Executive Summary

Spirited History: Distilling, Brewing & Winemaking in Maryland was prepared by Goodwin & Associates, Inc. (Goodwin) for Preservation Maryland. Funding for this effort was provided through the Maryland Department of Commerce's Maryland Alcohol Manufacturing Promotion Fund. The purpose of this documentation is to develop a historic context and identify resources associated with the production, manufacture, and distribution of alcoholic beverages in the state of Maryland from the colonial era to the present day (1632-2024). This context is intended to be a starting point for future research; potential areas for additional research are identified in this context.

Prior research on the history of Maryland alcohol production and consumption has been undertaken by independent researchers; however, this research has largely been dependent upon alcohol type. Therefore, rather than a history of Maryland alcohol production, previous research has been centered on topics such as Maryland brewing, Maryland distilling, and Maryland winemaking. This context focuses on the histories of cider, distilled spirits (predominantly Maryland rye whiskey), beer, and wine, as some of the most significant alcoholic beverages to the state's history.

Analysis of previously compiled academic research and primary source materials demonstrated that associated property types to alcohol production have historically been dependent upon the equipment used to produce the alcohol itself. Throughout the colonial era, much of this production occurred in private homes, as opposed to a commercial level. However, with the rise of commercial alcohol production, purpose-built structures for alcohol creation were used. However, these buildings still were largely defined by their equipment. For example, for a building to be a distillery, a still is needed. Similarly, a brewery is a property where beer is brewed. The production processes for alcoholic beverages, then, appears to guide the property.

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Purpose, Project Goals, and Objectives

Spirited History: Distilling, Brewing & Winemaking in Maryland was prepared by Goodwin & Associates, Inc. (Goodwin) for Preservation Maryland in order to provide historic details and stories for marketing and tourism, and potential continued preservation planning efforts. Funding for this effort was provided through the Maryland Department of Commerce's Maryland Alcohol Manufacturing Promotion Fund. The purpose of this documentation is to develop a historic context and identify resources associated with the production, manufacture, and distribution of alcoholic beverages. A primary objective for the research design for *Spirited History: Distilling, Brewing & Winemaking in Maryland* was the development of a historic context that can be used to inform and educate about the history of Maryland's alcohol manufacturing industry and how it informs modern manufacturing. This research is intended to identify the interactions between these pre-existing narratives and to provide a more total image of the history, evolution, and manufacturing of alcohol in Maryland from the early colonial period into the modern day.

Methodology

All work was completed in accordance with the guidelines set forth in the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation* and the *Standards and Guidelines for Architectural and Historical Investigations in Maryland* (2019). In order to produce a historic context and identify resources associated with the production, manufacture, and distribution of alcoholic beverages in the state of Maryland, this context analyzes the history of Maryland cidering, distilling, brewing, and winemaking from the colonial era into the twenty-first century (1632-2024). Throughout the context, emphasis is placed upon political, economic, and social forces that impacted Maryland's alcohol industry and patterns of consumption. The similarities and differences in Maryland's alcohol industry and national trends are also highlighted. The context identifies associated property types with all kinds of production, manufacture, and distribution throughout Maryland's history. This context is envisioned to be a starting point for future research; potential areas for additional research are identified in this introduction.

The methodology adopted in the development of *Spirited History: Distilling, Brewing & Winemaking in Maryland* applied a program of literature review, archival research, and property identification. All work was undertaken applying best professional practices by historians and architectural historians whose professional qualifications meet those established by the Secretary of the Interior in their respective fields (36 CFR 61).

Prior research on the history of Maryland alcohol production and consumption has been undertaken by independent researchers; however, this research has largely focused on specific alcohol types. Rather than an inclusive history of Maryland alcohol production, previous research has been centered on discrete topics such as Maryland brewing, Maryland distilling, and Maryland winemaking. This investigation explores the various categories of alcohol production and examines how the different alcohol industries changed over time. A review of Maryland Inventory of Historic Property (MIHP) documentation and National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nominations also was undertaken.

Desktop survey and research was conducted for the completion of this report. Online resources used for this historic context included Internet Archive, HathiTrust, the Maryland State Archives, the Library of Congress, and Newspapers.com. Online research included examining digitized primary sources, such as cook books, trea-

tises, relevant state and federal legislation, and newspaper advertisements ranging from the colonial period to the modern day. Research also was conducted in-person at the Maryland Room of the C. Burr Artz branch of the Frederick County Public Library. Particularly insightful secondary source material consulted in the preparation of this context included: *Every Home a Distillery: Alcohol, Gender, and Technology in the Colonial Chesapeake, Beer in Maryland: A History of Breweries Since Colonial Times, Maryland Wine: A Full-Bodied History, Baltimore Prohibition: Wet & Dry in the Free State, Forgotten Maryland Cocktails: A History of Drinking in the Free State, Beer Blast: The Inside Story of the Brewing Industry's Bizarre Battles for Your Money,* and *Wicked Baltimore: Charm City Sin and Scandal* (Meacham 2013; O'Prey 2018; Mc Carthy 2012; Walsh 2017; Priebe & Priebe 2015; Van Munching 1997; Silberman 2011). Archival research suggests that Maryland's alcohol industry had not been subject to significant scholarly analysis.

Data compiled from MIHP and NRHP documentation and relevant trade publications were used to identify potential property types associated with the spirits industry in Maryland. Site investigation of individual properties and the identification of resources that have not been subject to previous survey were beyond the scope of this current investigation. Rather, this project provides a springboard for more in-depth analysis on those buildings and structures associated with manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcohol. Data on relevant properties were compiled from information contained in MIHP forms and NRHP nominations. However, since the creation of this context did not call for research beyond desktop survey and analysis of archival resources, the identification of previously un-identified resources associated with Maryland alcohol production was beyond the scope of the current investigation.

The scarcity of primary source documents associated with alcohol production during Maryland's colonial era, as well as the relative paucity of primary source material and scholarly research associated with changing legislation and health standards in the state's alcohol industry at the end of the nineteenth century posed challenges to this investigation. A general lack of information on the design of facilities associated with alcohol production also proved challenging. While a number of contemporary manuals provided detailed information on the history of alcohol and the process for fabricating such beverages, the manuals and trade journals offered no guidance on the design, layout, or construction of breweries or distilleries. The lack of published standards suggests that the manufacturing process was more important than the building in which such activities took place. If a brewer or distiller had access to the raw ingredients, the necessary equipment, and a space of sufficient size to complete the required steps, the size, type, and design of the building were of lesser concern.

A lack of scholarly research and primary source materials required the development of alternative strategies and research questions. For example, legislative research was conducted in order to explain potential reasons for the increase and decline in popularity of certain alcoholic beverages. Consistent data sets across fields of inquiry, time periods, and alcohol type were difficult to obtain due to gaps in the archival record. Additionally, visual images of early Maryland alcohol production are scarce, and access to these images has been hampered by issues of digitization and copyright. Therefore, all images provided within the report are within the public domain.

Report Organization

This report is organized two volumes. Volume 1 contains:

- The purpose and findings of the investigation are presented in the Executive Summary.
- The introduction and methodology for the study are presented in Chapter 1.
- Chapter 2 serves as a primer on how alcohol is produced. This chapter was deemed necessary, as the processes of production informs the history of alcohol as well as its associated property types.
- Chapter 3 presents the history of alcohol production during the colonial era through

the American Revolution (1632-1783), including the histories of cider, distilled spirits, beer, and wine.
- The production and consumption of cider, distilled spirits, beer, and wine during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (1783-1861) is presented in Chapter 4.
- Chapter 5 examines a period of expansion and contraction in the spirits and brewing industries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1861-1919).
- Chapter 6 discusses the adoption of federal Prohibition (1920-1933). Also examined are Maryland anti-Prohibition politics and the impacts federal legislation had on Maryland alcohol manufacturers and consumers, as well as the forces that led to Prohibition's repeal.
- Chapter 7 analyzes the Maryland alcohol industry in the post-Prohibition Era and the late twentieth century (1933-2024).
- Chapter 8 presents recommendations and areas for additional research.
- References used in the production of this context follows.

Volume 2 contains the following appendices:

- Appendix A contains lists of identified tavern-keepers and inn-keepers, distillers, and identified brewers in the 1796 Baltimore Town and Fell's Point City Directory.
- Appendix B is a list of brewers in Maryland in 1878 and 1879.
- Appendix C contains lists of known distilleries, breweries, and wineries within Maryland as of 2024.
- Appendix D contains patent paperwork for William Painter's crown cork closure.
- Appendix E contains a list of image repositories and sources for future research.
- Appendix F is a timeline of major events discussed in this context.

Acknowledgements

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Kathryn M. Kuranda, M.Arch. Hist., served as Principal Investigator and supervised all aspects of the historical documentation. Historical research and report writing were conducted by Shannon Baker, M.A., Amanda Bentz, M.S., and Kirsten Peeler, M.S. Samuel Young, B.F.A., and Kirsten Peeler, M.S., provided technical support. Sharon Little produced the report.

Chapter 2
A Brief Primer on Alcohol Production

A basic understanding of how various types of alcohol produced in the United States, in general, and in Maryland, specifically, is needed in order to understand how the various, interrelated tax policies, industrialization, changing public sentiment, and access to raw materials affected the alcoholic beverage industry. These combined factors had direct and indirect impacts on the property types associated with spirts, wine, cider, and beer production. An understanding of how various types of alcohol is produced is critical to understanding the built resources associated with its manufacturing. With the exception of the introduction of industrialization and pasteurization, the process of manufacturing alcoholic beverages has remained essentially the same from the colonial era through the twenty-first century. As long as the manufacturer had the equipment, access to the appropriate raw materials, and the space necessary to complete the production process, spirits and alcohol could be accommodated in various property types ranging from dwelling basements and barns during the colonial period through the early nineteenth century to larger breweries of the late nineteenth century featuring tap houses, cooperages, and electric plants. A summary overview of the production process for the different types of alcoholic beverages manufactured in Maryland during the colonial period through the twenty-first century is presented below. The key products include cider, distilled spirits, beer, and wine.

Terminology

Throughout this report, the term "alcoholic beverage" or "alcohol" is used to refer generally to alcoholic products such as cider, distilled spirits, beer, and wine, for the sake of readability. "Distilled spirits" or "spirits" are used to refer specifically to alcoholic beverages that have been distilled, such as brandy, rum, and whiskey; this type of beverage can also be referred to as liquor. Cider, beer, and wine are not considered spirits, and therefore, are not referred to as such in this report.

Cider Production

Essentially, cider is fermented apple juice, though this definition ignores the potential for the beverage's complexity. Apples picked directly from the tree are not immediately ready to be pressed into cider; they benefit from a process known as sweating, wherein apples are stored on a clean surface so air can flow freely between them. Sweating allows the fruit to lose some moisture, which concentrates sugars and softens the fruit. Ideally, the apple would be soft enough that a firm press of the finger could indent the flesh. Apples can then be milled or ground into a pulp, known as pomace. The pomace is then moved to a press, though some cider makers will choose to let it oxidize for a period of minutes or hours before pressing. Pressing allows the liquid juice, known as must, to be extracted from the solids. Pressed cider does not become hard cider until yeast has been added and has had the chance to consume the sugars present in the liquid and convert them into alcohol. The cider is then transferred to fermentation vessels in which this process can occur. In the modern day, fermentation can occur in a variety of vessels, including barrels, stainless-steel, plastic, or carboys (glass vessels). Once the cider has been properly fermented, it is racked (meaning stored); the cider can be filtered at this point, if so desired (Holl 2023).

Production of Distilled Spirits

Alcoholic spirits are produced via distillation. While beer and wine are fermented, spirits are fermented and distilled. In order to distill spirts, an already fermented beverage is needed for a base product. The base determines the final spirit; for example, whiskey and gin are derived from fer-

mented grains, while vodka can be derived from grain, fruit, or potato-based alcohol. Certain processes are used to prepare this base, referred to as the mash, which depends upon the raw material; "starch grains are milled and pressed, which makes the starches and sugars more prepared for the next steps of the process, whereas sugar-lade grapes are crushed and pressed" (Denig 2021). Starchy grains are reduced to a meal-like substance to better execute mashing. Mashing involves mixing and wetting the base material to allow for optimized enzyme activity, "which ultimately converts starches into easily fermentable sugars" (Denig 2021). The mash is then fermented, with either native or cultivated yeasts.

Once the mash is made, it is distilled. Distillation is "the process of separating alcohol from water via evaporation and condensation" (Denig 2021). This process is done in stills. Stills are typically equipped with three parts: the still (or retort), which heats the liquid, the condenser, and the receiver, which collects the distillate (Denig 2021). For much of Maryland's history, the type of condenser used was called a worm tub. These consisted of long and winding copper piping, called worms due to their appearance, housed inside a wooden tub filled with cold water. Worm tubs fell out of favor due to the difficulty of maintenance and operation; copper pipes are prone to leakage, and the long, winding piping made leaks difficult to identify. By the 1960s, most worm tubs had been replaced with the more efficient shell and tube condenser (Brandon 2024).

The mash is placed in the still and heated to a low temperature, which vaporizes the alcohol. "Because alcohol has a lower boiling point than water does, it can be evaporated by itself, collected, and then cooled back down into a liquid, which then has a much higher alcohol content than when it first started" (Denig 2021). Numerous distillations can occur depending on the style of spirit being made or the proof desired for the spirit. Following distillation, depending on what kind of spirit was produced, some distillers will age their spirits. Some will also blend their spirits together to create specific flavor profiles; others might add coloring agents or filter their spirits prior to bottling what they produced (Denig 2021).

Beer Production

Beer is made from four ingredients: barley (or other grains), water, hops, and yeast. In simple terms, in order to produce beer, the sugars must be extracted from the grains, which enables the yeast to convert the sugars to alcohol and CO2, creating beer. Grains, such as barley, wheat, or rye, are harvested and the seeds are run through the malting process. Malting is meant to germinate the seeds, which activates starch enzymes necessary to create fermentable sugars when the yeast is added later in the process. However, germination must stop at the right time, or else the seed is able to sprout roots and grow. Once proper germination is reached, the grains are dried through kilning to around 3-5 percent moisture content, and then the grains are roasted (McNary 2018).

Once the grains are malted, they are steeped in hot water in a process known as mashing. Mashing activates the starch enzymes in the grain, which causes the grain to break down and release sugar. The water is drained, leaving behind wort, a sweet, syrupy liquid. The next step is to lauter, or separate, the wort from the used grains that remained. Once the wort has been lautered, hops and other spices are added. Hops provides bitterness to balance out the sweetness of the wort; hops also have a natural preservative quality. India Pale Ale (IPA) beer is a type of beer that uses hops as a preservative, for example. IPA's can be argued to have evolved from October ales, which were commonly exported to British colonies due to their ability to survive long journeys. Regardless of how the IPA came about, ale that was high in hops, dry, bitter and pale can be seen in English colonies, including North America, by the beginning of the eighteenth century (McNary 2018; Mehle 2021:97-98).

Beer is divided into two groups, ales and lagers. The type of yeast and fermentation process used determines what kind of beer is produced. After hops are added and the boiling is finished, the liquid goes into a fermenting vessel and yeast is added. Once the yeast is added, it breaks down the sugars and creates alcohol and carbonization (CO_2). Ales are fermented at warmer temperatures (around 64 degrees F), and are fermented for a short time, typically within three weeks.

Lager, a German word meaning "to store", is fermented at around 50 degrees F and stored (lagered) for several weeks or months at temperatures near freezing (McNary 2018). In part due to the yeast required for the production of lager, as well as the more difficult temperature requirements, lager beer was not produced in America until the mid-nineteenth century.

Wine Production

To make wine, grapes are harvested from a vineyard. Historically, grapes have been harvested by hand with a vine knife (also called a grape hook knife or a picking knife); it was only as recently as the 1960s mechanized harvesting was possible, and it typically occurs mostly on larger vineyard properties or hillside vineyards. The actual picking of grapes above the equator usually occurs between August and November, though the dates vary depending on grape variety, wine style, and region (Lambert 2020).

Vineyards and wineries are separate facilities with different functions: a vineyard is where wine grapes are grown (and can also refer to the entire estate), while a winery is the building where wine is made. Furthermore, the terroir (how a region's climate, soils, and aspect [terrain] influence and impact the taste of wine) affects the wine. Wine grapes from warmer climates tend to generate higher sugar levels and higher alcohol wines, whereas cool climate grapes generally have lower sugar levels and more acidity (Puckette n.d.). Vines are typically planted on southwest-facing hillsides; the quality of the soil used to grow grapes influences the quality of the wine. Soil impacts the characteristics of wine grapes "through their supply of minerals and nutrients to grapevines" (Hagen n.d.; Sommeliers Choice Awards n.d.). Most vineyard soils can be sorted into approximately five to six types that impact wine flavor. Altitude can also be an important consideration for vineyards; high elevations can lead to cooler temperatures, which impact the grapes and flavor of wine (Puckette n.d.).

Grapes are then crushed or pressed; this step differs depending on whether white, rosé, or red wines are being made. For white wines, fruit is generally crushed and pressed, meaning that the juice is removed from contact with the grape skins as fast as possible. Once it is pressed, the juice is then left to settle, and the sediment is racked off. For rosé or red wines, the fruit is crushed and left on the skin for a given amount of time to macerate. This is what gives the wine its color and tannin structure (Denig 2020).

Alcoholic fermentation, when yeast converts sugar into alcohol and CO_2, is the next step in winemaking. Fermentations can be done with a variety of yeasts, which produce a wide array of wines. For example, native yeast fermentations (or spontaneous fermentations), occur with naturally present yeasts found on grape skins in a winery's environment. These tend to take longer than cultivated yeast fermentations (purchased yeast strains), but are credited with making more complex-tasting wines. The wine is then left to age, and the vessel can vary widely, again depending on the type of wine being made. In the modern day, aging vessels can be made of oak, steel, cement, tera cotta, clay, or even glass. The type of vessel used for aging can impart specific flavors into the wine. Some winemakers will filter their wine post-aging to remove any residual sentiment; the wine is then bottled, and can be stored for further aging (Denig 2020).

Chapter 3
Alcoholic Beverages During the Colonial Era through the American Revolution (1632-1783)

This chapter presents a summary overview of alcohol production in Maryland during the colonial period. The chapter is divided into four sections, some of which have subsections. The first section, the Necessity and Frequency of Alcohol during the Colonial Era, discusses the importance of alcohol in daily colonial life. The second section, The Slow Development of the Alcoholic Beverage Industry in Maryland, explores the reasons why development of the alcohol industry was delayed in the Maryland colony and includes subsections on the dominance of the tobacco industry and the influence of public policy on alcohol production. Following that is a section entitled Alcohol Production during the Colonial Era, which specifically focuses on the production of cider, distilled spirits (including brandy, rum, and whiskey), beer, and wine in Maryland; this section illustrates how most Marylanders were producing their own alcoholic beverages or acquiring them from neighbors, as opposed to developing a larger commercial alcohol industry or relying upon importation. The chapter concludes with a section focused on the identification of the limited number of property types associated with colonial era alcohol production.

Necessity and Frequency of Alcohol during the Colonial Era

Alcohol was frequently consumed in colonial America as a preferred beverage. The massive prevalence of various types of alcohol in daily colonial life can be attributed to colonial concepts of health and safety, as well as tradition. In Maryland, colonists met the demand for alcohol at a familial and community level, as the majority of colonists produced their own alcohol, or made alcohol for their local neighbors. The emphasis on personal production of alcohol within the colonial Chesapeake is largely a result of scattered town development and the isolated nature of the area. Essentially, there were very few locations colonists could actually go to in order to purchase alcohol. Therefore, they needed to make it themselves. The requirement of colonists to make their own beverages did not slow drinking; alcohol consumption was heavy, especially among white men, during the colonial era.

Early colonists in Maryland drank alcoholic beverages largely out of necessity. Just as in Europe, where water was a common source of sickness, colonists feared that water in America was contaminated and unhealthy. In some cases, even when water was safe for consumption, water collected from rivers or streams contained mud and sediment, which meant that buckets of water had to sit long enough to allow the suspended material to settle (Crews 2007). The warm Chesapeake climate promoted the growth of deadly bacteria, and waterways were often infested with mosquito larvae. Colonists often dug too-shallow wells that were easily contaminated. Many colonists became victims to diseases such as typhoid fever and malaria (Priebe and Priebe 2015:39). Even in areas with relatively safe drinking water, such as St. Mary's City (which had access to fresh water) or Baltimore (which had hills that permitted storm water and domestic waste to drain fairly effectively), colonists "regarded water with suspicion" (Meacham 2013:12-13). Water was therefore generally considered safe to drink upon its fermentation or distillation into alcohol. Notably, colonists believed that beer, in particular, prevented scurvy (Meacham 2013:12).

Beyond being a safer choice than water, many British colonists throughout the colonies believed that alcohol was medicinal; in their minds, "drink kept people warm, aided digestion, and increased strength… They took whiskey for colic and laryngitis. Hot brandy punch addressed cholera. Rum-soaked cherries helped with a cold. Pregnant women and women in labor received a shot to

address their discomfort" (Crews 2007).[1] The average adult white male drank constantly throughout the day; "A pick-me-up upon waking would be followed by another drink at midmorning, and some form of alcohol would be consumed with lunch and then again late in the afternoon. Finally, the day would be capped off with a final drink at suppertime" (Priebe and Priebe 2015:40). By 1770, "the average adult white man drank the equivalent of seven shots of rum per day, and an average white woman drank almost two pints of hard cider per day." (Meacham 2013:1-2). Alcoholic beverages alone accounted for on average of at least 10 percent of dietary expenses (Meacham 2013:22).

Colonists drank, "because they came from a tradition of heavy drinking, because there was nothing nonalcoholic to drink, because alcohol offered one of the few ways to dull the pain of illness, and because alcohol was one of the few pleasures to be had in the early modern world" (Meacham 2013:7). Alcohol production, therefore, was necessary to provide a perceived healthy, and frequently safer alternative to water, and to meet increasing consumer demand. Colonists imported beer as well as materials to make it, including hops and grains for a time (until they became viable crops in the New World) (O'Prey 2018:3-5; National Park Service [NPS] 2015) (Further information on hops is discussed later in this chapter). Shipping hops to America was an expensive and infrequent process, forcing many colonists to substitute with ingredients found in America, such as juniper and spruce; additional New World changes included the substitution of barley with wheat, Indian corn, and rye (Kelly 2014).

By itself, trade with England was vastly insufficient to meet the colonial demand for alcohol. When imported drinks were available, the average Marylander could hardly afford to rely on imports for their daily drink. Irregular immigration and a scattered settlement pattern created by the tobacco economy meant that towns in colonial Maryland developed much more slowly than in regions such as New England. As a result, there were very few stores or taverns from which alcohol could be purchased (Priebe and Priebe 2015:40).

Colonists in the New World predominantly drank cider, which, significantly, was easy to produce with the resources found in the America; even with the rise of whiskey's popularity during and following the American Revolution, cider was still the predominant alcoholic beverage in the Chesapeake region. Wine consumption was also negligible during these early years, as a typical colonist in the Chesapeake drank only 1/10 of a gallon wine annually in 1770 (Meacham 2013:22). Not all consumption was equal in the colonial Chesapeake; white women, children, and enslaved people were largely prevented from consuming similar quantities of alcohol by social norms, physical stature, and the concerns of planters.[2] This resulted in white adult men consuming approximately 2/3 of the total distilled spirits consumed (Meacham 2013:22).[3] Enslaved people's access to alcohol was oftentimes regulated; however, alcoholic beverages were not completely prohibited. Frederick Douglass, for example, wrote in his narrative that:

> The days between Christmas and New Year's day are allowed as holidays; and, accordingly, we were not required to perform any labor, more than to feed and take care of the stock. This time we regarded as our own, by the grace of our masters; and we therefore used or abused it nearly as we pleased. Those of us who had families at a distance, were generally allowed to spend the whole

1 The concept of alcohol as a medicinal or otherwise healthful beverage has had some staying power in the cultural consciousness, even after the usefulness of alcohol as medicine was firmly disproven by the late nineteenth century. For example, Guinness ran the "Guinness is good for you" campaign for 40 years, from the 1920s-1960s; the campaign remained synonymous with the brand. Beyond suggesting the beer itself was good-tasting, it suggested that the beer itself was good for customers to consume. Despite alcohol's medicinal uses being well-debunked, some doctors throughout much of the twentieth century continued to recommend Guinness for its health properties, after births and surgeries (*The Guardian* 2024; Lee 2019).

2 It is unclear if most Maryland white women, children, and enslaved people simply consumed less beverages or if they drank more alternative beverages than men; social norms that demanded members of these groups to refrain from public drunkenness, as well as difficulties members of these groups likely would have had in obtaining their own drink, certainly contributed to their lesser consumption.

3 Archival research into alternative beverages for white women, children, and the enslaved did not yield any results.

> six days in their society. This time, however, was spent in various ways. The staid, sober, thinking and industrious ones of our number would employ themselves in making corn-brooms, mats, horse-collars, and baskets; and another class of us would spend the time in hunting opossums, hares, and coons. But by far the larger part engaged in such sports and merriments as playing ball, wrestling, running foot-races, fiddling, dancing, and drinking whisky; and this latter mode of spending the time was by far the most agreeable to the feelings of our masters. A slave who would work during the holidays was considered by our masters as scarcely deserving them. He was regarded as one who rejected the favor of his master. It was deemed a disgrace not to get drunk at Christmas; and he was regarded as lazy indeed, who had not provided himself with the necessary means, during the year, to get whisky enough to last him through Christmas.
>
> From what I know of the effect of these holidays upon the slave, I believe them to be among the most effective means in the hands of the slaveholder in keeping down the spirit of insurrection. Were the slaveholders at once to abandon this practice, I have not the slightest doubt it would lead to an immediate insurrection among the slaves. These holidays serve as conductors, or safety-valves, to carry off the rebellious spirit of enslaved humanity. But for these, the slave would be forced up to the wildest desperation; and woe betide the slaveholder, the day he ventures to remove or hinder the operation of those conductors! I warn him that, in such an event, a spirit will go forth in their midst, more to be dreaded than the most appalling earthquake (Douglass 1849:74-75).

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine how much alcohol was consumed, on average, by the enslaved. Enslaved alcohol consumption was commonly only referenced in ambiguous terms, oftentimes in an overtly racist manner, making exact averages difficulty to calculate.

The Slow Development of the Alcoholic Beverage Industry in Maryland

Alcohol production in colonial Maryland was largely defined by the creation of a tobacco monoculture and an ever-evolving legislative agenda impacting the popularity of specific beverages. Cider became the most popular alcoholic beverage consumed during the period, as it was simple to produce and the ingredients were readily available to colonists; Distilled spirits, such as brandy, were also commonly produced, largely from cider and other fermented fruits that were also readily available. Rum was also a popular beverage. British taxes on molasses at the onset of the American Revolution led directly to the declining popularity of rum; as a consequence, whiskey, made with American-grown ingredients, grew in popularity. Other alcoholic beverages, such as beer, were not produced in great numbers during the colonial era. This is mainly because the ingredients needed for the production of beer were not grown in significant amounts, as Maryland emphasized the production of tobacco at the expense of most other potential crops; the emphasis and centrality of tobacco above all other crops can be seen in the usage of tobacco as legal tender. As a consequence, there was little grain production that could be used to fuel beer production. Attempts were also made during the colonial era at introducing a wine culture to Maryland; however, these attempts all failed. This section analyzes in-depth the impact of the tobacco monoculture as well as legislative regulations that impacted the development of Maryland's alcohol industry during the colonial era.

Tobacco's Dominance in the Maryland Economy

During the early colonial period, settlers were faced with heavy forestation, "and the efforts required to clear enough land to grow grain proved a difficult and costly undertaking. Add to this the need to construct malt houses, and the entire process of brewing beer would prove to be an overly extravagant undertaking" (Priebe and Priebe 2015:40). By 1676, there were no malthouses at all in Maryland. "Planters, chiefly engaged in raising tobacco, saw no inducement to plant barley or any other cereal, beyond what they

needed to make bread with." Small planters and the poor brewed small beer from corn, commonly referred to as "Indian corn," which was "dried in common stoves, and from molasses mixed with bran" (Thomann 1887a:79).

Tobacco dominated the Maryland economy, to the detriment of almost all other crops. Maryland planters, both large-scale and small scale, predominantly grew tobacco due to its prevalence as a cash crop. Notably, tobacco was "the only crop with a fully developed marketing network extending from England to the Chesapeake" (Carr et al. 1984:24). There was a ready market in England for tobacco, and it was easily shipped across the Atlantic, usually arriving in fine condition. Plantation owners sought cheap labor for tobacco, and increasingly participated in the buying and selling of enslaved persons; the rate of enslavement in Maryland increased as a direct result of the tobacco monoculture. Tobacco was a labor-intensive crop, and was most commonly produced by enslaved children and adults (Cotton 1998).

The importance of tobacco in colonial Maryland can be seen in its usage as currency. By 1635, planters were receiving between four and six pence per pound of tobacco, up from a penny per pound only a few years earlier; "Such a dramatic increase in profitability was a large inducement to Maryland settlers to abandon all other forms of agriculture in favor of growing tobacco" (Carr et al. 1984:24). In 1639, it was estimated that Maryland exported 100,000 pounds of tobacco, an average of more than 600 pounds for each male old enough to engage in production (Carr et al. 1984:22). As a means of ensuring adequate food stores, the Maryland General Assembly adopted Virginia's two-acre rule. Each tobacco planter, therefore, had to also grow at least two acres of corn; livestock was also necessary (Carr et al. 1984:24).

Tobacco remained predominant in colonial Maryland's economy for well over one hundred years, into the eighteenth century. During the 1760s, tobacco prices dropped, which encouraged planters to begin experimenting with raising wheat. Tobacco had been fairly stable in price, and even increased at times throughout the 1740s and 1750s; however, throughout the early 1760s, fluctuations in the British economy (largely caused by the Seven Years' War) resulted in large planters struggling financially; as the decade continued, most tobacco farmers were in financial difficulty. Colonists primarily traded on credit, and therefore were in debt to British merchants. English banks collapsed in 1772, and merchants pressured planters to settle their accounts (Salmon and Salmon 2020). As tobacco was no longer a guaranteed cash crop, planters switched to wheat, which was significantly less labor intensive than tobacco; wheat and other grains were therefore less expensive to produce (American Battlefield Trust 2008).

Early Regulations on Alcoholic Beverages and on Locations of Alcohol Consumption in Maryland

The colonial government enacted a series of laws regarding the consumption of alcoholic beverages. These laws had different results depending on the purposes for which they were enacted. Early legislation also resulted in competing, and sometimes contradictory, goals. For example, the continued reliance of alcoholic beverages as a suitable substitute for safe drinking water resulted in a corresponding enactment of legislation to control the unwanted side effects of over indulgence, such as public drunkenness, crime, and death. Yet subsequent laws were aimed at increasing the consumption of alcohol through the elimination of select taxes or by eliminating barriers on where such beverages could be consumed.

The prevalence of alcohol in colonial America led to common issues of excessive drunkenness from the beginning of the colonial period. The Maryland General Assembly in 1638 attempted to curb public drunkenness. In Maryland, drunkenness was defined as "drinking with excess to the notable perturbation of any organ or sense of motion"; the penalty was a fine of five shillings. The penalty for "a servant found drunk" was corporal punishment or confinement in the stocks for 24 hours (Austin 1985:226). It is unclear how successful or widely-enforced this law was. By 1654, further regulations were adopted, including one in which all officers and magistrates "from the highest to the lowest" were required to bring drunken persons to trial and punishment; additionally, any citizen who saw an intoxicated person and

did not report it to a magistrate within three days was liable to a fine of 100 pounds of tobacco. This same fine was imposed on the families of those who permitted immoderate drinking in their homes. In order to render this regulation more effective than prior attempts at curbing public intoxication, half of the fine was ordered to be paid to whoever gave information leading to "the conviction of a drunkard" (Thomann 1887a:71-72).

In 1646, the General Assembly had imposed a duty upon "wines and ardent spirits." A tax on alcohol in this manner also appears to have been an attempt to regulate excessive drunkenness; raising prices on alcoholic beverages was seen as a method of preventing heavy drinking. However, the tax was argued to be oppressive in its impacts upon the colony's economy, and it was shortly thereafter suspended.

In 1658, further penalties for repeated drunkenness were adopted by the General Assembly, including physical punishments and disfranchisement. It was enacted that:

> he that shalbe [sic] lawfully convicted of drunkenness by two sufficient witnesses shall for the first offence [sic] be sett [sic] in the stocks six houres [sic], or pay one hundred pounds of tobacco, halfe [sic] to the informer and the other halfe [sic] to the Lord Proprietary; ffor [sic] the second offence [sic] to be publickly [sic] whipt [sic] or pay three hundred pounds of tobacco as aforesaid. Being the third time convicted as aforesaid, the offender shall be adjudged a person infamous, and thereby made uncapable [sic] of giving vote or bearing office during the space of three years next after such conviction (Thomann 1887a:72).

The idea of raising money off of alcohol regulations, as well as regulating drunkenness, appears to have been less important to the General Assembly than allowing industry to grow within the colony; "The policy of the proprietary aimed at the encouragement of commercial intercourse by granting the greatest practicable freedom from taxes and duties" (Thomann 1887a:73). By 1662, the General Assembly of Maryland passed a law to encourage the establishment of inns,[4] with such businesses being granted special licenses to be among the only places permitted to sell alcoholic beverages in a district. In so doing, the sale of alcohol would be contained to specific areas, with the idea being that vice would be lessened. Additionally, the establishment of taverns would be thusly encouraged; "Like other colonies, Maryland [sought] to encourage innkeeping, brewing, distilling, and trade" (Austin 1985:249). In essence, the General Assembly viewed taverns as absolutely necessary for the development of the colony. During this period, a tavern existed to support the political, economic, and social development of an area; taverns met the needs of travelers and community members, and provided food, drink, and entertainment, as well as space for the community to meet. Expanded information on the role of taverns as a property type will be discussed later in this chapter. The existence of taverns in the far reaches of the colony also spurred further development of less-settled areas, as travelers had a location to stop at; increased travel in an area could also spur development of communities and towns.

Taverns additionally benefitted the local economy, and provided safe places for travelers to stay and obtain food and drink. Generally, tavernkeepers produced the alcohol they sold, rather than relying solely upon commercially produced alcohol or imported beverages. By 1666, however, frequent complaints about tavernkeepers' high

4 "Tavern," "inn," and "ordinary" have been used interchangeably throughout this report; all three words have been used in American history to identify spaces in which community members and travelers could go to for food and drink, social gatherings, shelter, political meetings, etc. Author Elise Lathrop noted in her book *Early American Inns and Taverns* (1926) that the terms were largely geographically based: "The name tavern was usually given in New England and New York State; in Pennsylvania, inn was more common; in the South, ordinary was the general term" (viii). However, the general usages of these terms do not indicate firm, fixed rules, particularly in a border area such as Maryland. Furthermore, as stated in *American Law Reports Annotated* (1922): "The distinction, as respects inn and tavern keepers, observed in England under the common law, does not exist with [America], and different names are applied to them, though "hotel" and "house" are usually and commonly used to denote a higher order of public houses than an ordinary tavern or inn… the words "inn" and "tavern" as used in the statue for the regulation of taverns, etc. (1 Rev. Stat. 2d ed. 676) are synonymous" (Rich et al. 1922:520).

prices finally convinced the colonial legislature to replace the law encouraging taverns by "an act limiting ordinary-keepers." This act simply fixed the prices of food and drink, as "ordinary-keepers frequently exacted excessive rates for their drinks, victuals and lodging" (Thomann 1887a:73-74). Punishments for high-charging tavernkeepers included the loss of debts owed to them (i.e., money owed to tavernkeepers through credit) and a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco, half being paid to the informer. This punishment would have been severe for a tavernkeeper, as a significant portion of colonial business operated upon credit, due, in part, to a lack of physical money present within the colonies. Credit was present in nearly all forms of trade, at local, national, and international levels; critically, "domestic forms of credit were relatively long-term instruments that allowed individuals to consume beyond current means" (Flynn 2008). Credit allowed for goods and services to continue when money was scarce or times were hard; the removal of debts owed to tavernkeepers would have meant the removal of a significant portion (if not all) of their profits.

Tavernkeepers, in resistance to this regulation, began refusing to accept payment on credit, which planters preferred. This forced the General Assembly in 1671 to fix the price of drinks, food, and lodging in money, and also made tobacco a sort of legal tender, as "money was very scarce and hard to come by" (Thomann 1887a:74-75). Additionally, the fixed prices greatly favored domestic beer and cider over foreign-made drinks, as the colony sought to encourage domestic manufacturing, of which there was relatively little (Thomann 1887a:76).

The 1671 act was found to have been a failure, and by 1674, a new regulation passed, stating that "noe [sic] rates of prices of anie [sic] accomodacons [sic] be set or ascertained, but such only as are of absolute necessity for sustaining and refreshing travelers, that is to say, man's *meat, beer and lodging*" (Thomann 1887a:76). Given these regulations, which often cut into a tavernkeepers' profits, a number of tippling houses (places where spirits are sold in violation of the law) began appearing throughout the colony. Also in 1674, the sale of liquors on Sunday was prohibited, with a penalty of 1,000 pounds of tobacco (Thomann 1887a:78). The act fixing the prices for food, beer, and lodging was renewed in 1676; "one meal was to cost no more than 10 lbs. of tobacco; a gallon of small beer, 10 lbs.; a gallon of strong beer, 20 lbs.; "a bed, with sheets," 4 lbs.; a peck of maize or oats, 12 lbs., and stable-room for one horse, 6 lbs." (Thomann 1887a:78). The same 1674 law prohibiting the sale of liquor on Sunday contained a clause "enjoining owners of orchards not to violate the said act", demonstrating that cider was a commonly made and sold commodity throughout the colony (Thomann 1887a:79).

The first import duty on alcohol was enacted in 1692. This import duty occurred at the same time that King William II and Queen Mary II declared Maryland a royal colony as opposed to a proprietary province; the import duty was intended to be used for "discharging the arrears of the proprietary's government, repairing court-houses and prisons, increasing the salaries of the justices of the provincial courts, and paying an agent to represent the province in England" (Thomann 1887a:79). At the same time, the licensing of taverns was further regulated in order to limit the number of drinking-places in each county and in attempt to suppress tippling houses. By 1704, the import duty was reduced, though the importation of malt, beer, flour, bread, "Indian corn," and other goods from Pennsylvania was prohibited, and an import duty of spirits from Pennsylvania was enacted. The year 1704, then, "marks the re-beginning of legislative efforts to stimulate commercial and industrial enterprises. For the supply of those articles, the importation of which was prohibited, Maryland depended to a great extent upon Pennsylvania, and the prohibitory act was doubtless intended to promote domestic milling and malting, and the planting of cereals" (Thomann 1887a:79-80).

The Maryland General Assembly also prohibited selling alcohol to Native Americans, servants, and sailors. Bringing liquor to a Native American town, or even within three miles of such a town, would bring a fine of 5,000 pounds of tobacco. Vendors were not to sell to any Native American more than one gallon of wine, brandy, or spirits, or five gallons of cider within the space of one day; the penalty for violating this was 3,000 pounds of tobacco (Thomann 1887a:81).

Alcohol Production during the Colonial Era

Alcohol production in colonial Maryland was largely done by individual colonists, in their homes or farms, in order to meet their familial or community alcohol needs. Most common was the production of cider, as the process and ingredients were easy to obtain; some colonists, who were able to afford distilling equipment, were able to produce distilled spirits, including brandy, and whiskey, while rum was commonly imported from other colonies or the Caribbean. Beer was also produced in the colony, but at negligible amounts, due largely to a lack of traditional ingredients, particularly hops. Attempts at wine making were few in number, and all ended in failure before a wine culture could be developed within the state. This section illustrates that alcohol production in colonial Maryland was largely homemade and for personal consumption; a commercial industry was unable to take root in the largely scattered colonial Chesapeake (Figure 3.1).

Cider Production in Colonial Maryland

The production of cider during the colonial era was so common due to the relative ease of production (see Chapter 2 for a more thorough discussion), as well as the ready availability of ingredients needed for its production. Alcohol production during the seventeenth century Chesapeake increasingly resembled the production of rural England in the sixteenth century, "where women produced cider and unhopped ale" (Meacham 2013:25). Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the rest of the Atlantic world had masculinized alcohol production, largely due to improved technological practices that were generally unavailable in the Chesapeake. While other colonies in America saw the masculinization of cidering during the colonial era, women in the Chesapeake were able to expand their cidering practices. This was due to three factors: "the Chesapeake's immigration patterns, its widely scattered population, and its tobacco monoculture" (Meacham 2013:24-26). Since most immigrants to the early Chesapeake came from England, they replicated English traditions, including that of women making cider and brewing beer. The impact of the tobacco monoculture and scattered town development upon alcoholic beverage production and consumption is discussed more in-depth earlier in this chapter.

Cider was produced easily from apples or other fruit; its production was no different from other staples that comprised the colonial diet. Cider also had the additional benefit of being calorie dense, and provided colonists much-needed calories that were often missing from their diets. Cider season commonly began with the August apple harvest, and final barrels would be racked in March; cider did not have a long shelf life, and supplies quickly dwindled for most small planters during the spring and summer months (Priebe and Priebe 2015:41). Generally, the efforts of women in small-planter households (loosely defined as farms of less than 200 acres) would be enough to fulfill their household's alcohol needs from late July through December (Priebe and Priebe 2015:41). Large-scale cider production required a cellar, cooperage, and a set of specialized tools; small planters typically had access to none of these. In order to make surplus cider, planters also had to have access to multiple secure barrels, requiring proximity to a cooper (Meacham 2013:56-57).

Production of Distilled Spirits in Colonial Maryland

Abundant sources of appropriate fruit and the relative ease in which brandies could be made resulted in their wide-spread production. Brandy production often followed the production of cider, as brandy could be produced from cider, and had a longer shelf-life that meant colonists could retain access to alcoholic beverages even when cider season was over. Rums and whiskeys also were produced during the period. The quality and price of the products varied depending on where the beverages were made; additionally, British and early American taxes and trade policies ultimately affected the availability and ease of purchase of rum and whiskey. Legislative intervention by the British prior to the American Revolution, combined with a growing patriotic concept, led to the decline of rum's popularity as a beverage, and the subsequent rise in popularity of whiskey.

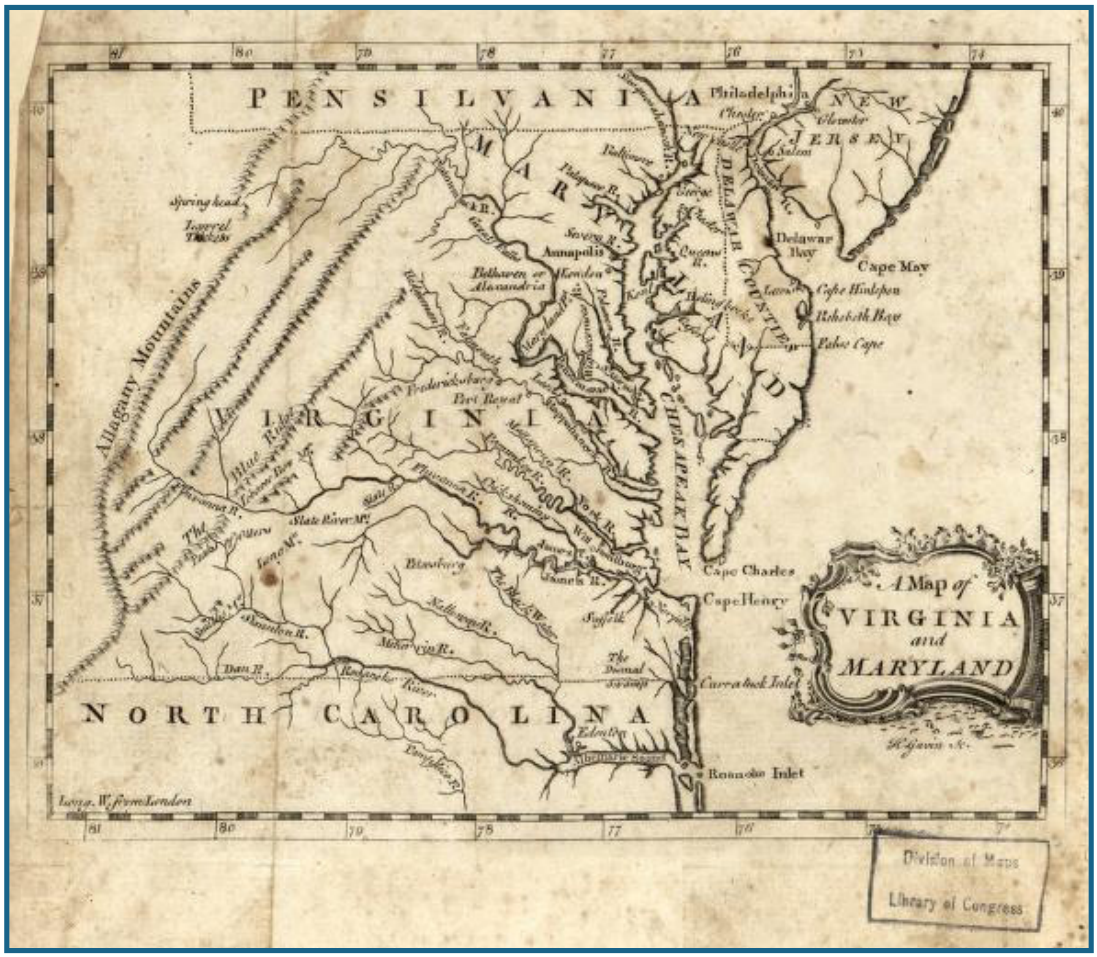


Figure 3.1 A map of Virginia and Maryland (Source: Gavin, H. 1767)

Brandy Production in Colonial Maryland

As an anonymous traveler in Maryland recorded in 1705-1706, alcohol distillation was an important aspect of colonial life, with spirits often being shared amongst neighbors and local community members (sometimes, likely, more than the distiller wanted to share in the first place):

> all sorts of aple Peare Cherry Quinces [are here] in great quantity and innumerable Quantities [of] Peaches to that degree that they knock downe Bushells at a time for there hogs, besides what vast quantity they still and make a very good spirit off nott much inferior to Brandy and they also distill a great quantity of Brandy from sider … they are so Generous… that as long as he has any: for if they know a Man has a Gallon of Brandy by him they will goe halfe a dozen honest ffelows to pay a visitt and never leave him till all be out tho the goe tenn Miles [sic] (Quoted in Toogood 1969:89).

Brandy production was often conducted alongside cider production, as many types of brandies were produced from the distillation of ciders; applejack, for example, was a popular type of brandy, produced from the distillation of apple cider (Crews 2007). Brandy, as a distilled spirit, had a longer and more stable shelf-life than cider, and could be used as a substitute for cider, particularly when the cidering season was over and colonists' stores ran low. Small planters, who often lacked the ability to purchase distilling equipment, were often able to purchase surplus brandy from wealthy neighbors to make it through until the next cidering season.

Distilled spirits required significantly more equipment and expertise to produce than cidering; the production of spirits is discussed further in Chapter 2. When distillation was conducted by farmers, it was typically very small and seasonally operated, designed to distill whatever excess crops were produced that could be spared (Priebe and Priebe 2015:44; Pickerell 2018:1). However, distillation "ultimately made good economic sense since the spirits kept longer, were more potent – thereby taking up less space per serving – and, as a result, were more easily transported and at greater distances" (Priebe and Priebe 2015:44).

Rum Importation in Colonial Maryland

Rum quickly became the most widespread spirit in the American colonies. While rum was popular among the American colonies, archival research does not indicate that the spirit was produced in massive quantities in colonial Maryland. Rather, rum appears to have been imported from the American northeast and, to a lesser extent, the Caribbean. By 1770, the American colonies had more than 140 rum distilleries, which made around 4.8 million gallons annually, largely concentrated in the Northeast. This was in addition to the 3.78 million gallons imported annually. American rum was largely acknowledged to be inferior to Caribbean rum, though the domestic product was significantly cheaper and easier to acquire. Domestic prices were so low, almost everyone could afford rum; some estimates state that during the 1770s, the average adult male may have consumed as much as three pints weekly (Crews 2007).

However, British taxes and Revolutionary fervor lowered the popularity of rum in the colonies. Molasses, used in the production of rum, had been regulated by the British parliament for over a century prior to the Revolution; these regulations were commonly ignored. The English Navigation Acts (1651, 1660) originally restricted the colonial molasses trade to be with only fellow English colonies. American merchants, however, openly flouted these laws by smuggling cheaper molasses, predominantly from French colonies such as Saint Domingue (Haiti). With the 1733 Molasses Act, Britain imposed further legislation aimed at limiting colonial access to foreign molasses; large-scale smuggling became even more common as a result. The Molasses Act was anticipated to raise 250,000 pounds per year, though in 1735, British officials only collected 259 pounds in total. In 1764, the Sugar Act was passed by the British Parliament, which lowered taxation on molasses from six pence to three, but gave the British Navy immense power to crush smuggling: when the Navy discovered any contraband, they were permitted to seize half of the findings (Niekrasz n.d.).

Adoption and enforcement of the legislation governing rum production greatly impacted domestic rum distillation, which predominantly occurred in the Northeast. The Sugar Act also retained a high duty on foreign refined sugar and taxed numerous additional foreign products, including wine. Furthermore, the passage of the Currency Act in the same year banned colonial paper currency, and required the tax to be paid in gold and silver (Triber n.d.). Beyond inspiring outrage and being one of the justifications for the split from England, the taxation and crackdown on smuggling made rum more expensive and harder for the average person to obtain.

Whiskey Production in Colonial Maryland

While rum consumption remained high, due in part, to low prices, Americans before and after the American Revolution began increasing their consumption of distilled spirits such as whiskey. A number of factors contributed to the increase in consumption, including the aforementioned tax on molasses, and the increasing number of Scots-Irish immigrants during the years before the American Revolution. The Scots-Irish brought with them a cultural tradition of whiskey-making (Crews 2007). Lacking the raw material needed to produce rum at the massive colonial scale, Americans turned to domestic whiskey as a new preferred spirit. After the conflict, whiskey became even more popular as a new sense of American identity grew and patriots sought homemade alcohol without British ties. Additionally, as discussed earlier in the chapter, by the mid-eighteenth century, Maryland agriculture had diversified to include the promi-

nent production of grains, such as wheat and rye, which allowed farmers to begin distilling grain in larger quantities.

Whiskey had been made in America before the conflict, though it was most commonly only produced by farmers with excess grain, and did not have a modicum of the popularity that rum did. This changed when British taxes and, later, the Revolutionary War, made rum prices increase, as discussed in the preceding section. Moved either by patriotic duty or fiscal necessity, Americans largely turned away from rum as one of their beverages of choice (Theobald n.d.).

During the fifty years prior to the American Revolution, approximately one quarter of a million Scots-Irish immigrants came to the American colonies, making them the largest immigrant group of the century. The Scots-Irish brought their traditions of whiskey distilling to the colonies (Theobald n.d.). The origin of whiskey is fiercely debated, but likely originated within the shared Celtic heritage of the Irish and the Scots, with knowledge and techniques being exchanged between the two to contribute to the development of the spirit (Roth 2024).

Many of the Scots-Irish who came to what would become the U.S. settled in Maryland, Pennsylvania, western Virginia, and western North Carolina; these areas became "hot spots" for distilled spirits, predominantly whiskey (Crews 2007). However, Scots-Irish Marylanders typically distilled rye whiskey, as their cultural preference for barley was not well-suited to the Maryland climate; this preference for rye in Maryland is discussed further in Chapter 4. Along with a cultural preference towards whiskey, Scots-Irish immigrants brought with them their distilling traditions and practices, which became almost standard in some places for the production of whiskey; these traditions are discussed more in-depth in Chapter 2.

Beer and Brewing in Colonial Maryland

By the mid-eighteenth century, Maryland experienced agricultural expansion and diversification, as discussed earlier in this Chapter. This led to a turn towards grain production over tobacco cultivation, which, in turn, allowed for the production of grain surpluses. Grain surpluses allowed for beer to begin being produced in larger quantities. Throughout the eighteenth century, commercial breweries began to appear throughout Maryland. However, these commercial breweries did not differ vastly from homebrewing operations; a brewery was defined by the equipment inside, rather than the physical building itself. A commercial brewery, then, differed from homebrewing mainly in the concept of scale of production which often led to larger spatial and equipment needs. With the onset of the American Revolution, commercial brewers began producing beer for Continental soldiers; however, boycotts against British imports, such as hops, slowed the commercial brewing industry, as traditionally used ingredients in beer production were made unavailable.

<u>Types of Colonial Beer</u>

Beer can be divided into three categories: stout (dark beer with a high alcohol content), lager (a light form of beer produced by yeast activated at low temperature [40 degrees F]), and ale (in between a stout and a lager, and ferments at about 60 degrees F). Due to the more easily maintained temperatures, as well as English brewing tradition, ale was the beer of choice throughout early America (National Park Service [NPS] 2015]). Standard colonial beers fell into four general types:

> It was a common practice until well into the nineteenth century to refer to "strong beer," "table beer," "ship's beer" and "small beer." These were distinctions of strength, depending on the amount of time the malt was allowed to boil or steep in hot water, and also the alcoholic content. "Small beer" was the weakest and meant to be drunk immediately after being brewed. The strongest beers, in both taste and alcoholic content, were those which kept best (Baron 1962:16).

Producing a drinkable beer in the colonies was especially labor intensive, and things could go wrong from batch to batch. For example, malting barley was an exceedingly difficult process for even experienced brewers, and was often

best left to a professional maltster; entire batches of beer could be spoiled by the accidental introduction of foreign yeasts or bacteria present in the air and local environment; temperature fluctuations during boiling and cooling could further impact the final brew. Ingredients for colonial beer typically included:

- water, preferably water with a "pleasing taste";
- grain, such as barley, corn, oats, wheat, or rye, which gave the beverage body and had to be malted (sprouted and dried in kilns) before being added to the mixture;
- sugar of some type, typically molasses or honey, which would provide nourishment to the yeast;
- and hops (the fruit of a vinelike plant related to the mulberry tree), which gave the beer its scent and flavor.[5]

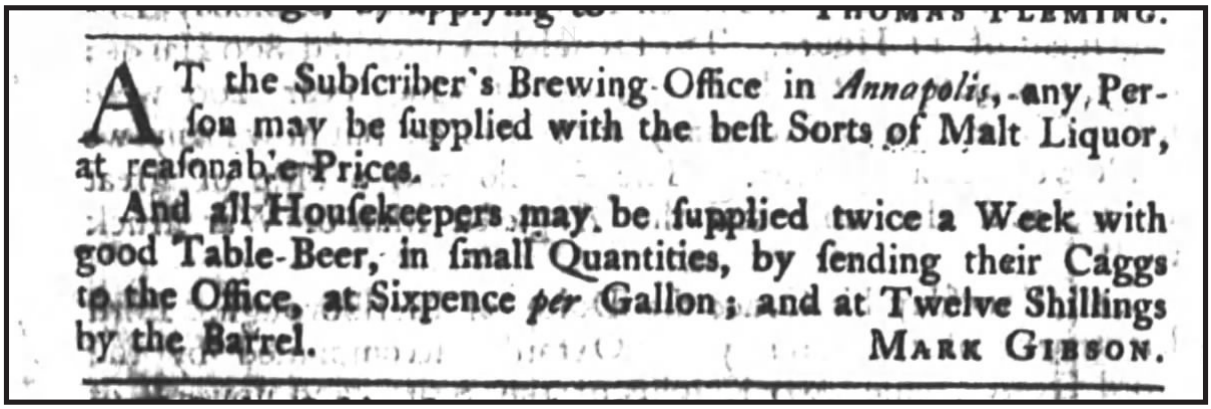
However, it must be noted, that substitutions were common depending upon what was available to brewers; whether homebrewers or commercial brewers. These general ingredients would be brewed and fermented together to make beer as the colonists were able. Chapter 2 provides a more in-depth discussion on the beer production process.

5 The production of un-hopped beer also occurred in the colonial Chesapeake; notably, hops were difficult to grow in the region. The lack of hops production in colonial Maryland is discussed later in this section.

Origins of Commercial Brewing in Colonial Maryland

As the population of Maryland increased throughout the eighteenth century, new industries began to appear, including the first commercial breweries. While commercial breweries began appearing in Maryland throughout the eighteenth century, they were still relatively few in number. Between 1703 and 1791, 14 known breweries existed in Maryland, largely in Anne Arundel, Frederick, Queen Anne's, and Charles counties, as well as Baltimore City; this number would drastically increase during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Spray 2024). Without refrigeration, however, commercial attempts to sell beer were relatively local, and oftentimes short-lived, as wheat-based beer spoiled quickly and were harder technically to make than fruit ciders (Meacham 2013:86-87).

The first commercial brewery in Maryland was constructed in 1703 by Benjamin Fordham, located in Annapolis on Prince George's Street. The brewery appears to have been somewhat successful, resulting in Fordham being a vast landowner upon his 1717 death (the brewery had closed one year earlier) (O'Prey 2018:8; Spray 2024). Mark Gibson opened a brewery, likely at the same location as Fordham, in 1746, which is believed to be the first advertised brewery in Maryland (*The Maryland Gazette* 1746; Figure 3.2). Gibson advertised prices at sixpence per gallon and twelve shillings per barrel of table beer. However, Gibson faced competition in the form of a brewery oper-


AT the Subſcriber's Brewing-Office in *Annapolis*, any Perſon may be ſupplied with the beſt Sorts of Malt Liquor, at reaſonable Prices.

And all Houſekeepers may be ſupplied twice a Week with good Table-Beer, in ſmall Quantities, by ſending their Caggs to the Office, at Sixpence *per* Gallon; and at Twelve Shillings by the Barrel.

MARK GIBSON.

Figure 3.2. Newspaper advertisement from The Maryland Gazette, 1746 (Source: The Maryland Gazette 1746)

ated by John Muschett of Charles County, which opened in Port Tobacco ca. 1745. Both businesses were hurt by the other's competition, and both were unsuccessful (O'Prey 2018:8-9).

The first brewery in Baltimore was established in 1748, on the corners of Hanover and Baltimore streets, by John Leonard Barnitz, a German immigrant. John Barnitz's "first brewery was in York, the second in Hanover, Pa., and the third in Baltimore, Md., where he and his son, Elias Daniel Barnitz, bought Lot No. 27 from Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Md." (Torrence 1961:9).

Ultimately, commercial breweries were not vastly different from homebrewing operations. The process to brew beer remained relatively the same, whether it was conducted in a private home or commercial business. The major distinction between homebrewing and commercial brewing would be the larger brewery space and larger quantities of equipment needed to aid in the expanded production of beer. As discussed, the brewing process generally remains the same and consists of a successive process of mashing, boiling, cooling, fermenting, and cleansing, and is discussed further in Chapter 2 (Byrn 1852:24). Each step requires specific equipment and/or storage facilities. In order to produce beer, a brewer needed the ability to house the malt, malt-mill, scale-hopper, mashing-tuns, and hop-jack. Early commercial breweries generally were housed in modest buildings, many of which were of frame construction and open to accommodate certain quantities of equipment. In turn, brewing equipment could be located in barns and dwellings to support homebrewing in smaller quantities (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:135). Any single person or business could brew beer, provided they had the equipment, ingredients, and knowledge to do so. Therefore, it appears that the largest difference between homebrewing operations and early commercial breweries is the scale of production; breweries, brewing for a commercial market, had a significantly larger output than a private person brewing for their family and immediate community.

As the American Revolution dawned, colonists began to make changes as to how they produced and consumed alcohol. Archival research suggests that hops in particular were difficult for Marylanders to source, due to the specific growing conditions needed for the *Humulus lupulus* flower to thrive. Maryland farmers were unable to effectively grow hops, causing brewers to rely upon their importation (Spray 2024). As Revolutionary fervor grew, colonists were encouraged to cease importation and grow their own hops. The wealthy were encouraged to stop importing British beer, as well. In 1774, the First Continental Congress made a nonconsumption agreement, in which colonists agreed to abstain from consuming British goods. This was commonly known as the Continental Association, and encouraged colonists to exercise frugality and cease trade with Great Britain. Maryland was one of the first colonies to direct "every person in the province" to implement the Continental Association (National Archives n.d.). These actions resulted in shortages throughout the colonies, and there was a push to increase domestic production at all levels.

Maryland contributed substantially to the Revolutionary War effort through the production of food and drink for the Continental Army (Reed 2011:26). Mid-Maryland at this time was characterized by the economic domination of grain production, and became a major grain and flour producer; Maryland was assigned a (unenforceable) quota for supplying foodstuffs for the Continental Army, which included 20,000 barrels of flour, 200 tons of hay, and 56,000 bushels of corn, reflecting the agricultural wealth of the region (though it did not meet this quota). This quota was meant to be proportional, based upon the colony's population and agricultural wealth. The significant amount asked of Maryland, then, demonstrates the agricultural ability of the region during the time (Reed 2011:25-26). Alcohol was demanded both by citizen consumers, as well as the Continental Army, which needed beverages for its soldiers. Beer was preferred for soldiers' rations, as the alcohol content was lower than rum, and (theoretically) kept troops more orderly (Backus 2021).

Multiple breweries were established in Maryland with the goal of supplying the Continental Army; one such brewery, owned by Thomas Peters, was constructed in Baltimore, on King George Street (now East Lombard), along the Jones Falls (Maryland Historical Trust n.d.).

The brewery was constructed in 1784. Peters had served in the Continental Army, retiring shortly before the war's end, and believed "in the necessity of constructing the largest Brewery in America to supply American and French troops with their beer rations" (O'Prey 2018:19; Maryland Historical Trust n.d.). The Woodyard is another example of a brewer supplying beer to the Continental Army. The Woodyard, located in Prince George's County on a plantation known as Darnall's Delight, was owned by Stephen West and his wife, Hannah. West purchased the Woodyard in 1765 and immediately began constructing a brewery. Stephen West was a noted enslaver; at the time of his death, Stephen West owned 116 people. The labor done to construct, operate, and support the Woodyard plantation and its associated brewery was conducted by the enslaved population of the Woodyard (*Antebellum Plantations in Prince George's County, Maryland* n.d.:100). With the outbreak of war, West used the labor of the enslaved to supply the Continental Army with beer.

By the end of the eighteenth century, cookbook authors addressed the challenge of manufacturing beer without the traditionally necessary ingredients (i.e., hop and barley).[6] These books suggested appropriate substitutions for ingredients that continued to remain difficult to acquire. Amelia Simmons' *American Cookery* (1796), for example, was the first cookbook written by an American, using ingredients available to Americans, contained information of producing alcohol. Simmons wrote her treatise for "the improvement of the rifing [sic] generation of *Females* in America" (Simmons 1796:3). Simmons' recipe for spruce beer contained hops, water, molasses, and "essence of spruce", obtained by boiling the young fresh shoots of a spruce tree and reducing the liquid to a concentrated extract (Kelly 2014). Spruce could be used in the production of beer in place of hops, and was commonly used until the production of hops in America became more common (Spray 2024).

6 Research suggests that the earliest Maryland cookbooks (referring to cookbooks written by Marylanders, about Maryland-specific styles of cooking, or cookbooks published in Maryland) were not published until the late nineteenth century.

Attempted Production of Wine in Colonial Maryland

Maryland did not develop a robust wine industry until the late twentieth century (the development of the Maryland wine industry is discussed further in Chapter 7). However, attempts to produce wine began as early as the colonial era. These early attempts at wine production were few in number, and were all unsuccessful. During the colonial era, colonists attempted to cultivate grapes in Maryland and subsequently struggled to find grapes that could be successfully grown. Small amounts of wine were made in colonial Maryland, and typically consisted of the fermented juices of fruits that were able to be successfully cultivated in the colony, though these wines were not typically made of grapes, and were considered instead to be "fruit wines" or "country wines."

The earliest mention of wine production in what became Maryland dates back to 1648, to Tenis Palee, a Frenchman and member of the failed New Albion colony, which stretched from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Palee was said to have made eight different types of wine from four different grapes, including Muscat grapes. Little is known about Palee or his vinicultural processes (Mc Carthy 2012:17). A short time later, in 1662, Lord Baltimore endeavored to plant grape vines for the specific purpose of wine production. The archival record is unclear regarding the success of these efforts. Some sources state that 300 acres of vines were planted that all died, while others state that the vines died in transit from Europe and were therefore never planted (Mc Carthy 2012:17-18).

By 1756, Colonel Benjamin Tasker, Jr. achieved a modicum of success at grape growing and winemaking. Tasker planted a small, two-acre vineyard at the estate known as Belair, the home of his sister, in Prince George's County. Tasker grew the Alexander grape, which had been discovered fifteen years earlier by James Alexander, outside of Philadelphia (Mc Carthy 2012:17-18). Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe (in office 1753-1758) referenced this vinicultural development in a letter, writing:

> There hath been no Burgundy made in Maryland since my arrival except two or

> three hogsheads which Col Tasker made in 1759 this was much admired by all that tasted it in the months of February and March following, but in a week or two afterwards it lost both its Colour & Flavour so that no person would touch it & the ensuing winter [1760] being a severe one destroyed almost all the Vines (Quoted in Mc Carthy 2012:18).

One year after the "devastating winter" of 1760, Colonel Tasker died at the age of forty. In 1770, Charles Carroll, signer of the Declaration of Independence, had vineyards planted at Doughoregan Manor, his family estate, near Ellicott City. Four grape varieties were planted: Rhenish, Virginia grape, Claret, and Burgundy (Mc Carthy 2012:18). Carroll, an enslaver, almost certainly used his enslaved labor force for the planting and production of grapes. By 1773, an inventory listed Carroll as the owner of 330 enslaved individuals (Maryland Center for History and Culture [MCHC] n.d.a). The grape varieties planted were able to be maintained for roughly twenty years and is a rare example of a successful vineyard operated in the colony.

Associated Property Types

Very few property types associated with the production, manufacture, and distribution of alcoholic beverages in Maryland during the colonial period are likely to survive. The production of spirits was hampered by a lack of available raw materials, namely grains and hops. To a lesser extent, trade and tax policies affected access to the raw materials necessary for the production of alcohol and how and where it could be consumed. Consequently, most alcoholic beverages were produced at a small scale that generally was for family consumption. The equipment necessary to make these products included stills, mashing tuns, boils and casks, among others, that could be easily stored in familiar, every-day buildings such as barns, outbuildings, and the basements of houses. The finished product could be kept in cool places like spring houses or cellars. In general, specialized buildings for the manufacture and storage of alcoholic beverages were not necessary because the scale of production did not warrant such facilities. Few of these early, first, generation buildings are likely to exist. Association of such buildings with alcohol production may be difficult to ascertain.

While commercial brewers, for example, were established during the colonial era, they remained few in number and operated out of simple, frame buildings. During the colonial era, the closest variation of a commercial brewery would have resembled domestic architecture. As depicted in Figure 3.3, the brewery operated by William Penn, an influential Quaker who resided in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, closely resembled the domestic architecture of the period. As discussed, a commercial brewery is defined by the equipment and not the building. With most alcoholic beverages produced during the colonial period, the demand, capacity, and technology did not exist to require the construction of large-scale, use-specific buildings. As a result of the domestic architecture employed by breweries during the colonial era, the property type is not easily differentiated from housing of the period, particularly once all equipment has been removed. Taverns and inns, as a result, may represent the only surviving property types associated with the colonial period. An exploration of the laws governing the establishment of colonial era taverns provides a basis for understanding their roles in colonial Maryland society. These buildings likely assumed a domestic appearance; primary source materials such as archival maps, property assessment records, and deeds made yield information on building use.

Taverns and Inns

The tavern in Colonial America, sometimes referred to as the "ordinary", was a staple in the lives of colonists from almost the very beginning of the colonial project. Taverns quickly began to serve many roles in daily life. Taverns served travelers food and drink, functioned as a circuit court for traveling judges, and provided the social center for the local community. Taverns also became centers of commerce, and tavernkeepers often became some of the wealthiest members of the community (North American Brewers Association 2000). Some taverns sold wine and beer, while others also sold spirits; most offered meals, and, additionally:

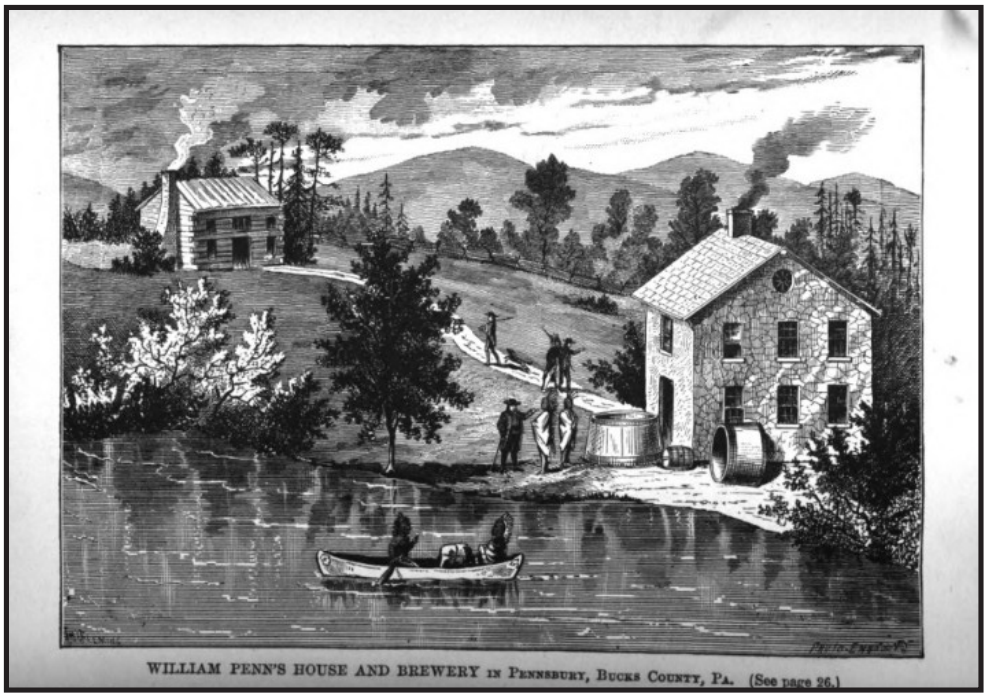


Figure 3.3 The Brewery of William Penn (Source: Salem 1880)

> All were supposed to have nighttime accommodations for people and horses. Some owners constructed their establishments specifically to be public houses; others tacked a sign on the door of their houses and opened for business. Some tavern keepers operated successful enterprises, while others ran much more on hope than profit. Some taverns catered primarily to society's elite, while most invited a multitude and mixture of people. However, the precise form did not alter the fundamental role of the tavern – to provide a place where individuals or groups could gather to eat and drink, talk, sing, argue, conduct business, play games of chance, or while away the hours (Salinger 2002:6-7).

The first tavern in Colonial America is largely considered to have been opened by Samuel Cole in Boston in 1634; shortly thereafter, demand for taverns swept through the remainder of the colonies. Taverns, ordinaries, and inns were the means by which town assemblies controlled the distribution of alcohol, through regulation as discussed earlier in this chapter. Early taverns largely were independent buildings, though they could also be located within or attached to private residential dwellings. Taverns were frequently designed to have different rooms, with the largest being the taproom, where the bar was located; upper-class taverns often had parlors attached to the taproom. Often, town taverns would also have rooms designated for the meetings of groups or assemblies and court proceedings (Struzinski 2002:29-31).

To run a tavern, a person simply needed to possess a license. Women tavern keepers were not uncommon; however, they typically were widows or unmarried. In fact, many colonists were outright encouraged to keep a tavern in order to benefit the wider community; "Inducements such as land grants, pastures for cattle, or exemption from school and church taxes were offered to [colonists] to keep a tavern" (Struzinski 2002:31). Taverns functioned somewhat differently in the southern colonies than in the north; since the southern population was more spread out, each plantation was, effectively, its own independent tavern. It was only in large cities that taverns independent from a plantation thrived (Struzinski 2002:32-33). However, "Paralleling the development of towns, the rural expansion of farms led to an increase in the need for rural taverns" (Struzin-

ski 2002:32). Therefore, despite the slow growth of tavern culture in Maryland, taverns began appearing throughout the colony by the end of the seventeenth century. By 1796, the first Baltimore City Directory recorded at least 98 taverns and inns (Priebe and Priebe 2015:70-72; see Volume 2, Appendix A). Because they catered to travelers, taverns typically were located along early toll roads or at the crossroads of transportation routes. They also were viewed as being significant in colonial development. William Penn, for example, believed taverns would speed the development of Philadelphia by "serving the needs of workmen and travelers and convincing settlers that Philadelphia was hospitable" (Struzinski 2002:312).

This increasing development also prompted an increased demand for readily available alcoholic beverages; however, the growing number of taverns across America made it impractical to rely upon a supply of imported alcohol from England (North American Brewers Association 2000). Taverns, then, often began to self-sufficiently produce their own beer in order to serve their patrons (Priebe and Priebe 2015:70-72). It is reasonable to assume that tavernkeepers brewed small beer, containing whatever ingredients they could source locally "unless they could obtain malt either from England, or from one of the other American colonies" (Thomann 1887a:79).

Conclusion

Alcohol in colonial Maryland was generally deemed a necessity; water could be dangerous to consume, and cultural traditions normalized frequent alcohol consumption. Despite the necessity of alcoholic beverages, the development of an industry dedicated to their production was relatively slow in Maryland; the most popularly produced alcoholic beverages during the colonial era consisted of cider, brandy, and rum. The slow development of the alcohol industry in Maryland partly can be attributed to the tobacco monoculture in the colonial Chesapeake; agriculture was centered firmly on the production of tobacco, to the detriment of other crops, which could have been used for the production of alcoholic beverages such as beer. The enactment of tax policies and legislative actions by the Maryland General Assembly and the British parliament also impacted the colony's alcohol industry; punishments for excessive drunkenness attempted to regulate behavior while drinking, as well as where alcohol was allowed to be sold, bought, and consumed, while taxes impacted the popularity of imported and domestically made beverages, such as rum, whiskey, and beer. The history of alcohol in colonial Maryland consisted primarily of small producers making alcohol for their families and immediate community, and their ability to produce certain types of alcohol was centered on agricultural availability and legislative policy. Property types specific to alcohol production were rare in colonial Maryland as production generally was limited to consumption by family and at times shared with neighbors. As a result, production and storage of alcoholic beverages were undertaken in a variety of existing property types including barns, outbuildings, and the basements of dwellings. One property type, the tavern, inn, or ordinary, has been identified as a specific building form used in support of the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages in colonial Maryland.

Chapter 4
Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries (1783-1861)

This chapter presents a summary overview of alcohol production in Maryland during the early republic and the antebellum era. This chapter is divided into three sections, some of which have subsections. The first section, Legislation Affecting the Alcohol Industry During the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, explores legislation enacted to regulate the alcohol industry nationally and state-wide, as well as legislation enacted to encourage the growth of a domestic alcohol industry. The second section, entitled Production of Alcohol in Maryland During the Early Republic and Antebellum Era, focuses on the production and changing popularity of cider, distilled spirits (of which whiskey was predominant), beer, and wine. The section illustrates how this era was a transitory period in Maryland alcohol production; the industry as a whole was moving from the small-scale, local manufacturing that had provided sufficient alcohol for family, friends, and the immediate community, to a more formal, industrialized production. This transition was largely caused by changes that led to a significant increase in the number of alcohol producers; these changes included improved technology, growing industrialization, and increased immigration. These factors combined to result in the onset of large-scale manufacturing with the onset of the Civil War. The chapter concludes with a section focused on the identification of property types associated with Maryland's early republic and antebellum era alcohol production.

Legislation Affecting the Alcohol Industry during the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

Legislation adopted by Congress and the state of Maryland affected the production of alcohol during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Alcohol production was rooted in public policy and the industries that federal and state governments wanted to support. By the mid-nineteenth century, for example, both California and Ohio offered incentives for the production of wine (Thomann 1887b:205). Throughout this period, legislation and taxation regarding both domestically-produced and imported alcoholic beverages was largely directed towards raising revenue for the nation and encouraging the growth of domestic industry, including agriculture and alcohol production. The legislative intention of the newly-formed U.S., then, was different from regulations passed by colonial governments, which oftentimes sought to restrict or eliminate public drunkenness through legislation and taxation, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The nascent U.S. government, at the behest of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, enacted two pieces of tax legislation that impacted the production and consumption of distilled spirits in the U.S. The first was An Act for Laying a Duty on Goods, Wares, and Merchandises Imported into the United States (adopted in 1790 but not applicable until 1791) and the second was the Distilled Spirits Tax of 1791 (Hoover 2020; Library of Congress n.d.a). These laws were enacted to help pay off the debt incurred during the American Revolution, and in the case of tariffs, to protect U.S. manufacturing and industry.

As a result of the 1790 legislation, rum, "spirituous liquors", molasses, and Maderia and other wines, along with select spices, would be subject to tariffs (Thomann 1887b:10). After considerable debate, Congress adopted "An Act for Laying a Duty on Goods, Wares, and Merchandises Imported into the United States, "which imposed duties on a variety of products including different types of liquor, and select products, such as molasses, used to produce alcoholic beverages. The legislation taxed imported distilled spirits of "Jamaica proof" regardless of the country from which it was imported; distilled spirits; molasses;

Maderia wine; other wines; beer, ale, and porters; cider; and malt (Thomann 1887b:22).

The 1791 legislation, which became known as the whiskey tax, created outrage because it was a direct tax on any one who produced distilled spirits. The whiskey tax applied to both private distilleries located on farms or in residences, as well as commercial distilleries. Commercial distilleries were largely defined by having been "granted distilling rights" with a primary goal of "distilling alcohol products and involve[ment] in local, and/or international trade"; commercial distilleries operated with a goal of producing alcohol beyond a household's need and the needs of the immediate local community (AMBRU Campaign n.d.). Commercial distilleries were businesses that hired workers and created revenue, whereas private stills were only run as needed by its owner. Therefore, there were significantly fewer commercial distilleries in the nineteenth century throughout the U.S. than there were private stills (AMBRU Campaign n.d.). Larger distillers who could pass on the additional cost to consumers were largely unaffected by the legislation. Smaller distillers, who mainly made alcohol for themselves and their neighbors, opposed the financial barriers imposed on their products (Hoover 2020). Three of Maryland's congressmen, Michael Stone, Joshua Seney (Figure 4.1), and William Smith, voted against this levy (GovTrack.us n.d.). The tax applied beyond a still's output. If a still were left idle (as many farmers and distillers did depending on the season), then the tax would apply to its potential capacity; therefore, the tax would still be levied, even if someone produced no whiskey at all in a year. Additionally, the tax required repayment in cash, meaning that "the new government gouged the people of the moneyless frontier, where barter was the custom" (Bready 1990:348). The whiskey tax led directly to the so-called "Whiskey Rebellion" (discussed further later in this chapter), as small-scale distillers were enraged at the almost-impossible barriers being placed upon their ability to produce whiskey. Upon Thomas Jefferson's election to the presidency in 1800, he reduced the whiskey tax to a minimal amount, which allowed for distilling throughout the nation to increase significantly (Priebe and Priebe 2015:76).

Spirits, wine, and beer continued to be taxed during the first two decades of the nineteenth century; however, the issues of taxation—which products should be taxed and by what amount—became intertwined with regional agricultural and manufacturing interests. At the end of the 1820s, the House Committee on Manufacture issued a report stating that liquors, such as whiskey, distilled from grains merited relief from taxation because the production of such spirits created a demand for domestic cereals, which in turn benefitted domestic agriculture (Thomann 1887b:164). Rum was produced in the New England states, whereas cereals were cultivated in the southern states. The committee concluded that the "distillation of rum produced an undue interference with the interests of domestic grain-growers," and therefore, higher taxes on molasses and imported spirits were warranted (Thomann 1887b:165). Various imported alcohols continued to be taxed at different rates to raise revenue for the country and to protect the country's agricultural industry (Thomann 1887b:175). Tax policy in the U.S. prior to the Civil War created conditions whereby whiskey essentially was left tax-free (Thomann 1887b:176).

Congress proactively adopted legislation that encouraged the production and/or the consumption of select types of alcohol. Examples of these policies included the sale of land to French immigrants under the condition that they cultivate grapes; and the imposition of duties on ales, beers, and porters, with the goal of discouraging the brewing industry (Thomann 1887b:177). According to Gallus Thomann, author of *Liquor Laws of the United States; Their Spirit and Effect*, between 1818 and 1857, whiskey was protected against competition and its manufacture was unrestricted (Gallus 1887:178).

This struggle over taxation resulted in the development of policies that favored the production of one type of spirit over another. The policy to support the production of whiskey rather than rum ultimately affected Maryland farmers. As discussed in Chapter 3, when tobacco became less profitable, farmers switched to the cultivation of small grains, namely wheat and rye. Both of these crops were integral for the production of whiskeys, in general, and Maryland ryes, specifically. A

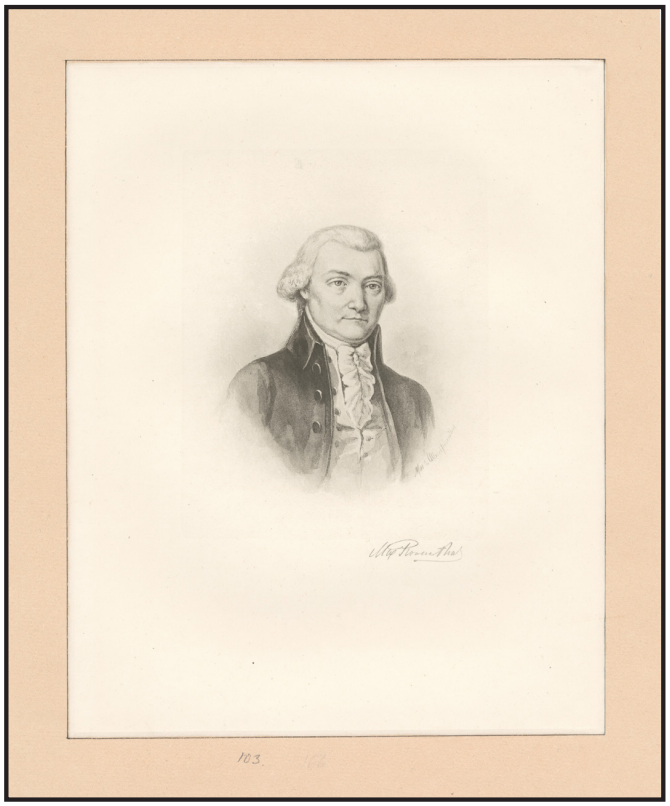


Figure 4.1 **Joshua Seney (Source: The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints, and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library)**

monograph on liquor laws in the U.S. suggests the grains cultivation was adopted for the purpose of supporting the distilled spirits industry. According to Gallus Thomann, distillation in grain-producing areas went hand-in-hand with cultivation. In fact, according to Thomann, farmers received more money from grains that could be extracted for alcohol than for the same quantity produced for food (Thomann 1887b:25). Thomann went so far as to posit that the early temperance movement started out as a mechanism to steer people to the right types of alcohol (so many people drank it during the period) rather than a movement that prohibited all sales and consumption (Thomann 1887b:26). Advocates for the beer industry implicitly associated temperance with beer. In his analysis of the economic impact of the beer industry on the country's economy, F.W. Salem presented a full-throated defense of beer by confirming the "value of malt beverages as aids to genuine temperance and useful friends to man". Indeed, the "only practical road to real temperance" was "beer against whisky (sic)" (Salem 1880:164-165) According to Thomann, taxes were not imposed as a deterrence, but as a way for the government to generate revenue because so many people drank alcoholic beverages (Thomann 1887b:31).

Within Maryland, debates over taxation and alcohol followed national trends. In 1854, for example, the Maryland House of Delegates referred a bill known as "An Act to Regulate the Sale of Distilled Spirits, and Intoxicating Liquors" to the committee on finance to produce a report. The proposed bill provided that "no distilled or intoxicating liquors shall be sold within the limits of the State except for medicinal, mechanical, artistic or sacramental uses, and only by persons appointed by the judges of the circuit courts for the several counties and the city of Baltimore; that there shall not be more than ten in each county and the city, each of whom shall pay the sum of fifty dollars on his appointment." The committee

found that the tax proposed by the bill would net an aggregate of $11,000 ($379,119.19 in 2023);[1] the revenue collected by the state from licenses to ordinaries and taverns in the prior fiscal year was $31,613.33 ($1,176,730.69 in 2023), indicating that the state treasury's financial loss would be more than $20,000 ($744,452.22 in 2023). Additionally, traders' licenses (which yielded $72,000 [$2,680,028 in 2023]) would also be affected, as smaller stores would not be maintained and larger stores would justifiably be entitled to a tax reduction, given that their profits were being intentionally cut (Farnandis 1854:1-5). Further financial hardships were reported to impact various aspects of Maryland life if the liquor trade were suddenly cut off throughout the state. In response to the idea that the bill would save money on almshouses and prisons, which were reported to be filled with "drunkards," the committee argued that it was illogical to assume that, had criminals been temperate in their alcoholic consumption, they would not commit crimes. Additionally, the committee questioned how the government would be able to truly ascertain the purpose for which alcohol would be wanted by a consumer, asking, "What superhuman wisdom can retrain the promptings of avarice?... The attempt would be nugatory, and all who desire will evade every wholesome intention of the law" (Farnandis 1854:5). The committee firmly argued against the law, asking to be discharged from the further consideration of the bill, stating:

> We do not believe that an exotic morality or civilization can be rooted in a community by law. Experience repudiates the attempt. To be of vigorous growth and endurance they must be indigenous to the soil, emanating from the sound sense, nourished by the innate virtue, and stimulated by the christian [sic] principles of the people (Farnandis 1854:7).

Production of Alcohol in Maryland During the Early Republic and Antebellum Era

Alcohol production in Maryland during the early republic and antebellum era was characterized by the beginnings of a transition from small-scale, local alcohol manufacturing to a developing, commercialized alcohol industry. As discussed in the previous section, legislation, both at a national and state level, served to invariably grow and stilt alcohol production. During this time period, cider declined in national popularity, from which it never recovered. Distilled spirits, mainly whiskey, began to be produced in large numbers, primarily by small-scale distillers on their own personal property, though commercial distilleries began appearing in the state during this time. Beer production, however, experienced the greatest changes during this period, and became a significantly more popular beverage. A combination of increased German immigration, the introduction of lager beer to a U.S. market, and the early temperance movement, which advocated drinking beer over distilled spirits, led to beer's rising prominence during this era. However, it would not be until after the Civil War that both Maryland-produced whiskey and beer would become nationally prominent. During this time period, as well, Maryland was the location of viniculturral developments and the cultivation of the popular Catawba grape; however, ultimately, Maryland would not develop a wine culture for another century. This section illustrates the transitional period of Maryland alcohol production, wherein alcohol production shifted, due to increased immigration and industrialization as a result of improved technology and transportation.

The Decline of Cider as the Beverage of Choice

Despite the popularity of cider as a beverage during the colonial era, its dominance as the most popular alcoholic beverage began to decline by the 1840s. By the mid-nineteenth century, the public associated cider drinking with a sense of nostalgia. This decline can be attributed to the burgeoning temperance movement and increased German immigration to the U.S., which led to the creation of a U.S. beer culture. By the mid-nineteenth century, cider production in the U.S. was negligible compared to the colonial era; cider never again held that level of popularity in public consumption.

Historians have posited a variety of explanations for the appearance of cider's declining pop-

1 The Westegg Inflation Calculator was used throughout this context (Friedman 2024).

ularity by the 1840s. There is no hard data as to the actual quantity of cider consumed. The archival record additionally presents differing views on the popularity of cider. While it is clear that colonial Americans drank the beverage, the extent to which it dominated consumer choice in the nineteenth century is unclear and the degree to which its consumption declined is difficult to quantify. However, it is apparent that the beverage's popularity declined. It appears that the reason for this gradual decline of cider was the result of multiple factors. Factors included the burgeoning temperance movement, which advocated for personal abstention from drinking as well as the prohibition of alcohol as a part of a progressive, social reform movement. Temperance (particularly in the early nineteenth century) argued for the drinking of beer as opposed to distilled spirits, as beer had less alcohol. At the same time, increased immigration from Germany led to the development of a beer culture in the U.S. Additionally, immigrants increasingly began settling in urban areas, where beer was more easily produced, obtained, and shipped; cider, in comparison, had to be produced from apples at the orchard and then delivered to urban markets in large barrels. Furthermore, those in the cider industry had a relatively high bar of entry in comparison to beer or distilled spirits; an apple tree takes 5-10 years to mature to full fruit production, whereas it only took a single summer to grow and harvest barley or wheat. As the country rapidly expanded westward, apple trees were found to be a less desirable crop, particularly among the mobile entrepreneurial settlers who would clear the land and build a farm to cultivate crops for a short time before selling the farm and moving farther west (Williams n.d.).

By the 1840s, cider was also used as a political tool in what is considered the first modern Presidential campaign. Editorialist John de Ziska for *The Baltimore Republican* ridiculed Whig candidate William Henry Harrison for running a presidential campaign at the age of 67. de Ziska wrote: "Give him a barrel of hard cider, and settle a pension on him… he will sit the remainder of his days in his log cabin by the side of the fire and study moral philosophy!" de Ziska's critique of Harrison likened his old age to an affinity for a once-favored national beverage that had lost its popularity. The Whig party decided to use de Ziska's words, and made Harrison the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" candidate, turning Harrison's public image into that of a common, hard-working, independent man (Figure 4.2). The reference of cider was used by Harrison's campaign to nostalgically refer to the self-sufficiency and independence of the Early Republic when cider was the preferred national beverage. This strategy was successful, and Harrison was elected to the presidency, spending 31 days in office before dying of pneumonia (Nabb Research Center n.d.). De-

Figure 4.2 **["Harrison & Tyler" campaign emblem] (Source: Library of Congress 1840)**

spite the success of cider in the Harrison campaign slogan, the beverage did not experience a resurgence in production or consumption.

Therefore, "in the competition between [beer and cider], cider never had a chance. Even if the temperance campaign had no seriously restricted cider drinking in the ethnic WASP [white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant] community, the comparative economics of cider and beer production, the relative ease and cheapness of beer brewing compared to the time and expense of apple growing, would have favored the growth of beer over cider" (Williams n.d.). What little commercial cider production existed in the U.S. by the turn of the century, then, appears to have been completely obliterated by Prohibition; "When prohibition ended in the 1930s, there was neither the desire nor the means to resuscitate the cider industry" (Williams n.d.).

Production of Distilled Spirits in Maryland During the Early Republic and Antebellum Era

The history of distilled spirits in Maryland during the early republic and antebellum era is largely a history of whiskey and taxation. This taxation is discussed in-depth earlier in this chapter; however, dissatisfaction with newly-imposed taxes and regulations on the production of whiskey led directly to what would be called the "Whiskey Rebellion." During this period, Maryland distillers also began producing rye-based whiskies, as rye was one of the most plentiful grains produced in the state. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the production of rye and other grains was supported by legislative action, which led to a surplus and allowed for additional quantities of distilling. Increased immigration of the Scots-Irish helped to develop a whiskey culture within Maryland, and Irish traditions of distilling became common throughout the region. However, whiskey distillers were also forced to make changes to their traditional practices; the preferred use of barley, for example, was abandoned for the use of rye, which was easy to grow and common in Maryland.

The Whiskey Rebellion

The majority of historical scholarship regarding the Whiskey Rebellion has focused on western Pennsylvania; however, the tension and noncompliance with the tax was not solely occurring in Pennsylvania. "Early local newspapers reported disturbances, such as the erection of 1776-style townsquare [sic] liberty poles, in Cumberland, Hagerstown, and Middletown" (Bready 1990:348); a liberty pole was also erected in Westminster, though it was cut down quickly by the local militia, led by Col. Joshua Gist (Scharf 1882:921). Additionally, Marylanders were reluctant to be called up to join the militia being sent to shut the rebels down; the summons had come at the height of harvest season, and many farmers in Maryland also had their own stills. Frederick-town experienced tensions when rumors were rampant that "the Whiskey Boys" were headed to Frederick in order to empty its state arsenal of weapons. Furthermore, the outcome of the rebellion – the continued levying of the federal government's whiskey tax – "led directly to the quiet departure of many a tax register, coasting down the Ohio River to collector-free Kentucky… in the Whiskey Rebellion, a modern view holds, western Marylanders lost twice", as Marylanders still had to pay the whiskey tax, and, notably, the movement of distillers to Kentucky would ensure the future growth of bourbon, a competitor of Maryland-produced whiskey (Bready 1990:348).

Origins of Maryland Rye

Despite the taxes being levied on whiskey, Maryland distillers continued to produce the spirit. Due to its easy cultivation within the state, Maryland distillers began producing rye-based whiskeys. Whiskey developed different, regional styles in the U.S., with two common rye-based styles being known as "Monongahela rye" and "Maryland rye." Monongahela rye, commonly made in Pennsylvania (and sometimes referred to as "Pennsylvania-style rye"), is characterized by a mash of just rye and malted barley; Maryland rye, however, has a mash bill of around 60-70 percent rye, 20-30 percent corn, and 10-20 percent malted barley (Strickland 2020). As corn became a more common crop in Maryland, it was frequently added to rye whiskey for flavor; "corn added a sweetness to the spice of the rye… Too much corn, though, might make the whiskey too sweet and bland." Therefore, in the production of Maryland rye, corn was typically kept as

a lesser ingredient in comparison to rye (Wright 2017). Maryland farmers found that rye, a type of grain, was an extremely easy to cultivate in the region. Rye could be grown in poor soil, could tolerate too little or too much rainfall, could withstand frost, and could even be planted in the fall to grow after the winter thaw. Because tobacco was grown and harvested throughout the Chesapeake, rye was found to have a positive effect on future crops when rotated seasonally with tobacco (Wright 2017).

Maryland whiskey was commonly distilled three times, in the Irish tradition. Depending on settlement patterns, the Scottish and German traditions of double distillation could also be used (Wright 2017). However, triple distillation remains prevalent in the discussion of Maryland rye. Maryland's Irish tradition of triple distilling can be largely attributed to the significant Irish population in the state. During the nineteenth century, Irish immigration to Maryland boomed. The largest surge of Irish immigration to Maryland began in the late 1820s; however, the Great Famine (1845-1852) further increased Irish immigration throughout the century (Preservation Maryland 2022). A significant portion of this increasing Irish population worked for the Baltimore & Ohio (B&O) Railroad. By 1880, Irish immigrants made up nearly twenty-five percent of Baltimore City's foreign-born population (Maryland Manual On-Line 2024; Preservation Maryland 2022). While Maryland's Irish population was not as large as other immigrant groups during this time period, such as Germans, it was still a sizable population; it appears most likely that the tradition of triple distilling was adopted by non-Irish distillers, who were likely introduced to the practice through the rising number of immigrants.

As the still was essentially a piece of farm equipment, as well as the most vital aspect of a distillery, their prevalence throughout the new nation was vast. During the early republic and antebellum era, a distillery consisted mainly of the still; distillers made alcohol in small quantities for personal consumption, or on a larger-scale for commercial purposes. While the vast majority of stills in the U.S. were located in private homes or farms, commercial distilleries did begin appearing throughout Maryland, though still in relatively small numbers. Commercial distilleries were therefore significantly lesser in number than personal, small-scale stills. It was estimated by craft distiller and whiskey expert Dave Pickerell that there were thousands of small grain distilleries in Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, with as many as 14,000-20,000 between 1810 and 1840 (Pickerell 2018:1).

Despite the prevalence of private stills nationally, archival research identified the presence of full-scale commercial distilleries in Maryland during this period; by 1796, Baltimore's first directory listed no fewer than six distilleries and distillers (see Volume 2, Appendix A). One of Baltimore's early distilleries, the Joseph White Distillery, was notable in that the distillery gave the spent mash (grains used in the production of whiskey) to local farmers for free hog feed (Priebe and Priebe 2015:76). By the 1850 census, in the table of professions, occupations, and trades of the male population of Maryland, it was reported that there were 44 distillers in the state; this number does not appear to account for general laborers who would have worked at distilleries, as well as any other jobs that would be required by a commercial distillery (clerks, janitors, etc.), as these jobs were listed separately in the table, with no specification as to what industry or type of work done. For example, one of the largest occupation titles was "laborer"; there is no further information as to what kind of labor or what industries this included (U.S. Bureau of Census 1850).

Production of Beer in Maryland During the Early Republic and Antebellum Era

Commercial breweries began expanding throughout the early nineteenth century as improved trade and transportation allowed for increased raw materials to be brought to urban breweries. German immigration increased significantly during the mid-nineteenth century, which led to the development of a U.S. beer culture. Furthermore, German brewers and improved cross-ocean transportation allowed for lager beer to be brewed in the U.S. for the first time, and the lighter beer became considerably popular. Increased German immigration also saw the rise of German-inspired beer gardens and

beer halls, which were social locations for consumers to imbibe alcohol and entertain themselves (beer gardens and beer halls are explored further throughout this Chapter). The number of breweries in the state and nation increased drastically by mid-century as a direct result of increased German immigration.

During the second half of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century, English-style beers were of poor quality. Malts and hops were heavily taxed and English-style beers (ales and porters) were adulterated to such an extent as to be undrinkable (Thomann 1887:30). As a consequence, American ales and beers were of better quality than their English counterparts which helped to justify the import taxation of the latter. "Breweries were, by legal measures, forced into existence, encouraged, fostered, and nurtured, so that their product, by its abundance, cheapness and quality, could become the common drink of the people" (Thomann 1887:33). German immigrants brought their beer-making traditions and beer preferences with them. German beers were lighter, and generally, easier to produce than English-style beers.

Small-scale breweries existed during the first half of the nineteenth century. Such enterprises supplied the local market, producing between 100 to 150 barrels per year (Siebel et al. 1933:62). These breweries generally consisted of sheds over cellars and housing open fire kettles. The cellars were built deep underground or into a hillside. Because refrigeration, outside of cellars and similar storage facilities, did not exist, the brewing industry was slow to develop in the southern states (Siebel et al. 1933:61). For example, some Maryland breweries would cease operations during the summer months, primarily due to the warm climate (Bready 1990:356).

By the mid-1850s, lagers, which were lighter, had a lower alcohol content, and were sparkling, began to replace the heavier English-style beers. This change in consumer preference required brewers to remodel or enlarge existing plants or construct newer facilities that could handle greater capacity (Siebel et al. 1933:57). These changes in consumer tastes also coincided with the increased influence of the temperance movement, which promoted beer over spirits due to their lower alcohol content and resulted in a corresponding decline in the consumption of whiskey (Siebel et al. 1933:57).

The Rise of Small-Scale and Commercial Breweries

Following the American Revolution, Maryland experienced significant growth in trade and transportation. The National Road was constructed at the end of a state road to Baltimore, and operated between Cumberland, Maryland and Wheeling, Virginia (later extended to Vandalia, Illinois), easily bringing more grain into Maryland, which made Baltimore one of the major grain exporters and grew the state's trade even further (National Park Service n.d.). However, even with the rise of commercial breweries and improved transportation via the National Road in the early nineteenth century, beer production remained relatively local (Stack 2003). Breweries began to grow in physical size, number, and output by the dawn of the Civil War. Reasons for these changes in the beer industry include the increase in German immigration, changes in legislation encouraging the production of beer, and changes in manufacturing. Buildings constructed to house the manufacturer of beer reflected those factors.

Commercial brewing coincided with industrialization. In her survey of breweries operating in Great Britain, Lynn Pearson identified the key components of a nineteenth century brewery complex. These components included the brewhouse, cooperage, tap, and stables (Pearson 1999:4). Components such as bottling plant, power house, and offices appeared during the late nineteenth century.

Early nineteenth century breweries relied on imported malt and hops (Siebel et al. 1933:54). A strong correlation between the brewing industry and immigration existed during the late nineteenth century. As the number of immigrants, particularly from those countries with a strong tradition in the manufacture of beer, increased, so did the number of breweries. Different types of beers required different types of manufacturing plants. Lagers, for example, needed to be stored in cellars having colder temperatures than those storing ales (Siebel et al. 1933:55).

Examples of commercial brewery expansion can be seen in Eli Clagett's (sometimes spelled

Clagget) brewery, situated along President Street near the intersection with Lombard Street in Baltimore City Block 12 (Maryland Historical Trust n.d.). The Clagett brewery was the first brewery in Baltimore to install a steam engine. This was used to grind malt, and increased the brewery's capacity to 10,000 barrels a year (O'Prey 2018:30-31). The brewery was left to Eli Clagett's widowed daughter-in-law and her children; the business necessitated an investing partner, John Danels, a relative of the Clagett family by marriage. The brewery became a success with the help of the Danels family, selling porter, ale, and beer. It is apparent there were still significant amounts of people still preferring to brew their own beer at home during this time, as the Clagett and Company brewery also sold malts, hops, and yeast as an additional stream of income from local homebrewers (Maryland Historical Trust n.d.). By 1860, Clagett and Company employed 50 men and produced over 16,000 barrels a year, with total sales around $100,000 ($3,447,747.60 in 2023) (Friedman 2024). Clagett and Company is also noteworthy for their practice of hiring free Black brewers and workers prior to the outbreak of the Civil War; known free Black workers included Benjamin Carroll, Pompey Williams, and Asbury Bullet. Successive fires and floods, most occurring during the 1860s, led to the brewery's closure in 1879 (O'Prey 2018:30-31).

German Immigration Growth

Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, the U.S. experienced a German immigration boom. By 1830, German immigration began to increase rapidly. The vast majority (nearly 90 percent) of German immigrants came to the U.S. between 1830 and the start of World War I. In total, more than 5 million people left Germany for the U.S. during the nineteenth century (Library of Congress n.d.b). By 1860, Baltimore's population was 212,418 people, the third-largest city in the nation. A quarter of Baltimore's population was foreign-born, with the largest percentage of that quarter being German-born (n=32,613) (Nash 2006:41).

The number of breweries producing lager beers increased during the mid-nineteenth century, a direct result of increased German immigration. Many German immigrants had expertise in brewing beer on larger, often industrial scales, which also lessened the need for homebrewing (Newman 2023). Increased German immigration created a large subsection of the population that desired lager beers, as well as "brewers eager to satisfy that demand" (Van Munching 1997:14). With the advent of clipper ships and the opening of the port of Bremen, Germany, the brewing industry in the U.S. underwent significant changes. Clipper ships could carry passengers to Baltimore in less than 30 days, meaning German immigrants could bring lager yeast:

> This was quite significant, as lager was a staple of the southern German brewing industry and had not been previously available in America as it was viable for only thirty days and could not survive the journey across the Atlantic. Traditionally, lager beers were produced in southern Germany, specifically Bavaria from Würtzburg to Rosenheim. With the speed of the clipper ships and German immigrants from Bavaria, lager beer became a reality, and Maryland embraced it thoroughly (O'Prey 2018:36).

Lager, a lighter beer than the previously available ale, porter, and stout, quickly became a popular beverage, and was often advertised in a manner that highlighted its differences from other types of beer. In 1849, lager beer was advertised in *The Baltimore Sun* as not only having "a very agreeable taste," but also "the property of promoting the digestion. and [sic] of keeping the stomach in good order. It is a pure article, being mixed neither with drugs nor any other noxious substance. All those who drink it will save the trouble and expense of taking medicine, Come and try it" (*The Baltimore Sun* 1849; Figure 4.3).

German immigrants to the U.S. also brought with them beer gardens and beer halls, public spaces associated with socializing and family-friendliness. Beer gardens and halls were vastly different from saloons, which were beginning to obtain reputations for being unruly. For many German immigrants, beer gardens and halls provided a "piece of home", as waiters served beer in steins and traditional German food, often wearing traditional German clothing (Weiss 2023).

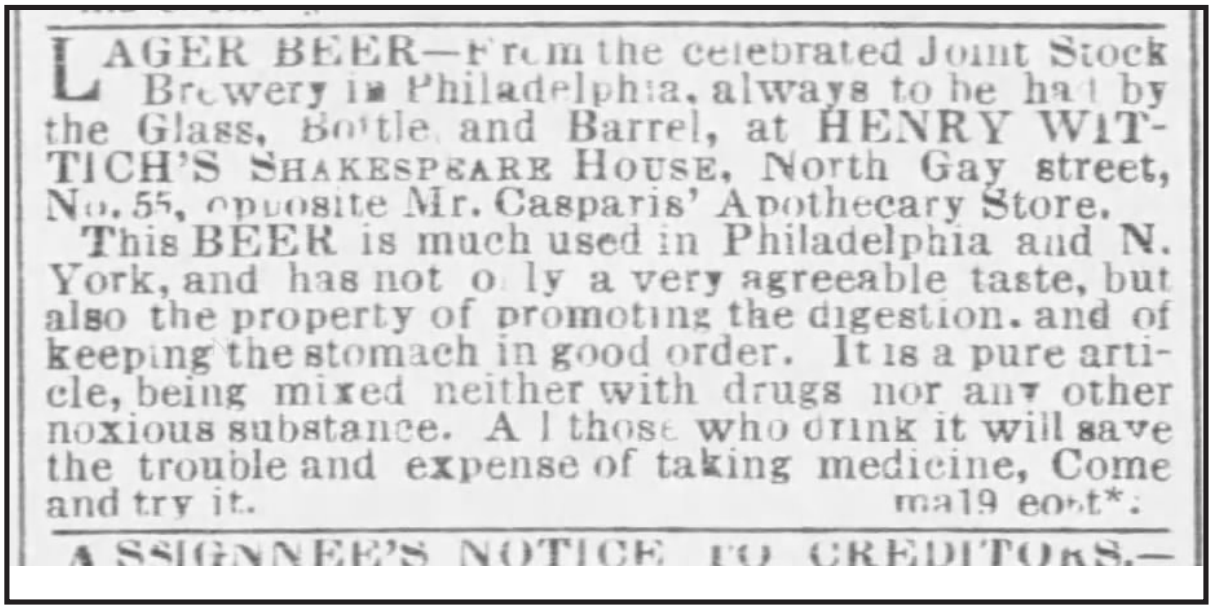

LAGER BEER—From the celebrated Joint Stock Brewery in Philadelphia, always to be had by the Glass, Bottle and Barrel, at HENRY WITTICH'S SHAKESPEARE HOUSE, North Gay street, No. 55, opposite Mr. Casparis' Apothecary Store.
This BEER is much used in Philadelphia and N. York, and has not only a very agreeable taste, but also the property of promoting the digestion, and of keeping the stomach in good order. It is a pure article, being mixed neither with drugs nor any other noxious substance. All those who drink it will save the trouble and expense of taking medicine, Come and try it.
ma19 eo3t*:
ASSIGNEE'S NOTICE TO CREDITORS.—

Figure 4.3 Newspaper clipping of The Baltimore Sun, 1849 (Source: The Baltimore Sun 1849)

These venues served as community centers, childcare facilities, and places for political and other civic activities; these locations help cement community and ethnic identity for German immigrants (Newman 2023).

The first government tally of breweries was taken in 1810, and enumerated 132 breweries nationally. Forty years later, that number had grown to 431. Ten years after that, there were 1,269 breweries, many of them lager breweries (Van Munching 1997:14). The table in Figure 4.4 enumerates the number of gallons produced and the number of brewers in operation by year for the period 1810 to 1907. No data was represented in the table for the years 1811 to 1849 suggesting there were no such facilities or the number of breweries was so limited as to be undetectable.

In the 1850 census, the table of professions, occupations, and trades of the male population in Maryland reported that there were 66 brewers based off the statements of persons at their residences); breweries employed more than just brewers, and the laborers who worked in breweries were included with laborers in other industries. Therefore, the exact number of people who worked in the Maryland brewing industry is unclear (U.S. Bureau of Census 1850).

Innovations in Maryland Wine and Viniculture During the Early Republic and Antebellum Era

Wine in Maryland during the early republic and antebellum era did not undergo much commercial growth; however, significant breakthroughs did occur in the state during this time that would lay the groundwork for the future Maryland wine industry. These breakthroughs were the work of John Adlum, a significant figure in viticulture. Adlum authored some of the earliest books on U.S. grape growing and winemaking, and was also responsible for the research and propagation of the Catawba grape, a highly popular hybrid grape that did well in the U.S. At the same time Adlum's research was being conducted, societies were formed with the goal of encouraging wine production in Maryland; however, it is apparent that these societies were not successful in promoting a wine industry, as Maryland did not see any new wine-related growth or innovation until Prohibition.

John Adlum's Impact on Wine Production

Major John Adlum (1759-1836) was often referred to as "the Father of American Viticulture." Adlum was particularly noteworthy for his agricultural advocation, and was active in urging

Statistical History of the American Brewing Industry

Fiscal Year Ended June 30	Population by Decennial Census	Beer Production in Barrels of 31 Gallons	Rate of Barrel Tax	Aggregate Collections on Fermented Liquors in Dollars	Number of Breweries in Operation
1810	4,665,505	185,636	.....	.....	150
1850	23,191,876	750,572	.....	.....	431
1860	31,443,321	3,812,346	.....	.....	1269
1863	.....	2,006,625	$1.00 and 60c	$ 1,628,933	1987
1864	.....	3,141,381	60c and $1.00	2,290,009	1841
1865	.....	3,657,181	$1.00	3,734,928	2252
1866	.....	5,155,140	1.00	5,220,552	3042
1867	.....	6,207,402	1.00	6,057,506	3440
1868	.....	6,146,663	1.00	5,955,868	3756
1869	.....	6,342,055	1.00	6,099,879	3203
1870	38,558,371	6,574,617	1.00	6,319,126	3286

Figure 4.4 Statistical history of the American Brewing Industry (Source: Siebel et al. 1933:74)

for federally funded viticulture research programs. Adlum's first vineyard was located in Havre de Grace, at what is now known as Swan Harbor; he later moved his research program to the Vineyard, located in Washington, D.C. He wrote multiple books on grape growing and winemaking, considered to be some of the earliest books on American winemaking and production, including *A Memoir On the Cultivation Of The Vine In America, And The Best Mode Of Making Wine* (1823). Notably, Adlum was also largely responsible for the propagation of the Catawba grape, which became the most widely planted grape in the country throughout the nineteenth century. Adlum found the vines at the home of Mrs. Catherine Scholl, a widow and public house owner in Clarksburg, Montgomery County, Maryland. Scholl's public house was also known as Dowden's Ordinary, and is located at 23218 Frederick Road (MC Atlas. org n.d.). Scholl's husband had grown the grapes, but no one could remember where they came from in order to tell Adlum; "It was thought that the grapes came from North Carolina. The widow called them Catawba, and Adlum determined that the grapes were not European and may have actually been hybrids" (Mc Carthy 2012:19).

Adlum supplied cuttings of this hybrid grape to Nicholas Longworth of Ohio, who further popularized the Catawba grape among U.S. winemakers. Stated Adlum, "In bringing this grape to public notice, I have rendered my country a greater service then [sic] I would have done had I paid off the national debt" (Mc Carthy 2012:19). Adlum often corresponded with Thomas Jefferson about his viticultural experiments, and sent Jefferson a bottle of his Catawba wine, which Adlum called "Tokay." Wrote Jefferson in 1823:

> I received successively the two bottles of wine you were so kind as to send to me. the first, called Tokay, is truly a fine wine, of high flavor, and, as you assure me there was not a drop of brandy or other spir[it in i]t, I may say it is a wine of a good body on it's own. the 2d bottl[e], a red wine, I tried when I had good judges at the table. we agreed it was a wine one might always drink with satisfaction, but of no peculiar excellence. of your book on the culture of the vine it would be presumption in me to give any opinion, because it is a culture of which I have no knolege [sic] either from practice or reading. wishing you very sincerely compleat [sic] success in this your laudable undertaking, I assure you of my great esteem and respect (Jefferson 1823).

At the same time that John Adlum was making his viticultural discoveries, the Maryland Society for Promoting the Culture of the Vine was formed, for "the purpose of introducing into the state of Maryland, and into our country generally, the extensive cultivation of the vine" (Mc Carthy 2012:19). It appears that this original corporation was not successful in the long-run. Thirteen years later, in 1842, a new corporation was founded in place of the original corporation, called the Society for the Culture of the Vine (Mc Carthy 2012:19-20).

Winemaking in Maryland experienced little innovation or industrial changes from this time period until Prohibition (Mc Carthy 2012:22). Winemaking or vinting was not counted among the table of professions, occupations, and trades of the male population in the state of Maryland in the census of 1850, illuminating how small the state's wine industry was during this time period (U.S. Bureau of Census 1850). By the 1860 census, 2 vine-growers were counted in the state; additionally, there were 22 wine and liquor dealers (U.S. Bureau of Census 1860). By the 1900 census of manufactures, there was so little wine-production in the state that Maryland was not analyzed as its own state for the data on "vinous liquors." Maryland fell into the "all other states" category due to this low production (U.S. Bureau of Census 1900).

Associated Property Types

Property types associated with the spirits industry from 1800 through 1850 are similar to those of the colonial period. In general, large-scale manufacturing operations did not exist. Individual property owners and farmers continued to produce limited amounts of cider of and whiskey. Because cider and whiskey required limited equipment, these products continued to be produced at a small scale. Tavern owners and farmers could easily produce and store the products using equipment that could be maintained on the property with the spirits stored on site or sold to nearby residents. While whiskey production increased, a limited number of commercial distilleries existed in Maryland.

Research suggests small-scale production of cider continued though the first quarter of the nineteenth century; commercial cideries did not exist. Individual homeowners and farmers fabricated cider for personal consumption. By 1840, cider had fallen out of favor. Consequently, resources associated from the manufacture of cider mostly likely will be indistinguishable from small-scale whiskey manufacturers. The equipment and final product will have continued to be housed on site in dwellings or agricultural outbuildings.

Facilities for the Production and Consumption of Beer

Facilities associated with the production of beer represent a stark contrast to those associated with cider and whiskey. Property types associated with the manufacturing of beer for personal consumption during the early republic period will be similar to such buildings and structures constructed during the colonial period, which often employed domestic architectural standards. However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, beer production increased resulting in an increase in the size and scale of breweries. Beer production increased, primarily as a result of an increase in German immigration. Germans brought with them their tradition for lager beer and the associated property types. These include beer gardens and beer halls. Breweries, which had existed at a smaller scale, grew in size.

Beer gardens provided a place for outdoor, passive recreation during a period when few public parks existed (Walzer n.d). They provided places for seating and dining as patrons socialized. They may have been lavishly landscaped and live entertainment may have been offered (Walzer n.d.). It is unlikely any beer gardens constructed during the period survive.

Breweries built during the end of the period were larger in size than their earlier predecessors. Not only did the buildings increase in size, but the complex increased to include a variety of different types of use-specific facilities that may have included stables on or near the brewery. The large-scale, brick buildings incorporated lagering cells and underground vaults constructed of reinforced brick or stone. The inability of smaller brewers to adapt to the new building, vault, and operations sizes prohibited competition with the larger manufacturers because they could not meet

the production and variety offered by the increasingly commercialized brewing establishments. Verticality was emphasized through the use of towers and arched windows and entryways. Architectural stylistic ornamentation popular at the time of construction was common. Additional ornamentation could include stained glass and decorative brickwork (O'Prey 2018).

Conclusion

The alcohol industry in Maryland during the early republic and the antebellum era was generally defined by its transitory nature. Legislation served to both hinder and encourage the growth of alcohol production during this time period. The lessening of the controversial whiskey tax at the turn of the century, for example, led to an increase in the number of stills throughout the nation (largely on farms), and therefore, an increase in available distilled spirits. At the same time, increasing industrialization, improved transportation, and rising immigration led to the growth of alcohol manufacturing throughout the state. Additionally, the amount of alcohol consumed during this time period increased. The period between 1810 and 1840 can roughly be described as the heaviest period of drinking in U.S. history (Bready 1990:348-349). This increase in consumption can be explained by the growing access to alcohol; rather than making it at home, it was easily and cheaply obtained from producers. Property types specific to alcohol production during the early republic and antebellum era therefore reflect this growing industrialization. Property types from this period include breweries, which has been identified as a specific building form that supported the production and distribution of beer in Maryland.

Chapter 5
Expansion and Contraction: The Spirits Industry and Brewing (1861-1919)

This chapter presents a summary overview of alcohol production in Maryland from 1861-1919. This time period illustrates the growth commercial producers of distilled spirits and beer experienced following the Civil War and until the advent of federal Prohibition. It was during this time period that commercial production of alcoholic beverages firmly became predominant, as opposed to homebrewing and distilling. This chapter is divided into four sections, all of which have subsections. The first section, focused on the temperance movement, examines the growing national movement to limit or abstain from alcohol, and how those organizations increasingly turned to advocating for legislation to make alcohol production and consumption illegal. The second section, Production of Distilled Spirits in Maryland from 1861-1919, analyzes the regulations the distilled spirits industry underwent throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. Despite the regulations assigned to the industry, Maryland rye was able to grow as a commercial, national industry following the Civil War; however, by the turn of the century, the growth experienced by commercial distillers resulted in consolidation across the industry, leading to fewer, but larger producers, with broader markets. The third section, Changes in the Beer Industry from 1861-1919, also analyzes the national policies and trends regarding beer during this time. While Maryland rye was regulated to the point of hindering the industry, beer regulations were often adopted to encourage the brewing industry. National and regional trends, as well as technological and scientific innovation, saw a dramatic increase in breweries nationally. By the end of the nineteenth century, beer had become the "national beverage." However, similarly to distilled spirits, the rapid growth experienced by the industry also led to consolidation, and resulted in a smaller number of breweries that produced significantly higher quantities of beer for a larger market. The chapter concludes with a section focused on the identification of property types associated with alcohol production during this period. The production of cider and wine was negligible in Maryland during this time period, and, as such, are not discussed in this chapter.

The Temperance Movement

The temperance movement first appeared in the early nineteenth century as a response to the significant increase in alcohol production and consumption. Following the Civil War, temperance became more organized and grew in numbers. Temperance advocates emphasized drinking's role in domestic violence; also emphasized was nativism and nationalism, as alcohol was increasingly associated with immigrant groups. Temperance organizations were popular in Maryland, and, combined with the national movement, became powerful enough to bring about federal Prohibition.

Growth and Popularity of Temperance

The Civil War contributed to the growing temperance movement, as the conflict provided the impetus anti-alcohol proponents needed to advance their cause; the image of the inebriated soldier became synonymous with the war (Mahr 2021). Early feminists and anti-immigration groups allied with the temperance movement to advance their specific goals. Feminists, such as Susan B. Anthony, supported prohibition because heavy drinking and alcoholism could lead to domestic violence against women and children; nativist and nationalist groups, such as the Know-Nothing Party, associated alcohol with increased Irish and German immigration (Campbell 2017).

In Maryland, temperance groups included the Washington Temperance Society (commonly called the Washingtonians), as well as the Wom-

en's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Anti-Saloon League (ASL). Despite all being temperance organizations, these groups all had different goals; for example, the Washingtonians advocated for personal abstention from drink, whereas the ASL fought for federal Prohibition of alcohol (ONeil 2010; University of Maryland n.d.). The ideals of temperance would grow throughout the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, which led directly to the enactment of federal Prohibition.

Early Forms of Prohibition and Calls for Federal Prohibition

While earlier temperance-based efforts focused on redirecting consumer habits away from spirits and towards beer, by the end of the nineteenth century, the temperance movement had fully adopted a platform advocating for a comprehensive ban on the sale, distribution, and consumption of all alcoholic beverages.

In 1851, the state of Maine enacted statutory, statewide prohibition; throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, other states also enacted dry laws, though some areas would renege as the debate over alcohol raged. Many localities throughout the U.S. also enacted local option laws regarding the availability of alcohol (Bready 1990:366; Britannica n.d.)

Despite the state's later refusal to enforce federal Prohibition, many Maryland localities passed local option laws banning alcohol. As early as 1862, a law banned the sale of "any spirituous or fermented liquors" within two miles of Brookville, 2.5 miles of Sandy Spring meeting house, and four-miles from Emory chapel and school in Montgomery County. In Baltimore County, no licenses for the sale of liquor were legal for Calverton; by 1870, Tangier Island and Tilghman's Island had obtained the same rulings (Bready 1990:365). By 1885, a county-option law was passed, and the sale of liquor was banned in Anne Arundel, Calvert, Caroline, Cecil, Dorchester, Harford, Howard, Kent, Montgomery, and Talbot counties, as well as in most of Somerset and Queen Anne's counties. In 1916, a general statue required the wet/dry question to go on the ballot, and Carroll, Frederick, and Washington counties also became "dry." Functionally, 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" (Bready 1990:366). In Maryland, the question of "wet" or "dry" appears to have been locationally based; rural Marylanders were largely in favor of Prohibition, whereas urban Marylanders were opposed to it.

Production of Distilled Spirits in Maryland from 1861-1919

The production of distilled spirits in Maryland during this time period largely consisted of Maryland rye whiskey. Throughout this period, whiskey and other distilled spirits were regulated, primarily to prevent less-honest distillers and saloon operators from selling adulterated or low-quality spirits. Throughout this period, distilleries turned Maryland rye into a popular commercial industry, third in both manufacturing and sales only to Kentucky bourbon and Pennsylvania whiskey. The industry saw significant growth, with numerous commercial distilleries opening throughout the state following the Civil War. By the turn of the century, the growth of the industry resulted in consolidation. Many small distilleries were unable to compete, and were forced out of business.

Regulation of Distilled Spirits

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, consumers began to question the marketing validity of the distilled spirits industry. There was a "growing uneasiness as to the reliability of saloon and package-store whiskey…[and] the withdrawal of medical support for whiskey's claim to therapeutic value" (Bready 1990:364). In essence, nervousness about the reliability of the quality of the whiskey available to consumers and doubts regarding whiskey's medical efficacy led to the increased regulation of how spirits were allowed to be marketed.

> In 1897, for example, in an effort to stop the liquor industry's attempts across the nation to deceive customers in saloons and package-stores about the worth of their alcohol,

a federal law instituted bonding (Figure 5.1). Bonding occurred in government-supervised warehouses, where distillers could deposit barrels of proof-tested whiskey 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" (Bready 1990:360). Additionally, it is apparent that bonding warehouses existed within the state of Maryland. Newspapers in Baltimore from the time of the implementation of bonding gave thorough instructions to local distillers as to how the policy would work. An 1897 newspaper article in the *Baltimore Sun* stated that:

Under these regulations [bottling in bond] any distiller authorized by the act of March 8 to bottle distilled spirits of his own production is required to set apart a portion of his existing warehouse for this purpose and shall separate it from the remainder of the warehouse by solid, secure, and unbroken petitions with no interior communication whatever between the different portions of the warehouse. The construction of additions to a warehouse to be used for this purpose will be allowed on application.

The premises set apart for bottling purposes should be that portion of the warehouse most remote from the cistern room, and the removal of the spirits from the warehouse to the bottling house must be over an open space exposed to public view. When all specifications as to location or construction of a bottling room or house have been complied with, the distiller is required to give notice to the collector of his district of his intention to bottle spirits, which must contain a full and accurate description of the warehouse to be used, the apparatus and its capacity per hour. Upon receipt of this notice the collector, in person or by deputy, will make an examination of the premises and report to the commissioner.

The bottling portion of the warehouse will be under the control of the collector of internal revenue for the district and in joint custody of the storekeeper or storekeeper and gauger and of the distiller. The entire operation of bottling the spirits, the casing, stamping, etc., must be conducted under the supervision of the storekeepers. No spirits can be withdrawn for bottling until the period during which a request for regauge can be made has expired. The entry for withdrawal, therefore, must bear date not less than four years after the date of the deposit of the spirits in bond. Packages of spirits of the same kind and only differing in proof, produced by the same distiller, during the same distilling season, may not be removed to the bottling warehouse together, nor can spirits withdrawn for export and spirits withdrawn tax-paid be in the bottling room at the same time.

No material or substance of any kind other than pure water can be added to the spirits during the process of bottling, nor can any substance or material be subtracted from the spirits, except that charcoal sediment or other like substances may be removed by straining them through cloth, felt, or other like materials; nor can any method or process be applied to alter or change in any way the original condition or character of the production except as authorized by the statutes.

The blank space in bottle stamps, which must cover the mouth of the bottle, must contain the registered distiller number, the real name of the bona fide distiller, the State and district, the proof of the spirits, the year and distillery season, whether spring or fall,

Kentucky	Pennsylvania	Maryland	Indiana	Illinois
140.5	37.9	19.3	14	13
Data obtained from Bready 1990:359				

Figure 5.1 Whiskey Held in Bond, 1912, (in millions of gallons) (Data obtained from Bready 1990)

and the dates of the original inspection or entry into bond and of bottling, and every bottle shall contain the full quantity which its size imports. A cautionary notice against the reuse of a bottle without destroying the stamp is required to be affixed to each bottle, the penalty for the violation of which is not less than $100, nor more than $1,000, and imprisonment for not more than two years.

The proprietor of any special bonded warehouse who may desire to bottle, on behalf of the owners thereof, fruit brandy deposited in such warehouse, or to afford opportunity for the owners to bottle the same, may do so upon approval of their application under the same requirements and restrictions as are prescribed for bottling spirits at distillery warehouses. The act prescribes that the real name of the actual bona fide distiller is required to be burned on the government side of the package case, and no trade-mark will be allowed to be place on the bottle unless the real name of the distiller is also conspicuously placed upon it. The purpose of this requirement is interpreted to be that spirits bottled in bond shall bear that name in which the distiller, whether an individual or a firm, ordinarily and usually conducts his or its business and holds himself or itself out to the public, and not in name or any of the names in which the person or firm may have temporarily qualified as distiller during the production of some limited quantity of spirits.

Bottles of four sizes are only permitted to be used – one-fifth gallon, one quart, one pint, and one-half pint. The regulations also provide for the necessary accounts to be kept and reports to be made, and also prescribe rules to govern proceedings in the exportation of bottled spirits subsequent to their removal from the bottling warehouse. Cases of spirits intended for export are required to be wired and sealed, and as further preventive against fraud they are required to be opened and the contents examined by customs officers at the port of exportation (*The Baltimore Sun* 1897).

The policy of bottling-in-bond, with its many requirements, meant that bonded whiskey was expensive, and beyond the means of purchase for many wage-workers. Bonded whiskey retailed around a dollar a quart (around $28.45 in 2023) pre-1917.

Additionally, the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 (known also as the Wiley Law) mandated honesty in food and beverage sales, and imposed penalties for infractions; this meant that for the legal use of the name "rye whiskey" on a beverage, at least 51 percent of any set quantity must be whiskey made from rye mash. Given that Maryland rye had not previously had a specifically set definition as to what made something deliberately Maryland rye, this greatly impacted the national image of the drink. "Suddenly, many a well-regarded brand changed to "Maryland Whiskey" or even, in small letters, "Whiskey – A Blend"" (Bready 1990:367). Furthermore, Henry W. Wiley, the namesake and leading force of the 1906 Food and Drug Act, spoke for the growing conviction among doctors that alcohol was, in most cases, without medical value; journalist H. L. Mencken credited medicine's reversal on whiskey as the single most important factor behind the decline in popularity of Maryland rye (Bready 1990:367-368). Wrote Mencken:

> My actual belief is that Americans reached the peak of their alcoholic puissance in the closing years of the last century. Along about 1903 there was a sudden and marked letting up -- partly due, I suppose, to the accelerating pace and hazard of life in a civilization growing more and more mechanized, but also partly to be blamed on the lugubrious warnings of the medical men, who were then first learning how to reinforce their hocus-pocus with the alarms of uplift (Mencken 1975:178-179).

The changes in public perception regarding consumption of distilled spirits, combined with a growing, national temperance movement and increased industry regulation formed to create

the forces that ultimately led to the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment and the enactment of federal Prohibition, which is discussed in-depth in Chapter 6.

The Emergence of Distilled Spirits as a Commercial Industry

This sudden burst of Maryland rye's popularity is largely attributed to the Civil War. The conflict brought thousands of non-Marylanders into and through the state, from all across the country. Many of those who were in Maryland for the first time "would have given the local liquor a try and then gone home deeming Maryland's rye preferable to more familiar beverages." Postwar advances in transit, principally rail freight services, allowed for Maryland rye to be shipped almost anywhere in the nation relatively quickly and inexpensively (Bready 1990:352). The enactment of legislation such as the Pure Food and Drug Act imposed a firm standard on what could be considered Maryland Rye, however. Additionally, consolidation occurred within the distilled spirits industry by the turn of the century, resulting in fewer, but larger producers. By the end of the nineteenth century, federal tax legislation guided the design of distilleries by mandating the preparation of plans indicating the location of select equipment within the distillery.

The Civil War

By the 1860 census, the number of distillers in the state of Maryland slightly increased from its 1850 count of 44. In 1860, 57 distillers were enumerated, which represented a 30 percent increase (U.S. Bureau of Census 1860). This number indicates that the distilled spirits industry (predominantly consisting of whiskey) experienced growth during the years before the Civil War; it would only be after the conflict that the industry had its largest growth period.

During the Civil War, alcohol (most frequently liquors in the whiskey family), was still believed to be useful medically. A variety of alcoholic beverages were used as medicine in the forms of *spiritus frumenti* (whiskey) and *spiritus vini gallici* (brandy). Alcoholic beverages were regularly consumed by soldiers at camp or stationed in cities for both medical and personal reasons (Mahr 2021).

Growth in Popularity of Maryland Rye

As previously mentioned, in the years following the Civil War, Maryland rye whiskey exploded onto the national scene. In fact, "Maryland rye" became so well known, it was the only whiskey cited as a geographical style in the federal code of the U.S. Treasury (Woolever 2023). The popularity of Maryland rye was beaten in manufacturing and sales numbers only by whiskey and bourbon produced in Kentucky and Pennsylvania, both states with significantly larger manufacturing outputs; nationally, Maryland rye was ranked third in both production and sales (Bready 1990:346). The quality of Maryland rye was attested to by J. Thomas Scharf in his *History of Baltimore City and County*, in which he wrote:

> The rye whiskies of Baltimore have been for years appreciated all over the country, and many of her brands are so well known as to be preferred beyond all others. Her trade in high wines [spirits that have undergone final distillation and are ready for dilution and/or maturation] is also very great, and her distilleries rank among the largest and best in the country. Over 100,000 barrels are annually sold by the trade, the aggregate capital of which is over $3,000,000 [$96,236,382.89 in 2023] (Scharf 1881:429-430).

In Baltimore alone, at least five commercial distilleries opened to produce Maryland rye in the immediate post-war years; of those, Malcolm Crichton at Holliday and Bath streets is presumed to be the earliest, beginning distillation as early as 1865. Crichton, the son of a Scottish-born wholesale grocer, rebuilt the defunct Joseph White distillery twice (the 1868 Jones Falls flood had washed away the distillery). Crichton styled his whiskey brand as being "perfect distillation" and called it, and the distillery, Monticello. By Crichton's death in 1891, Monticello was a nationally available beverage (Bready 1990:352). Other Maryland rye brands included Orient Pure

Rye, produced by Orient Distilleries; Sherwood Rye, produced by the Sherwood Distilling Co.; Mount Vernon Rye, produced by Mount Vernon Distillery (Bready 1990:352-354).

By 1882, J. Thomas Scharf declared that "no whiskey in the U.S. bears a better reputation than that produced at Needwood Distillery" located near Burkittsville, Maryland (Scharf 1882:621-622). The Needwood Distillery was active from around 1850 until 1920, and was located near the Needwood Estate. The site of the distillery has been reported to be "marked by a pile of foundation and building stones" (Davis 1991:3). The Needwood Distillery was said to be the only distillery in the U.S. capable of running the entire year on one class of whiskey (Scharf 1882:621-622). The Needwood Distillery, operated by Outerbridge Horsey and later his son, Outerbridge Horsey II, was a successful endeavor. Passing armies during the Civil War left the distillery in ruins, though Outerbridge Horsey II was able rebuild, installed new machinery, and began importing Irish rye grain. The reconstruction included a large brick warehouse "with a capacity of three thousand barrels." The whiskey produced by Horsey had a national market, with the largest orders coming from "New York, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, and the State of California" (Scharf 1882:622). The Needwood Distillery was particularly famous for its aging technique; "Routinely, barrels of [whiskey] 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" (Bready 1990:354-355). Other Maryland distillers employed similar techniques: some Sherwood Rye was shipped to Cuba and back, while Antietam Rye, also in Burkittsville, was exported to Rio de Janeiro and back. In essence, the time spent being shipped overseas and back, combined with the rocking of ships, was meant to provide a significantly superior quality beverage (Bready 1990:355).

Particularly during the 1880s and 1890s, the popularity of Maryland Rye increased significantly. In the Baltimore area, additional distilleries opened: Pikesville, operated by L. Winand & Bro, adjacent to today's Pikesville; Melvale, operated by John T. Cummings, at what is modern-day Cold Spring Lane and Jones Falls; Maryland, founded by Albert Gottschalk, at Guilford Avenue and Saratoga Street; Spring Garden, operated by Baltimore Distilling Co.; Mount Vernon Distillery; Carroll Springs, operated by Charles H. Ross & Co., on O' Donnell Street; Stewart, operated by Robert Stewart, on Bank Street; and Malone, operated by Daniel Malone, along Colgate Creek (Bready 1990:356). Advertisements from the turn of the century demonstrate the ways in which commercial distilleries expanded to meet a growing demand; an increased consumer base led to expanding plants and new buildings that better suited production needs. For example, the McGinnis distillery in Baltimore advertised:

> The A. McGinnis Company was established in 1901 by the late Arthur McGinnis, the capacity being increased from time to time until 1906, when, due to the increase of business, the original frame structure distillery was demolished and the present fire-proof distillery was erected in its place. The present distillery has a capacity of 1,000 bushels daily, capable of producing a yearly output of 20,000 barrels on the season's run of eight months. The distillery is one of the most modern, improved and perfect plants in Maryland, and is open to the public at any time. It is surrounded by sixteen acres of land. The water is of excellent quality, and, together with the natural surroundings, we are able to produce the finest Maryland Rye. The A. McGinnis Company has largely a local trade; however, we are now shipping in all directions of the compass, and "McGinnis Pure Rye, Bottled in Bond," can be found in most every city in the United States, and has been favorably passed upon by some of the best connoisseurs (Blum 1910:78).

A rise in commercial distilling also occurred in western Maryland, with many operations being constructed. Many were small, particularly in comparison to those located in Baltimore. Some western Maryland distilleries sold their output to wholesalers, and had no house or brand label. In general, the distilleries did not run at full

capacity or at all from the end of May until October, and some would shut down entirely during market slumps. The somewhat seasonal nature of the work in the western portion of the state meant that laborers took on jobs as farmhands as needed (Bready 1990:356). Prominent western Maryland distilleries included:

> Melichor (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 La-Vale (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 (Caroll County). The largest by far were Roxbury and Braddock (Bready 1990:357).

Some commercial distilleries in the state chose to operate their own saloons for the sale of their products. For example, the Wineke Baurenschmidt Distillery Company in Annapolis began operating a saloon at 14-18 Market Space in 1901. The company made whiskey under the brand names Baxter-Maryland Rye and Cecil (Trieschmann 2009:8:9-10). However, other distilleries sold their products to unaffiliated taverns and saloons. In Midland, Allegany County, alone there were an estimated 26 saloons by the late nineteenth century. Saloons are discussed more in detail later in this chapter. In Midland, it was written that "Men who were too old to work or who were disabled opened up their homes as drinking spots, consequently, the employed patronized the unemployed" (Nelson and Baldwin 1977:5). By 1895 in Baltimore, the population had passed 500,000 people, with an estimated one saloon for every 250 people of all ages; "liquor licenses, at $250 a year ($9,296.14 in 2023), totaled 2,045. Sixty-eight whiskey wholesalers serviced the saloons (some of which, financed by brewers, may have stocked only beer)" (Bready 1990:360).

Production of Distilled Spirits by the Turn of the Century

Throughout the period, the production of rye within the state increased (Figure 5.2). However, this increase in production was not occurring at a local, community level; the production of rye was occurring commercially, to a wider, even national market. By the 1900 census of manufactures dealing with alcoholic liquors, a total of 26 distilled liquor establishments within the state of Maryland were recorded, representing a slight increase from the 1890 reported number of 18 establishments. Of these 26 establishments, 12 were reported as being individual businesses, 4 were firm and limited partnership, and 10 were incorporated companies. Employment across these establishments also increased. In 1890, 6 salaried officials and clerks were reported as being employed, and 177 wage-earners; these numbers increased to 43 salaried officials and clerks in 1900, and 186 wage-earners. The alcohol being produced by these distillery establishments was reported to consist of gin and brandy, with whiskey being by far the most produced spirit. Approximately 3,791,603 proof gallons of whiskey were produced in Maryland in 1900, compared to 15,253 proof gallons of brandy, and 6,000 proof gallons of gin (U.S. Bureau of Census 1902).

By the turn of the century, many prominent Maryland distillers left the industry, due either to age or the temperance movement and warning signs of coming federal regulation. Additionally, "everywhere the trend was toward fewer and larger…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" (Bready 1990:368; Figure 5.3). Essentially, as the industry grew, smaller distilleries were unable to compete, and were oftentimes absorbed by larger firms as the industry consolidated.

	Kentucky	Pennsylvania	Maryland
1881-1882	30.4	4.7	2.4
1890-1891	33.4	6.4	2.5
1900-1901	30.6	7.2	3.9
1911-1912	43.6	10.6	5.6
Data obtained from Bready 1990:346			

Figure 5.2 U.S. Whiskey Production in Millions of Gallons, 1881-1913 (The first, second, and third states, nationally) (Data obtained from Bready 1990)

Firm	Location	Capacity in bushels of mash daily
Melvale	Baltimore	1,000
Md. Pure Rye*	Baltimore	900
Mount Vernon	Baltimore	835
Monticello*	Baltimore	750
Sherwood	Cockeysville	722
Roxbury	Roxbury	650
Canton	Baltimore	612
Maryland	Baltimore	Estimated 450
Federal	Back River	400
Gwynnbrook	Owings Mills	400
Outerbridge Horsey*	Burkittsville	347
Frensdorf & Brown	Back River	311
Braddock*	LaVale	300
Wineke-Airey* (Cecil, Mt. Vernon)	Highlandtown	291
Winand	Scotts Level (Roslyn)	275
McGinnis*	Carrollton	Estimated 250
Mountain Spring (Ahalt)	Burkittsville	120
Levi Price	Hyattstown	35
M.J. Miller's Sons*	Accident	29
*= Own bonded brand sold from a business's own bonded warehouse. Data obtained from Bready 1990:370		

Figure 5.3 Maryland Distillers, 1910 (Ranked according to capacity.) (Data obtained from Bready 1990)

The Impact of Federal Tax Law on the Design of Distilleries

Chapter 4, Section 3263 of the Internal Revenue Code required every distiller to prepare a plan of the distillery and distilling apparatus. These plans were focused on the inclusion of machinery and equipment required to produce spirits rather than space or architectural planning. Specifically, the code stated the plan shall show

> The location of every still, boiler, doubler, worm-tub, and receiving-cistern, the course and construction of all fixed pipes used or to be used in the distillery, of every branch and every crock or joint thereof, and of every valve therein, together with every place, vessel, tub, or utensil from and to which any such pipe lead, or with which it communicates; also the number and location and cubic contents of every still, mash-tup and fermenting-tub, the cubic contents of every receiving-cistern, and the color of each fixed pipe (Eldridge 1895:240).

The plan and description were to be kept on site at the distillery; the collector of the district and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue were to receive one coy each of the plan and description (Eldridge 1895:240). Any alternations to the distillery were to be noted on existing or revised plans and submitted to the collector. Those distilleries having a daily capacity of 30 gallons of proof spirits or less were exempt from providing a plan (Eldridge 1895:241).

Changes in the Beer Industry from 1861-1919

Brewers in Maryland continued to brew during the Civil War as they were able, though supply shortages could impact production. However, despite wartime effects on production capacity, beer continued to grow nationally in popularity while consumption of spirits decreased

nationally; the number of breweries in Maryland following the Civil War skyrocketed. Furthermore, technological and scientific innovations such as refrigeration, bottle caps, and pasteurization allowed for increased production and enabled brewers to expand their markets regionally. Refrigeration, pasteurization, and the ability to bottle beer stabilized its shelf life and facilitated transportation across longer distances, creating wider markets. The creation of larger regional markets led to a trend of fewer and larger breweries; smaller breweries found they were unable to compete with larger breweries, and were forced to either band together or go out of business. By the turn of the century, while the number of breweries in the nation had decreased significantly, these breweries were larger in size and had much farther reaches.

Beer and Brewing During the Civil War

German immigrants fought on both sides of the Civil War. However, they fought in larger numbers on the side of the Union than the Confederacy; German and German-American soldiers ultimately formed around ten percent of the entire Union army (American Battlefield Trust 2018). In part due to the high proportion of German or German-descended soldiers, beer was a much more popular beverage among Union soldiers than among Confederates. This is not to say that Confederate soldiers did not consume beer; there were German and German-descended soldiers in the Confederate army, and the beverage was enjoyed by soldiers of all ethnicities. However, among Confederate soldiers, beer was not consumed at the same level as Union troops (American Battlefield Trust 2018). This can be attributed to more than the ethnic make-up of the two armies. The majority of breweries in the nation were located in the North and Midwest, as opposed to the South, making beer accessibility among Confederate soldiers significantly more difficult; in the South, the most readily available alcohol was whiskey. Beer was relatively obtainable by Union soldiers for the first two years of the war; however, by the war's final years, beer became a luxury item for all soldiers due to shortages and army-imposed restrictions. The Union army attempted to regulate soldiers' access to the beverage from the beginning of the war, though regulations appear to only have been successful when supply shortages hurt the beer industry (American Battlefield Trust 2018). The most significant wartime complication faced by breweries was the accessibility of supplies needed to produce beer, including barley, wheat, and hops (O'Prey 2018:67).

National Policies and Trends Regarding Beer Production

Increased German immigration and the introduction of lager beer to the U.S. market led to beer becoming a popular beverage nationally, as discussed in Chapter 4. The number of breweries nationally increased dramatically, and beer became one of the most common alcoholic beverages in the country. The popularity of lager beers continued to grow, particularly after pilsner-style lager beer was introduced in the 1870s. As consumption of beer increased, the consumption of other types of alcohol, primarily distilled spirits, decreased; beer became the most popular alcoholic beverage in the U.S.

By 1860, the census number of brewers enumerated increased dramatically. The number of brewers in Maryland as of the 1860 census was reported to be 126, an increase of over 90 percent from the 1850 number of 66 brewers. Much like the 1850 census, this number does not include laborers who worked in the brewing industry, because the term laborer was all encompassing. Employees of all sorts across varying industries were classified as laborers (U.S. Bureau of Census 1860). After 1850, consumption of spirits decreased nationally, but beer consumption increased significantly. Between 1870 and 1910, per capita beer consumption quadrupled from approximately 5 to 20 gallons. During this time period, German-style lager came to prominence, replacing British-style ale. Before 1850, ale was over 80% of national beer production; by 1900, lager made up nearly 90% of all beer production. Lager was "new and exciting", boasting a lighter taste and a shelf life that lasted longer than ales and porters (Weiss 2023). Following the Civil War, the number of breweries skyrocketed, reaching 4,000 nationally by 1873 (American Battlefield Trust 2023).

The number of breweries steadily increased after the Civil War; Figure 5.4 documents the number of breweries in operation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While the number of breweries peaked in 1873 (n = 4,131), production skyrocketed. By 1907, more than 58 million barrels of 31 gallons of beer were produce by 1,720 breweries (Siebel et al. 1933:74).

Pilsner-style lager beer was first brewed in the U.S. beginning in the 1870s, and rapidly became exceedingly popular. By the 1890s, pilsner-style lager beer was routinely referred to in the press as the "national beverage" (Casey 2020:9). U.S. breweries reached their peak in 1871, when the U.S. had 4,131 breweries in operation nationally, producing some nine million barrels of beer (Colleluori 2015; Van Munching 1997:15).

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, per capita consumption of distilled spirits had decreased by almost fifty percent (Thomann 1887:241). The reason for this dramatic shift was a change in public policy. Between 1860 and 1884, policies were adopted to encourage the brewing and viniculture while imposing restrictive measures against distilled spirits (Thomann 1887:242). The result of these efforts was that, by 1884, the U.S. was the third largest producer of malt liquors, surpassed only by Great Britain and Germany (Thomann 1887:242-243).

Technological innovations such as the ability to bottle beer shifted and expanded brewers' markets. When bottling became an effective way of transporting beer, in compliance with then-current taxation laws, the brewery and the bottling plant were required to be separated in accordance with Section 3354 of Chapter 5 of the IRS code. The beer was transported to the bottling facility by way of a pipeline or conduit (Eldridge 1895:368-369). However, this solution proved to be too costly and ineffective and the legislation was amended to

> allow beer to be removed from the brewery by pipe lines to the bottlery under rigid rules of construction and operation calculated to prevent the removal beer without payment of the tax. The beer was run into measuring tanks in the bottlery, which still remained a separate establishment, and the tax was paid by the brewer delivering a suitable amount of tax stamps to the revenue officer without whose presence to unlock the pipe no beer could be transferred from the brewery (Siebel et al. 1933:100).

Regional Trends Impacting Modern Breweries

With the growing popularity of beer as a national drink, combined with innovations in technology such as pasteurization, refrigeration, bottle-caps, and improved transportation, breweries nationally were able to expand to a larger regional market. For example, many German brewers began businesses on the shore of Lake Michigan, in Milwaukee, due to the location's proximity to grain and a large freshwater supply; the city's growth as a brewing center meant "unheard of competition for customers, and shipping to other markets became crucial to a brewery's survival" (Van Munching 1997:14-15). Essentially, with the growth of the brewing industry, breweries had to be able to expand their markets further in order to reach more customers and stay competitive with the vastly increasing number of breweries.

However, as regional beer brands got bigger, local brewers consolidated, or were forced out of business altogether. A major problem for small, local breweries was the growing popularity of bottled beer. It was not until 1890 that a federal law that prohibited the brewing and bottling of beer on the same premises was repealed. This allowed larger beer brands that could afford to institute bottling in their processes to capitalize on the bottled beer market. The bigger beer brands, such as Anheuser-Busch, got richer and larger. For small brewers lacking the ability to expand, bottled beer meant new competition for customers and declining sales (Van Munching 1997:17).

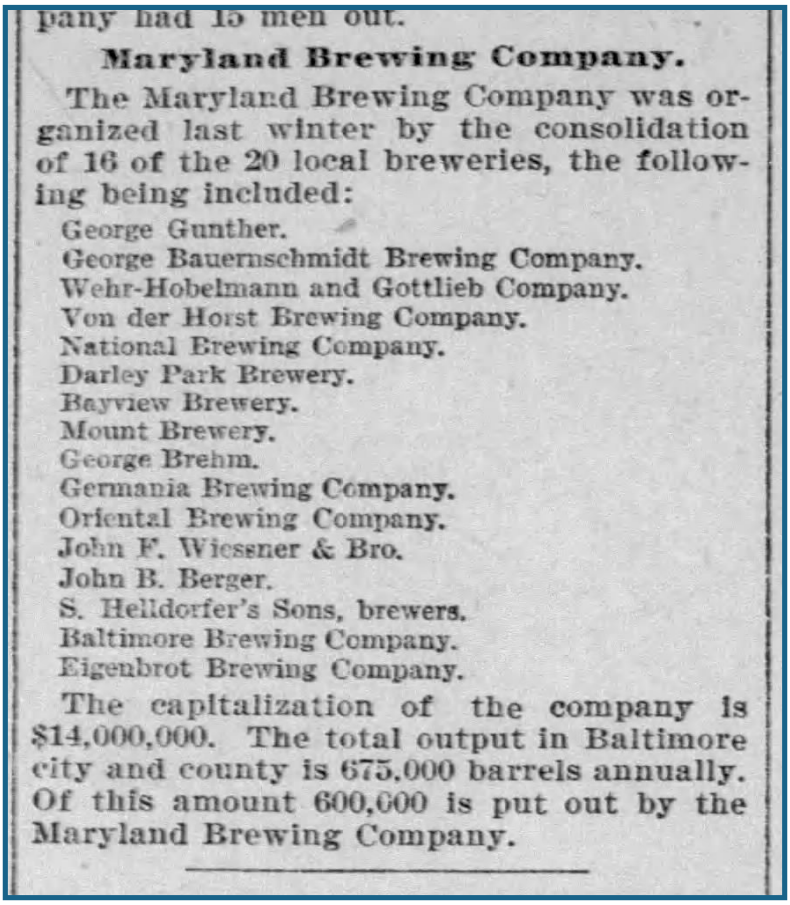
By the end of the nineteenth century, a small brewer's best option was to pool their resources with other small breweries. In March 1899, the Maryland Brewing Company was formed to purchase local breweries for the purposes of forming a monopoly. In 1901, the Maryland Brewing Company was taken over by the Gottlieb-Bauernschmidt-Strauss Brewing Company (G.B.S. Brewing Company; Figure 5.5), which operated as a conglomerate until 1910. Sixteen out of twenty local Baltimore breweries joined the com-

Statistical History of the American Brewing Industry

Fiscal Year Ended June 30	Population by Decennial Census	Beer Production in Barrels of 31 Gallons	Rate of Barrel Tax	Aggregate Collections on Fermented Liquors in Dollars	Number of Breweries in Operation
1810	4,665,505	185,636	.....	.....	150
1850	23,191,876	750,572	.....	.....	431
1860	31,443,321	3,812,346	.....	.....	1269
1863	.....	2,006,625	$1.00 and 60c	$ 1,628,933	1987
1864	.....	3,141,381	60c and $1.00	2,290,009	1841
1865	.....	3,657,181	$1.00	3,734,928	2252
1866	.....	5,155,140	1.00	5,220,552	3042
1867	.....	6,207,402	1.00	6,057,506	3440
1868	.....	6,146,663	1.00	5,955,868	3756
1869	.....	6,342,055	1.00	6,099,879	3203
1870	38,558,371	6,574,617	1.00	6,319,126	3286
1871	.....	7,740,260	1.00	7,389,501	3147
1872	.....	8,659,427	1.00	8,258,498	3475
1873	.....	9,633,323	1.00	9,324,937	4131
1874	.....	9,600,879	1.00	9,304,679	3282
1875	.....	9,452,697	1.00	9,144,004	2783
1876	.....	9,902,352	1.00	9,571,280	3293
1877	.....	9,810,060	1.00	9,480,789	2758
1878	.....	10,241,471	1.00	9,937,051	2830
1879	.....	11,103,084	1.00	10,729,320	2719
1880	50,155,783	13,347,111	1.00	12,829,892	2741
1881	.....	14,311,028	1.00	13,700,241	2474
1882	.....	16,952,085	1.00	16,133,920	2371
1883	.....	17,757,892	1.00	16,900,615	2378
1884	.....	18,998,619	1.00	18,084,954	2240
1885	.....	19,185,953	1.00	18,230,782	2230
1886	.....	20,710,933	1.00	19,667,731	2292
1887	.....	23,121,526	1.00	21,922,187	2269
1888	.....	24,680,219	1.00	23,324,218	1968
1889	.....	25,119,853	1.00	23,723,835	2144
1890	62,947,714	27,561,944	1.00	26,008,534	2156
1891	.....	30,487,209	1.00	28,565,129	2138
1892	.....	31,856,626	1.00	30,037,452	1967
1893	.....	34,591,179	1.00	32,548,983	1930
1894	.....	33,362,373	1.00	31,414,788	1805
1895	.....	33,589,764	1.00	31,640,617	1771
1896	.....	33,859,250	1.00	33,784,235	1866
1897	.....	34,462,822	1.00	32,472,162	1830
1898	.....	37,529,339	1.00 and 2.00	39,515,421	1845
1899	.....	36,697,634	1.00 and 2.00	68,644,558	1959
1900	75,994,575	39,471,593	2.00	73,350,754	1816
1901	.....	40,614,258	2.00	75,669,907	1771
1902	.....	44,550,127	1.60	71,988,962	1807
1903	.....	46,720,179	1.00 and 1.60	47,547,856	1733
1904	.....	48,265,168	1.00	49,083,458	1741
1905	.....	49,522,029	1.00	50,360,553	1847
1906	.....	54,724,553	1.00	55,641,858	1747
1907	.....	58,622,002	1.00	59,567,818	1720

[SEVENTY-FOUR]

Figure 5.4 **Statistical History of the American Brewing Industry (Source: Siebel et al. 1933:74)**



pany had 15 men out.

Maryland Brewing Company.

The Maryland Brewing Company was organized last winter by the consolidation of 16 of the 20 local breweries, the following being included:

George Gunther.
George Bauernschmidt Brewing Company.
Wehr-Hobelmann and Gottlieb Company.
Von der Horst Brewing Company.
National Brewing Company.
Darley Park Brewery.
Bayview Brewery.
Mount Brewery.
George Brehm.
Germania Brewing Company.
Oriental Brewing Company.
John F. Wiessner & Bro.
John B. Berger.
S. Helldorfer's Sons, brewers.
Baltimore Brewing Company.
Eigenbrot Brewing Company.

The capitalization of the company is $14,000,000. The total output in Baltimore city and county is 675,000 barrels annually. Of this amount 600,000 is put out by the Maryland Brewing Company.

Figure 5.5 The Baltimore Sun, August 4, 1899 (Source: The Baltimore Sun, 1899)

pany, including the National Brewing Company. Only a few remained independent, to varying degrees of success. (Spray 2024).

The impacts of this national trend towards consolidation can be seen in the 1900 census of manufacturers of alcoholic liquors. In 1890, the state of Maryland was reported to have 32 malt liquor establishments; that number decreased to 16 by 1900. Of these 16 establishments, 7 were reported to be incorporated companies. Despite this decrease in establishments, employment stayed relatively stable, or even increased: in 1890, 88 salaried clerks and officials worked at malt liquor establishments, but the number rose to 161 by 1900; in 1890, 735 wage-earners were employed in the industry, but the number rose to 752 by 1900 (U.S. Bureau of Census 1902).

By 1910, the national total of breweries had fallen to 1,568, a significant decrease from its high of 4,131 thirty-seven years prior; "The days of the small-volume, local brewery were coming to an end, as much as larger-capacity regional concerns sprang up" (Van Munching 1997:17).

Technological and Scientific Innovations in the Beer Industry

As detailed in Chapter 3, the development of large-scale brewing operations was delayed in the U.S. because of a lack of barley; most barley was imported during the colonial period and farmers could not produce barley in sufficient quantities to support industries that manufactured malt beverages (Siebel et al. 1933:105). Technological and scientific developments of the second half of the nineteenth century facilitated a dramatic increase in beer production and enabled brewing of new types of beer. Significant among the technological and scientific innovations include improved refrigeration and pasteurization advances, which enabled the increased shelf life of beer. Re-

liable transportation and storage capabilities contributed to the ability of brewers to increase their production. Brewers actively began marketing their products to a larger consumer base. Workers' wages steadily increased throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, which afforded them additional disposable income. Interestingly, the temperance movement helped promote the consumption of beer. Some temperance organizations advocated for beer over other alcoholic beverages because it had a lower alcohol content than spirits such as rum or whiskey (Stack 2003).

Several technological innovations affected the brewing industry during the nineteenth century. Two such innovations included the thermometer and the saccharometer (a tool with determines the amount of sugar in a liquid) (Siebel et al. 1933:85). Although first used in England at the beginning of the century, the equipment was not used in the U.S. until the Civil War era (Siebel et al. 1933:85). The thermometer was used to check the temperature of the germinating malt and that of the kiln floor (Siebel et al. 1933:105). In addition to the use of the thermometer and the saccharometer, other advances in the industry included modifications to the mashing and infusing processes, the introduction of refrigerator to the production process, bottle beer, and electric power (Siebel et al. 1933:86). Figure 5.6 provides a detailed list developed by experts in the brewery arts, Dr. John Siebel and Anton Schwarz, of significant advancements in the brewing industry at the end of the nineteenth century.

In addition to the use of the thermometer and the saccharometer, advances in refrigeration that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century resulted in changes in the industry. Historically, brewing was seasonal; it could not be done when temperatures were hot. The increased demand for beer meant year-round production was necessary to meet that demand. New ways for keeping the beer cold were necessary. Before refrigeration, beer was stored in natural caves or underground cellars that were sealed to keep the cold air from escaping when the various sections of the caves or cellars were emptied (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:145-146). Ice chambers eventually were

As such high points of the development of brewing practice and technic we mention the following:

1.—The introduction of steam power.
2.—Modification of the mashing process by machinery and instruments of precision and the perfection of raw grain mashing, leading ultimately to
3.—The development of the American infusion process of mashing which contributed largely to the creation of the American type of beer.
4.—Steam boiling of the wort, better extraction of the hops, and sterile cooling of the wort with artificial refrigeration.
5.—Mechanical refrigeration, enabling accurate maintenance of temperatures in ventilated, above-ground rooms and permitting brewing the year around.
6.—Introduction of pure culture yeast, enabling close control of fermentation.
7.—The extensive use of unmalted grain, at first pre-cooked separately, later prepared for direct addition to the malt mash.
8.—Scientific control of brewing operations and materials.
9.—Pneumatic malting, giving complete control of the malting process.
10.—Bottle beer—virtually a new industry.
11.—Electric power.

Figure 5.6 Factors Contributing to the Development of Brewing Practice (Source: Siebel et al. 1933:86)

constructed over the storage rooms; since lager needed to be fermented in the cold, particularly in comparison to ale, ice chambers began to be constructed over fermenting rooms as lager became a more popular beverage. Consequently, the building needed to be able to carry its own load as well as that of the ice. Late nineteenth century storage facilities consisted of "overground fermenting rooms, with dry walls, ceiling and floors" (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:146). Refrigeration meant the construction of underground ice chambers no longer was necessary; the advent of "ice machines", first patented as early as 1851 and made commercially available to brewers by the end of the century, was critical. The ability to refrigerate entire rooms quickly replaced the formerly standard methods of cooling beer, such as the construction of lagering cellars deep beneath the earth. Crucially too, ice machines meant that lager could be produced easily in hot summer months (O'Prey 2018:69; Britannica n.d.).

Specialized equipment and buildings no longer were needed for storing ice after mechanical refrigeration was adopted by the industry (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:136). Over time, the malt house became one of the most important features of the brewery, with many large-scale operations constructing their own malt-house. Anheuser-Bush in St. Louis built one of the largest malt-houses then in operation (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:137).

Breweries grew in size to accommodate larger equipment needed to meet the growing demand for beer (Siebel et al. 1933:113). Hygiene and cleanliness expectations resulted in the use of smooth walls and floors constructed of concrete or tile. The need for air and light led to the introduction of large windows; and the buildings themselves, grew in height to accommodate the larger equipment. As the late nineteenth century came to a close, the brewery grew into a complex consisting of a brewhouse, bottling facility, power house, malting facility, barns and stables, garages, and offices (Siebel et al. 1933:114). Before the mid-nineteenth century brewers had their own cooperages. By second half of the nineteenth century, brewers generally no longer maintained cooperages. The exceptions were the large-scale brewers who maintained their own barrel-making operations (Siebel et al. 1933:101).

As industrialization and mechanization replaced manual labor, existing buildings were modified and expanded to accommodate new, and often increasingly larger equipment. Stylistically, the buildings employed modest ornamentation (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:135). The interior arrangement of the facility changed little over time; the introduction of lager led to a change in the interior design of breweries (Figures 5.7). Machinery and equipment were operated by steam power and furnaces later were replaced by steam boilers (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:135).

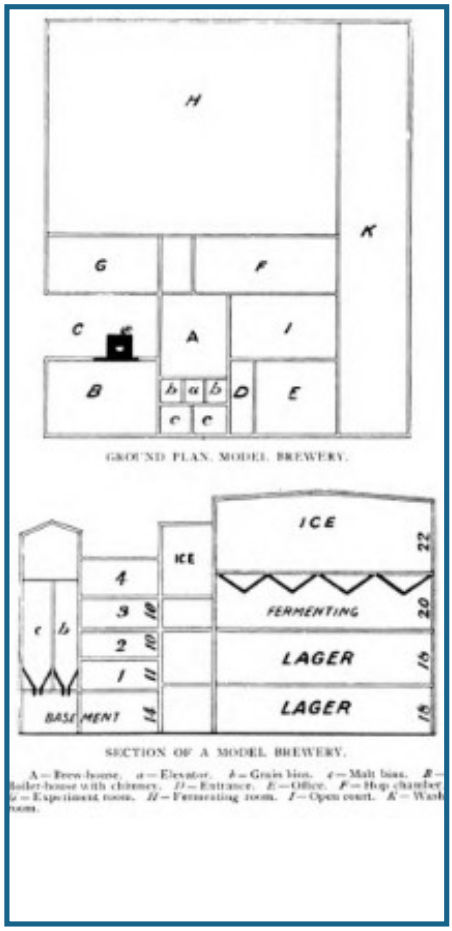


Figure 5.7 **Ground Plan and Section of a Modern Brewery (Source: One Hundred Years of Brewing 1903:137)**

Design of Breweries: The Impact of Technological Changes and Tax Policy

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, breweries began to increase in scale and monumentality as architects applied contemporary architectural styles to the buildings. The buildings represented the wealth and prestige of both the owner and the business. Breweries increasingly represented the most important building in the city in which they were located (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:137). Construction materials included masonry (stone and cement) and iron framing (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:141). If the brewhouses were not constructed with two brew apparatuses, then they were designed so that an additional apparatus could be added later (144). The kettles were copper and all metal was painted to help ensure cleanliness (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:144). Mechanization greatly reduced the number of employees needed to complete the brewing process; with one employee now able to complete a process that previously required 6 (Figure 5.8) (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:144).

According to *One Hundred Years of Brewing*, the modern brewery was one that had

> Monster chimneys, towering smokestacks, lofty towers, a building front of architectural beauty, high arched windows and doors, offices fitted up with great splendor and taste….[that have] crowned the efforts of the brewer, and he has accumulated wealth which can with perfect property be displayed in presenting the most attractive exterior appearance to his place of business which modern architectural skill is able to bestow in an appropriate and substantial manner upon an industrial establishment, that will at once command respect and admiration to the fullest extent (*One Hundred Years of Brewing* 1903:144) (Figure 5.9).

Steam and electric plants grew as the brewery increased operations; a separate power plant may have been included within the brewery complex.

Brewery designs were also impacted by federal tax policies; these regulations are discussed earlier in this chapter, in the section entitled "National Policies and Trends Regarding Beer Production."

Technological advances were not the only factors that resulted in increased beer production. A new understanding of the fermentation process and the role bacteria played in the production of beer impacted the industry. In 1876, French Scientist Louis Pasteur published *Études sur la Bière*, an examination of both the fermentation process and the damage beer faced from bacteria. German and German-American brewers embraced Pasteur's studies more than French brewers, and quickly began adopting his processes in their breweries. Pasteur's research showed brewers how to apply heat to beer to kill bacteria (pasteurization) and extend the shelf life of beer, allowing it to be shipped great distances without spoilage (Van Munching 1997:16).

The Brewing Industry in Maryland at the End of the Nineteenth Century

By the turn of the century, the brewing industry in Maryland was largely following national trends. Maryland breweries expanded their businesses through the production of lager beers, and many well-known beer brands within the state were created during this period, such as National Bohemian. Technological and scientific innovations benefitted Maryland breweries, and allowed for increased production and a wider market. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of breweries in Maryland increased dramatically; however, in the millennium, the rapid growth of Maryland breweries led to a period of consolidation. Much like Maryland distilleries at the same time, smaller firms were unable to compete, and were frequently subsumed or forced out of business, leading to fewer, but larger breweries.

By mid-century, the area around Conkling and O'Donnell Streets in Baltimore became known as Lager Beer Hill (now Brewers Hill), as several Fells Point brewers dug lagering cellars in the area. The significance of lager cellars is discussed earlier in this chapter. The construction of these cellars was an almost impossible task, as Fells Point is barely above sea-level. Johann Baier, the forerunner of the National Brewing Compa-

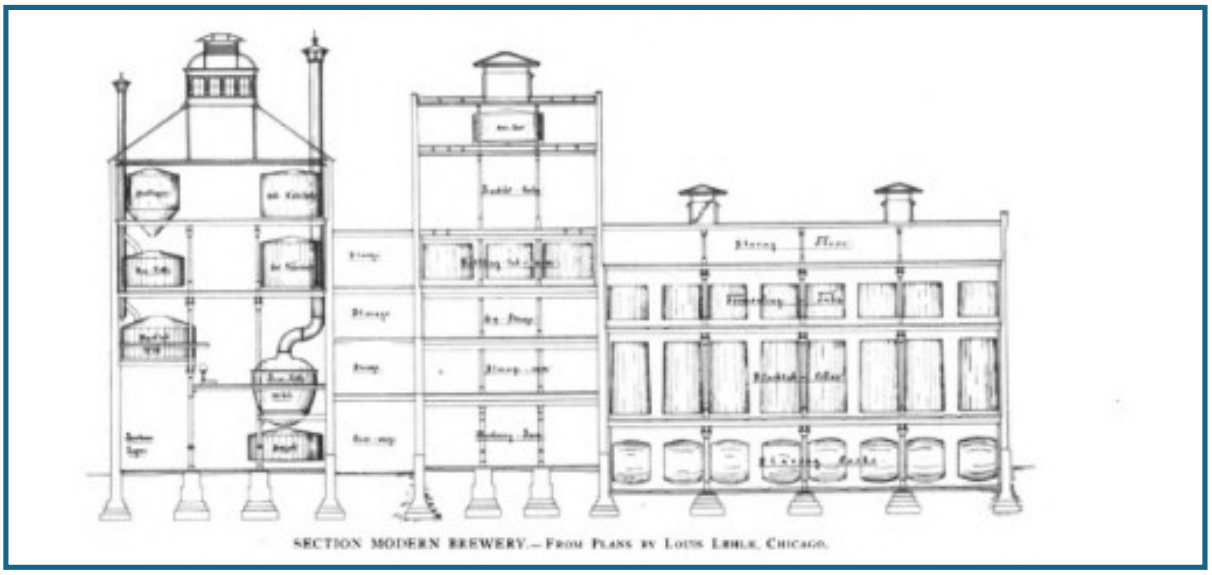


Figure 5.8 Section of a Modern Brewery (Source: One Hundred Years of Brewing 1903:141)

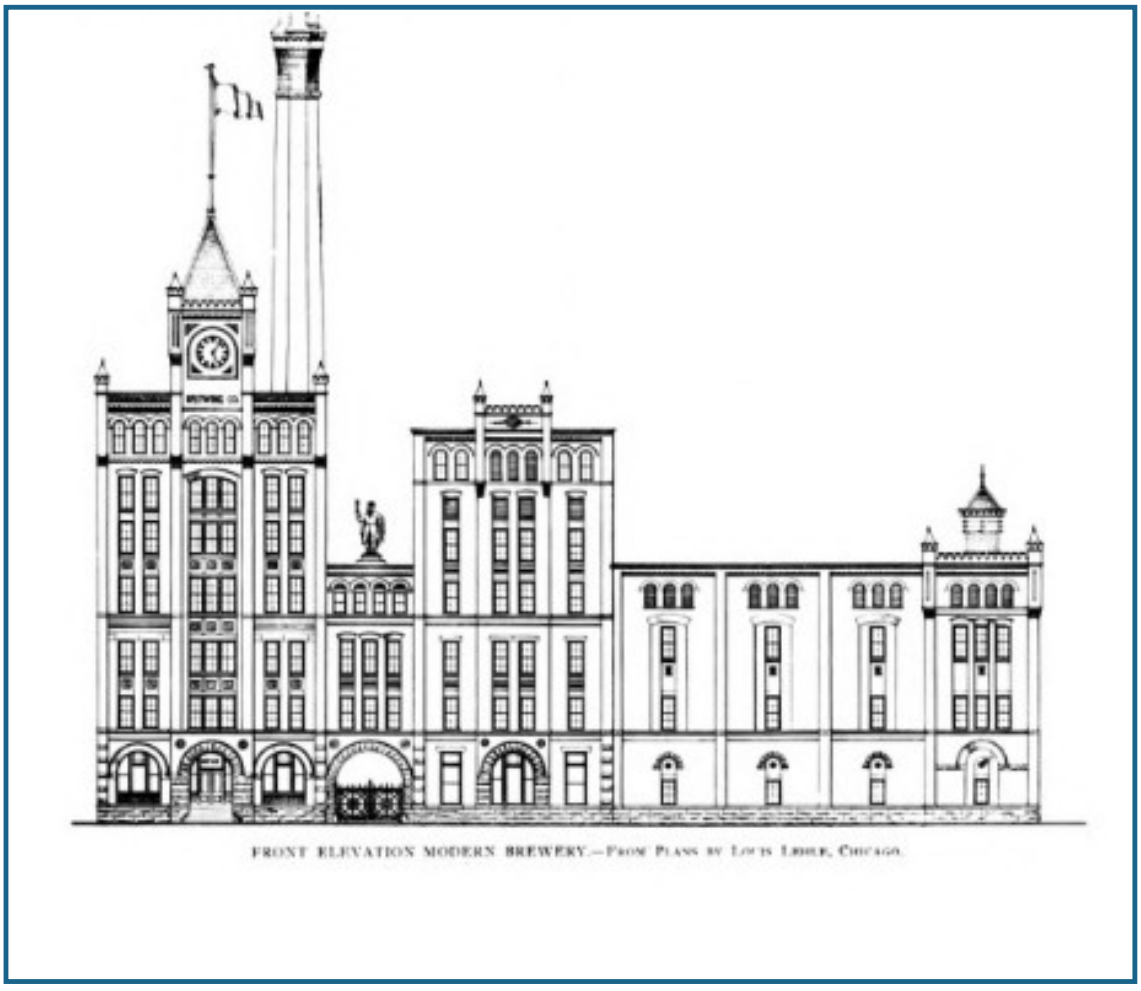


Figure 5.9 Front Elevation of a Modern Brewery (Source: One Hundred Years of Brewing 1903:141)

ny, was one such brewer that used Lager Beer Hill for storage. After Baier's death, his widow, Anna, and her second husband, Frederick Wunder, began to operate a brewery on Lager Beer Hill (the site of the current National Brewing Company). The Wunder brewery included a beer garden and tavern; it was foreclosed upon in 1885 (Spray 2024). In the same year, National Brewing began producing its flagship National Bohemian beer, known as "Natty Boh" by many consumers; it quickly became the best-selling beer brand in the state (Explore Baltimore Heritage 2014). The complex was then purchased by the Strauss brothers, who came from a family that produced malt for the area. The brothers founded the National Brewing Company out of the Wunder Brewery's complex, and began adding expanding the firm. Some buildings from this era, such as the 1885-1889 beer cellar, the 1899 beer cellar, and the grain storage building (rebuilt after an 1892 fire), are still extant (Spray 2024).

Circa 1891, the Eigenbrot Brewery in West Baltimore installed a refrigeration system to cool beer wort, which massively increased production. In 1891, the brewery produced about 14,000 barrels of beer; by 1895, that number increased to about 45,000 barrels (Spray 2024).

Maryland native William Painter invented multiple machines and processes that revolutionized the brewing industry. In 1885, Painter invented a wire retaining bottle stopper known as "The Triumph" and later in the same year, a "Bottle Seal" (Painter 1914:28). Over the span of his lifetime, Painter earned 85 patents (National Inventors Hall of Fame n.d.). Painter's most important invention came in 1891, when he invented the "Crown Cork Closure", a forebearer of the modern bottle cap, which painter believed would "revolutionize all then existing methods of bottling" (Painter 1914:31). The Crown Cork Closure was patented in 1892 (Painter 1914:31; see Volume 2, Appendix E). The Crown Cork had a corrugated-flange edge and was lined with a thin cork disc and a paper backing to seal the bottle and prevent contact between the metal cap and the drink; "After working with bottling manufacturers to develop a universal neck, Painter invented and patented all the machinery needed to manufacture the caps" (National Inventors Hall of Fame n.d.). The closure allowed beer to stay free from oxygen, resulting in slower spoilage and a longer shelf life. Therefore, beer produced in Maryland could be transported virtually across the nation easily. The Crown Cork and Seal Company was incorporated on April 1, 1893 (Painter 1914:31).

Additionally, at the turn of the century, the Consolidated Gas, Electric, Light, and Power Company was formed in Baltimore. Created from the merger of multiple gas companies in Baltimore, the Consolidated Gas, Electric, Light, and Power Company created a consistency in service, providing gas and electric power to manufacturing plants as well as residences that could afford the service. In fact, Crown Cork and Seal was one of the earliest businesses to sign on for purchased power as opposed to steam generators on the premises. Furthermore, the Globe Brewing Company, located in Baltimore, also transitioned to central power early on in an attempt to extend their market beyond Maryland. At the same time, a sewer system was constructed in Baltimore and throughout much of Maryland, a blessing for both breweries and private residences. Prior to the construction of a widespread sewer system, winter could be devastating, particularly for breweries (O'Prey 2018:128-129; Olson 1980:251). "Beer pumps caused copious amounts of water to flow into alleys, and in the winter of 1903-1904 ice averaged between four and five feet high near the breweries, making alleys impassable by horse or cart" (O'Prey 2018:129).

In western Maryland, Cumberland was the home to an influx of breweries during the 1880s and 1890s, as German brewers began to settle in the region. Two of the largest and longest-lasting breweries in the area were the Queen City Brewing Company (aka German Brewing Company) and the Cumberland Brewing Company (Spray 2024).

Of the nine breweries listed in the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties as of 2024, all were located within Baltimore, and all were founded between 1860 and 1900. The majority of these were established between 1850 and 1870. German families founded many of these breweries, "reflecting the fact that by 1880, 58% of Baltimore's foreign-born population was made up of

Germans, with 32,685 German-born residents. These breweries consist of: Bauernschmidt Brewery, American Brewery, National Brewing Company, Gunther Brewing Company, Pabst Brewing Company, Spring Garden Brewery, August Beck Brewery, Eigenbrot Brewery, and Odenwald & Joh Brewery (Spray 2024).

Associated Property Types

Several trends emerged during this period regarding the construction of facilities used in the production of alcoholic beverages and where such beverages were consumed. As output of alcoholic beverages increased, so too did the size and complexity of brewing complexes evolve to meet growing consumer demand and industrial output. Commercial breweries emerged as an important property type due to the scale and number of buildings and the production capacity of the facility. In some respects, the small-scale brewery of the colonial period, with its hodge-podge collection of buildings used for the storage of equipment, manufacturing process, and storage facility for the final product, resembles the large-scale commercial complexes of the late-nineteenth century. During both periods, multiple buildings and structures were needed, with each building having a discrete purpose.

This evolution is in contrast to the commercial brewery of the colonial period that consisted of a single building housing all facets of the brewing process to a multi-building complex. The buildings associated specifically with the manufacturing of malt beverages grew in size to accommodate the increasing size of the equipment needed to produce the product. The infrastructure associated with the brewing process was not the only element to change. The definition of the term brewery (as applied to a commercial enterprise) evolved from one meaning a single-building facility to one that included multiple components. In terms of architectural expression, breweries and distilleries were no different from other manufacturing or commercial (i.e. office) buildings. Buildings associated with the production of alcoholic beverages were similar in rhythm of voids to openings, window type, and overall scale to their commercial and industrial counterparts. An increase in the number of establishments such as saloons dedicated to the consumption of alcoholic beverages also occurred during the period.

Saloons

Whereas taverns and inns provided a public location for the purchase and consumption of alcohol throughout the colonial, early republic, and antebellum era, saloons took over that role beginning in the mid- to late- nineteenth century. Saloons (sometimes referred to as "corner bars") began appearing as locations for people to meet and entertain themselves while consuming alcoholic beverages by the mid-nineteenth century. Originating from the French *salon*, the saloon generally met the same or similar community needs and provided the same services as earlier taverns, with some saloons providing accommodations and food. Much like taverns, saloons could be purpose-built buildings, or operate out of a private residence. In 1852, for example, an "eating and drinking saloon" run by George Zimmerman in Baltimore was advertised; Zimmerman "inform[ed] his friends and the public generally, that he has opened House No. 7 HOLLIDAY STREET, formerly occupied by Jos. Mitchell, where he will be thankful to receive their patronage" (*The Baltimore Sun* 1852; Figure 5.10).

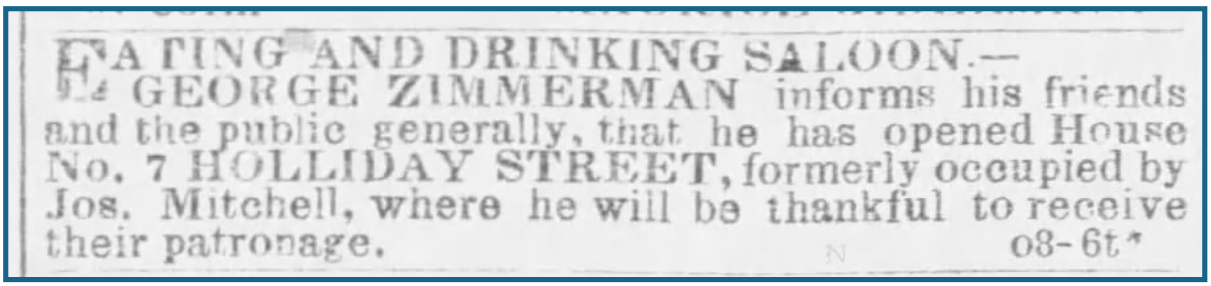

EATING AND DRINKING SALOON.—
GEORGE ZIMMERMAN informs his friends and the public generally, that he has opened House No. 7 HOLLIDAY STREET, formerly occupied by Jos. Mitchell, where he will be thankful to receive their patronage.
08-6t*

Figure 5.10 Newspaper clipping from The Baltimore Sun, 1852 (Source: The Baltimore Sun 1852)

Most saloons were not as genteel as their French namesake, but the amenities generally appealed to working-class people and became increasingly standardized. Most contained a large wooden bar with a brass foot rail to accommodate stand-up drinking; spittoons and mustache towels were positioned throughout for patron's use; behind the bar often was located a large mirror and shelves for bottles and glassware; some back-bars had massive pillars at either end that were topped with carved cornices. Many saloons contained backrooms for meetings, parties, and free lunch customers; if space permitted, the saloon might also have tables and chairs, lunch counters, gambling machines, and pool tables. The commonality of such amenities can be largely attributed to the advent of industrialization throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century: "Mass-produced glassware, furniture, gaming equipment, and other items could now be distributed by rail or boat to far-flung markets" (Powers 2006:145-146). Rising industrialization influenced the drinking experience in many ways, as saloons became effectively standardized:

> Bargoers [sic] could enter a new saloon with the confidence of knowing what to expect, for the spatial layout, facilities, and stock would be much the same there as down the street or across the country… The predictability of the physical environment also brought a measure of order to barroom conduct… the experienced saloongoer [sic] knew to proceed directly to the bar counter, to "assume the position" by slouching casually with one foot on the rail, and to purchase the requisite drink before approaching the free lunch counter or pool table. As saloons became increasingly standardized, such procedures evolved into traditions which smoothed barroom interactions and distinguished the seasoned saloongoer [sic] from the novice (Powers 2006:146).

As the population grew, the saloon stood out as a place for working-class people to assemble and network; by the 1870s, the well-off increasingly began to prefer drinking clubs or drinking in private homes, if not giving up alcohol altogether, leaving the saloon a largely working-class location. Unions frequently met in saloons, as well (Powers 2006:147). Saloons also served as "an oasis of familiarity and assistance for the urban migrant," allowing immigrants to meet and be social with members of their same ethnic group and to keep cultural traditions in their new home (Powers 2006:153).

Many Maryland saloons were barrel houses, where customers came with bottles, jugs, or pitchers, and bought whiskey and wine directly from kegs that lined the walls. In 1952, George Reus Jr. recalled his childhood in his father's barrel house, which had a regular saloon upstairs and a cellar filled with over two hundred barrels of various types of alcohol, of which 98 were kept on tap. Barrel house owners "kept their prices down by purchasing certificates directly from distillers. The certificate would be purchased at the same time as the whiskey was created but used a few years later, after the drink had properly aged" (Silberman 2011:119-120).

The relationship of breweries and saloons were so intertwined that saloons were sometimes referred to as "brewery saloons." For example, in Hagerstown, Jacob H. Zook began advertising his brewery saloon as early as 1873, stating that "The subscriber having leased the old Brewery property adjoining the Market House in Hagerstown has opened therein a Saloon, and provided himself with a LARGE STOCK OF CHOICE LIQUORS of every variety, for the accommodations of his friends and the festive public generally… Something Really Pure and Good will come to the Brewery Saloon and not be disappointed" (*The Herald and Torch Light* 1873).

Notably, saloons in urban areas became fixtures in working-class neighborhoods. Often directly sponsored by or tied to a brewery, saloons were social centers where customers could grab a "free lunch" with the purchase of a five-cent drink (Baltimore Museum of Industry n.d.).

To sell beer, breweries around the country often marketed their inventory through a network of "tied houses." This meant brewers frequently built, operated, or indebted local saloons, "tying" them to the brewery. Sometimes this "was through a 'no-money' down sale of beer. At other times, big brewers bought loyalty by sup-

plying a 'free' back bar in exchange for carrying the brewery's beer. Essentially, they were cashing in on the popularity wave, and dispensing product directly to the public without a middle man" (North American Brewers Association n.d.). Free equipment and interest-free loans often convinced saloon owners to sell a supplier's products exclusively. Notably, this was considered an efficient business practice; "Suppliers offered low acquisition costs to the tied house and a guaranteed return to the supplier" (Boney et al. 2017:3). However, the supplier was typically located a far distance away, making it difficult to be regulated by local authorities; moreover, the supplier continually pressured the tied house to increase business, leading to aggressive marketing and advertising strategies, such as offering free food (Boney et al. 2017:3). Additionally, given that saloons frequently did not have a wide variety of brands to sell due to the tied house system, local saloons were in fierce competition with one another, resulting in intentional marketing schemes to bring in more customers, including the lowering of prices, which temperance advocates saw as encouraging excessive consumption. Approximately 70 percent of all saloons in the U.S. were considered tied houses by 1909 (Powers 2006:146).

Patrons of saloons could also send and receive mail, cash paychecks, find jobs or other means of financial assistance, and discuss politics and labor organizing. Saloons also reflected the segregated norms of their time and place; almost exclusively male institutions, women could only participate in free-lunch deals if they entered the side door or "ladies' entrance", and ate in the back room. One difference from taverns, then, can be seen in the saloon's emphasis on masculinity. Working class women had to "rush the growler" (take their beer to go). Saloons were also racially segregated, with attempts to cross the color line in segregated cities, such as Baltimore, being met with "rejection or outright violence" (Baltimore Museum of Industry n.d.).

Breweries

In 1869, Sachse published a bird's eye view of Baltimore, which identified many of the city's breweries then in operation. Based on a review of sketches included on the map, several commonalities can be noted. Breweries operating during the late 1860s were more modest in terms of scale, size, and architectural ornamentation than their later counterparts. Frequently, the brewery site was enclosed with fencing (Figure 5.11). The complexes included multiple buildings; however, two buildings appear to dominate the complex. One building, based on scale and size, appears to have been used for administrative purposes; it has a decidedly domestic appearance. The second appears to have housed manufacturing and storage uses (Figure 5.12). While lager breweries were noted, exterior differences between those types of breweries and ones producing ales or porters, are not apparent suggesting production and processing differences were not expressed through exterior design and construction (Figure 5.13).

As with the previous early republic and antebellum period breweries continued to grow in size. The brewery itself increased as did the number and type of buildings in the brewery complex. The brewery could include a frame dwelling that also functioned as a saloon, a separate frame brewery, and stables (Figure 5.14). (Salem 1880:183). By the second half of the nineteenth century, a brewery complex could include a multi-story brick malt and storehouse, a building with fermenting rooms, stables, an ice house, vaults, and office buildings. The buildings were not necessarily adjacent to one another (Salem 1880:184). It is during this period when the term brewery appeared to no longer refer to a single, stand-alone building, but rather, came to refer to as a complex of different buildings, each of which was needed for a specific and discrete step in the brewing process (Figures 5.15. and 5.16). In form, the, buildings assumed the exterior appearance of a warehouse. Without the presence of a smokestack, vaults, and building signage, differentiating between a brewery and other manufacturing enterprise may have been difficult.

The brewery became a multi-faceted property that could include residential, office, manufacturing, and entertainment functions. A dwelling for the brewery owner's family, administrative spaces, and resources associated with the manufacturing of beer could be included in a brewery. Manufacturing resources could include cellars, which were "multi-story insulated buildings" used to store ice

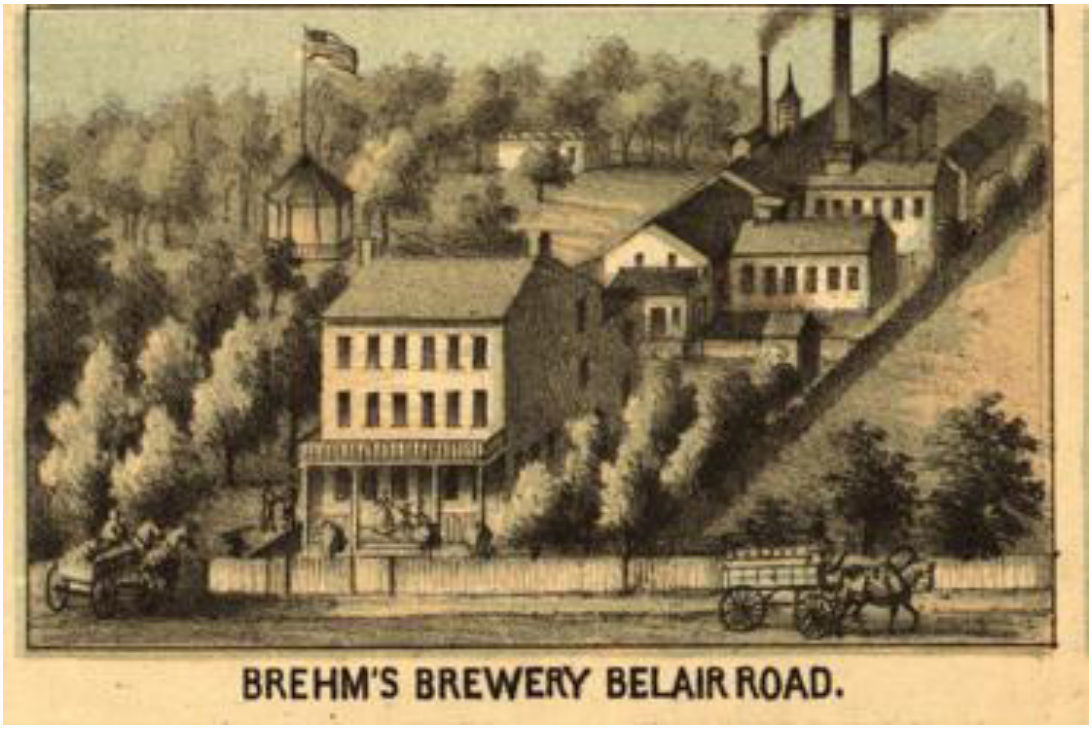


Figure 5.11 Brehm's Brewery, Baltimore (Source: Sachse 1869)

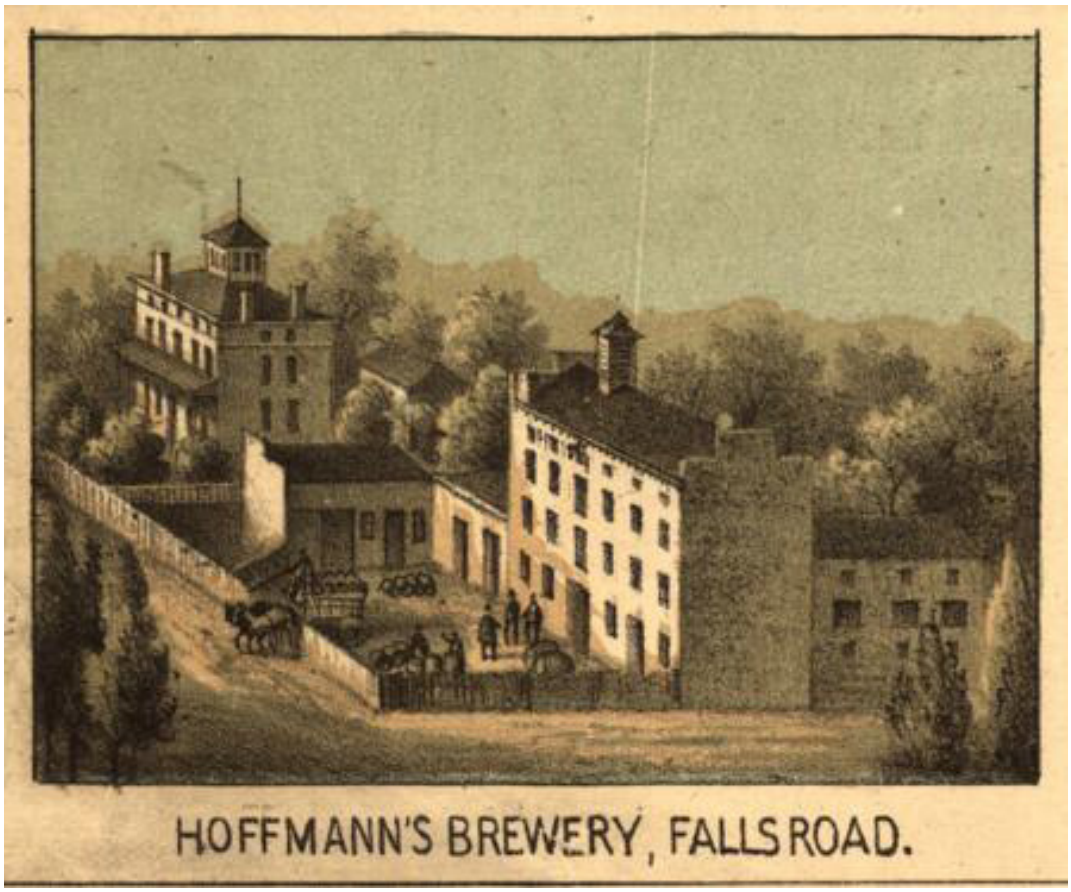


Figure 5.12 Hoffmann's Brewery, Baltimore (Source: Sachse 1869)

Figure 5.13 John Bauernschmidt's Lager Beer Brewery, Baltimore (Source: Sachse 1869)

Figure 5.14 Lauer's Park Brewery, Reading, Pennsylvania (Source: Salem 1880)

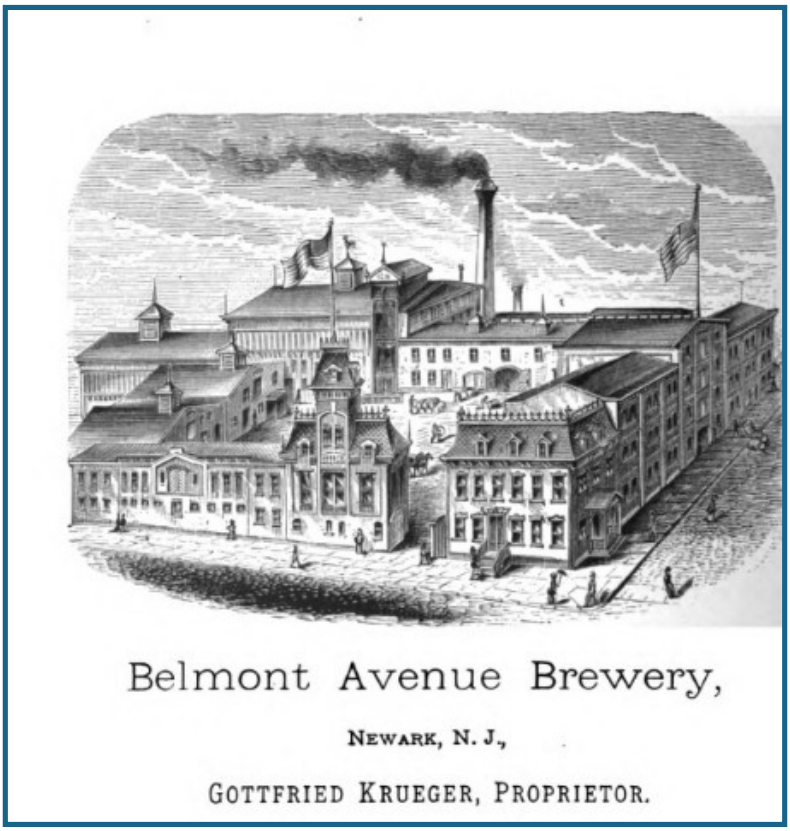


Figure 5.15 Belmont Avenue Brewery, Newark, New Jersey (Source: Salem 1880)

Figure 5.16 Schlitz Brewing Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Source: Salem 1880)

that was hoisted to cool the lagering below; massive storage vaults; and bottling facilities (Bird and Darsie 2002). Entertainment facilities could include beer gardens, taverns, concert venues, and bowling alleys (Bird and Darsie 2002). Stylistically, the buildings may have adopted a castle-like appearance; Romanesque Revival, Second Empire, and Italianate were particularly popular styles (Bird and Darsie 2002).

Conclusion

Alcohol production in the period between 1861-1919 was generally defined by a growing commercial industry, led by both Maryland rye and lager beer production. Legislation invariably hindered and encouraged the growth of alcohol production during this time period. However, advances in technology and scientific understanding led to increased production, particularly of beer. Both Maryland rye and lager beer continued to grow in popularity, and distilleries and breweries opened in significant numbers during this period. However, this rapid growth resulted in consolidation, and small firms were unable to compete with larger firms. By the onset of federal Prohibition in 1920, both industries had trended towards fewer producers, making a previously unimaginable quantity of alcohol for a broad market. This period, defined by the commercial production of alcohol, resulted predominantly in commercial buildings being identified as associated property types for the production and consumption of alcohol; these included saloons and breweries.

Chapter 6
Prohibition and Repeal (1920-1933)

This chapter presents a summary overview of the impacts of Prohibition on alcohol production and consumption in Maryland. Between the turn of the century and the enactment of federal Prohibition in 1920, the alcohol industry remained relatively stable with few changes; the legislative actions that created Prohibition, however, fundamentally changed alcohol production nationally and at a state-wide level. This chapter is broken up into three sections with subsections. The first section, The Passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Volstead Act, and Prohibition's Reception in Maryland, examines the path to federal Prohibition. Early forms of Prohibition are examined, as are the legislative make-up of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Prohibition's reception in Maryland, and the lack of enforcement laws at the state level are discussed; the section ends with a discussion around Prohibition's repeal and regulation's following repeal. The second section, Alcohol Production, Smuggling, and Consumption in Maryland, focuses specifically on the production of alcohol, both legally and illegally, in Maryland during Prohibition, as well as the prevalence of bootlegging, moonshining, and rum running in the state. The proliferation of speakeasies in Maryland are also examined. The chapter concludes with a section focused on the identification of the limited number of property types associated with Prohibition-era alcohol production and consumption.

The Passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Volstead Act, and Prohibition's Reception in Maryland

Forms of Prohibition had been adopted throughout the nation for decades prior to the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment. Even in Maryland, local option laws (laws passed by political jurisdictions and localities, such as counties, that enable areas to forbid, free, or license certain activities within their boundaries) led to the banning of alcohol in numerous localities and counties, as discussed in Chapter 5 (Britannica n.d.b). The archival record is not clear how successful these efforts were or to what extent they impacted production and distribution. Efforts by temperance advocates coalesced during World War I to result in the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, which was clarified and enforced by the Volstead Amendment. Despite the presence of local option laws throughout the state, Maryland did not pass any state-wide Prohibition enforcement laws; alcohol for regular consumption in Maryland existed in a gray area, where it was federally illegal but not enforced by the state.

The Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act

As previously discussed in Chapter 5, the temperance movement grew throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The growing movement led to a significant number of "dry" candidates being elected into Congress in 1916; by 1917, "the widespread proliferation of state prohibition laws" combined with the enactment of wartime prohibition had laid the groundwork for national, permanent Prohibition (Murrill 2023:2).[1] On December 18, 1917, Congress proposed the Eighteenth Amendment. On January 16, 1919, the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified when Nebraska voted in favor of ratification. There was one year's delay, in which consumers had the full opportunity to stock up on as much alcohol as they wanted; with no one certain of how long Prohibition would last (as there was

1 During World War I, the Wartime Prohibition Act was passed in November 1918 as a temporary federal measure. The act prohibited the manufacture of beer and wine in the U.S. after May 1919, and also banned the sale of alcoholic beverages stronger than 2.75 percent alcohol in the nation after July 1, 1919 (Lerner 2011).

a hope among anti-Prohibitionists that it would not be permanent), many took the opportunity to buy massive amounts of their preferred alcohol (Bready 1990:371-372).

The National Prohibition Act, more commonly known as the Volstead Act, was passed by Congress in October of 1919, which provided for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment (Constitution Annotated n.d.). The Volstead Act, over 25 pages long, sought to clarify the Eighteenth Amendment and provide for its enforcement. The bill was drafted by Wayne Wheeler, leader of the Anti-Saloon League. Any beverage over 0.5 percent alcohol was considered an "intoxicating liquor" (Glavan 2019). Furthermore, locations that illegally manufactured, sold, or stored the aforementioned "intoxicating liquors" would be declared a nuisance, and were subject to penalties defined by the act. Illegal manufacturing of alcohol encompassed the production of alcohol over 0.5 percent without a license; licenses were given for industrial alcohol manufacturing, the production of "near beer" (beer that fell under 0.5 percent, but required the manufacturing of stronger beer for its creation), the manufacture of alcohol for religious purposes, and the production of alcohol for medical purposes.[2] Essentially, illegal manufacturing of alcohol during Prohibition consisted of producing alcohol over 0.5 percent for human consumption (Glavan 2019). Penalties for Prohibition violations included civil and criminal penalties, such as property forfeiture. The act also granted federal Prohibition agents enforcement powers throughout the U.S. (Constitution Annotated n.d.).

Despite the attempted clarification of Prohibition offered by the Volstead Act, many members of the public found the regulations confusing and difficult to interpret. President Woodrow Wilson vetoed the bill on the grounds that it sought to enforce wartime Prohibition, which ended in November of 1918; however, his veto was overridden by the House, and by the Senate the next day. Enforcement was initially assigned to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), and was later transferred to the Justice Department and the Bureau of Prohibition (known as the Prohibition Bureau) (Glavan 2019).

National Prohibition went into effect on January 17, 1920. Contrary to popular belief, drinking alcohol under the Eighteenth Amendment was not illegal. Consumption of alcohol was legal during Prohibition, though all alcohol consumed had to come from a private, legally-owned supply; this could include the consumption of alcohol purchased prior to the beginning of Prohibition (Maryland Alcohol Licensing Association [MALA] 2024; Lerner n.d.).

Anti-Prohibition Sentiment in Maryland and Lack of Prohibition Enforcement in Maryland

Enforcement of Prohibition was intended to be the work of both federal and state forces; however, Maryland, led by Governor Albert C. Ritchie, was the only state that did not pass any enforcement acts when Prohibition went into effect on January 17, 1920. Maryland's lack of enforcement earned the state the nickname "The Free State." In 1923, Georgia Congressman William D. Upshaw denounced the state for its refusal to pass enforcement legislation. In response, Hamilton Owens, editor of the Baltimore Sun, wrote a satirical editorial entitled "The Maryland Free State," which argued that Maryland should secede rather than prohibit alcohol sales. Owens ultimately decided not to print the editorial, but popularized the nickname in later writings (Maryland Manual On-Line 2022). While the manufacture, sale, and transport of alcoholic beverages was still federally outlawed in Maryland, as the state legislature did not pass legislation defining roles and responsibilities for state-level enforcement, all enforcement was left to federal agents, who were often overworked.

The absence of state-wide enforcement laws was due to the belief among Maryland legislators that Prohibition was an infringement on the rights of Marylanders (Maryland Center for History and Culture [MCHC] n.d.b). Though enforcement in the state was left largely to federal officials; some areas that were staunchly Prohibitionist would enforce federal laws more strictly on the local levels. This was done through local option laws, discussed earlier in this chap-

2 While the medical community had begun to question alcohol's efficacy as medicine, the idea of alcohol as medicine lingered. During Prohibition, the use of medical alcohol skyrocketed, as consumers searched for a way to obtain their preferred drink (Gambino 2013).

ter, which often resulted in failure; largely, whenever state and local police were involved with bootlegging and moonshining, it was not targeted enforcement and, rather, began with a speeding violation (Leonard 2019). Bootlegging and moonshining in Maryland is discussed at length later in this chapter.

Repeal of Prohibition

Prohibition proved to be deeply unpopular and increasingly difficult to enforce. The election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) in 1932 and the Democratic party platform, combined with the effects of the Great Depression, encouraged many members of the federal government to begin distancing themselves from Prohibition. Even before FDR's March 1933 inauguration, Congress had passed the Twenty-First Amendment in February. Section 1 repealed the Eighteenth Amendment. Section 2 stated that "the transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited; Section 2, essentially, returned the liquor question to the states, and treated liquor as a commerce issue. Section 3 provided instructions for ratification of the amendment (Walsh 2017:125). When Marylanders voted for the state convention to ratify the Twenty-First Amendment, over 80 percent of Marylanders voted for repeal (MALA 2024). The Twenty-First Amendment was ratified on December 5, 1933, formally ending federal Prohibition.

One of FDR's first acts in office was signing the Cullen-Harrison Bill (also known as the Beer-Wine Revenue Act, or the Beer Bill). The Beer Bill liberalized the Volstead Act, and allowed for the selling and consumption of 3.2 percent alcohol beer. The bill took effect in most states, including Maryland, on April 7, 1933 (Walsh 2017:125-126).

Maryland residents were excited by the return of real beer for the first time in 13 years, and celebrations were planned for April 6, "New Beer's Eve" (Walsh 2017:125-132). Famously, H. L. Mencken celebrated the return of legal beer at the Rennert Hotel bar, at the corner of Saratoga and Liberty Streets in Baltimore (no longer standing). The hotel manager invited Mencken to drink the "first glass of legal beer to be served after the repeal of Prohibition", an offer Mencken accepted (Figure 6.1) (Digital Maryland n.d.). Despite a weekend of festivities and parties, not one arrest was made in the morning hours of April 7. Speakeasies complied with the new law and applied for beer licenses, and arrests for drunkenness in Baltimore for the first month of legal beer (n=305) were actually lower than the same time in 1932 (n=315) (Walsh 2017:125-132).

Regulation Post-Repeal: Licensing Models, The Three Tier Distribution System, and Control Models

The Twenty-First Amendment left individual states responsible for the regulation of alcohol. The amendment and the federal government did not issue guidance as to how this regulation was meant to be accomplished. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., a strong proponent of temperance, sought to meet this lack of guidance. Rockefeller commissioned Raymond B. Fosdick, an attorney, and Albert L. Scott, an engineer, to study how alcohol was regulated overseas. The resulting book, *Toward Liquor Control*, was published in 1933 and became popular among state alcoholic beverages regulators; it is considered one of the most influential books on alcoholic beverages legislation ever published, and the regulatory concepts offered in the book have been used to guide Maryland's post-Prohibition alcohol regulation (Boney et al. 2017:2).

Toward Liquor Control introduced different methods of regulating alcohol's sale, those being a licensing model and a control model. In a licensing model, "private parties purchase licenses from the state to sell alcoholic beverages. In Maryland, local retail operations are regulated by each of 25 licensing jurisdictions, which are the City of Annapolis, Baltimore City, and each of the counties in the state. Each licensing jurisdiction has a board of license commissioners that follows the licensing model" (Boney et al. 2017:4). Under a licensing model of alcoholic beverage distribution, the three tier system is the characteristic component. The three tier distribution system is meant to prevent vertical integration in the alcohol industry by separating ownership and operations

Figure 6.1 **H.L. Mencken drinking "his first public glass of post-Prohibition beer" at Rennert Hotel bar, about 12:30 a.m. April 7, 1933 (Source: Digital Maryland, H. L. Mencken Collection – Enoch Pratt Free Library)**

among manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers. In essence, alcohol producers and sellers are only allowed to sell between their associated 'tiers' (i.e., manufacturers to wholesalers, wholesalers to retailers, and retailers to consumers) (Boney et al. 2017:5). The wholesaler tier was first conceived of in *Toward Liquor Control*; prior to Prohibition, the alcohol industry had been generally split into suppliers and retailers, with very few wholesalers. Today, the licensing model is used by a majority of states; only 17 states (not including several jurisdictions in Alaska, Minnesota, South Dakota, and Maryland) employ a form of the control model (Boney et al. 2017:5-7).

However, parts of Maryland do not solely abide by the licensing model as described in *Total Liquor Control;* parts of the state adhere to a control model instead. In a control model, "a state-owned monopoly may control the wholesaling or the retail selling of alcoholic beverages. Retail operations are conducted through retail state or agency stores, which in Maryland are called dispensaries"; four counties (Montgomery, Worcester, Somerset, and Wicomico) follow the licensing model generally, but follow the control model for certain operations (Boney et al. 2017:4).

Alcohol Production, Smuggling, and Consumption in Maryland

Despite Maryland's lack of state-wide enforcement laws, the enactment of federal Prohibition did change how alcohol was produced, purchased, and consumed within the state. During Prohibition, breweries and distilleries had to either close their businesses or begin making alcohol or alcohol-adjacent products that were legally permitted (discussed further in Chapter 7) (Van Munching 1997:20). Furthermore, Prohibition further altered the landscape through the introduction of speakeasies for the illegal sale and consumption of alcohol. In order to obtain the alcohol for speakeasies, or for personal, at-home

consumption, practices such as bootlegging, moonshining, and rumrunning became prevalent throughout the state. As the illicit alcohol trade grew, more people endeavored to make their own alcohol; this sometimes resulted in death or injury as ill-informed persons tried and failed to make safe forms of alcohol.

Speakeasies, Bootlegging, Moonshining, and Rumrunning in the Prohibition Era

Speakeasies arose out of a desire to purchase alcohol and consume it in a public, social setting. In Maryland, speakeasies existed largely along the Route 1 corridor, which was also a significant bootlegging route. The proliferation of speakeasies and bootlegging along the Route 1 corridor (which was a major transportation route and a precursor to the modern interstate highway system) can likely be attributed to the road's importance as a major north/south route, from Maine to Florida, that also went through major cities such as Baltimore and Washington, D.C. Proximity to such a major transportation route ensured high traffic, which meant more potential customers for speakeasies. Additionally, bootleggers could easily blend in among the traffic and smuggle alcohol to multiple major cities. It is likely that out-of-state drivers along Route 1 also served as cover for bootleggers, as out-of-state drivers were not inherently suspicious along Route 1. Alcoholic beverages could then be quickly, efficiently, and quietly moved throughout the East Coast along Route 1 and similar thoroughfares.

The U.S. Route 1 (Washington Boulevard) corridor through Laurel was of particular importance in the transportation of alcohol throughout Maryland. Laurel became a main conduit for the shipment of alcohol headed south from Baltimore, somewhat ironically, given that Laurel had passed a failed local option law around the turn of the century. Newspapers "regularly carried wild stories of federal agents chasing bootleggers through Laurel, which often resulted in crashes" (Leonard 2019). In 1921, it was reported that

> More of the illegally removed Canton Distilleries whisky fell into the hands of the authorities yesterday after an exciting chase on Washington road, 10 miles northeast of Laurel. State Policeman Vermillion captured an automobile, valued at $3,000 [$52,119.41 in 2023], after it burst into flames. In the tonneau was found nearly 100 pints of 7-year-old whisky bearing the label of the Canton Distilleries (*The Baltimore Sun* 1921).

Federal prohibition agents, apparently received little to no cooperation from Baltimore police in stopping speakeasies and bootlegging. Prohibition Commissioner James Doran was quoted in 1928 as saying:

> We have no cooperation in the State of Maryland other than the sheriffs of some of the counties where they have local option laws. We thought we have secured a great deal of cooperation in the Baltimore Police Department when they agreed to protect our men from riot when they were making raids and to preserve public order. That was helpful. Before that we were thrown to the wolves over there (Walsh 2017:91).

As Prohibition progressed, bootlegging and moonshining became significant. Maryland was one of the "wettest" states, with Baltimore being one of the "wettest" cities. The Chesapeake Bay served as an excellent route for trafficking illegal alcohol. Prior to the construction of the Bay Bridge, the Eastern Shore was a complex waterway, with ample wooded cover for bootlegging and moonshining activities; "Geographically, there probably could not have been a better design for smuggling than the shores of the Chesapeake Bay" (Cerullo 2017). Furthermore, the Bay provided easy access to international waters. Oystermen were known to hide mason jars of "white lightning" in bushel baskets of raw oysters. Boats of all kinds were used for transport, with many watermen fishing by day and smuggling by night. The Eastern Shore saw a few federal raids, though federal agents were frequently overwhelmed by the sheer number of smugglers, as was the Coast Guard. Some bootlegging operations along the Chesapeake Bay continued on after Prohibition ended, and into the 1950s (Priebe and Priebe 2015:117).

One of the most famous moonshining stills within the state was known as the Blue Blazes Whiskey Still, located in what is now the Catoctin Mountain Park near Thurmont. The Blue Blazes Still was a significant moonshining operation, considered to be commercial-grade. The Blue Blazes Still was a "steamer" still; the Blue Blazes was raided on July 31, 1929, "more than 25,000 gallons of mash were found in 13 vats of 2,000 gallon [sic] capacity each" (NPS 2020). The Blue Blazes Still was so large it used a boiler from a steam locomotive. In the raid, Deputy Sheriff Clyde L. Hauver was fatally wounded; two moonshiners were convicted in connection with his murder. The original Blue Blazes Still is no longer present, as it was removed as a result of the 1929 raid. However, another still sits in its place in the present day for visitors to the Catoctin Mountain Park. The still on display is significantly smaller than the original Blue Blazes Still, and is "more typical of the smaller moonshine still of an earlier day" (NPS 2020).

As more people became involved in the illicit alcohol trade, new dangers arose. Most significant was the threat of improperly produced, poisonous alcohol. One of the cheapest and most distributed homemade liquor was bathtub gin, made from high-proof alcohol, glycerin, water, juniper, and, in some deadly cases, wood alcohol (Komathy 2023). Veteran moonshiners knew that steel tanks would cause moonshine to become poisonous. Moonshiners who did not know this, or simply preferred to prioritize quick money-making as opposed to safety, produced poor-quality moonshine that, in some cases, led to death. Some bootleggers sold denatured alcohol [ethanol with additives to make it poisonous, bad-tasting, foul-smelling, or nauseating, to discourage human consumption], which could cause blindness and death (Cerullo 2017). In fact, the Coolidge administration "effectively encouraged the practice as a way of discouraging illegal consumption, by giving tax breaks to industrial-alcohol manufactures who "denatured," or poisoned, their supply" (Burton 2016). In 1919, an article in *The Evening Sun* entitled "Beware The Bootlegger!" stated:

> In view of the shocking toll of human lives by poisonous substitutes for booze, in these dry times the question at once arises whether we do not need another constitutional amendment absolutely forbidding the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, etc., of wood alcohol, with a Volstead act for its enforcement…
>
> Puritanically inclined Prohibitionists will perhaps argue (especially if they burn alcohol in their motorcars) that the hundreds who have been killed and blinded by poisonous "whisky" were sinners upon whom the judgment of God had fallen – that they had no business to drink the stuff and got only their just deserts…
>
> But the practical lesson taught by the terrible record of death and blindness following prohibition is never to trust a bootlegger, never in your most thirst-crazed moments to drink anything unless you know exactly what it is and whence it came, and be mighty careful whose homemade beer or wine or spirits you imbibe. Death and blindness lurk in the bootlegger's bottle (*The Evening Sun* 1919).

This manifested in particular during the week of Christmas 1926, when almost 100 people died across the nation from the effects of drinking industrial alcohol (Burton 2016).

The effects of Prohibition on Maryland crime statistics are difficult to quantify. Given that Maryland did not enforce Prohibition, arrests made in conjunction with Prohibition violations are innately skewed, and likely are not representative of the true amount of Prohibition violations that occurred in the state. The statistical findings do not clear Maryland of Prohibition-related crime; as seen earlier in this chapter, criminal activity did occur in the state as a direct result of Prohibition.

Associated Property Types

Prohibition had a devasting impact on the alcoholic beverage industry. Many breweries and distilleries closed during Prohibition or were forced to transition their businesses to make new products to stay open. After the repeal of Pro-

hibition, the country faced a devasting economic depression that was followed by World War II. Very few buildings were constructed during the Great Depression, and all new construction activity during the World War II era overwhelmingly was undertaken in direct support of the war effort. New construction of breweries and distilleries did not occur in earnest until the postwar construction boom of the 1950s and 1960s.

Because alcohol production came to a near standstill during Prohibition, property types associated with illicit consumption and transportation of alcoholic beverages represents a new property type from the era discussed in this chapter. These resources include speakeasies, watercraft, and hidden stills. These resources, because of their secretive nature, may be difficult to identify. No specific speakeasies or watercraft were identified during the course of this current investigation. A review of oral interviews and personal memoirs may be necessary to identify select resources. It is anticipated that not many resources are likely to remain, and if they do, they may have associations other than Prohibition.

The few distilleries constructed immediately after the repeal of Prohibition included the Baltimore Pure Rye facility. Buildings from the period have a decidedly warehouse exterior appearance; they are nearly indistinguishable from other manufacturing and warehousing uses. Distilleries were-multi-component complexes featuring large-scale brick buildings, smokestacks, and water towers. Painted signage on the building, smokestack, or water tower might be the only identifying elements to inform the viewer of precisely the type of production taking place. On the exterior, the buildings likely will incorporate contemporary architectural stylistic elements from the time of construction (Woolever 2023).

Conclusion

The Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act were the results of decades of temperance movement organization and advocacy. Despite the movement's success in obtaining federal Prohibition, it was never enforced in Maryland, due largely to issues surrounding individual rights. Despite Maryland never enforcing Prohibition, alcohol production and consumption were impacted in the state; speakeasies opened for willing customers, and bootleggers, moonshiners, and rumrunners smuggled and made their own home-made alcohol. Prohibition ultimately proved to be deeply unpopular, and difficult to enforce; after thirteen years, it was repealed by the passage of the Twenty-First Amendment.

Chapter 7
The Maryland Alcohol Industry during the Post-Prohibition Era and the Late Twentieth Century (1933-2024)

This chapter presents a summary overview of the alcohol industry in Maryland during the post-Prohibition era and the late twentieth century. The chapter is divided into five sections, some of which have subsections. The first section, Legislation Impacting the Alcohol Industry Post-Prohibition and the Late Twentieth Century, explores legislation passed following Prohibition and the impacts on the distilled spirits industry and the beer industry. The second section, The Decline of Maryland Rye, analyzes the reasons for Maryland rye's declining popularity and decrease in production. A section entitled Beer Production in Maryland during the Post-Prohibition Era and the Late Twentieth Century follows, which analyzes the roles of national beer companies and craft breweries throughout this period. A fourth section, Development of a Maryland Wine Industry during the Post-Prohibition Era and Late Twentieth Century, illustrates how Prohibition directly led to the creation of a growing Maryland wine industry. The chapter concludes with a discussion focused on the identification of the limited number of property types associated with post-Prohibition era and late twentieth century alcohol production.

Legislation Impacting the Alcohol Industry Post-Prohibition and the Late Twentieth Century

In the immediate aftermath of Prohibition, legislation began to impact the ways in which alcohol production was able to grow following repeal. Legislation encouraged the growth of the bourbon industry, somewhat at the cost of Maryland rye's post-Prohibition growth. Later in the twentieth century, the legalization of homebrewing led to the popularization of craft brewing. Modern brewery laws in the state have been impacted by large, international beer companies as well as craft breweries; recent legislative changes have attempted to encourage the growth of beer production in the state, with mixed outcomes. For example, Guinness opened and closed a production plant in Baltimore; however, multiple small, craft breweries have opened throughout the state in recent years (Unger n.d.; Mayhugh 2018).

Legislative Impacts on Distilled Spirits

Following the repeal of Prohibition, legislative actions directly hurt the ability of Maryland distillers to reenter the market. For example, Congress did not declare a distillation holiday in advance of Prohibition's end that would have allowed distillers to replenish their stock ahead of repeal. As a result, U.S. distillers were at a massive competitive disadvantage compared to imported aged spirits; U.S. distillers had to wait for Prohibition to formally end to begin making new spirits for sale, whereas foreign spirit producers could begin shipping high-quality, aged spirits into the U.S. on day one of Prohibition's end (Pickerell 2018:3). U.S. distillers were unable to build up significant stores of quality, aged alcohol to sell in the immediate aftermath of Prohibition; therefore, the only way to remain competitive would be through low-prices. However, legislation enacted in 1933 also disproportionately benefitted bourbon distillers as opposed to rye distillers. The first farm subsidy bill supported corn, but not rye. Farm subsidization did not support rye for several years. Corn, critically, was used as one of the main ingredients in Kentucky bourbon. The subsidization of corn, therefore, made bourbon cheaper to produce and purchase than Maryland rye (Pickerell 2018:3).

Legislative Impacts on Beer

The legalization of homebrewing for personal and family use in 1978 allowed homebrewers to legally brew and experiment with their beer. The ability to create new and interesting beer fla-

vors, which massive beer corporations had largely avoided doing, allowed for a craft beer (defined generally as beer made by small, independent brewers; craft breweries are discussed further later in this chapter) market to flourish (Colleluori 2015). Homebrewing remained in a legal gray area following the ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment, as the legislation was silent on the practice. Homebrew recipes were circulated among hobbyists who formed homebrewing clubs that produced alcohol flavors not offered by large commercial brewers. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter signed an act into law removing some restrictions on the practice; however, the Twenty-First Amendment still allowed states to regulate alcohol, and homebrewing regulations differ from state to state. Homebrewing is presently legal at a federal level and in all 50 states (Komathy 2023). In Maryland, Article 2B, §1 maintains that a license or permit is not required for the manufacture of family beer exclusively for home consumption; in essence, homebrewing is legal in the state without a permit, provided the beer is not being sold (American Homebrewers Association 2005; Justia n.d.).

Modern Brewery Laws in Maryland

As of 2020, Maryland was the home of 112 craft breweries, paving the way for a $900 million economic impact for the state (Casselbury 2020). The reason for a growing number of breweries in Maryland in the last decade can be attributed to changing laws. Before 2015, the laws in Maryland regarding distribution were complex, but essentially meant this: "Breweries could not sell a pint of beer directly to its customers. They could make beer, invite customers in for a tour and allow them to sample the wares, but they couldn't complete a sale – instead, the manufacturer (i.e., the brewery) had to sell to a wholesaler, who would sell the beer to a distributor or retailer" (Casselbury 2020). The loosening of taproom regulations has allowed craft breweries, in particular, to grow. Additionally, in 2017, the Maryland General Assembly passed a measure that increased the limit of brewery on-premise sales from 500 barrels of beer per year to 2,000 barrels; in 2019, the cap was then increased to 5,000 (Unger n.d.). The impact of legislation on state breweries can be seen in the growth of the state craft brewing industry. As of 2019, Maryland housed 112 craft breweries; the number of craft breweries in the state alone outnumbered the total number of breweries in the nation in the 1970s (discussed more later in this chapter) (Foley 2020).

Maryland beer laws before the changes were described as "archaic"; legislative changes occurred in part due to the interest Guinness showed in opening a plant in Baltimore (Vorel 2017). In the summer of 2017, Guinness began making beer in Baltimore and serving it in a taproom while the main Open Gate facility was under construction (Unger n.d.; Guiness Open Gate Brewery n.d.). The Open Gate brewery is located on the site of the former Maryland Distilling Company, which originally opened in 1933, and produced the Lord Calvert Whisky brand; the Open Gate brewery was intended to be somewhat more experimental with their brewing, in an effort to remind people that "Guinness is not a beer, it's a brewery." Of the beer produced by Guinness in the U.S., most notable is Baltimore Blonde (Guinness Open Gate Brewery n.d.). Importantly, the Guinness facility is massive. The space takes up 62 acres of land, and contains an outdoor seating and lawn area with a capacity for nearly 4,500 people, an 82-barrel brewhouse, a visitor's center, a taproom and bar, a 10-barrel experimental brewhouse, and a third-floor restaurant (Mayhugh 2018). However, the Guinness production facility in Halethorpe, Maryland, was closed after three years, and outsourced to a brewer in New York, despite incentives offered by Baltimore County to continue operating and keep jobs in-state (Clabaugh 2023).

Legislation Regarding the Sale of Alcoholic Beverages

In 1978, state legislators banned Maryland grocery stores from being able to sell alcohol, in order to protect small retailers from major chain retailers (Marylanders for Better Beer and Wine Laws 2020; MD Alcohol Choice 2021). Beer, wine, and spirits remain (generally, save for a few grandfathered-in stores) unable to be purchased at grocery stores, pharmacies, wholesale clubs, gas stations, and convenience stores;

to buy beer, wine, or spirits, Marylanders generally have to visit a dedicated liquor store (MD Alcohol Choice 2021).

The Decline of Maryland Rye

Following the repeal of Prohibition, the bourbon distilleries in Kentucky were better situated to build facilities to garner economy of scale, as there was plenty of land and a developed rail system (Pickerell 2018:3). Legislative actions, as discussed previously in this chapter, helped Kentucky bourbon distillers to grow following Prohibition; Maryland rye distillers did not receive the same legislative benefits post-Prohibition. Due to the struggles of the Maryland rye industry post-Prohibition, Maryland rye declined in both popularity and manufacturing; by the early 1970s, Maryland rye was not produced in the state (Woolever 2023).

Further worsening Maryland rye distiller's ability to come back following Prohibition was the taste of the whiskey itself. Kentucky's corn-heavy "western" style of rye was typically easier for consumers to physically drink; Kentucky bourbon maintained a mash bill (the combination of grains used to produce a spirit) of at least 51 percent corn, which produced a sweet flavor; Maryland rye had a mash bill of at least 51 percent rye, which created a spicier, drier taste (Strickland 2020; Wright 2017). After repeal sweeter and water-downed whiskeys became more popular, "thanks to a generation now accustomed to the lighter Canadian whiskey that had been smuggled over the border during the ban – the beginning of a cultural shift toward lighter spirits, and the end for rye" (Woolever 2023). Moreover, some Kentucky distilleries had been permitted to continue production during Prohibition for "medicinal purposes", keeping the knowledge of distilling alive and producing a decent supply to bring to market immediately upon repeal. Rye distillers in Maryland struggled during Prohibition and after its repeal. Many had closed, sold, or transitioned to new industries (Woolever 2023). The last rye whiskey distilled in Maryland was produced by Pikesville, which was produced in the state until 1972 (Woolever 2023).

With few exceptions, independent rye whiskey brands died off entirely or were bought by larger bourbon corporations. Bourbon distilleries would switch to rye distilling for one or two days a year to meet the declining demand for rye; no marketing was done in support of rye whiskey. By 2006, there was only about 150,000 total 9-liter cases of rye sold in the U.S., compared with 14.7 million cases of bourbon (Pickerell 2018:3; Wright 2017; Woolever 2023).

Beer Production in Maryland during the Post-Prohibition Era and the Late Twentieth Century

Following the repeal of Prohibition, the beer industry was dominated by large, national corporations. Small breweries could not compete with large beer companies, especially with the advancements in refrigeration and packing that allowed for beer to be shipped thousands of miles. Post-Prohibition, take-home packaged (or canned) beer became one of the most popular ways to consume beer; small breweries were frequently taken over by these "shipping breweries" (Colleluori 2015). The number of breweries nationally decreased significantly in response to the increased capacity of national brewing companies. After homebrewing was legalized in the 1970s (as discussed earlier in this chapter), craft brewing experienced some growth, largely as a result of consumers desiring more variety in their beer, which national beer companies were unable or unwilling to provide.

National Beer Companies

With the repeal of Prohibition, the beer industry slowly began to bounce back. However, it was not the craft beer industry (defined as a brewery that produced 6 million barrels of beer or less each year) that succeeded. In fact, the post-Prohibition beer industry looked quite different from the pre-Prohibition beer industry (Casselbury 2020). Notably, following Prohibition's repeal, in an attempt to "prevent the excesses that had been attributed to saloons", legislation forbade alcohol manufacturers from owning or participating in tied-houses, requiring them to sell to wholesalers instead (Stack 2003). Furthermore, advancements in refrigeration, advertisement, manufacturing technology, and distribution networks following the end of Prohibition enabled beer (and

other beverages) to be canned and shipped thousands of miles away, with a significant shelf life. Large brewing companies, that could afford to renovate and refurbish their operations, retooled their physical plants for other uses, such as the production of industrial alcohol or soft drinks (Van Munching 1997:20). These larger companies dominated the post-Prohibition market, due largely to the production of one or two styles of beer, made with relatively inexpensive ingredients that could be easily transported *en masse* across the nation (Schratz 2019).

Post-Prohibition, beer in take-home packaging became incredibly popular. Bottled beer had been a popular but not a major part of the market (by volume) prior to Prohibition; however, in the first-year post-repeal, a quarter of all beer was bottled. In 1935, the Continental Can Company introduced a metal can with a cap seal, and the American Can Company introduced a flat top version. By the early 1940s, take-home packaging (in both bottles and cans) accounted for half of all beer sold, often easily purchased in grocery stores. U.S. brewing increased during World War II. The further expansion of major beer companies during World War II can largely be attributed to two factors: German-Americans had been largely accepted as U.S. citizens, and U.S. troops desire for beer. Many large brewers made up to 15 percent of their output available to the military during wartime, exposing "huge numbers of small-town Americans to their by now national brands and built intense loyalty among grateful soldiers" (Van Munching 1997:22-23).

Larger breweries were able to purchase and consolidate their competitors' businesses in a period of rapid consolidation across the U.S. brewing industry. This rapid consolidation nearly gutted the smaller-scale brewing industry, with many small breweries being "gobbled up by large, so-called "shipping breweries"" (Colleluori 2015). Consumers were no longer required to go to a local brewery or tavern for a beer; instead, they could purchase canned beer and enjoy it anywhere. The economic impact was so severe that just six brewing companies gained control of over 90 percent of the entire national beer market by the 1960s (Schratz 2019). By 1970, there were only 89 breweries left in the U.S., with only 42 companies operating them (Colleluori 2015).

Craft Breweries

A craft brewer is defined by the Brewers Association as a small, independent brewer. Specifically, a craft brewery must meet three requirements: the company makes beer and has an Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau Notice; the annual production of a brewery is six million barrels of beer or fewer; and the company is independent. There are six craft brewing market segments, including: microbreweries, which sells at least 75 percent of its beer off-site and produces fewer than 15,000 barrels per year; brewpubs, which sells at least 25 percent of its beer on-site and operates a restaurant-brewery; taproom breweries, which sells at least 25 percent of its beer on-site; regional breweries, which brews between 15,000 and 5 million barrels per year; contract brewing companies, which is any business that hires another brewery to brew its beer; and alternating proprietors, which is two or more brewers that use the same brewing space. As opposed to mass-produced beer, which uses cheaper products to keep manufacturing costs reasonable, craft brewers make smaller batches, oftentimes using ingredients that "offer a much broader scope of flavor" (*The Baltimore Sun* 2023).

Craft brewing represented a new strategy in the brewing industry in order for small brewers to be able to compete with the national companies. Instead of competing on the basis of price or brand recognition, craft brewers emphasized the flavors and freshness inherent to local, small batch beers, which national beer companies could not reproduce on the national level. In response, Anheuser-Busch, Miller, and Coors "all tried to incorporate ideas from the microbrewery movement… when this failed, they have bought shares in or outright control of some microbreweries" (Stack 2003). Craft beer largely could not be reproduced by national companies due to either financial concerns (i.e., fears that the market was too small to be worth catering to), or to logistics issues (i.e., a major company with massive production plants cannot easily turn towards small-batch production)

Development of a Maryland Wine Industry during the Post-Prohibition Era and Late Twentieth Century

The Maryland wine industry experienced its growth due to Prohibition. Many wine drinkers began fermenting their own grape juice at home due to Prohibition; this directly led to an interest in wine production throughout the state. Much of the development of Maryland wine can be attributed to Philip Wagner, who wrote *American Wines and How to Make Them,* one of the most popular and accessible books on winemaking, in 1933. Vineyards and wineries began appearing in the state throughout the late twentieth century. Maryland wineries organized into the Association of Maryland Wineries (now the Maryland Wineries Association) in the 1980s, to plan and operate the Maryland Wine Festival in Westminster, Maryland.

Philip Wagner: the Rise of Maryland's Wine Industry

Philip Wagner, Maryland's first commercial winery owner, wrote in his 1933 book, *American Wines and How to Make Them,* that:

> Wine has enjoyed increasing popularity throughout the period of prohibition. I have even heard it suggested that if prohibition were to continue in force for another decade, we might reasonably expect the United States to become a wine-drinking nation. For this paradox we must thank our legislators, who with wisdom and humanity have permitted the making of naturally fermented fruit juices in the home, without unpleasant legal consequences, and so have helped to temper the rigours [sic] of an unsuccessful experiment (Quoted in Mc Carthy 2012:23).

Wagner, a friend and colleague of H. L. Mencken's at the *Baltimore Sun*, is critical to understanding Maryland's wine history. Wagner became interested in making wine during Prohibition, when the public's only options for wine were to drink none at all, or to drink what was made in the home. Wagner began an experimental vineyard in Riderwood, Maryland, and became extremely interested in hybrid wine grapes, which he believed would do especially well in the Maryland climate. Wagner found that hybrid grapes, such as Baco Noir and Vidal Blanc, "made wines that taste like wine" (Mc Carthy 2012:27-29). Wagner had found that the California and European vinifera grapes he preferred perished in Maryland's climate, and he disliked the taste of wines made from native American labrusca varieties, such as the Concord and the Delaware. This spurred his interest in hybrids, and the French-American hybrids, consisting of crosses between labrusca and vinifera vines, were found to be able to withstand cold climates, high humidity, and still taste of quality European grapes (Prial 1997).

Wagner's book, *American Wines and How to Make Them,* was published the same year that Prohibition was repealed; notably, the book was written in English, when the vast majority of books on winemaking were in French, making Wagner's book exceptionally accessible for U.S. winemakers (Mc Carthy 2012:27-29). Without Prohibition to urge on home production, then, Maryland winemaking would have likely developed significantly more slowly.

In addition to popularizing hybrid grape vines, Wagner began to propagate the actual vines as well. Following the publication of Wagner's book, a demand for French hybrids (called American hybrids in France) developed, and Wagner began selling vines in an operation known as Boordy Nursery in Baltimore County, which sold all over the country and Canada (Mc Carthy 2012:31). Shortly thereafter, Philip and his wife, Joyce Wagner, opened a winery called Boordy Vineyards on their Riderwood property. It was called "America's first winery dedicated to producing wines from French-American hybrid grapes"; hybrid grapes for winemaking appears to not have been popular in other wine-producing regions of the U.S. prior to Wagner's work (Mc Carthy 2012:32). Boordy Vineyards made about 8,000 gallons of wine a year, and distributed amongst restaurants and wine shops in the Baltimore and Washington, D.C. area, even reaching as far as New York (Mc Carthy 2012:34). Philip Wagner was a leader in the U.S. wine industry, receiving the Mérite' Agricole award from the French embassy for his work with hybrid grapes;

he proved that hybrid grapes not only grow well on the East Coast, but can make desirable wines (Mc Carthy 2012:36-37). Wagner's book was revised many times and was published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1976 under the title *Grapes into Wine: The Art of Making Wine in America* (Prial 1997).

The second giant in the Maryland wine industry was Hamilton "Ham" Mowbray. In 1966, Ham Mowbray opened the Montbray Wine Cellars in Silver Run, Carroll County. The Mowbrays hosted meetings and competitions for the American Wine Society, founded by Dr. Konstantin Frank (Mc Carthy 2012:37-40). Dr. Frank was a pioneer of vinifera grapes on the east coast; Ham Mowbray, a colleague and friend of Dr. Frank's, proved that vinifera could grow well in Maryland with proper care. Additionally, Mowbray's work with the Seyval grape earned him the Mérite Agricole award from the French embassy in 1975. Notably, Mowbray also taught multiple courses at area colleges and schools on wine and wine tasting; he was referred to as "the dean of the state's active winemakers." Mowbray made what is sometimes credited the first ever U.S. ice wine in 1974; ice wine is produced from grapes that were frozen while still on the vine (Mc Carthy 2012:40-42).

In 1981, the Maryland Grape Growers Association was formed; three years later, in 1984, the nine wineries in the state planned the first Maryland Wine Festival, at the Union Mills Homestead in Westminster, Maryland (Mc Carthy 2012:64-65).

The wine industry in Maryland has grown significantly since Prohibition, and as of the present day, there are over 80 wineries throughout the state (Maryland Wineries Association n.d.a).

Associated Property Types

Three events hampered the construction of buildings associated with alcoholic beverage industry in Maryland during much of the twentieth century: Prohibition, the Great Depression, and World War II. In addition, changes within the whiskey and beer industries (i.e., consolidation) resulted in the closure of companies engaged in the manufacture of those products. By the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first century, policy initiatives and legislative action by the Maryland General Assembly led to the increase in the number of small distilleries, new wineries, and an explosion of microbreweries. This historic context has identified a consistent theme among the property types associated with the alcoholic beverage industry. Because the production of beer, spirits, and wine essentially is a question of manufacturing, the design and construction of the buildings used for alcohol production are secondary to the more crucial aspect of production.

Two types of resources have been identified during the course of this investigation. The first property type includes those buildings specifically designed and constructed during the period to house changing production, technical, and output needs. The former Calvert Distilling Company and the Guinness Open Gate Brewery in Baltimore represent this trend. The second property type includes those extant buildings originally constructed for a different purpose and that have been adaptively reused and modified to accommodate brewing and distilling functions. Buildings originally engaged in manufacturing and industrial uses are particularly well-suited for reuse. Examples of this trend include Idiom Brewing Company located in the former Union Knitting Mills complex in Frederick and Frederick's McClintock's Distillery housed in a former mechanic's garage (Horn 2015). These buildings adopt the construction techniques, design trends, and stylistic ornamentation appropriate to their dates of construction.

The Calvert Distilling Company is an example of a large-scale distilling operation from the turn of the twentieth century (Figure 7.1) that was modified and expanded during the second half of the twentieth century. Breweries and distilleries from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries will be larger in scale, and have little ornamentation or architectural stylistic references; windows may be absent (Figure 7.2) (Guinness Open Gate Brewery n.d.). The modern brewery appears to have returned to the one-building concept whereby all elements of the brewing process are contained in building, that was used for commercial brewing during the colonial period. The former Flying Dog Brewery in Frederick and the Guinness Open Gate Brewery are examples of this trend. In addition, the

Figure 7.1 Calvert Distilling Company, early twentieth century (Source: Card Cow n.d.a)

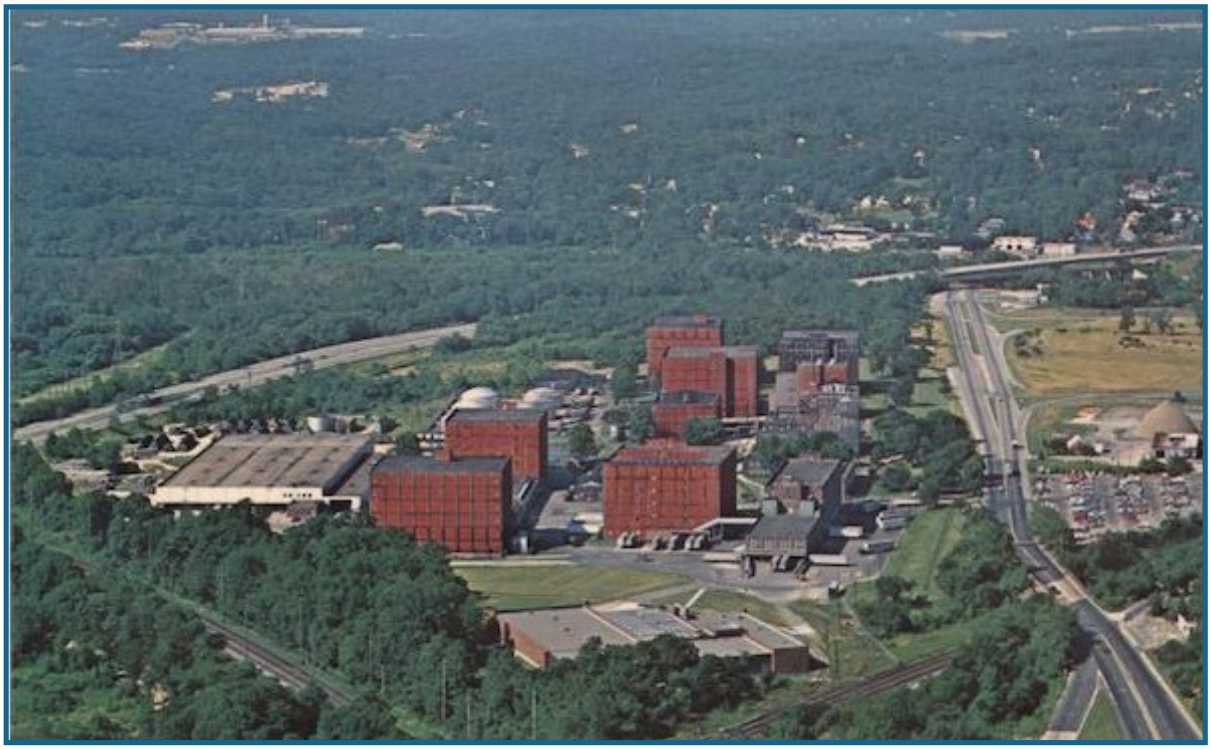


Figure 7.2 Calvert Distilling Company, late twentieth century (Source: Card Cow n.d.b.)

modern craft brewery, microbrewery, and large-scale commercial brewery have adopted the nineteenth century beer garden as a component of the brewery facility. Most of those such facilities incorporate outdoor seating having various degrees of landscaping and amenities.

The commercial winery represents the one new property types established during the time period. While a limited number of wineries existed during the second half of the twentieth century, the number of wineries in the state greatly expanded during the first quarter of the twenty-first century. At the direction of then-Governor Robert Erlich, a commission was established in 2004 to study the state's wine industry and to make recommendations for its expansion (Maryland Wineries Association n.d.b). The report presented more than 50 recommendations. These recommendations included legislative remedies, technical support from the University of Maryland cooperative Extension, and modifying the barriers to shipping to customers both in Maryland and outside the state (Maryland Wine and Grape Advisory Committee n.d.).

Wineries can be divided into two categories: Production facilities (no direct sale to customers) or a facility that produces wine and sells directly to customers (Maryland Wineries Association n.d.b). Like with breweries and distilleries, the equipment is the essential component to the winery. Key equipment includes a crusher-destemmer, wine press, wine tanks, containers for bottling or aging (oak barrels or stainless drums) the wine (Rimontgó Wineries & Vineyards 2019). The vineyard is another essential element of the wine-making industry; it may be attached directly to the winery or a winery may obtain its grapes from an off-site vineyard. Other components include the tasting room, retail store, and outdoor seating. Most wineries also double as special event facilities. As is the case with breweries and distilleries, other property types such as farms can be adapted to winery use or represent new construction. Linganore Winecellars represents an example of a farm converted to a winery (Lingagore Winecellars n.d.). Buildings constructed specifically as a winery use contemporary materials; minimal architectural stylistic ornamentation may be present.

Conclusion

The production of distilled spirits and beer in Maryland struggled following the repeal of Prohibition. Legislation did not assist either industry in coming back from a 13-year-ban, and other issues, such as competition from other types of alcohol or the dominance of national companies, hindered local and regional production. Ultimately, the only type of alcohol production within the state that was successful post-Prohibition was wine, as a wine culture developed in the state for the first time. Modern legislation has attempted to encourage the production of alcohol within the state, to some level of success, and a number of distilleries, breweries, and wineries have opened in recent years. Property types include breweries and distilleries constructed during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries as well as older buildings adapted to distilling and brewing purposes. These buildings will employ construction techniques and adopt architectural styles commensurate with their periods of construction. Wineries constructed during the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries represent the only new property type constructed during the period.

Chapter 8
Areas for Future Investigation and Recommendations

This historic context was developed to provide a preliminary starting point for future investigations into Maryland's alcohol industry. This current investigation is a first step in understanding the role and impact of Maryland's alcohol industry in state history. While this effort was not intended to be exhaustive and comprehensive, the broad themes of production, distinctions among the various sectors of the industry, changes to the industry over time, and impact of evolving social norms had on alcohol production and consumption were explored. As we delved into the research and answered specific research questions, another topics and themes arose. An exploration of these additional themes will help provide a more robust picture and a richer understanding of the role the industry played in Maryland history. Areas for future investigation include:

- An exploration of whether geography or environmental conditions lent themselves to the production of select alcoholic beverages in various regions of the state. For example, was one region particularly well suited for the production of a specific type of alcohol due geography, environmental conditions, and access to population and transportation networks than another?
- Additional research on the production of alcohol in Maryland during the colonial, early republic, and antebellum eras, so as to develop a stronger historiography, as scholarly works on Maryland-specific alcohol production during these earlier periods were scarce. Such research could work to fill a historiographic gap in the study of Maryland's early development.
- Potential archaeological sites concerning alcohol production may be identified through future research. When appropriate, proper archaeological investigations should be conducted on these sites in order to further document the history of Maryland alcohol production.
- Architectural survey to identify buildings and structures associated with the production of alcohol in Maryland. This research would identify the locations of historic alcohol production within the state and if any associated buildings still exist. Survey results could be presented in an interactive mapping tool of extant resources. Such research could be used to further understand the rich history of alcohol production within Maryland.
- Additional research can be conducted using the City of Baltimore's Sanborn Fire Insurance maps. These maps could be used to identify sites of brewing and distilling within Baltimore. The maps could also be used to identify areas of the city in which brewing or distilling were especially prominent. Further research, using resources such as federal censuses or city directories, could be used to determine the typical demography of brewing or distilling neighborhoods, and how these populations changed over time.
- Further detail on the role Irish immigrants played in Maryland's alcohol production. Research suggested few data are available on the individual contributions of Irish immigrants and Scottish immigrants (in the collective) on Maryland's whiskey history. Often times, archival sources treated these immigrants as one Celtic ethnicity rather two separate and distinct immigrant groups having different cultural traditions, including that associated with the manufacturing of whiskey.
- An exploration on the degree to which federal Prohibition laws were enforced outside Baltimore. Such an exploration could help

identify which parts of the state were more pro-Prohibition than others.

- Additional research as to the number of arrests for alcohol-related crimes throughout Maryland's history, and how those crimes changed in response to historic events, is recommended. This research can be used to determine how Marylanders viewed alcohol throughout the state's history. Research as to the role of class, race, and gender in regards to alcohol-related crimes could also illuminate regions prone to over-policing or other forms of discrimination throughout Maryland's history.
- An investigation into the drinking habits of non-white men throughout Maryland history. This current investigation examined the unequal punishment based on social standing for public intoxication during the colonial period. A more expansive investigation into the drinking habits of the greater Maryland population will help clarify social drinking norms across gender, race, and socio-economic background. This could be particularly useful when analyzing the application of penalties and punishments and for understanding what get criminalized and public policy initiatives are adopted regarding the consumption of alcohol across gender and race.
- A look into how changing social norms of the early twenty-first century has affected the alcohol industry. Specifically, more in-depth research will examine how the rise in personal sobriety has led to the increase in the production of different types of non-alcoholic beverages.
- An attempt to determine why no building and health and safety standards regulating the design of production facilities appear to have been developed. Chapter 4, Section 3263 of the Internal Revenue Code required brewery owners to develop plans and drawings of their breweries. These plans were to be submitted to the appropriate state and federal regulatory agencies. Efforts to identify extant drawings will help inform how health and safety standards regarding alcohol production evolved over time, and how those changes might have ultimately affected the design of breweries.
- An examination of the influence of increasingly sophisticated marketing campaigns had consumer drinking habits and, how, over time, the industry changed its marketing techniques to appeal to a broader consumer base.
- The importance of Maryland's alcohol industry by sector relative to that of the nation as a whole.

Recommendations:

Various pieces of legislation were enacted at the beginning of the twenty-first century to enable the growth and expansion of Maryland's alcohol industry. That effort resulted in a boom in the number of distilleries, breweries, and wineries in the state. Many of these laws were enacted before the global COVID-19 pandemic. Some facilities that opened during the late 2010s closed as a result of the pandemic. The true effect of the various new laws and regulations cannot adequately be assessed because insufficient time has elapsed to allow for an in-depth analysis of the industry in light of changing legislation, regulation, and market conditions. It is recommended that after sufficient time has elapsed, a new examination of those factors be undertaken in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the alcoholic beverage sector during the first quarter of the twenty-first century.

Volume II contains further resources to supplement this context and support future research. Appendix A contains lists of tavern-keepers and inn-keepers, distillers, and identified brewers in the 1796 *Baltimore Town and Fell's Point City Directory*. Appendix B consists of a list of brewers in Maryland in 1878 and 1879. Appendix C contains lists of known distilleries, breweries, and wineries within Maryland as of 2024. Appendix D includes a list of relevant image repositories and resources for future research. Appendix E consists of the patent paperwork for William Painter's crown cork closure. Appendix F is a timeline of major events in the history of Maryland alcohol production.

These appendices serve as a starting point in the identification of resources that may warrant

additional, site-specific investigation and architectural survey. The results of such additional efforts may include the preparation of NRHP documentation in the form of an individual nomination or as a component in a multiple property documentation form. Future research may also result in a public presentation on the history of Maryland alcohol production.

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February 2025
Volume II of II

SPIRITED HISTORY: DISTILLING, BREWING, & WINEMAKING IN MARYLAND

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Prepared For:

PRESERVATION MARYLAND
3600 CLIPPER MILL ROAD, #248
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21211

Sensitive Information: Not For Public Distribution

GOODWIN & ASSOCIATES

241 East Fourth St., Suite 100
Frederick, MD 21701

Spirited History: Distilling, Brewing, & Winemaking in Maryland

Historic Context

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February 2025

For

Preservation Maryland
3600 Clipper Mill Road, #248
Baltimore, Maryland 21211

Appendix A

List of Tavern-Keepers and Inn-Keepers, Distillers, and Identified Brewers in the 1796 *Baltimore Town and Fell's Point City Directory*

List of Identified Tavern-Keepers and Inn-Keepers in the 1796 Baltimore Town and Fell's Point City Directory

Accessed from the Maryland State Archives.

Information presented as in the directory.

Brackets present information conveyed in directory via "do." (ditto); words printed with the long S (ſ) are transcribed with a "s" for readability.

- Adderley Charles, Innkeeper, [Fell's Point] 26, Thames St.
- Allen Michael, Innkeeper, Fell's Point, 36, Philpot St.
- Askew, Jonathan, Innkeeper, 11, Market Place
- Baker John, innkeeper, [Fell's Point], 13 [Thames St.]
- Barling Aaron, Innkeeper, Queen St.
- Bernard John, tavern and boarding house, [Fell's Point], 29, Fell's St.
- Bowers William, innkeeper, [Fell's Point] beyond Winon St.
- Brydan James, Fountain Inn, 3, Light St.
- Buddler John, Inn-keeper, Front, West from Calvert St.
- Carey Dennis, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 6, Thames St.
- Caswell Josiah & Funk, Inn-keepers, 73, No. Howard St.
- Chamillon Joseph, Inn-keeper, Fell's Point, 29, Thames St.
- Chesnut James Inn-keeper, Fell's Point, 13, Wilks St.
- Clark Joseph, Inn-keeper, Fell's Point, 3, Pitt St.
- Claus Stephen, Inn-keeper, Fell's Point, 92, Bond St.
- Cluney James, Tavern and boarding house, 25, Fell's Point
- Coad David, Tavern & Boarding house, Fell's Point, 17, Bond
- Cummins Mary, Inn keeper, Old Town, Bridge St. beyond Winon St.
- Curtis Eleazer, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 3, Philpot St.
- Darcy Michael, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 1, Alisanna St.
- Davis William, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 9, George St.
- Davis Edward, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 4, Market St.
- Dewitt Thomas, Inn keeper, 14, Market place St.
- Dimlo Joseph, innkeeper, Fell's Point, 73, Bond St.
- Disby John, innkeeper, Fell's Point, 33, Wilk's St.
- Donovan Bartholemy, Inn keeper, 36, Water Streer
- Donovan Thomas, Inn keeper, Old Town, 15. So. High Street
- Edwards --, widow, Inn keeper, 81, South St. Bowle wharf.
- Ellis Thomas, inn keeper, Little York St. near the wind mill
- Evans William, Inn keeper, 187, Baltimore St.
- Farrell James, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 1, Bond St.
- Farrell George, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 14, Market St.
- Firby John, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 18, Market St.
- Fitzgerald William, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 19, Fells St.
- Ford William, Inn keeper, upper Water St.
- Forsyth Alexander, Inn keeper, 104, No. Howard St.
- Gisse Peter, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 14, Thames St.

- [Gorsuch Joshua] inn keeper, Old Town, 62, Bridge St.
- Griffith Nathan, Inn keeper, Old Town, 6, Bridge St.
- Hahn John Adam, store and Inn keeper, 58, Light St.
- Hall Philip, Inn keeper, 60, Light St.
- Healy Peter, Inn keeper, Fell's Point, 7, Bond St.
- Heffer Peter, Inn keeper, 64, No. Howard St.
- Heims Solomon, inn keeper, Montgomery St. Federal Hill.
- Hoss Frederic, inn keeper, Lombard Street.
- Houser George, inn keeper, Old Town, 50, Bridge St.
- Howard Richard, tavern and boarding house, Fell's Point, [illegible, potentially 25] Bond Street.
- Hussey Nathaniel, inn keeper, 7, No. Howard St.
- Hutchins Catherine, widow, inn keeper, 2, Bank St.
- Jalland John, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 54, Wilks St.
- James William, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 30, Bond St.
- Koffman Abraham, inn keeper, 4, No. Gay St.
- Lawrence John, tallow chandler & inn keeper, Fell's Point, 13, Fells Street.
- League John, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 42, Bond Street.
- Ludwick Peter, inn keeper, 34, Market Place Street.
- Marshall John, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 17, Wilk's Street.
- Muttson James, baker and inn keeper, Fell's Point, 21, Fell's St.
- Mc Donald Alexander, inn keeper Fell's Point, 30 George St.
- Mc Henry Dennis, cordwainer and inn keeper, 17 Conowago St.
- Mc Kenzie Benjamin, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 14 Shakespear's Alley.
- Mcadwell James, inn keeper, 18 Market-place.
- Mercer Benjamin James, constable and inn keeper, 34 Light St.
- Miller William, inn keeper & boarding house, 1 No. Calvert St.
- Miller John, baker & inn keeper, 94 Charles Street.
- Miller John, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 71 Bond Street.
- Miller Jacob, inn keeper, Paca Street.
- Miller Conrad – [presumed to be a ditto, referring to an innkeeper [Jacob Miller]], Paca Street.
- Morgan Thomas, inn-keeper, Fell's Point, 28 Fell's Street.
- Morse Abraham, innkeeper, Fell's Point, Lancaster-alley.
- Morris William, innkeeper, Old Town, Bridge Street – beyond Winon Street.
- Murphy James, inn keeper, Hanover Street, Federal Hill.
- Newton William, constable and tavern keeper, 87 Hanover Street.
- Norris Benjamin, tavern and boarding house, Fell's Point, 41 Bond Street.
- Norris James, inn keeper and hay weigher, Old Town, North St.
- Nowland Peregrine, inn keeper, 219 Baltimore Street.
- Oblanc John, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 17 Fell's Street.
- O'Neal Bernard, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 16, Thames Street.
- Ofborne Jonas, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 10 Fell's Street.
- Otto Anthony, inn keeper, 8 Market Place.
- Phile Charles, inn keeper, Conowago Street.
- Pons Anthony, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 48 Thames Street.

- Raphael Solomon, inn keeper, Old Town, 4 Bridge Street.
- Rendavil Garret, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 20 Thames Street.
- Ryan Michael, innkeeper, Fell's Point, 55 Bond Street.
- Ryland Richard, innkeeper, Fell's Point, 7 Market-place.
- Schraegly Michael, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 8 George Street.
- Sellers William, inn keeper, Fell's Point, Lancaster Alley.
- Sharp William, innkeeper, 77 Water Street
- Simeling John, innkeeper [sic], south Howard Street.
- Smallwood William, innkeeper, 36 Market Place.
- Smith John, innkeeper, 12 Market Place.
- Smith Philip, inn keeper, Fell's Point.
- Smith James, innkeeper, upper Water Street.
- Smith James, innkeeper, 41 No. Howard Street.
- Speck Henry, taylor and inn keeper, [illegible] Water Street.
- Stansbury Kizia, widow, inn keeper, south side, Lexington St.
- Stewart James, inn keeper and brass founder, Fell's Point, [illegible] Thames Street.
- Stone John, inn keeper, Fell's Point, 4 Alisanna Street.
- Thomas Joseph, inn keeper, Old Town, Jones Street.
- Thomas John – [presumed to be a ditto meaning inn keeper [referring to Thomas Joseph]], 31 Harrison Street.
- Thomas Louis, inn keeper and grocer, 19 Light Street.
- Thompson John, inn keeper, 55 No. Gay Street.
- Toy James, inn keeper, 52 Market Place.
- Wells Benjamin, inn keeper, Dutch Alley – between Howard and Liberty Streets.
- Wilson John, innkeeper, Fell's Point, 32 Philpot Street.
- Wyant Peter, inn keeper, 175 Baltlmore [sic] Street.

List of Identified Distillers in the 1796 Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory

Accessed from the Maryland State Archives.

Information presented as in the directory.

Words printed with the long S (ſ) are transcribed with a "s" for readability.

- Ennis Philip, distiller, Old Town, Granby St.
- Garts & Co. distilling, So. Side of Camdon St.
- Hoburg Conrad, cordial distiller, Old Town, Stigers Lane.
- Johonnot Francis, distiller, Old Town, Albermarle Street.
- Lawfon Richard, merchant and distiller, Old Town, Alebrmarle [sic] Street.
- Miller Christian, distiller, North side Lexington Street.

List of Identified Breweries in the 1796 Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory

Accessed from the Maryland State Archives.

Information presented as in the directory.

Words printed with the long S (ſ) are transcribed with a "s" for readability.

- Kendal & Kerr, brewery, Hanover St.
- Petera, Johnston & Co. brewery, King George Street, Old Town.
- Schriver John, small beer brewer, 43 No. Liberty Street.

Appendix B

List of Brewers in Maryland in 1878 and 1879

		No. of barrels sold. 1878.	1879.
Baltimore,	Bauernschmidt, Jno., 803 W. Pratt St.,	3,573	3,778
"	Bauernschmidt, Jno., foot of Ridgley St.,	12,017	10,037
"	Bauernschmidt, G., Belair Ave.,	10,761	10,923
"	Beck, Thos., & Son, W. Baltimore St.,	4,209	3,875
"	Beck, Henry, 153 East Fayette St.,	113	92
"	Beck, Aug., Frederick Road,	7,706	6,935
"	Beh, Jno. G., corner 3d and Lancaster Sts.,	2,083	2,311
"	Berger, Bernard,	197	2,113
"	Berger, Jno. M., 317 S. Bond St.,	188	2,987
"	Berger, John M., 360 S. Caroline St.,	188	115
"	Brehm, George,	12,656	11,836
"	Butterfield & Co., 113 Hanover St,	2,390	1,463
"	Clauss, Jos., cor. Cross & Covington Sts.,	428	——
"	Dukehart, Thos. M., Holiday St.,	5,925	4,750
"	Eigenbrot Henry, 28 & 30 Wilkens St.,	3,936	3,195
"	Extel, N., 360 Pa. Ave.,	174	——
"	Hecht, Miller & Co.,	9,149	9,297
"	Helldorfer, S., cor., Clinton & Lancaster Sts.,	5,358	5,063
"	Hertlein, G. C., Belair Road,	1,406	1,102
"	Hœnervogt, Elizabeth, Eastern Ave.,	3,370	3,533
"	Kemper, Wm., corner 2d and O'Donnell Sts.,	2,799	2,565
"	Kohles, John, 36 S. Wolf St.,	264	208
"	Miller, R., 373 Biddle St.,	——	36
"	Mueller, John, 394 Pa. Ave.,	673	732
"	Mueller, Val., 48 Burke St.,	——	——

MARYLAND—CONTINUED.

		No. of barrels sold. 1878.	1879.
Baltimore,	Muth, Louis, Belair Ave.,	7,741	6,694
"	Rost, Sophia, Blair Ave.,	10,009	8,864
"	Schlaffer, Franz, Belair Road,	3,701	3,640
"	Schreier, Jos., Belair Ave.,	7,198	6,664
"	Schultheiss, John, Garrison's Lane,	2,504	1,994
"	Schultheiss & Bros.,	183	——
"	Schierlitz, Jacob, 413 W. Baltimore St.,	270	208
"	Seeger, Jacob, 1053 W. Pratt St.,	10,005	7,362
"	Sommerfield & Co., 7 Calverton Road,	6,063	5,193
"	Stab, Lina, 74 Burke St.,	497	424
"	Strauss, H. S., Bro. & Bell, Hartford Road,	10,620	12,950
"	Thau & Muhlhauser,	——	——
"	Von der Horst, J. H., Belair Ave.,	16,298	18,309
"	Weber, Fred, Hartford Road,	3,254	2,310
"	Werner & Honig, 370 Penn. Ave.,	1,135	1,258
"	Wiessner, Jno, F., Belair Ave.,	12,673	14,799
"	Wunder, Fred, cor. McDonnell and 3d Ave., Canton,	5,899	5,275
Barton,	Kolberg & Co.,	500	——
Canton,	Gunther & Gehl, cor. 3d and McDonald,	3,901	6,851
"	Schneider, Fritz,	2,500	2,696
"	Trost, Jno., O'Donnell St.,	4,459	3,973
Carroll P. O.,	Stiefel, Ed. W.,	4,253	3,568
Carrollton,	Knecht, John,	20	83
Cumberland,	Fesemneier, C.,	279	500
"	Himmler, Geo.,	591	500
"	Leonard, Wm.,	——	500
"	Ritter, Paul,	665	500
"	Stucklauser, Gus.,	700	500
Frederick,	Hauser, Paul,	205	497
"	Lipps, J. G.,	392	457
Frostburg,	Mayer, John,	240	264

MARYLAND—CONTINUED.

		No. of barrels sold. 1878.	1879.
Hagerstown,	Heimel. Justus,	172	149
"	Schuster, Robert,	150	145
"	Wagner, Wm.,	236	229
"	Witzenbacher, Wm.,	115	126
Lonaconing,	Fredericks & Hanekamp,	581	——
"	Honig, C.,	564	500
Mt. Savage,	Henckel, H.,	92	114
	Number of Breweries, 63.	208,228	205,042

Appendix C

List of Known Distilleries, Breweries, and Wineries in Maryland as of 2024

List of Known Distilleries in Maryland as of 2024

Data complied from information supplied by the Maryland Office of Tourism and Distillery Trail.

Name	Address
Bad Alfred's Distillery	323 High Street Chestertown, MD 21620
Baltimore Spirits Company	1700 W 41st St #430, Baltimore, MD 21211
Charis Winery & Distillery	16 Howard Street Cumberland, MD 21502
Crown Rose Estate Distillery	1902 Jefferson Pike, Knoxville, MD 21758
Covalent Spirits	118 E. Main Street Westminster, MD 21157
Dragon Distillery	1341 Hughes Ford Rd Ste 108 Frederick, MD 21701
East Road Beverages	4461 Southern Business Park Dr, White Plains, MD 20695
Fiore Winery & Distillery	3026 Whiteford Rd, Pylesville, MD 21132
Forgotten 50 Distilling	10103 Old Ocean City Blvd Berlin, MD 21811
Gray Wolf Craft Distilling	605 S Talbot St #6, St. Michaels, MD 21663
Lost Ark Distilling Co.	9570 Berger Rd Ste L Columbia, MD 21046
Louthan Distilling	3005 Montebello Terrace Baltimore, MD 21214
Lyon Distilling Company	605 S Talbot St, #6 St. Michaels, MD 21663
McClintock Distilling Co.	35 S. Carroll St Frederick, MD 21701
Meinelschmidt Distillery	54 S Potomac St, Hagerstown, MD 21740
Old Line Spirits	200 S. Janney St Baltimore, MD 21224
Patapsco Distilling Company	7609 Main St Sykesville, MD 21784
Pathfinder Farm Distillery	14 S Main Street Boonsboro, MD 21713
Puerto Rico Distillery	1341 Hughes Ford Rd Unit 113A, Frederick, MD 21701
Route 40 Brewing and Distilling Co.	11 W Main St Frostburg, MD 21532
Sagamore Spirit	301 E Cromwell St Baltimore, MD 21230
Sangfroid Distilling	5130 Baltimore Ave, Hyattsville, MD 20781
Seacrets Distilling Spirits	111 49th St Ocean City, MD 21842
Shmidt Spirits	10360 Southard Dr Beltsville, MD 20705
Southern Trail Distillery	27227 Morganza Turner Rd, Mechanicsville, MD 20659
Spirits of Patriots Distillery	Address unavailable
Springfield Manor Winery and Distillery	11836 Auburn Rd Thurmont, MD 21788
Tenth Ward Distilling Co.	55 E Patrick Street Frederick, MD 21701
Tobacco Barn Distillery	24460 Hollywood Rd Hollywood, MD 20636
Twin Valley Distillers	1029 E Gude Dr, Suite 105 & 105B Rockville, MD 20850

List of Known Breweries in Maryland as of 2024

Data compiled from information supplied by the Maryland Office of Tourism and the U.S. Brewery Guide.

Name	Address
1623 Brewing Co.	5975 Exchange Dr, Suite L, Sykesville, MD 21784
1812 Brewery	13006 Mason Rd, NE Cumberland, MD 21502
5th Company Brewing	325 Front St, Perryville, MD 21903
7 Locks Brewing	12227 Wilkens Ave, Rockville, MD 20852
Alecraft Brewing Supply	319 South Main St, Bel Air, MD 21014
Antietam Brewery	140 Western Maryland Pkwy, Hagerstown, MD 21740
Attaboy Beer	400 Sagner Ave, Frederick, MD 21701
B.C. Brewery	10950 Gilroy Rd, Suite F, Hunt Valley, MD 21031
Battery Island Brewing Company	101N Washington Street, Havre de Grace, MD 21078
Bayheads Brewing Company	2525 Augustine Herman HWY, Suite D, Chesapeake City, MD 21915
Big Truck Farm Brewery	19919 Cameron Mill Road, Parkton, MD 21120
Black Flag Brewing Co.	9315 Snowden River Pkwy, Columbia, MD 21046
Brewer's Alley Restaurant & Brewery	124 N. Market St, Frederick, MD 21701
Brookville Beer Farm	20315 Georgia Ave, Brookeville, MD 20833
Bull and Goat Brewery	206 Banjo Ln, Ste E, Centreville, MD 21617
Burley Oak Craft Brewery	10016 Old Ocean City Blvd, Berlin, MD 21811
Burnish Beer Co.	2305 Northwood Drive, Suite E, Salisbury, MD 21801
CJ Beverages and Brewery LLC.	13416 Sherwood Forest Drive, Silver Spring, Maryland 20904
Calvert Brewery Company Beer Garden	150 Adelina Rd, Prince Frederick, MD 20678
Calvert Brewing Company/Taproom and Production Brewery	15850 Commerce Ct, Upper Marlboro, MD 20774
Checkerspot Brewing	1421 Ridgely St, Baltimore, MD 21230
Chesapeake Brewing Company	114 West St, Annapolis, MD 21401
Chesepiooc Brewing	2408 Crofton Blvd, Crofton, MD 21114
Crooked Crab Brewing	8251 Telegraph Rd, Suite D Odenton, MD 21113
Cult Classic Brewing	1169 Shopping Center Road, Stevensville, MD 21666
Cushwa Brewing Co.	10210 Governor Ln, Blvd Suite 2010 Williamsport, MD 21795
Denizen's Brewing Company	4550 Van Buren St, Riverdale, MD 20737
Diamondback Beer	1215 E Fort Ave, Baltimore, MD 21230
Dig Deep Brewery	2 Howard St Suite B, Cumberland, MD 21502
DuClaw Brewing Company	8901 Yellow Brick Road, Rosedale, Maryland 21237
Eastern Shore Brewing Company	605 S Talbot St, St Michaels, MD 21663
Elder Pine Brewing & Blending Company	4200 Sundown Rd, Gaithersburg, MD 20882
Elk River Brewing Company	112 E Main St, Elkton, MD 21921
Evolution Craft Brewing Company	200 Elmwood St, Salisbury, MD 21801

Falling Branch Brewery	825 Highland Rd, Street, MD 21154
Federal Brewing Co.	102 S. Main St, Federalsburg, MD 21632
Fin City Brewing Company	12911 Ocean Gateway #206, Ocean City, MD 21842
Franklins Restaurant Brewery and General Store	5121 Baltimore Ave, Hyattsville, MD 20781
Frisco Tap House & Brewery	6695 Dobbin Road, Columbia, MD 21045
Frey's Brewing Company	8601 Mapleville Rd, Mt. Airy, MD 21771
Full Tilt Brewing	5604 York Road, Baltimore, MD 21212
Gateway Craft Brewing	2207 Northwood Drive, Suite 3A, Salisbury, MD 21801
Gordon Biersch Brewery	1000 Lancaster Street, Baltimore, MD 21202
Green Growlers	227 East Diamond Ave, Gaithersburg, MD 20877
Greenspring Brewing Co.	2309 Greenspring Ct, Chesapeake Beach, MD 20732
Guinness Open Gate Brewery & Barrel House	5001 Washington Blvd, Halethorpe, MD 21227
Heavy Seas Beer	4615 Hollins Ferry Rd, Halethorpe, MD 21227
Hopkins Farm Brewery	3833 Rider Ln, Havre de Grace, MD 21078
Idiom Brewing Company	340 E Patrick St, Frederick, MD 21701
Inverness Brewing Company	16200 Markoe Road, Monkton, MD 21111
Jailbreak Brewing Co.	9445 Washington Blvd N, Ste F, Laurel, MD 20723
Johansson's Dining House	4 West Main St, Westminster, MD 21157
Key Brewing Company	2500 Grays Rd, Dundalk, MD 21222
Landmade Brewing	19124 Jerusalem Rd, Poolesville, MD 20837
Locust Post Brewery	31706 Old Adams Rd, Little Orleans, MD 21766
Manor Hill Brewing	4411 Manor Ln, Ellicott City, MD 21042
Market Street Public House Brewing Company	200 Market St, Denton, MD 21629
Maryland Beer Company	601 North Bridge Street, Suite C, Elkton, MD 21921
Milkhouse Brewery at Stillpoint Farm	8253 Dollyhyde Rd, Mount Airy, MD 21771
Monocacy Brewing Company	1781 North Market St, Frederick, MD 21701
Monument City Brewing Company	1 North Haven St, Suite A, Baltimore, MD 21202
Mountain State Brewing Company	6690 Sang Run Rd, McHenry, MD 21541
Mully's Brewery	141 Schooner Ln, #15, Prince Frederick, MD 20678
National Premium Beer	930 Port St, Easton, MD 21601
Nepenthe Homebrew & Brewery	3626 Falls Road, Baltimore, MD 21211
Olde Mother Brewing	526 N Market St, Frederick, MD 21701
Oliver Brewing Company	4216 Shannon Dr, Baltimore, MD 21213
Patriot Acres Farm Brewery	1621 Millington Rd, Sudlersville, MD 21668
Peabody Heights Brewery	401 East 30th St, Baltimore MD 21218
Pickett Brewing Company	1130 S. Paca Street, Baltimore, MD 21230
Pooles Island Brewing Co.	11695 Crossroads Cir, Suite A, Middle River, MD 21220
Pratt Street Ale House	206 West Pratt Street, Baltimore, MD 21201
Pub Dog Brewing Company	1203 New Windsor Rd, Westminster, MD 21158
RAR Brewing	504 Poplar St, Cambridge, MD 21613
Raven Beer	401 E. 30th St, Baltimore, MD 21218
Reckless Ale Works	6655 Dobbin Rd, Columbia, MD 21045
Red Shedman Farm Brewery	13601 Glissans Mill Rd, Mount Airy, MD 21771

Rock Bottom Brewery	7900 Norfolk Ave, Bethesda, MD 20814
Rockwell Brewery	880 N. East St, Suite 201, Frederick, MD 21701
Rockwell Brewery Riverside	8411 Broadband Dr, Suite K, Frederick, MD 21701
Rubber Soul Brewing Company	1930 Northwood Dr, Salisbury, MD 21801
Ruddy Duck Brewery and Grill – Dowell	13200 Dowell Road, Dowell, MD 20629
Ruddy Duck Brewery and Grill – Piney Point	16800 Piney Point Rd, Piney Point, MD 20674
Ruhlman Brewery	2300 Harvey Gummel Rd, Hampstead, MD 21074
Saints Row Brewing Company	15 Fulks Corner Ave, Suite 101-102, Gaithersburg, MD 20877
Sapwood Cellars Brewery	8980 MD-108, Suite MNO, Columbia, MD 21045
Silver Branch Brewing Company	8401 Colesville Rd #150, Silver Spring, MD 20910
Slate Farm Brewery	2128 Whiteford Rd, Whiteford, MD 21160
Smoketown Brewing Station	223 W. Potomac St, Brunswick, MD 21716
Steinhardt Brewing	5710 Jefferson Blvd, Frederick, MD 21703
Streetcar 82 Brewing Company	4824 Rhode Island Ave, Hyattsville, MD 20781
Susky River Farm Brewery	80 Alstone Farm Lane, Perryville, MD 21903
Tall Tales Brewing Company	6929 Heron Grove Ct, Parsonsburg, MD 21849
Ten Eyck Brewing Company	205 Grange Hall Road, Queenstown, MD 21658
The Brewer's Art	1106 North Charles St, Baltimore, MD 21201
Thick N Thin Brewery	18330 Spark Drive, Hagerstown, MD 21740
Third Hill Brewing Co.	8216 Georgia Ave, Silver Spring, MD 20910
True Respite Brewing Co.	7301 Calhoun Pl, Suite 600, Rockville, MD 20855
Union Craft Brewing Company	1700 W 41st St, #420, Baltimore, MD 21211
Valhalla Brewing Co.	41 Cherry Hill Rd, Elkton, MD 21921
Waredaca Brewing Company	4017 Damascus Rd, Laytonsville, MD 20882
Waverly Brewing Company	1625 C Union Ave, Baltimore, MD 21211
Wet City	233 W. Chase St, Baltimore, MD 21201
White March Brewing Co-Red Brick Station	8149 HoneyGo Blvd, Nottingham, MD 21236

List of Known Wineries in Maryland as of 2024

Data complied from information supplied by the Maryland Office of Tourism and the Maryland Wine Association.

Addresses are displayed in the same way in which they were supplied.

This list includes cideries and Meadery's, as the Maryland Wine Association counts them among their member wineries.

Name	Address
61 Vineyard	28712 Kemptown Rd, Damascus, MD 20872
Antietam Creek Vineyard	4835 Branch Ave Sharpsburg, MD 21782
Basignani Winery	15722 Falls Rd, Sparks Glencoe, MD 21152
Big Cork Vineyards	4236 Main St Rohrersville, MD 21779
Black Ankle Vineyard	14463 Black Ankle Rd Mount Airy, MD 21771
Blue Mountain Winecrafters	117 E Baltimore St Funkstown, MD 21734
Boordy Vineyards	12820 Long Green Pike Hydes, MD 21082
Bordeleau Vineyards and Winery	3155 Noble Farm Rd, Eden, MD 21822
Boyd Cru Wines	The Crossvines, West Willard Road, Poolesville, MD 20837
Branch Bender Cidery	1202 Harmon Rd, Accident, MD 21520
Brothers Ridge Cider	400 South Clear Ridge Road, New Windsor, MD 21776
Broken Spoke Vineyard and Winery	924 Glebe Rd Earleville, MD 21919
Bull House Winery	17912 York Rd, Parkton, MD 21120
Casa Carmen Wines	312 Cannon St Chestertown, MD 21620
Cascia Vineyards & Winery	1200 Thompson Creek Rd Stevensville, MD 21666
Castle Hill Winery	17039 Castle Hill Road, Hagerstown, MD 21740
Catoctin Breeze Vineyard & Winery	15010 Roddy Rd Thurmont, MD 21788
Celebration Cellars Winery	9831 Fox Rd, Frederick, MD 21702
Charis Winery & Distillery	16 Howard Street Cumberland, MD 21502
*Clear Skies Meadery	325 Main St Gaithersburg, MD 20878
Clyopatra Winery & Vineyard	24 C St Laurel, MD 20707
Cool Ridge Vineyard	19638 Cool Hollow Rd Hagerstown, MD 21740
Cove Point Winery/Cove Point Vineyard	755 Cove Point Rd Lusby, MD 20657
Corteau Vineyards	38713 Golden Beach Rd, Mechanicsville, MD 20659
Crow Vineyard and Winery	12441 Vansant Corner Rd Kennedyville, MD 21645
Deep Creek Cellars	177 Frazee Ridge Rd Friendsville, MD 21531
DeJon Vineyard	5300 Hydes Rd, Hydes, MD 21082
Dove Valley Vineyard & Winery	645 Harrington Rd Rising Sun, MD 21911
Elk Run Vineyards and Winery	15113 Liberty Rd, Mt Airy, MD 21771
Far Eastern Shore Winery	8370 Ocean Gtwy Easton, MD 21601
Fiore Winery & Distillery	3026 Whiteford Rd, Pylesville, MD 21132
Gemeny Winery and Vineyards	8606 Cedarville Rd Brandywine, MD 20613
Great Frogs Winery	3218 Harness Creek Rd Annapolis, MD 21403
Harford Vineyard & Winery	1311 W Jarrettsville Rd, Forest Hill, MD 21050
Harmony Vineyards	1338 Harris Mill Rd Parkton, MD 21120

Hidden Hills Farm and Vineyard	7550 Green Valley Rd Frederick, MD 21701
Imperial 94	4471 Nicole Dr, Lanham, MD 20706
Janemark Winery & Vineyard	15200 Baden Naylor Rd, Brandywine, MD 20613
Lands Point Winery & Vineyards	22620 Handy Point Rd, Chestertown, MD 21620
Layton's Chance Vineyard & Winery	4225 New Bridge Rd Vienna, MD 21869
Linganore Winecellars	13601 Glissans Mills Rd Mount Airy, MD 21771
Links Bridge Vineyard	8803 Old Links Bridge Rd Thurmont, MD 21788
Little Ashby Vineyards	27549 Ashby Dr Easton, MD 21601
Loew Vineyards	14001 Liberty Rd, Mt Airy, MD 21771
Love Point Vineyards and Winery	305 River Shore Ln Stevensville, MD 21666
Mazzaroth Vineyard	8333 Myersville Rd Middletown, MD 21769
Misfit Winery	11589 Edmonston Rd, Beltsville, MD 20705
Narcisso Wine Cellar LLC	3341 75th Ave STE B4 Hyattsville, MD 20785
New Market Plains Vineyards	1111 W Baldwin Rd New Market, MD 21774
Noir Sunshine Winery	1 N Haven St Suite 301A Baltimore, MD 21224
Old Westminster Winery	1550 Old Westminster Road Westminster, MD 21157
Olney Winery	18127 Town Center Drive, Olney, MD 20832
Orchid Cellar Meadery & Winery	8546 Pete Wiles Rd, Middletown, MD 21769
Perigeaux Vineyards & Winery	8650 Mackall Rd, St Leonard, MD 20685
Philosophy Winery	Address unavailable
Port of Leonardtown Winery	23190 Newtowne Neck Rd PO Box 535 Leondardtown, MD 20650
Red Heifer Winery	12840 Red Heifer Winery Lane, Smithsburg, MD 21783
Robin Hill Farm and Vineyards	15800 Croom Road, Brandywine, MD 20613
Rocklands Farm Winery	14525 Montevideo Rd, Poolesville, MD 20837
Royal Rabbit Vineyards	1090 Jordan Sawmill Road, Parkton, MD 21120
Running Hare Vineyard	150 Adelina Road Prince Frederick, MD 20678
Serpent Ridge Vineyard	2962 Nicodemus Rd Westminster, MD 21157
Six Wicket Vineyards	10819 Church Hill Rd, Myersville, MD 21773
Springfield Manor Winery and Distillery	11836 Auburn Road, Thurmont, MD 21788
St. Michaels Winery	609 S. Talbot St. St Michaels, MD 21663
Stone House Urban Winery	12810 Shank Farm Way, Hagerstown, MD 21742
Sugarloaf Mountain Vineyard	18125 Comus Rd Dickerson, MD 20842
Thanksgiving Farm Winery	195 Harwood Rd Harwood, MD 20776
The Urban Winery	2315 Stewart Avenue Silver Spring, MD 20910
The Vineyards at Dodon	391 Dodon Rd Davidsonville, MD 21035
The Wine Collective	1700 W 41st Street Suite 490 Baltimore, MD 21211
Toasted Goat Winery	11 W Main St, Frostburg, MD 21532
Triple Creek Winery	11138 Three Bridge Branch Rd Cordova, MD 21625
Trueman Vineyards and Winery	19906 Aquasco Rd, Aquasco, MD 20608
Two Lions Vineyards	12600 Croom Rd, Upper Marlboro, MD 20772
Whistle Stop Winery	1355 Jewell Rd Dunkirk, MD 20754
Willow Oaks Craft Cider and Wine	6219 Harley Rd Middletown, MD 21769
Windridge Vineyards	15700 Darnestown Rd Darnestown, MD 20874
Xella Winery & Vineyard	26781 Laurel Grove Rd, Mechanicsville, MD 20659

Appendix D

List of Relevant Image Repositories and Resources for Future Research

List of Relevant Image Repositories and Resources for Future Research

Repositories have their own copyright restriction policies; this list is intended to be a benefit for future researchers, and is not all-encompassing.

Baltimore Museum of Industry, *see:* **Baltimore Gas and Electric (BGE) Photograph and Negative Collection, 1912-2000**

Digital Maryland, Enoch Pratt Free Library/Maryland State Library Resource Center, *see:* **H. L. Mencken Collection**, **Maryland Department – Enoch Pratt Free Library Collection**

Heritage Frederick Library and Archives

Maryland Center for History and Culture, *see:* **Maryland Historical Society Collection**, **Baltimore City Life Museum Collection**, **Prohibition – United States Collection**

Maryland State Archives Special Collections, *see:* **Bready Marylandia Collection**

Smithsonian Institution, Walter H. Voight Brewing Industry Collection, National Museum of American History.

South Mountain Heritage Society, *see:* **Coatesville, Petersville, and Knoxville Scenes**

University of Maryland, University Libraries Archival Collections, *see:* **Maryland Temperance Collection**

University of Maryland, Baltimore County, Local History Resources

Washington County Historical Society

Library of Congress, Maryland: Local History & Genealogy Resource Guide

Online Copies of *The Wine and spirit bulletin*

(contains advertisements for commercial spirit producers throughout the nation, including Maryland, in addition to varying reports on the state of the spirits industry, etc.).

1901 *The Wine and spirit bulletin.* Vol. 15. Bulletin Publishing Co.: Louisville, KY. Electronic resource, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008607373, accessed January 2025.

1903 *The Wine and spirit bulletin.* Vol. 17. Bulletin Publishing Co.: Louisville, KY. Electronic resource, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008607373, accessed January 2025.

1904 *The Wine and spirit bulletin.* Vol. 18. Bulletin Publishing Co.: Louisville, KY. Electronic resource, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008607373, accessed January 2025.

1905 *The Wine and spirit bulletin.* Vol. 19. Bulletin Publishing Co.: Louisville, KY. Electronic resource, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008607373, accessed January 2025.

1906 *The Wine and spirit bulletin.* Vol. 20. Bulletin Publishing Co.: Louisville, KY. Electronic resource, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008607373, accessed January 2025.

1908 *The Wine and spirit bulletin.* Vol. 22. Bulletin Publishing Co.: Louisville, KY. Electronic resource, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008607373, accessed January 2025.

1914 *The Wine and spirit bulletin.* Vol. 28. Bulletin Publishing Co.: Louisville, KY. Electronic resource, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008607373, accessed January 2025.

1915 *The Wine and spirit bulletin.* Vol. 29. Bulletin Publishing Co.: Louisville, KY. Electronic resource, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008607373, accessed January 2025.

1916 *The Wine and spirit bulletin.* Vol. 30. Bulletin Publishing Co.: Louisville, KY. Electronic resource, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008607373, accessed January 2025.

1917 *The Wine and spirit bulletin.* Vol. 31. Bulletin Publishing Co.: Louisville, KY. Electronic resource, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008607373, accessed January 2025.

Appendix E

Patent Paperwork for William Painter's Crown Cork Closure (No. 468,226)

(No Model.)

W. PAINTER.

BOTTLE SEALING DEVICE.

No. 468,226. Patented Feb. 2, 1892.

Fig. 2.

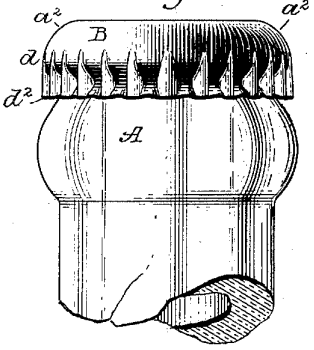


Fig. 1.

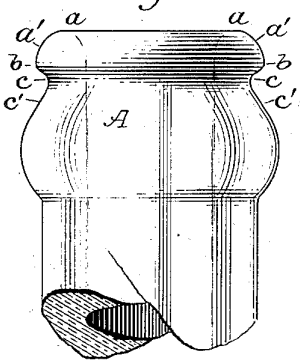


Fig. 3.

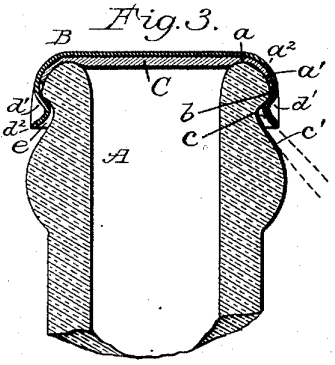


Fig. 4

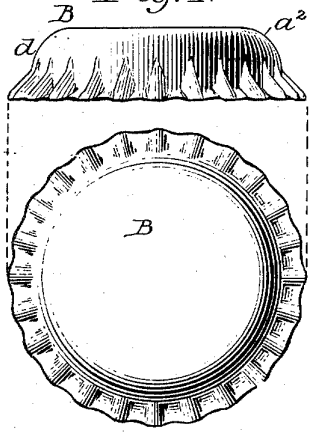


Fig. 8.

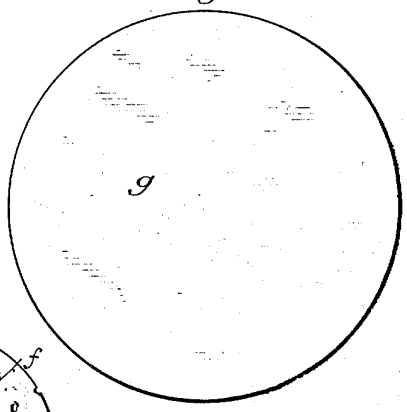


Fig. 6.

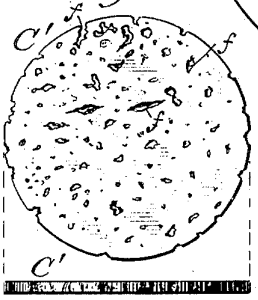
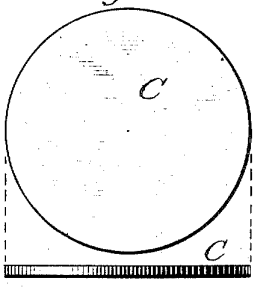


Fig. 5.



B' Fig. 9.

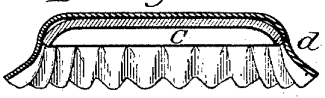
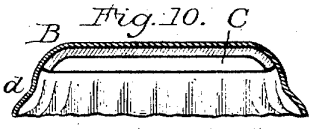
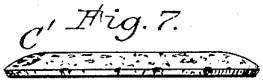


Fig. 10.



C' Fig. 7.



Attest:
Philip F. Lamer.
Howell Battle

Inventor:
William Painter
By Munn & Co. Attorneys

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

WILLIAM PAINTER, OF BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

BOTTLE-SEALING DEVICE.

SPECIFICATION forming part of Letters Patent No. 468,226, dated February 2, 1892.

Application filed May 19, 1891. Serial No. 393,293. (No model.)

To all whom it may concern:

Be it known that I, WILLIAM PAINTER, of the city of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, have invented certain new and useful Improvements in Bottle-Sealing Devices; and I do hereby declare that the following specification, taken in connection with the drawings furnished and forming a part of the same, is a clear, true, and complete description of the several features of my invention.

My present invention pertains to the sealing of bottles by the use of compressible packing-disks and metallic caps, which have flanges bent into reliable locking engagement with annular locking-shoulders on the heads of bottles, while the packing-disk is in each case under heavy compression and in enveloping contact with the lip of the bottle.

In order that the status of my present improvements may be properly defined with respect of novelty and utility, I deem it proper to briefly review the prior art in this special connection. So far as my knowledge extends, I am the first to seal bottles by means of sealing-disks each compressed into close solid contact with the lip of the bottle and maintained in that condition by means of a flanged metallic sealing-cap, the flange of which is bent or crimped into locking contact (while the disk is under pressure) with an appropriate annular locking-shoulder on the head of the bottle, as well as the first to devise methods and means by which in the use of such caps and disks liquids can be bottled under even the highest gaseous pressures employed in this art. Disclosures of my several prior inventions in this line have been made by me in certain of my applications for patents heretofore filed. (See Serial Nos. 323,314 and 355,603.)

Inasmuch as the application of my sealing-caps involves powerful mechanism for compressing the disks and for bending or crimping the flanges of the caps into locking contact with bottles, it follows that considerable manual force must be applied for detaching the caps from the bottles, and therefore in the early stages of my invention the use of loops of some kind or of equivalent holes in the tops of the caps was deemed essential, and the caps had wide or deep pendent flanges and they contained sealing-disks of considerable bulk or thickness. During further progressive stages of my invention I demonstrated the economic importance of using thin disks, and these in some forms preclude the use of a cap having either a hole in its top or even some forms of inserted loops. These contingencies led, after much devising and experimenting, to the production of a cap without a loop or a hole in its top, a thinner disk, and consequently narrower flanges, thus substantially reducing the cost of the sealing device as a whole without decreasing, but in fact increasing, the efficiency of the applied cap, and also securing higher sealing efficiency by the use of a less expensive disk. The flange of the cap being narrow and its locking or bent portions being between the edge of the flange and the top of the cap, and the said edge being practically intact or continuous the cap could be applied to a bottle with a tenacity at least equal to, if not greater than, the caps having wider and consequently more flexible flanges, and hence as much or more manual force was required for detaching said caps than with those of the said previous forms. These improved caps having in themselves no special provision—such as loops or openings in their tops—for detaching them from bottles led to my further devising a novel method of their combination with the bottle, in accordance with which the pendent edge of the flange below the bent portion is so far projected from the adjacent surface of the bottle-head as to afford an engaging-shoulder, to which a bottle-opener could be readily applied; but the required manual force to remove the cap was so great that openers of special form were a necessity, and these were operated by leverage and were fulcrumed either upon the top surface of the cap or upon the outwardly-rounded surface of the bottle-head below the cap. The disadvantages to consumers incident to a positive requirement for the use of specially-constructed openers are obvious, and to avoid them I have now so devised my loopless and close-topped caps and have so organized a combination thereof with the bottles that the caps can be almost as readily detached by the use of a knife, a screw-driver, a nail, an ice-pick, or any usually and readily available pointed instrument as if a special opener were used, the latter be-

ing, of course, always preferable when bottles are required to be opened rapidly. My present caps in their best forms have outwardly-flared edges, and the heads of the bottles below their locking-shoulders are of such form and diametrical dimensions that when the cap is locked upon the bottle there is ample space below and at the rear of the flange to admit of the free insertion of any pointed or thin-edged device capable of serving as a bottle-opener by prying the flange outwardly from the locking-rib at several points and thus releasing its hold thereon. The projected edge of the cap so applied also enables the use therewith of special bottle-openers operating as levers, as with my prior caps. When a special bottle-opener is employed, quite heavy detaching force is necessary, because of the practically simultaneous detachment of the cap from the shoulder on the bottle at many points of locking contact; but in operating within the space at the rear of the pendent edge of the flange, as with a knife-blade, for instance, the detachment is gradually effected at each of the points of locking contact, and hence but little manual force is required.

Now with relation to sealing-disks it is to be understood that at the outset I was well aware that cork was the most desirable material; but in view of the high cost of cork and of the presence therein of holes or pits and the apparent necessity that cork disks should be of considerable thickness prompted the devising by me of various substitutes for cork, some of the best of which have been disclosed in my aforesaid prior applications. Some of said disks were essentially quite thick, and hence I first used therewith a flat-topped cap and a bottle having a sharp-edged lip, which was embedded in the disk. With the thinner disks next used with narrow flanged caps such a deep embedding of the lip as was practicable and desirable with the thick disks was rendered objectionable, and hence I used a flat-topped cap and a bottle having a flat-edged lip. With both the thickest and the thinner disks there was a more or less, but far from extensive, packing contact with the annular surfaces inside and outside of the bottle-lip. I have now provided for a specially extensive area of packing contact by using a bottle having a lip well rounded on its outside and a thin disk capable of enveloping and lying in close conformity with the said outer rounded surface. I am thus enabled to secure very satisfactory results with very thin composite compressible disks and caps of a minimum size and weight, because a large proportion of the area of the disk is interposed between coincident surfaces of the cap and the outer rounded surface of the bottle-lip, and said disk is maintained under very high compression. At this stage of my invention I realized that inasmuch as such very thin disks of the composite types (linoleum, felt-paper, with various protecting-coatings, &c.) could be successfully used it would warrant the use of cork, even of the most expensive grades, because said sealing-disks may be normally not thicker than, say, one-sixteenth of an inch. While pursuing this line of experiment I made what may be termed a "paradoxical discovery"—viz., that with the extensive areas of contact and compression now provided by me and with the attendant possibility of using extremely thin disks a perfect gas and liquid sealing effect could be secured and practically maintained for an indefinite time by the use of disks composed of the cheap and ordinary grades of cork, which are well known to contain numerous holes and pits and also streaks of matter quite unlike the main or effective portions of the cork-wood. It is to be understood, however, to accomplish this result that the cork-wood must not only be peculiarly cut, but also subjected to special mechanical treatment. In this connection it will be remembered that in forming ordinary cylindrical or tapered bottle-corks the wood (or bark) is so cut that in each cork the lines of pits or holes are crosswise or at right angles to the axis of the cork, so that when the latter is inserted in the neck of a bottle the contact-surface of the glass closes the entrances to said holes or pits, and therefore their presence does not materially impair the sealing capacity of the cork. Now in cutting my disks from the wood special care is taken to have said lines of perforations or holes or pits parallel with the axis of the disk, and although the disks may be no thicker than one-sixteenth of an inch and be in fact reticulated or perforated they are nevertheless reliable sealing-disks as used by me, because the holes or perforations are so far surrounded by masses of true cork that when the disks are heavily compressed the cork around each hole is rendered impermeable and the ends of each hole are tightly closed, respectively, by the coincident inner surfaces of the rounded topped cap and the outwardly-rounded bottle-lip.

Now as to the necessity for mechanical treatment of the cork disks, I will state that cork-wood (especially the cheaper kind) contains numerous small masses of hard, solid, and almost flinty matter wholly unlike that of the true cork-wood, and it is quite difficult to get a disk which does not contain several of these hard spots. Such hard spots will not become softened by soaking in hot water or steaming, as is usually employed with corks. If such disks be used for sealing, the heavy pressures incident to the application of the caps are insufficient for crushing said hard masses of matter, and their presence would be sometimes indicated by well-developed indentations in the tops of the caps (notwithstanding they are composed of hard sheet metal) with a resultant liability of leakage. For obviating said difficulty I discovered that I must subject the cork disks to a crushing pressure, which so flattens, crushes, or disintegrates said hard masses that they cannot

operate obstructively in the sealing operation. It is to be understood that said disks and the method or process of preparing them will be made the subject of a separate application for Letters Patent. (See Serial No. 417,285, filed January 7, 1892.) It is obvious that in the use of such cork disks the liquid contents of a bottle cannot be excluded by the disks from contact with portions of the cap, and therefore the interior surface of the caps is coated with an inodorous, tasteless, and practically insoluble protecting material.

For more particularly describing my invention I will refer to the accompanying drawings, and after a description thereof the features deemed novel will be specified in the several clauses of claim hereunto annexed.

Referring to the drawings, Figure 1, in side view, illustrates a bottle-head adapted for use in combination with my cap and a sealing-disk. Figs. 2 and 3 respectively illustrate in side view and section a bottle-head with one of my caps and a sealing-disk applied thereto. Fig. 4, in side and top views, illustrates a cap prior to its application to a bottle. Fig. 5, in top and edge views, illustrates a sealing-disk of a composite character in its normal form. Fig. 6, in top and edge views, illustrates a sealing-disk in its normal condition composed of ordinary cork and fairly indicating the open or porous character of such disks as have been successfully used by me with my caps in maintaining gas or air tight closure even under much higher pressures than are ever needed in bottling. Fig. 7 illustrates a cork disk in the form which it is made to assume within the cap and after it has been subjected to heavy pressure for reducing its hard spots. Figs. 8, 9, and 10 respectively illustrate a sheet-metal blank from which the cap is formed, the shape first developed therefrom and the final shape, these being in section with the sealing-disks therein.

Commencing with the bottle-head A, (shown in Fig. 1,) it is to be understood that it differs from such as have been heretofore devised by me in the contour of its lip and of the packing-surface outside of and below said lip above the locking-shoulder, as well as below said shoulder. The lip a is well rounded instead of being quite angular, sharp, or flattened, as in different forms of my prior bottles, and the exterior packing-surface a' below the lip is also well rounded instead of being, as before, quite straight and inclined. The locking-shoulder b is substantially as in some of my prior bottles; but from the recess c below the shoulder downwardly, as at c', the surface of the head is straight or inclined for a short distance instead of being quite abruptly rounded outwardly, as in my prior forms. These differences in form are each of importance in the attainment of some of the specific results now sought by me, as will be hereinafter made apparent.

The metal cap B and its disk C or C′ will first be described in connection with those features which specially relate to their combination with a bottle having a locking-shoulder on its head and constructed, as described, below said shoulder, and it is now to be understood that after a bottle has been filled and the cap, with its disk, has been placed thereon heavy pressure is then applied to the cap and disk, and then the flaring edge of the flange d of the cap is so bent downwardly and inwardly that an annular portion of said flange, as at d', is forced beneath and into reliable engagement with said locking-shoulder; but instead of the lower inside edge of the flange lying closely against the surface of the glass, as heretofore provided for by me, the said edge, by reason of its being now beveled outwardly and also by reason of the shape and dimensions of the bottle-head adjacent to said edge, stands off from the surface of the glass, so as to thereby afford a free annular space at e between the lower portion of the flange and the adjacent surface of the head, and a free entrance to said space is secured for the ready insertion of any sharp or pointed instrument, as indicated in dotted lines in Fig. 3, for service as a bottle-opener by prying the flange of the cap outwardly from the locking-shoulder, as previously described. It will now be seen, although the cap would be well locked and although this bottle-head need be neither unduly large in diameter nor in length, that the flange of the cap may be of a lesser diameter than that of the rounded portion of the head, notwithstanding the liberal annular space e at the rear of the flange. As the result of this peculiar and novel combination of the cap and bottle no special bottle-opener is needed, although the edge d^2 of the cap-flange is so well projected that special bottle-openers may be used, if desired. Any form of sealing-cap applied to and in combination with a bottle-head which is recessed below the locking-shoulder and below and at the rear of the flange and which affords the freely-accessible annular space e will involve this portion of my invention.

Now, more specifically describing the sealing-cap B, as shown in Fig. 4 and as it appears prior to its application to a bottle, it differs from any of my prior caps in that at the junction of the flange and top it is well rounded, as at a^2, so that its corresponding inner surface will correspond with or conform to the rounded packing-surface a' on the bottle-head, this being an essential feature when thin sealing-disks C or C′ are used. As these disks are not or need not normally be more than one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness, and as they are generally reduced to at least one-fourth of that thickness by the requisite sealing compression, it is obvious that the surfaces between which the disk is compressed should be thoroughly coincident, or at least in substantial conformity. With the thick or heavy disks as heretofore used by me and with caps rounded to a minimum

or to any degree at the junction of the flange and top and whether the bottle-lips were flat or sharp, the main point sought was the embedding of the lip in the disk. A comparison of my caps, disks, and bottles and their combination as now disclosed with my prior caps, disks, and bottles and their combination as heretofore devised and disclosed by me, will enable it to be seen that my present improvements involve novel principles of substantial value. With a sharp-lipped bottle and the flat-topped cap a disk as now used by me would be inevitably cut on the line of compression and the sealing effect defeated; but with the outwardly-rounded lip and the extended area of packing contact and the correspondingly-formed cap no cutting action is possible. The thick disks as before used and applied by me were essentially impermeable to liquid, and the sealing effect was due, mainly, to the packing contact between the impermeable surface of the disk and the lip of the bottle; but with the thin disks and the rounded coincident surfaces of the bottle-head and the cap permeability of the disk is a matter of no consequence so far as relates to the sealing effect, as will now be made fully apparent.

Referring to Figs. 6 and 7, it is to be understood that the sealing-disk C′ is composed of a thin slice of cork-wood of a low ordinary grade and full of pits or irregularly-shaped holes *f*, which extend completely through the disk, so that when such a disk is held up to the light and close to one's eye it will but little obstruct the vision. In some cases the partitions between the original holes are broken away, forming large ragged holes; but whether the holes are large or small all but those at the extreme edge of the disk are surrounded or bounded by serviceable cork, and hence when the disk is compressed between the surfaces a^2 of the cap and $a\,a'$ of the bottle-lip some of the small holes will be quite closed in or up by the compression of the adjacent cork, and such as are not so closed are tightly walled on one side by glass and on the other side by metal, and the several portions of integrally-communicating cork, although of extremely limited bulk, perform their packing functions more fully than when in larger masses and in the ordinary forms of bottle-corks. It will be seen, however, that, while it is essential in an ordinary bottle-cork that the lines of holes or pits in the cork-wood should be at right angles to the axis of the cork, said holes or lines of holes must be parallel with the axis of a sealing-disk, as before described.

It is obvious that with a thin disk permeable except at its compressed portion it is important that the metal cap should be so coated on its inner side that no metallic taste can be imparted to the liquid contents of a bottle, and for this purpose I apply to the interior of the caps a surfacing of inodorous, tasteless, and insoluble liquid-proof material. It is to be understood that this resistant or non-corrodible coating need only be a very thin film, and I secure the best results by the use of a fusible adhesive material which is tasteless and odorless—such as thin shellac varnish—applied to the interior of the caps and well dried, although a varnish composed of Egyptian asphaltum and aromatic benzole affords quite satisfactory results.

The combination of a metallic sealing-cap coated inside with a protecting film and a permeable or porous sealing-disk is a valuable portion of my invention, and especially if the sealing-disk be composed of cork.

The very hard spots or masses of various sizes and forms found in all ordinary cork will, as hereinbefore indicated, render thin cork disks more or less defective as compressed sealing-disks whenever such hard matter is located in that annular portion of a disk which is compressed between a cap and the packing-surface of a bottle. I therefore, prior to the application of the disks to bottles, free the disks from said hard spots. In other words, I subject them to a heavy pressure, which breaks or crushes and disintegrates the normally hard masses, so that they cannot operate obstructively during the compression of the disk between the bottle and the cap. This crushing operation may be performed prior to the insertion of the disks into the caps; but it is best accomplished at the time the disk is forced into the cap, the latter having had its interior already coated with a film of well-dried shellac, and then heated sufficiently to melt the shellac and render it adhesive, it being always too insufficient in quantity to cause it to flow and to fill the holes or pits in the cork, as will now be described.

Referring to Figs. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, it is to be understood that the cap B is developed from a thin tinned iron disk *g*, Fig. 8, which is first struck up and formed into the shape shown in B′, Fig. 9. The flange *d* of this cap B′ is flared to a greater extent than in the finished cap B, as will be seen upon a comparison of Figs. 9 and 10. A cork disk as received from the cork-cutting machine is placed in the cap B′, previously coated inside with shellac and well heated, and then subjected to heavy crushing pressure in suitable dies, and the edge of the flange is compressed, thereby flattening the inner lower portions of the corrugations and slightly reducing the diameter of the flange at and near its edge. Under this operation the hard spots in the cork are not only crushed, but the cork disk is developed into a concavo-convex form, and it is also well confined in the cap by the melted shellac.

The cap B, having the rounded edge at its top, is free from liability of displacement or partial loosening under such edgewise blows on the cap as are incident to handling filled bottles, and said rounding of the top edge also prevents the metal from being lifted at said

edge out of packing contact, even if the center of the cap should be lifted or sprung outwardly under specially powerful gaseous pressure, and therefore it is to be understood that the well-rounded top is an important feature of novelty, but that with respect of its corrugations it is substantially in accordance with my previous disclosures; but in some of my prior caps the edge of the flange was flattened or flared for the sole purpose of causing said edge to lie closely in contact with the surface of a bottle-head rounded outwardly immediately below the locking-shoulder, whereas in my present combination said flattened edge is for an exactly opposite purpose, or, in other words, so as to locate it remotely from the adjacent surface of the bottle-head, which is straight and inclined below the locking-shoulder for a suitable distance, so as to afford the specially useful annular space below and at the rear of the lower portion of the flange. It will also be readily understood that the form and character of the corrugations are immaterial to my present invention, inasmuch as they may be long, short, large, small, straight, or spiralled, because in either case the flanges are to be always bent or crimped into locking contact with the annular shoulder on the bottle-head in such a manner as to afford the annular space *e*, this being wholly independent of the corrugations.

Having thus described my invention, I claim as new and desire to secure by Letters Patent—

1. The combination, with a bottle having a head provided with an annular locking-shoulder adjacent to its lip and a straight or inclined surface below the recess beneath said shoulder, of a metallic sealing-cap containing a sealing-disk and having a flange which is bent or crimped into locking contact with said shoulder above the edge of the flange, the said edge being located remotely from the adjacent surface of the bottle-head to afford between the lower portion of the flange and the adjacent surface of the bottle-head an annular space which is freely accessible to any pointed instrument applied for detaching the cap, substantially as described.

2. The combination, with a bottle having a head provided with an annular locking-shoulder adjacent to its lip and a straight or inclined surface below the recess beneath said shoulder, of a metallic sealing-cap containing a sealing-disk, and having a flaring-edged flange which is bent or crimped into locking contact with said shoulder above its flared edge, the latter being located remotely from the adjacent surface of the bottle-head to afford between the lower portion of the flange and the adjacent surface of the bottle-head an annular space which is freely accessible to any pointed instrument applied for detaching the cap, substantially as described.

3. The combination, with a bottle having on its head and between its lip and neck an annular locking-shoulder and a rounded packing-surface above and extending to the lip from said shoulder, of a metallic cap containing a thin concavo-convex heavily-compressed sealing-disk and having a top which is rounded in conformity with the packing-surface on the bottle-head and has a flange which is bent or crimped into locking contact with said shoulder, substantially as described.

4. A metallic flanged sealing-cap adapted to receive the head of a bottle and containing a concavo-convex sealing-disk and an interposed film of inodorous and tasteless adhesive matter which not only secures reliable initial union of the cap and disk, but also protects the interior surface of the cap against corrosion by liquids permeating the disk, and also prevents metallic tainting of the contents of a bottle sealed by means of said cap and disk, substantially as described.

WILLIAM PAINTER.

Witnesses:
T. R. ALEXANDER,
ORRIN C. PAINTER.

Painter, William

1892 Bottle Sealing Device. No. 468,226. Application filed May 19, 1891. Issued date of publication February 2, 1892. Electronic resource, https://patentimages.storage.googleapis.com/61/1e/f1/bb8097ba0d014d/US468226.pdf, accessed February 2025.

Appendix F

Timeline of Major Events in the History of Maryland Alcohol Production

Timeline of Major Events in the History of Maryland Alcohol Production

Information in timeline is compiled from "Spirited History: Distilling, Brewing, & Winemaking in Maryland" (Baker et al. 2025).

Year	Event
1638	The Maryland General Assembly acts to prevent public drunkenness through legislation and fines.
1646	The Maryland General Assembly enacts a duty upon "wines and ardent spirits" in order to prevent excessive drunkenness. The tax is viewed as oppressive on the colony's economy, and is suspended quickly.
1648	The earliest mention of wine production in what would become Maryland occurs when Tenis Palee, a Frenchman and member of the failed New Albion colony, attempts to make eight different types of wine from four different grapes.
1651	The English Navigation Acts (amended and broadened multiple times throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century) restricts the colonial molasses trade to only fellow English colonies; smuggling becomes popular as colonists seek molasses from foreign nations in order to make cheap rum.
1654	Additional fines are levied by the Maryland General Assembly for public drunkenness, as well as for those who did not report instances of excessive drunkenness.
1662	The General Assembly passes a law to encourage the establishment of inns in order to improve the economic development of the colony. Lord Baltimore plans to have grapes planted for the purpose of wine production; it is unknown what happened to these grapes, but it is apparent Lord Baltimore's plans were unsuccessful.
1666	The General Assembly passes "an act limiting ordinary-keepers," which fixes the prices of food and drink in inns, taverns, and ordinaries to prevent excessive prices.
1671	The General Assembly fixes the price of drinks, food, and lodging in taverns and inns. This legislation fixes prices in money, and also makes tobacco a sort of legal tender, as money is considered scarce in the colony.
1674	A new regulation is passed by the General Assembly, stating that the Assembly is only allowed to fix the prices of a man's meat, beer, and lodging. These items are considered absolute necessities for travelers to obtain.

	Additionally, the sale of liquors on Sundays is prohibited in Maryland, subject to fines.
1692	The first import duty on alcohol is enacted. At the same time, the licensing of taverns is further regulated to limit the number of drinking-places in each county. This regulation is also intended to suppress tippling houses (places where alcohol is illegally bought, sold, and consumed).
1703	The first commercial brewery in Maryland is opened by Benjamin Fordham in Annapolis, on Prince George's Street.
1704	The import duty on alcohol is reduced in Maryland, though the importation of malt, beer, flour, bread, "Indian corn," and other goods from Pennsylvania are prohibited, in an attempt to stimulate commercial and industrial enterprises throughout the colony.
1733	The Molasses Act is passed, aimed at limiting colonial access to foreign molasses; large-scale smuggling becomes more common as a result.
1746	Mark Gibson opens a brewery, likely in the same location as Benjamin Fordham's brewery; Gibson's brewery is the first advertised brewery in Maryland.
1748	The first brewery in Baltimore is opened by John Leonard Barnitz. The brewery was located on the corners of Hanover and Baltimore Streets.
1756	Colonel Benjamin Tasker, Jr. has a two-acre vineyard planted at the estate known as Belair, his sister's home, in Prince George's County, for the purposes of producing wine.
1760	A devastating winter destroys Colonel Tasker's grapevines, ending his wine producing attempts.
1760s	Tobacco prices drop after decades of relative stability, encouraging planters to begin experimenting with raising wheat.
1764	The Sugar Act is passed by the British Parliament, which lowers taxes on molasses, but gives the British Navy significant power to crush smuggling.
1770	Charles Carroll has vineyards planted at Doughoregan Manor, near Ellicott City. The grapes are able to be maintained for around twenty years.
1774	The First Continental Congress passes a nonconsumption agreement, in which colonists agree to abstain from consuming British goods. Colonists are encouraged

	to cease trade with Great Britain. There is a push to increase domestic production at all levels.
April 19, 1775-September 3, 1783	The Revolutionary War is fought. During this time, farmers, brewers, and distillers are encouraged to support the war effort with increased production.
1796	The first cookbook written by an American, Amelia Simmons' *American Cookery*, is published.
1790	An Act for Laying a Duty on Goods, Wares, and Merchandises Imported into the United States is passed by the federal government, to be applied in 1791. As a result, rum, "spirituous liquors", molasses, and Madeira and other wines, beer, ale, porters, ciders, and malt (along with some spices) are subject to tariffs.
1791	The Distilled Spirits Tax of 1791, also known as "the whiskey tax," is passed by the federal government. The tax is noteworthy because it is a direct tax on anyone who produces distilled spirits.
1794	Farmers in western Pennsylvania rise up against the whiskey tax in what is known as the Whiskey Rebellion. Discontent over the whiskey tax spreads into western Maryland. Many Marylanders are called up to join the militia to put the rebels down.
1800	Thomas Jefferson is elected president, and reduces the whiskey tax to a minimal amount.
1819	John Adlum meets Mrs. Catherine Scholl, a widow and public house owner in Clarksburg, Maryland. Adlum acquires grape vine cuttings from Scholl, which consist of hybrid grapes known as Catawba grapes. Adlum popularizes Catawba grapes throughout the United States, and they remain one of the most popular types of grapes in the United States for the remainder of the century.
1823	John Adlum publishes *A Memoir on the Cultivation of The Vine In America, And The Best Mode Of Making Wine,* one of the earliest books on American winemaking and production.
1830s	German immigration to the United States begins to increase rapidly; German immigration to Maryland and the wider United States will remain high for the remainder of the century.

1840s	Cider declines as a nationally popular beverage. At the same time, beer becomes more popular nationally.
1840s-1860s	The advent of clipper ships allows for faster transit from Germany to the United States (less than 30 days). This means that lager yeast can survive trans-Atlantic travel. As a result, lager beer is able to be brewed in the United States for the first time. Lager beer quickly becomes a popular beverage in the United States. The number of breweries in the United States rises rapidly, as do German-style beer gardens and beer halls.
1851	The state of Maine enacts statutory, statewide prohibition. Multiple states and municipalities throughout the nation follow suit. Throughout latter half of the nineteenth century, multiple towns and counties in Maryland pass local option laws restricting the availability and legality of alcoholic beverages within their boundaries. At the same time, the first "ice machines" are patented. By the end of the century, ice machines are commercially available to brewers, which means that the construction of underground ice chambers are no longer necessary, making the process of refrigerating beer significantly simpler. Critically, lager beers are be able to be produced in the hot summer months as a result of advances in refrigeration.
1861-1865	The Civil War is fought. As a result of the high number of troops moving throughout the state of Maryland, a larger population is introduced to Maryland rye whiskey; the popularity of the beverage increases post-war, and numerous commercial rye whiskey distilleries open throughout the state.
1870s	Pilsner-style lager beer is introduced to the United States; lager beers continue to grow in popularity nationally.
1873	4,131 breweries are reported in operation throughout the United States, considered to be the peak of breweries nationally.
1876	French scientist Louis Pasteur publishes *Études sur la Bière*, an examination of the fermentation process and the damage beer faced from bacteria. German-American brewers quickly begin adopting Pasteur's studies in their breweries, lengthening the shelf-life of their beverages.

1880s-1890s	Commercial breweries and distilleries continue to open throughout the state, particularly in western Maryland.
1885	Maryland native William Painter invents a wire retaining bottle stopper known as "The Triumph" and a rubber "Bottle-Seal" which becomes the standard for bottling machines.
1892	William Painter patents the "Crown Cork Closure", a forebearer of the modern bottle cap, which revolutionizes bottling. The closure allows beer to stay safe from oxygen, which allows for a longer shelf-life and for beer to be shipped further distances nationally.
1897	A federal law is passed instituting the practice of "bottling-in-bond" in order to prevent liquor salesmen from deceiving consumers about the worth of their alcohol.
1899	The Maryland Brewing Company (later the Gottlieb-Bauernschmidt-Strauss Brewing Company, or G.B.S.) is formed, with the goal of purchasing local breweries for the purpose of a monopoly. Sixteen Baltimore breweries were brought into the monopoly, including the National Brewing Company; only a few breweries in Baltimore are able to remain independent.
1900s-1910s	As industrialization and technological innovations grow, both the brewing and distilling industries move increasingly towards consolidation. Smaller businesses are unable to compete with the larger breweries and distilleries, and are often absorbed or put entirely out of business. The number of breweries and distilleries, therefore, decreases, though production continues to climb.
1906	The Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 (the Wiley Law) is passed by the federal government. The law mandates honesty in food and beverage sales, and imposes penalties for infractions. As a result, "rye whiskey" is legally defined; fifty-one percent of any set quantity is required to be made from rye mash in order to be able to use the name "rye whiskey." Many nationally-regarded brands are required to change their labels to reflect that they were considered a "blended" whiskey, as opposed to a rye whiskey. Additionally, Henry W. Wiley, the namesake of the Pure Food and Drug Act, increasingly begins to speak out against the medicinal value of alcohol.
1918	Eighty-four percent of Maryland's land area is considered statutorily "dry" [laws prohibiting the production, purchase, or consumption of alcohol], with the cities serving as the only "wet" [areas where the production, purchase, and consumption

	of alcohol are legal] areas. Rural Marylanders are largely in favor of Prohibition, while urban Marylanders are generally opposed.
January 16, 1919	The Eighteenth Amendment is ratified, with one year's delay before the new Amendment takes effect.
October 1919	The National Prohibition Act (commonly known as the Volstead Act), provides for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. Any beverage over 0.5 percent alcohol is considered an "intoxicating liquor." The manufacture of (except in specific instances) intoxicating liquors, as well as the sale and storage of such liquors, is considered illegal and subject to penalties under the Volstead Act. Enforcement is intended to be the work of both federal and state forces; however, Maryland is the only state that does not pass any enforcement laws. Therefore, intoxicating liquors are federally illegal in Maryland, but not enforced at a state level.
January 17, 1920	National Prohibition goes into effect. Commercial breweries and distilleries are forced to either pivot their production to other industries or close entirely. Small breweries and distilleries, in particular, are unable to afford to retrofit their production lines, and are forced to close.
1920-1933	Federal Prohibition of alcohol occurs. Speakeasies, bootlegging, moonshining, and rumrunning occurs throughout the state in response to Prohibition. Maryland is considered one of the "wettest" states, with Baltimore being one of the "wettest" cities. Some Marylanders, such as Philip Wagner, begin experimenting with making wine at home, paving the way for the development of a wine industry within the state post-Prohibition.
1933	On December 5, the Twenty-First Amendment is ratified, formally ending federal Prohibition, leaving states in control of the regulation of alcohol. Following the end of Prohibition, many distilleries and breweries in Maryland struggle to re-open. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. commissions Raymond B. Fosdick and Albert L. Scott to study alcohol regulation overseas, resulting in the book *Toward Liquor Control*, considered one of the most influential books on alcoholic beverage legislation.

	Regulatory concepts introduced in *Toward Liquor Control* are used throughout the nation, including many places in Maryland. Philip Wagner writes *American Wines and How to Make Them,* one of the most popular and accessible books on American winemaking.
1940s-1970s	Consolidation in both the beer and spirits industry means that many small breweries and distilleries are absorbed by larger, national chains or are forced to close in the face of corporate competition. The number of breweries and distilleries in the nation decreases, though production increases significantly. Take-home packaging becomes an increasingly popular method of beer consumption, consisting of half of all beer sold, often easily purchased in grocery stores.
1945	Boordy Vineyards, the first winery in the state of Maryland, is established in Riderwood.
1960s	Consolidation of smaller breweries by national beer corporations results in just six brewing companies controlling over ninety percent of the entire national beer market.
1970	Only 89 breweries are left in the entire United States.
1978	Homebrewing beer is legalized federally by the Carter Administration, allowing for small-scale experimentation with beer flavors, which creates a flourishing craft beer market. However, since the Twenty-First Amendment allows states to regulate alcohol, and homebrewing laws vary from state-to-state. Also in 1978, state legislators ban Maryland grocery stores from selling alcohol, in order to protect small retailers from major chain retailers.
1984	The first Maryland Wine Festival is held in Westminster, Maryland.
2000s-2010s	The Maryland General Assembly passes legislation that generally loosens taproom regulations, which allows for craft breweries, distilleries, and wineries to grow in number throughout the state.
2020s	Maryland is home to as many as 112 craft breweries, more than 80 wineries, and 30 distilleries.