. T. Walters & Co.), their rail and maritime wealth, their art holdings—even if it is no longer cognizant of that fortune's beverage-alcohol base. Baltimore's second most noteworthy example was the Lanahan clan. Born in Virginia in 1813, William Lanahan was the founder, a Baltimore confectioner who in the mid-1850s formed a Cheapside wine-and-liquor partnership. Following the founder's death in 1868, Wm. Lanahan & Son (three sons, actually: Samuel J., William Jr.,²² and Charles M., all of whom went into the business) replaced Walters as the city's largest rectifier. The third Lanahan generation turned to banking and investing—E. A. Clabaugh, in the 1860s, similarly used his liquor profits to enter banking. The Irish immigrant Arthur McGinnis offered yet another example of liquor as ladder. An east Baltimore wagoner, McGinnis in the 1880s entered employ at a Bowley's Wharf whiskey wholesaler, John B. Brown & Co. (sons J. Badger Brown, J. Barkloe Brown). A decade later the firm name was Brown-McGinnis & Co. In 1901 the name had become A. McGinnis Co. (sons James, John, Patrick), and it was taking the ultimate step—construction of a distillery of its own. From that plant beside the Western Maryland Railroad tracks, four miles east of Westminster, McGinnis Bonded Rye came to the consumer in an instantly identifiable tall, square, embossed, amber quart.

All in all, the turn of the century was sunny noontime for Maryland Rye. Indeed the two words went together in everyday speech, perhaps as familiarly as "Georgia" and "peach" or "Rhode Island" and "red." On Maryland Rye bottle labels, the superfluous word "whiskey" was often left

TABLE 2

WHISKEY HELD IN BOND, 1912,
(in millions of gallons)

| | | | | |
|----------|--------------|----------|---------|----------|
| Kentucky | Pennsylvania | Maryland | Indiana | Illinois |
| 140.5 | 37.9 | 19.3 | 14 | 13 |

(Sources: *Durner's Price List*; *Bonfort's Wine & Spirit Guide*)

out. The full phrase was simply Roxbury Rye, Pocomoke Rye, Old Mountain Rye, Melvale Pure Rye, Orient Pure Rye, The Old Solution Pure Rye, Spring Dale Pure Rye, Bal-Mar Quality Rye, Pointer Maryland Rye, Old National Pike Maryland Rye, Old Troy Maryland Rye, Calvert Maryland Rye, Westmoreland Club Maryland Rye, Wicomico Club Maryland Rye, Little Straight Maryland Rye, Four Bells Maryland Rye, Carroll's Carrollton Maryland Rye, Gordon Maryland Rye; not to mention Solace Baltimore Rye, Carvel Baltimore Rye, Mallard Baltimore Rye, Gordon Baltimore Rye, and many another—all lacking the generic. (On Repeal-era containers, federal law mandated the word “whiskey.”) Typical of the times was an 1884 advertisement from Michael J. Redding, a retailer at Park Avenue and Howard Street (which then intersected):

Ripe Old Whiskies of All the Maryland Brands.
Goods Delivered to All Parts of the City.

Nationally, the industry's weekly newsletter, (Philip) *Bonfort's Wine & Spirit Circular*, published in New York, regularly printed reports from field correspondents. In the 1880s the pen-name at the end of those datelined Baltimore was “Maryland Rye.” In 1895, as Baltimore's population passed 500,000, there was one saloon for every 250 persons of all ages. Liquor licenses, at \$250 a year, totaled 2,045. Sixty-eight whiskey wholesalers serviced the saloons (some of which, financed by brewers, may have stocked only beer).

A cloud in this sky was the liquor industry's propensity nationally for deceiving the saloon and package-store customer as to the worth of what was being bought and drunk (e.g., the ubiquitous, meaningless label word “Pure”). But in 1897 a federal law (taking the British system for its model) instituted bonding, in government-supervised warehouses. Distillers could deposit barrels of proof-tested whiskey there, for a minimum of four years, paying a fee on withdrawal. Numerous Maryland distillers contracted for such warehousing on their premises; soon, bottled-in-bond was on its way to confident customers. Violations were a criminal offense.

Rye whiskey was visible and audible in local culture. “The best Maryland (mint) juleps were made with old rye,” wrote the author and playwright Frederic Arnold Kummer.²³ Long afterward, the Baltimore portrait photographer Meredith Janvier recorded a jingle:

Little grains of quinine, little drops of rye
Make la grippe that's got you drop its head and fly.
This will quickly help you if you'll only try,
But when you take the quinine, don't forget the rye.²⁴

An oft-repeated printed-label theme (“Bottled Expressly for Family and Medicinal Use”) was that every household should have a bottle of hard liquor in the medicine cabinet, to administer in medical emergencies: the sovereign remedy.²⁵ Testimony to whiskey’s universality also pervades the published recollections of H. L. Mencken—himself mostly a beer-drinker; his father, a devoted whiskey-drinker, bade the store send him Monticello. “Dr. Z. K. Wiley, our family practitioner, . . . believed and taught that a shot of Maryland whiskey was the best preventive of pneumonia in the R months.” A gourmand of Mencken’s acquaintance always “ate rye-bread instead of wheat because rye was the bone and sinew of Maryland whiskey—the most healthful appetizer yet discovered by man.” Mencken’s succinct picture of the pre-1917 saloon and its atmospheric delights is masterly.²⁶ He and his brother August also gave wordless testimony. In 1967, when August Mencken’s death left the house at 1524 Hollins Street unoccupied, the cellar yielded numerous undrunk bottles of fermented and distilled liquors, and one quart each of Bal-Mar Quality Rye and Braddock Pure Rye, empty.

At baseball parks, signpainters brightened the boards of outfield fences with large-letter advertising, and in New York, Chicago, Baltimore, and perhaps beyond, Hunter Whiskey beckoned.²⁷ Unlike most liquor firms, Hunter employed its own, independent sales force of six men. In 1902 Hunter (“The Perfection of Aroma and Taste . . . The Leading Whiskey of America”) was angling for an import concession from the imperial court at Peking, China.²⁸ Three years later one of the advertisements on the program for a William Gillette performance of “Sherlock Holmes” at the Duke of York Theater in London proffered Hunter Baltimore Rye, “The Popular American Whisky” [*sic*]—a lone outlander among the scotches on sale at the theater’s bar. Domestically, Hunter struck a more elitist note: “The American Gentleman’s Whiskey.” A random issue (30 May 1901) of *Life*, the national humor magazine, contained six display ads for brand-name whiskey: one from Pennsylvania, two from Kentucky, three from Baltimore (Hunter, Wilson, Maryland Club). (Neither Maryland Club nor a rival local whiskey named Baltimore Club had any connection with Charles Street’s stag citadels of the same names.) The larger wholesalers—Charles H. Ross; Cahn, Belt; and Gottschalk—maintained branch offices in Boston, New York, Washington, Chicago, and New Orleans. Further illumination is available from two surviving 1902 salesman’s rate books (which list the prices per gallon at which specific brands were obtainable from his wholesaler employer—in these instances, M. Durner & Co. and V. Monarch Sons Co., both of Cincinnati, Ohio). At that time Cincinnati was probably the busiest American whiskey entrepot. Naturally, bourbons from across the Ohio River predominated in the Durner and Monarch lists, but Eastern Rye rated a separate section. Twenty-six of these thirty-seven latter listings were from Pennsylvania, the rest from Maryland (Antietam, Braddock, Old Horsey and



Beckoning to the traveler at the pre-1904 Basin: Altamont Pure Rye. This sign was painted on the rear wall of N.H. Matthews Co.'s offices. From a postcard in the author's collection.

Roxbury from western Maryland; Calvert, Melvale, Monticello, Mount Vernon, Orient, Stewart, and Sherwood from Baltimore). In addition, a roster of malt whiskies (made from different ingredients) included Braddock, among ten nationally. Wholesale quotations ranged from forty-five cents a gallon (Roxbury, made that same spring) to \$1.45 (Melvale 1896, Stewart 1897), with one striking exception: Sherwood distilled in the spring of 1892 sold at \$3.15.

The records yield one further suggestion of a prevailing concord as the centuries changed. At that time of social immobility, when various vocations excluded persons of Jewish ancestry, Baltimore's liquor business was relatively accessible. A noteworthy success was that of Albert Gottschalk, who arrived in 1855, aged twenty-one, from Germany. At his death in 1898, he was a one-man Baltimore conglomerate, owning a distillery (founded in 1894 and named Maryland),²⁹ a rectifying plant, a wholesale liquor distributorship, a North Charles Street fancy grocery (Fairall), and a brewery. The Gottschalk Co.'s management included gentiles. After the marriage of a Gottschalk to a Fleischmann (of Viennese Jewish origin), the Fleischmanns, who held a front rank in the liquor business of Cincinnati and other cities, built a rectifying plant at North Avenue and Gay Street.³⁰

Also striking was the frequency of Jewish-gentile partnerships. Benjamin, Alfred and Solomon Ulman, arriving from Germany via the Eastern Shore, in 1858 founded the Ulman Co. on North Gay Street. Benjamin Ulman, the chief figure, became a director of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. His brothers developing other interests, Alfred J. Ulman took charge. About 1878, on South Gay Street, the Ulman Co. as noted above combined with

the firm of Charles and William T. of the whiskey business's four or more Goldsboroughs; at once, the Ulman-Goldsborough Co. ranked with Baltimore's largest whiskey businesses. A rival was Cahn, Belt & Co., formed in 1868 by Bernard Cahn and Eugene N. Belt. After Malcolm Crichton's death, Cahn, Belt bought his Monticello Distillery, and the firm's Maryland Club brand ("It Tastes Old Because It Is Old"—but no stated number of years in cask) may have been more widely known than the actual Maryland Club. Another exemplar of this interfaith pattern was Ulman, Boykin & Co. (Nathan Ulman—from Salisbury, and apparently related to Benjamin Ulman—and William A. Boykin). Abraham D. Lamdin, William A. Thompson, W. Grayson Bond, and David G. Fluharty, of Lamdin, Thompson & Co., adhered to the same model.

As for Alfred J. Ulman, dead in 1906 at seventy, his son and successor as president, Jacob A. Ulman, having married Katharine Cary of West Virginia (on whose family tree Thomas Jefferson appeared), undertook a career in Baltimore society. A subscriber to the Bachelors Cotillon and a member of the Elkridge Club and the Gibson Island Club, Jacob Ulman lived to count himself the last survivor of the five steeplechase enthusiasts who in 1894 founded the Maryland Hunt Cup. His membership in the Maryland Club provided H. L. Mencken (following Ulman's death at seventy in 1935) with ethnic gossip for his diary.³¹

When the twentieth century was new, a visitor to Baltimore, coming up the harbor by Bay steamer, beheld a plenitude of advertising signs. Painted on exterior walls, they proclaimed the importance of a firm here, a service or commodity there. One conspicuous sign was a three-line plug for the city's distilled liquor business in general, as well as for a specific brand. It read,

Altamont
Pure Rye
Finest American Whiskey



Achievement, prosperity, even legality—before the new century was twenty years old, a Maryland Rye dealer had lost them all. So had every whiskey trader, every participant nationally in the manufacture and sale of strong drink. Primarily, revulsion against the abuse of intoxicants brought on this upheaval, as a growing candor exposed more and more of the human damage. Yet well before the movement to outlaw beverage alcohol climaxed in the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, tarnish was evident on the good name of Maryland whiskey. Among the forces at work were three

national situations and one local: continuing uneasiness as to the reliability of saloon and package-store whiskey; improvements in refrigeration that enabled brewers to compete with distillers far more widely; the withdrawal of medical support for whiskey's claim to therapeutic value; and, particularly in Maryland, a decline in the local ownership and local character of whiskey distilling. To these many danger signals the industry, though aware and on the defensive, made scant public response.

On the face of it, the Baltimore fire of 6-8 February 1904 was still another body blow to the whiskey trade. Monticello and Maryland, the two downtown distilleries, were safely north of the Burnt District. But over the years wholesalers had clumped together, often side by side, along South Gay Street, Exchange Place (the 300 and 400 blocks of East Lombard Street), and Pratt Street; their offices and warehouses went up in flames. N. M. Matthews & Co. on East Pratt, the purveyor of Altamont Pure Rye, was one of the forty-eight wholesalers who lost both records and inventory (the 1904 city directory listed seventy-four wholesalers altogether, and virtually all the larger whiskey firms lay squarely in the great fire's eastward path.) Not one firm seems to have gone out of business, however. For whiskey resupply, the main requirement is patience during the pause for maturation. The 1904 fire's one tangible effect on whiskey merchants was dispersal: afterward, though still downtown, their new home offices were no longer a phalanx.

Also departed to quieter new surroundings was state headquarters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Before the fire, the W.C.T.U.'s policy in site-choosing was confrontational: it had long occupied a building at 8 South Gay Street, the very heart of enemy country. With how much mock deference, a modern imagination asks, did that concentration of self-important business men, of sweating laborers, acknowledge their starchy foe? With how much audible obscenity? How for their part spoke those educated, moralistic, and outraged women, when one more horse-drawn dray of plugged barrels rumbled by?

Individual calls for abstinence (or moderation) became audible in the nation's earliest years. Such an outcry was inevitable, for behind the jolly-tiptpler jesting and the prissy-blunose jeering lay a spectral expanse of American ruins: alcohol-tortured families, alcohol-wrecked careers. At the 1810-1840 apex of drinking and drunkenness, individual protests coalesced. The Washington Temperance Society, founded in Baltimore in 1840, generally ranks as the first such effort with a national organization. Timothy Shay Arthur, who wrote the scathing 1854 novel (later, also a play) *Ten Nights in a Bar-room, and What I Saw There* (the Sickles & Sheaf, run by the nefarious Simon Slade), grew up in Baltimore. After the Civil War, leadership in the dry movement passed from men to women, most notably in the W.C.T.U., founded in 1874 (Maryland chapter, 1875). Occasionally, saloons came under physical attack. On 19 November 1903, Carry A. Nation,



Kelly's Family Liquor Store was at Forrest and Hillen streets. This 1911 photograph is from *Souvenir of Baltimore*, published by the Old Town Business Men's Association.

the celebrated bar-wrecker, came to Baltimore—to the Lyric Theater, starring in a production of *Ten Nights in a Bar-room*. More typical was a temperance “procession” described by Lizette Reese that “wound through the streets of Baltimore. It was composed entirely of women—college students and graduates, teachers, doctors, professors, and members from the various evangelical churches.”³² Women’s “reformatory instincts are generally sharper than men’s,” she noted, and “the subject of temperance, instead of a personal, became a universal one.”

In 1851 Maine pioneered statutory, statewide prohibition; at intervals, other states (and provinces of Canada) enacted dry laws, though as debate and voting raged some areas reneged. Maryland was soon a battleground. As early as 1862, a law banned the sale of “any spirituous or fermented liquors” within two miles of Brookville, two and a half miles of Sandy Spring meeting house, and “a radius of four miles from Emory chapel and school,” all in Montgomery County. In Baltimore County no license for such sales was legal for Calverton. By 1870 Tangier Island (an entire election district) and Tilghman’s Island had sought and obtained the same protection. Occasionally manufacturers, e.g., Baltimore’s Mount Vernon Mills, hoping



Printers' specimen labels from the author's collection.

to reduce workforce drunkenness, sought a liquor ban near their factories. By 1885, following passage of a county-option law, the sale of liquor was banned in Anne Arundel, Calvert, Caroline, Cecil, Dorchester, Harford, Howard, Kent, Montgomery, and Talbot counties, and in most of Somerset and Queen Anne's. The wets' losses mounted: in 1916 the dries obtained a general, not local, statute, one requiring the wet/dry question to go on the ballot (the dries promptly picked up Carroll, Frederick, and Washington counties).³³ By 1918, 84 percent of Maryland's land area was statutorily dry—the cities (including Annapolis) turning into oases of a sort. Six residential districts in north and west Baltimore itself had opted for an end to saloons and liquor retailing.³⁴ Throughout, the *American* and most other Baltimore dailies accepted liquor advertising. The *Sun*, on the other hand, spurned such income until about 1905. The contrast with its wet or anti-Prohibition vehemence in the 1920s and early 1930s is startling.

Pro-liquor forces, meanwhile, attempted to impugn the character and motives of their foe; sometimes, they asserted the underlying healthiness of drinking alcohol, if in small amount, and only now and then. But the industry had brought some of its troubles upon itself. The successful 1897 idea of marketing a government-inspected, 100 proof, four-years-or-more-old whiskey had practical limits. Bonded whiskey retailed at a steady one dollar a quart—beyond the means of many a wage-earner. This pre-1917 scale descended to as little as fifteen cents a quart for some forms of moonshine. (At saloons, beer was typically a nickel a schooner, whiskey a dime a shot, good whiskey fifteen cents on up.) Informed estimates for bottled-in-bond credited it with 9 percent of the market; "pure" or "straight" grain whiskeys with perhaps 20 percent; for "blended" whiskeys (in small part or large, just grain neutral spirits), 70 or more percent of the industry's output.³⁵ The typical pre-Prohibition bottle label was pleasantly uncluttered—the seller did not have to specify his whiskey's proof, components, period of aging in casks (except with bottled-in-bond), or even contents in

ounces. The customer took “bourbon” to mean all-whiskey, distilled from corn, and “rye” to mean all-whiskey, distilled from grain of that name. Often the customer was a dupe. And across the country, a great many grocery and drugstore items were similarly fraudulent—i.e., composed of unmentioned or misrepresented ingredients (such as the beverage alcohol in most bitters and patent medicines), and devoid of claimed therapeutic effects. A mounting tide of indignation resulted in the Pure Food and Drug Act (also known as the Wiley Law) of 1906, in which the federal government mandated honesty and imposed penalties for infractions. For legal use of the name rye whiskey, at least 51 percent of any set quantity must be whiskey made from rye mash.

After 1906 the image of Maryland Rye blurred. Some Maryland rectifiers may have tried to purify their “pure” rye, but many did not. Suddenly, many a well-regarded brand changed to “Maryland Whiskey” or even, in small letters, “Whiskey—A Blend.” Among those no longer using the word “rye”: Maryland Club (marketed by Cahn, Belt), Baltimore Club (Thomas G. Carroll & Son), Albion and Little Corporal (Lamdin, Thompson), Triple (J. H. Friedenwald), Spring Dale (H. Rosenheim & Son), and Old Cumberland and Queen City Club (James Clark). Of the half dozen biggest retail names in Maryland Rye, two had relinquished the phrase years before (Monticello, Wilson); two stood fast (Hunter, Mount Vernon), and two had it both ways. Sherwood and Braddock made a label (and price) distinction—rye here, blended there. Out in western Maryland, Old Horsey, the nonpareil, let down the side. Its direction now in the hands of Outerbridge Horsey II’s half dozen children, Needwood Distillery shifted half or more of its production to corn whiskey.

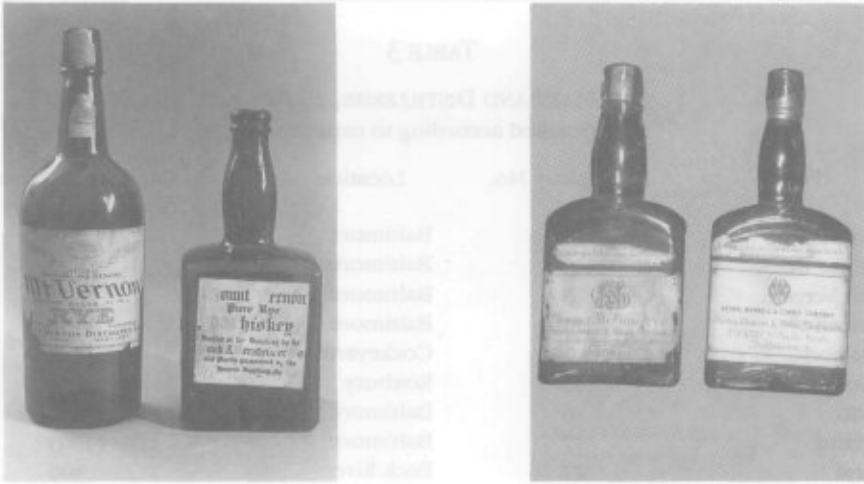
Harvey W. Wiley of Indiana, the leading force behind food-and-drug regulation, was both physician and chemist. He spoke for the growing conviction among doctors that, in most illnesses, strong drink was without medical value. Alcohol administered when the body was in shock did not, after all, keep it warm; and the correct physiological classification for



alcohol was not stimulant but depressant. Gone, accordingly, were the days when whiskey was one more of the products that a professional medical journal looked to for advertising support.³⁶ Attitudes were slow to adjust (witness the medical prescriptions by means of which whiskey was still being obtained during Repeal), but adjust they did. To H. L. Mencken, medicine's reversal was the single most significant factor behind whiskey's loss of standing.³⁷

In the final years, players of substance continued to enter or leave the whiskey game. In 1897, when injuries to Edwin Walters in a Druid Hill Park buggy accident at age 63 proved fatal, Melvale Distillery's Cummings family, the Baltimore rectifiers (George J.) Records & (Harry P.) Goldsborough, and the wholesalers Ulman-Boykin formed a syndicate that took over Orient Distilleries, renaming the plant Canton Distilleries. (In the post-Repeal era, Records & Goldsborough with its Melrose brand was to be one of the very few Maryland whiskey enterprises reappearing under the same name and management.) An occasional business failure occurred, e.g., Roxbury Distilling Co. in Washington County, which in 1910 underwent receivership and shut down. An energetic sales effort had brought Roxbury Rye close to parity with Maryland's top national brands but its president, George T. Gambrill of Baltimore, was also a wheat speculator; he lost his shirt and more, and Roxbury collapsed.³⁸ Among the new enterprises were Wills Brook Distillery, at Ellerslie in Allegany County; Savage Distilling Co. at Weverton in Washington County, and Pen-Mar Rye, from a distillery in Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, which was owned all or in part in Baltimore and Hagerstown. But everywhere the trend was toward fewer and larger, as in so many industries. To the so-called whiskey trust, local pride and distinctiveness were of minor interest; the weak capitalization of most of Maryland's distillers, importers and jobbers, meaning inability to expand—or resist takeover—was of major interest.

After the dissolution of Hyatt & Clark, Sherwood Distilling Co. formed ties with Pringle & Gontran, a new and larger New York City wholesaler. About 1905 Carstairs Bros. of Philadelphia bought out Highlandtown's Stewart Distillery. New York interests bought out Monticello. Frensdorf & Brown of Chicago, distilling at Back River, sold out to Federal Distilling Co. of New York. Julius Kessler of Chicago bought up Monumental. (Kessler was at least flamboyant: an immigrant from Hungary at age eighteen, he got his start selling booze to parched Colorado miners. Going national, he captured control of forty-seven distilleries. For his Baltimore outlet, he was content to use Maryland Pure Rye Whiskey, nothing else, as the brand name.) About 1908 Philadelphia interests built a large distillery, called Gwynnbrook, outside Owings Mills. In the same period, the Fleischmanns entered from Cincinnati.



Retail wars: (Left) Mount Vernon's square bottle, Mt. Vernon's round. (Right) The message atop one North Charles Street's fancy grocer's label: "Old Sherwood Whiskey"; atop its rival's, "Very Old Sherwood Whiskey." Bottles from the author's collection.

The noisiest invasion of all was in consequence of a decision by Hannis Distilling of Philadelphia to sell its Mount Vernon Rye (the brand, not the distillery). The buyer was the Cook and Bernheimer Co., a New York City wholesaler. But the decision left a Boston liquor kingpin, George W. Torrey, apparently feeling jilted. He vowed reprisal. Taking over a Fleet Street brewery that the Wineke-Airey Co. had converted to whiskey-making (under the name Cecil Distillery), Torrey put out an imitation. His brand, also sold nationally, was "The Only Original and Genuine Mt. Vernon Rye." The distinction between "Mount" and "Mt.," he calculated, would be lost on the multitude. In an advertising war, New York versus Boston, Cook and Bernheimer cried, "SQUARE BOTTLE"; Torrey, "ROUND BOTTLE." Mt. Vernon boasted that it was bottled in bond; Mount Vernon (which was not) boasted that it had won first prizes at world's fairs (Philadelphia 1876, New Orleans 1885, Australia 1887, Chicago 1893). And east Baltimore had its Mt. Vernon Distillery; west Baltimore, its Mount Vernon Distillery. Such shenanigans could not last, and did not. The public's favor remained with the square bottle. But absentee ownership was the main story, twice told. Before Prohibition and again after Repeal, outsiders took over, consolidated, and in time suppressed local whiskey making.

Even as the domain of unlimited liquor selling contracted before the prohibitionist onslaught—the Anti-Saloon League, run by men and focused on legislators, set up Washington headquarters in 1895 and a clergy-dominated Baltimore branch about 1910—business in the remaining wet areas ironically improved.³⁹ The variously framed statewide bans in North

TABLE 3

MARYLAND DISTILLERIES, 1910
(Ranked according to capacity.)

| Firms | Registry No. | Location | Capacity in bushels of mash daily |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Melvale | 5 | Baltimore | 1,000 |
| Md. Pure Rye* | 9 | Baltimore | 900 |
| Mount Vernon | 3 | Baltimore | 835 |
| Monticello* | 1 | Baltimore | 750 |
| Sherwood | 2 | Cockeysville | 722 |
| Roxbury* | 15 | Roxbury | 650 |
| Canton | 6 | Baltimore | 612 |
| Maryland | 7 | Baltimore | (450) |
| Federal | 27 | Back River | 400 |
| Gwynnbrook | 33 | Owings Mills | 400 |
| Outerbridge Horsey* | 17 | Burkittsville | 347 |
| Frensdorf & Brown | 31 | Back River | 311 |
| Braddock* | 20 | LaVale | 300 |
| Wineke-Airey* (Cecil, Mt. Vernon) | 10 | Highlandtown | 291 |
| Winand | 25 | Scotts Level (Roslyn) | 275 |
| McGinnis* | 28 | Carrollton | (250) |
| Mountain Spring (Ahalt) | 14 | Burkittsville | 120 |
| Levi Price | 18 | Hyattstown | 35 |
| M. J. Miller's Sons* | 19 | Accident | 29 |

Source: mostly *Bonfort's Directory*, 1909

* = Own bonded brand sold, from own bonded warehouse

Parentheses indicate estimate

Data lacking on Luther G. King (Registry No. 4, King's Valley); Stewart (12, Highlandtown; later, Carstairs); Carroll Springs (21, Baltimore); Malone (29, east of Baltimore); later, Baltland); John R. Lewis (Clarksburg); J.B. Gunning (? Cresaptown); Loreley (? Loreley); J. Frank Shipley (? Pleasant Pool); Savage (? Weverton).

Highspire (Pennsylvania) mashing capacity, 508 bushels a day; Pen-Mar (Pennsylvania), 250.

Kentucky's several hundred distilleries were in the same range as Maryland's; one 1910s distillery in Indiana and another in Illinois announced a capacity of 10,000 bushels of mash daily.

For comparison: Calvert (post-Repeal) Distillery at Relay, owned by Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc., had a capacity of 7,000 bushels daily.

Carolina (1908), West Virginia (1912), and Virginia (1914) were a Baltimore boon, because residents journeyed to the big city to stock up.⁴⁰ Immigration's rapid enlargement of the population, meanwhile, also meant more customers. On the producer level, Wm. Lanahan & Son replaced its rectifying plant, destroyed in the fire of 1904, with an imposing six-story building on the same 20 Light Street site; the firm went on turning out Hunter Baltimore Rye and other brands. (Today, renamed the United Way

Building, the Lanahan Building remains, its old lettering still visible.) As for retailing, liquor had always been widely available,⁴¹ and still was—at Baltimore pharmacies, department stores, and especially groceries. Catering to the upper crust, fancy grocers were spotted mostly along Baltimore and North Charles streets. House brands were the thing, in those temples of *bon ton*; tellingly, fashion in time embraced Maryland's rye, neglecting Monongahela's.

Retailer exuberance was manifest at the Family Wine and Liquor Emporium of Jacob H. Friedenwald, in business from 1898 to 1911, eventually at 101 to 113 North Eutaw Street. One of seven dynamic brothers, the proprietor invited all to come see "The Finest Liquor Store in America," with its "lady clerks." One of his brands was B.L.O.E. (that is, Best Liquor on Earth). Some of Friedenwald's wares were discounted but not his Superior Old Maryland Rye, in amber quarts with embossed institutional shield—to modern collectors, the "greatest Eastern whiskey" bottle. The letterhead of I. Ulman & Sons, meanwhile, pictured a sidewheel steamer named Ulman—presumably that Basin-side firm's means for Chesapeake-landing deliveries. At the Family Liquor Store run by Joseph F. Kelly, at Hillen and Forrest streets, one blandishment was free games of pool at tables upstairs. Kelly's was visible from afar, thanks to the large wood bottle mounted on its roof.

In the waning days, at Pratt and Light streets, Tidewater and Old Dominion Distilling Co. catered to the traveler from Prohibition territory, coaxing him to buy in quantity. "When you come to Baltimore be sure to look for our auto at the wharf or R.R. station," its price list counseled; "our autos...are absolutely free." Its whiskey sold for as little as thirty-nine cents a quart, and some of its labels were a caution: Chesapeake Pilot Whiskey, Old Tide Whiskey, Nip & Tuck Whiskey. The firm, H. H. and Joseph Deane, proprietors, carried many a Kentucky and Pennsylvania brand (as did other retailers, throughout these years). It divulged no origin for its Old Ellison Rye, at \$1.59 a quart and "fifteen years old to the minute." Tidewater and Old Dominion, an emigrant from dry Norfolk, adjudged itself "the largest cut-rate mail order liquor house in the U.S.A." Also on the premises, for those whose thirst was immediate, was "the finest bar in the city."

The end came quietly—amid the thousand bangs of wartime. Soon after the nation's entry into World War I, the federal government diverted alcohol production to military purposes. With so many of the customers gone overseas, stores and bars decreased in number. Numerous changes in ownership occurred at distilleries and wholesalers; investment capital was in flight from the oncoming shutdown. In November 1918, the nation toasted its victory over the Central Powers alcoholically; but the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment did so on 16 January 1919. (Maryland ratified the amendment, but legislated no state enforcement.) The terms included a year's delay, during which the consumer had full

opportunity (and display ad encouragement) to lay by many a bottle or case of Maryland Rye. As he and she took measures to obviate the great drought, it was, however inconsistently, often with the hope that the new, universal ban would benefit the people next door, forcing *them* to end *their* glaring immoderation.

There was a curtain call. In November 1943, with newspaper clamor, pre-Prohibition Maryland Rye made a last public stand, at the now-vanished Ritz-Carlton Hotel on Park Avenue in New York City. The recent death of Mrs. Henry Walters had made possible a public sale of the liquors assembled decades before by the late Henry Walters, son of William T. and nephew of Edwin Walters. Not personally fond of alcoholic drink, Mrs. Walters had never touched these many cases of full bottles. As Prohibition went by, and then the Depression, the row on row of bottles simply lay there, unknown to the passing public, in the cellar at 5 West Mount Vernon Place.

At the 1943 sale, of sixty-three lots catalogued and priced by Peter Greig of New York, the final dozen were 982 quarts and fifths of “Maryland Rye Whiskies”—specifically, Baltimore Club, Melvale (case-dated 1887, 1888, 1890, 1891), Orient (label-dated 1890, 1892) and Sherwood (stamped 1911). The sale’s highest price, fifty dollars a bottle, was for the Sherwood.⁴² A small 1943 sticker was affixed to the back of each bottle. A few such certified Walters Sale relics, emptied, still turn up in the antiques market. In current times, the various old-liquor auctions have listed no whiskies from Kentucky, Pennsylvania or the like of anywhere near such venerability.

What physical evidence of Maryland Rye during its ascendance is likely to last longest? In 1990 unbroken-seal quarts of Mount Vernon, Monticello, Waldorf and Sherwood (and very likely a few other brands) remained, all seventy-plus years old, all in private Maryland hands. The owners were of a mind to preserve, not uncork, these rarities. As for the sites of their contents’ manufacture, little still stood, other than the stone Melvale Distillery buildings alongside Jones Falls Expressway at Cold Spring Lane and, near Breathedsville, some crumbled walls of Roxbury Distillery.

What does endure is the earthenware jugs in which liquor was often dispensed, before Prohibition. Jugs bearing the names and addresses of Maryland merchants (a reminder where to take them for refilling) came in three sorts: impressed, stenciled, and (by far the fewest) paper-labeled. The stenciled, straight-sided jug of 1895-1919 was an assembly-line product. Its predecessor was individually thrown, shaped in one of four configurations, and slug-stamped while the clay was still wet. Decorations do not occur on these handled, utilitarian objects; the one potter who signed (i.e., seal-stamped) his whiskey jugs was Peter Herrmann of Jackson Square. Approximate dates for impressed Baltimore jugs—all precede 1900—are establishable through city directories. The capacity ranging from one pint to three gallons, the lettering occasionally prone to typographical mis-

chance, the addresses a tour of streets subsequently obliterated or renamed, and the individual silhouettes aesthetically engaging, these durable grayware vessels emanated from other East Coast localities as well; but their largest number may well have come from the potteries of Baltimore. Yet—ever a note of wry—the legends on these jugs, couched in such sober language as “M. & J. Duffy / 164 Cathedral Street / Baltimore,” uniformly and discreetly omitted, per se, the message: Maryland Rye.

What of the fluid itself? What did olden-time Maryland Rye taste like? “Rye whiskey,” writes the present-day international whiskey expert Michael Jackson, “has [a] hint of bitterness....[It is] spicy, a little oily, almost peppermint. The bitterness arouses the appetite.”⁴³ As to pre-1920 Maryland Rye, variations between brands and within a single brand were, it would seem, more a matter of barroom conversation than of printed pronouncement. Generalizing, old-timers described Maryland Rye as having a heavy body, robust rather than subtle, yet complex, and with a decided after-taste. One sufficiently interested newcomer put her pre-1920 glass down again saying, “A bit like varnish remover. Or a liquid form of sandpaper.” Her spouse, drinking from the same ancient bottle, remarked, “When properly made and aged, as this seems to have been, a warm, mellow, care-lightening experience.” Maryland Rye took getting used to, but many Maryland drinkers started young. The loyalty, once formed, was strong.

NOTES

1. The one recent, knowledgeable work is Oscar Getz, *Whiskey, An American Pictorial History* (New York: David McKay, 1978). Getz, retired from a career in the manufacture and sale of bourbon, ignores Maryland whiskey.

Wonderful help has come from Mary Hortop Bready, Richard Bready, Chris Bready, Stephen Bready, Ken Lovell, Robert Snyder, Paul Van Vactor, Bud Copley Jr., Fritz Gutheim, R. P. Harriss, Louis H. Diehlman, Patricia Cloud Sawyer, William C. and Nancy C. Trimble, Phil Heisler, Drew Andersen, Paul Brashears, Hugh Smith, Mike Muhl, Bill Thomas, Fred Parks, Dan Knode, Ken McLanahan, John Grimm, Jim Kappler, Lloyd Cargile, Tony Zipp, Jim Phillips, Rick Lease, Everett Ford, Garry Trott, Bob Gerber, Roger Poffenbarger, Joe Greenville, Jeff Strong, Harry Biddinger, Leonard Plein, Bob Weatherby, Lucy Edmunds, Allan Dorsey, Jeff Strong, Harry Biddinger, Mary Collins, Nick Benedict, Ferd Meyer, Sheila and Joe Sears, Josephine Cannizzo, Tim Roche, Glen Mansberger, Stuart Cornett, Zanvyl Krieger, Bob Brugger, Mary Ellen Hayward, John A. Hayward, Ric Cottom, Penny Catzen, Marcy Silver, Mary Mannix, Francis O’Neill, Wesley Wilson, Richard Flint, Harry Wright, Isadore Strouse, Elise Cheslock, Jeff Miller, Barr and Lun Harris, Edgar Heyl, Mary Gallion Yingling, Karol Menzie, Jacques Kelly, Fred Rasmussen, Hunter Cox, Mary Louise Gutman, Betty F. Lewison, Rita Newnham, Jeff Goldman, and others. Also from the Baltimore Antique Bottle Club, Peabody Institute Library, Maryland Historical Society, Enoch Pratt Free Library’s Maryland Department, Baltimore Book Co.,

Library of Congress, New York Public Library, Virginia State Library, University of California (Berkeley) Library, Washington County Historical Society, and the National Bottle Museum (Ballston Spa, New York).

2. Gutheim to the author, 3 April 1987.

3. Michael Jackson, *The World Guide to Whiskey* (Topsfield, Mass.: Salem House, 1988), p. 135. Jackson pictures the present plight of rye-drinkers feelingly: "Even the small towns and suburbs in Maryland once had their own rye whiskeys. There are still people who search hopelessly for Cockeysville rye" (p. 147).

4. As far back as February 1695, liquor-selling was before the Baltimore County Circuit Court, in the case of Moses Groome of Gunpowder. The charge was "vending and selling liquors by retail to his Majesty's Justices of this said County Court," which sat nearby; the defendant, who lacked the papers required for tavern-keeping, petitioned to be "saved harmless." Groome's judicial patrons resolved the matter by bestowing on him "a license to keep an ordinary." See the first article in the first issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1908, p. 8: "The Early County Seats and Court Houses of Baltimore County," by Albert C. Ritchie, father of the subsequent governor.

5. Leland D. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939), *passim*.

6. The excise on distilled liquors has remained an important federal revenue source (rising sharply when wars must be paid for, as in 1861-1865 and 1917-1919), but has never again led to armed uprising. Rather, stiff increase in the excise has often inspired the operation of unlicensed stills—in Maryland, apparently more often in the forested western hills than in the eastern cities.

7. W. J. Rohrabough, *The Alcoholic Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 87.

8. Lizette Woodworth Reese, *A Victorian Village: Reminiscences of Other Days* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1929), pp. 120-25.

9. See T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (Hagerstown: John M. Runk and L. R. Titsworth, 1910) pp. 91-92, for a lively view of these glass pocket flasks in pre-Civil War use:

"The amount of whiskey consumed in Hagerstown at that time and down to recent years is fearful to contemplate. Nearly every man in this county had his 'George Washington' which he took to the nearest grocery to get filled. Every grocery sold whiskey and many other stores kept a bottle in a back room to 'treat' customers. On Saturday a grocery clerk in Hagerstown was kept busy from morning to night filling 'George Washingtons' [today's historical flasks] from a barrel until frequently a boy engaged in this work would topple over, drunk from the fumes."

(Broadly, there were two sorts of grocery stores: staple—the vast majority; and fancy—in big cities.)

According to Williams, the contracts of workers building the National Pike, C&O Canal, and Franklin Railroad called for daily rations from a jigger boss; on his rounds, he doled to each man roughly a cupful of whiskey every half hour throughout nine work hours, plus a (lottery) chance on the whiskey jug at the end of the day—all that the winner could swallow. Williams (1851-1929) was a Baltimore *Sun* editorial writer and then a Baltimore judge, but he had a Hagerstown back-

ground. In his histories of Washington (1906), Frederick (1910), and Allegany (1923) counties he tells the above stories more than once.

10. Herbert C. Bell, *History, Leitersburg District, Washington County, Maryland* (Leitersburg, Md.: published by the author, 1898), pp. 98-100.

11. John C. Gobright, *The Monumental City or Baltimore Guide Book* (Baltimore: Gobright & Torsch, 1858), pp. 196-97, vividly describes the counting house (offices) and rectifying plant, at 68 Exchange Place downtown, built by W. T. Walters & Co. for its own use. Five stories (and cellar) high, the building contained "enormous Vats...barrels filled, or in progress of filling, for shipment...great Discharging pipes...immense (whiskey) reservoirs...machinery driven by mule power."

12. On the roster of Maryland agriculture, rye ranked behind corn, wheat, and oats—a consistent fourth. In the typical year 1860, five counties produced two thirds of the annual rye crop: Frederick (94,251 bushels), Washington (77,993), Allegany (73,224), Carroll (63,269), Baltimore (59,831). Source: Simon J. Martenet, *Map of Maryland, Atlas Edition* (Baltimore, 1866).

13. A possible clue to distillery superintendents exists in the scattered brand names that are surnames without historical or other known derivation; e.g., J. Jackson (marketed by Charles H. Ross & Co.), Jim Hackler (Mallard), Original Martin (Cahn, Belt), Mark Rogers (Bluthenthal & Bickart), Patterson (Meyer, Pitts), Thompson (also C. H. Ross), Cartwright (also Cahn, Belt), Hagerdon (Garrett-Williams).

14. Helen Hopkins Thom, *Johns Hopkins, A Silhouette* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1929), p. 31.

15. Under how many different brand names did pre-Prohibition Maryland Rye circulate? Perhaps between five hundred and one thousand. The most frequent of them (with cartouche of the dealer's initials) was Monogram; next, Private Stock. A century afterward, some brand names defy comprehension: Buckwater, A.A.A., Oliver's O.K., Bortner (all from the Gottschalk Co.). But most brand names were never advertised and no label-bearing bottles survive; so they are lost. On liquor labels, the earliest known instance of trading on geography was that of Charles H. Ross & Co. of Baltimore, which in 1860 and 1867 registered the brand names Monumental and Patapsco ryes. Registration of brand names that include "Maryland Pure Rye" and "Baltimore Pure Rye" begins in the 1870s. As the vogue spread, F. Madlener (Chicago, 1882) touted a house brand called Blue Ridge Maryland Malted Rye Whiskey; G. Riesmeyer (St. Louis, 1882) packaged Maryland Rye in expensive white china jugs; Sherbrook Distilling Co. (Cincinnati, 1905) offered a brand called My Maryland. Others among the many firms proffering Maryland Rye under their own label, then or soon after: Ulman, Einstein (Cleveland); O. B. Cook (Detroit); Danciger Bros. (Kansas City); Hanley Mercantile Co. (San Francisco); Davis & Drake (Boston); Steinhardt Bros. (New York); Straus, Gunst (Richmond).

Trading on dates was another sales idea, in the late 1870s and early 1880s. The goal was to persuade the public that from year to year grain harvests, like vintage wines, rose or fell in excellence. (At the time, cognac distillers were doing it too.) But how was the customer to tell Spring Dale 1877 Baltimore Rye apart from Spring Dale 1878, when, blindfolded in a taste test, he could not hope to distinguish between Spring Dale and dozens of different rye whiskey brands? The idea of a printed vintage year on distilled-liquor bottle labels soon languished.

16. For a photograph of the Sherwood Distillery in Cockeysville, see *The Monumental City* (Baltimore: Baltimore American, 1895), p. 112.

17. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), p. 111.

18. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1882), pp. 621-22. See also "Horsey Distillery Road," by Michael L. Spaur, *Frederick Post*, 6 December 1978.

19. George Alfred Townsend, *Katy of Catoctin* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1887), p. 13.

20. For a photograph of the Melchior J. Miller (1833-1915) & Sons Distillery, see Felix G. Robinson, ed., *Tableland Trails* (Oakland, Md.), 2 (No. 2, 1956) 47.

The Washington County Historical Society has a 1900 photograph of Roxbury's exceptionally large, eight-story warehouse.

21. Letter to author from Highspire (Pa.) Historical Society, 9 June 1990.

22. Hunter Baltimore Rye's bottle label pictured a mounted, formally attired foxhunter. Appropriately, William Lanahan, Jr. in 1913 attained the rank of master of the Elkridge Hounds.

23. Cited in Frederick Philip Stieff, *Eat, Drink and Be Merry in Maryland* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932).

24. Meredith Janvier, *Baltimore in the Eighties and Nineties* (Baltimore: H. G. Roebuck & Son, 1933), p. 47.

25. See Gilbert Byron, *The Lord's Oysters* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 44: "Mama [a teetotaler, went] to the closet...and pulled out a pint bottle of whiskey. Mama always kept it for medicine in case somebody got sick and she couldn't get the doctor quick enough."

26. H. L. Mencken, *Happy Days* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940), pp. 236-37; *Newspaper Days* (1941), pp. 179-90.

27. Was hard liquor (whiskey) on sale by the drink at the successive ballparks of the pre-1920 Baltimore Orioles? Nothing found in print from the time documents it (although the presence of whiskies among scorecard and fence advertisements is suggestive); but Genevieve Rogers of Rodgers Forge, a cousin of the then owner-manager, Jack Dunn, recalled both sellers and sales of whiskey at Oriole Park, Greenmount Avenue and 29th Street (International League, 1916-1919). Conversation with the author, 1989.

28. Letters from Wm. Lanahan & Son to Gen. Thaddeus L. Sharretts (in Shanghai), 3 March and 17 May 1902. Author's possession.

29. The Gottschalk Co.'s Pointer Maryland Rye ("A Superior Article") ("THE Maryland Rye") was the only Baltimore whiskey marketed in an expensive, glazed, transfer-decorated pottery jug.

30. A junior officer in the firm, Edwin N. (Bates) Fleischmann (1892-1953), was to play a major role in Maryland's post-Repeal rye production. In 1933, having retained title to the Calvert brand, Fleischmann built a new distillery, at Relay. After selling this to Joseph E. Seagram & Sons of Montreal and New York, he built a smaller distillery at Landsowne (Majestic); later yet, he operated a distillery (Harford County) at Havre de Grace. A salesman and then partner in a rival firm, Meyer, Pitts & Co., was Andrew W. Merle (1879-1965). In 1933, having obtained title to the Pikesville and K&L straight rye brands, Merle founded Standard Distillers Products,

Inc., a distributorship, at 310 East Lombard Street. The building was that put up as headquarters for Meyer, Pitts after the 1904 fire. Merle, whose estate was valued in probate at five-plus million dollars, was succeeded by his son, Andrew W. Merle, Jr. (1909-1987). It was Merle, Jr.'s destiny, when Standard Distillers had become the product's last remaining distributor, to cease sending distillers orders for barrels of rye, sell off the inventory, disband the company early in 1983, and end commercial Maryland Rye.

31. Charles A. Fecher, ed., *The Diary of H. L. Mencken* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), p. 287.

32. Reese, *Victorian Village*, p. 127. She gives no date.

33. Cited in Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press/Maryland Historical Society, 1988), p. 449.

34. See Baltimore *Sun* almanacs of the period.

35. Figures from James M. Doran, supervisor of the Distillers Code Authority under NRA (cited in a 1930s advertisement of Chesapeake Distilling & Distributing Co., Baltimore). This leaves the post-1906 proportion of local whiskey that qualified as pure or straight Maryland rye at about 20 percent. Before passage of the 1906 act, there is every reason to believe, the proportion calling itself Maryland Rye was much higher.

36. For an example: Melvale Distilling Co.'s display ad (*Maryland Medical Journal*, Baltimore, 14 January 1899, p. xxiv) for Melvale Pure Rye Whiskey. "This whiskey...conforms in every way to the requirements of the United States Dispensatory."

37. Mencken, *Newspaper Days*, p. 179.

38. Gambrill (c. 1845-1930) starred in a memorable Baltimore court case. Accused in 1910 of having put up the same whiskey as collateral for separate, forfeited loans totaling some \$500,000, he was tried, found guilty and sentenced to four years in prison. He appealed. Twelve years later, somehow Gambrill still was not in jail. Citing his unspecified age, a judge finally quashed the conviction.

39. Two demonstrations of latter-day liquor activity and profitability: In the federal census of 1910, distilled liquors ranked sixteenth among Maryland manufactures by value of product (\$5,362,000—first was men's clothing, \$36,921,000). But distillers had only 387 persons on their payrolls (clothing, 21,946), at salaries and wages totaling \$357,000 (clothing, \$9,364,000); distilling materials cost \$1,149,000 (clothing, \$20,966,000). J. E. Aldred and E. V. Illmer, *Industrial Survey of Baltimore* (Baltimore: n.p., 1914), p. 4, Statements 1 and 2, declared that "Maryland manufactured approximately 4,750,000 gallons of whiskey in 1913, 85 per cent of which was produced in the Baltimore Metropolitan District.... Cooperage is purchased largely in Baltimore.... Malted grain is shipped in from Wisconsin and Michigan." Among the 441 persons employed by distilleries (skilled, 141; unskilled, 188; executive, clerical, sales, 105), seven were women. In a seventeen-category breakdown of "merchandise jobbed" in Baltimore in 1913, spirituous liquors (not including beer) had total sales of \$25,785,658; only food products and textiles did better. "Maryland," the survey found, "with Baltimore as the logical distributing point, enjoys an international reputation [for] the superior quality of her whiskies."

40. For the methods and gains of alcohol's adversaries, see Sean Dennis Cashman, *Prohibition, The Lie of the Land* (New York: The Free Press, 1981), pp. 1-26.

41. One 1850s Baltimore store advertised liquor and also glue; another, in the 1860s, liquor and also guano. Across Saratoga Street from Old St. Paul's Church, liquor was for sale. Among downtown's fancy grocers over the years were (all with whiskey on their shelves) George Hollins; R. Courtney & Bro., which boasted of a Paris branch and had its bottle labels lithographed by A. Hoen & Co.; Green & Yoe; William D. Randall; G. H. Reese & Bro.; McConkey & Lawson; Taylor Bros.; Sattler & Co.; Jordan Stabler; Fairall; George E. French; Hopper & Cator, later Hopper, McGaw; Acker, Merrall & Condit, subsidiary of a Manhattan firm.

42. Frank L. Wight (1886-1958), a major figure in Maryland's post-Repeal distilling, was at work in the family's Cockeyville distillery by 1914. In a 1943 newspaper interview, he recalled the 1911 "make"—from unusually good New York state rye grain. Wight headed the post-Repeal Frank L. Wight Distilling Co., which built a distillery at Loreley, just east of Baltimore, and marketed Sherbrook and Wight's Old Reserve Maryland straight ryes. Following its purchase and shutdown by Hiram Walker, Inc., of Canada, Wight organized the Cockeyville Distilling Co., built a distillery close to the original Sherwood site, and marketed a Maryland straight rye called Ryebrook. Following his death, the principal backer, Heublein, Inc., of Connecticut, shut down the distillery.

43. Jackson, *Guide to Whiskey*, p. 139. Frederick Gutheim has repeatedly pointed out the opportunity in present-day Maryland to distill and market a spectrum of small, aged, choice ryes, after the manner of Scottish single malts. A dozen years or so would pass before returns on the investment. No one seems to have given it a try.



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