

The Distillery at Petersburg, Kentucky: *Snyder's Old Rye Whiskey*

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2002

May I conclude by saying that although we have no industry, it is a very nice place to live.

- Closing line from an essay entitled "Petersburg" written by Petersburg high school student Mary Rector, April 27, 1928.

This observation was made less than a decade after the most substantial and long lasting industry of 19th century Boone County ceased to exist. For over a century, the leading industrial concern in Boone County was located along the banks of the Ohio River in Petersburg. The roots of the Petersburg Distillery (also known as the Boone County Distillery) were grounded in a steam mill formed about 1816 and distillery added in the mid-1830s. For the duration of the 19th century, the mill and distilling complex was continuously expanded by a succession of influential proprietors. In the last decades of the 19th century, it was the only distillery in Boone County and was also one of the largest in the nation. Mary Rector's comment about early Petersburg's lack of industry and "niceness" in 1928 is almost shocking given the impact that the distillery made on Petersburg into the early 1900s. However, Rector's observation is still appropriate 75 years later. Petersburg remains a quiet and relaxed locale in Western Boone County and has yet to witness an industry like the one that dominated it in the 19th century. This article recounts the development and decline of the industrial giant that defined Petersburg, Kentucky for just over 100 years.

Petersburg in its Formative Stages: John J. Flournoy and the Petersburg Steam Mill Co.

The early development of Petersburg, Kentucky is closely tied to one of its founding fathers - John James Flournoy. Flournoy has been referred to as "a Frenchman" although he is believed to have come to Petersburg from North Carolina. The 1820 Census shows that Flournoy, already over 45 years of age, was living in the Petersburg Precinct with his wife, a teenage daughter, and 15 slaves.¹ The settlement and growth of Petersburg in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and Flournoy's involvement therein, is encapsulated as follows:

In 1785 surveyors plotted a 1000-acre tract of land in the vicinity of today's Petersburg for William Holliday of Stafford County, Virginia. After changing hands three times, 750 acres were purchased by Colonel John Grant of North Carolina, a politician, entrepreneur, Revolutionary War veteran and nephew of Daniel Boone. Grant had grandiose plans for the land. By 1806 he had established a ferry and tavern at his landing and laid off 100 acres for a town to be called Caledonia. Short of funds, he transferred his holdings to John James Flournoy, his son-in-law, who continued with its development.. Shortly after Holliday assigned his land, Reverend John Tanner, a Baptist preacher from North Carolina, led a settlement party to the site. In 1789 he built a stockade called

Tanner's Station, which became the first permanent Euro-American settlement in what would become Boone County. The Tanners remained there for only a few years. They relocated farther west after one of their sons was abducted by Native Americans.²

The development of Petersburg in the 1810s and 1820s was closely entwined with John J. Flournoy. With the permission of Boone County's court, Flournoy established a warehouse at Tanner's Station for the purpose of inspecting flour, tobacco, pork and hemp.³ In September 1817 Flournoy platted a town on the site of Grant's Caledonia and the Kentucky General Assembly recognized the settlement as Petersburg the following year.⁴ He soon began advertising "free lots for artisans and tradesmen" who would become permanent settlers, a common practice in the settlement-era Ohio Valley.⁵

On September 17, 1817 Flournoy conveyed 2.5 acres and \$1 to the "president, directors, and company of the Petersburg Steam Mill Company," who agreed to build a steam mill on the property.⁶ The company was incorporated by an act of the Kentucky General Assembly in February of that year and the mill was already under construction when the deed was recorded. The 1817 town plat denotes a rectangular parcel just beyond the southwest corner of the town boundary as "Steam Mill Company's Ground."⁷ An 1833 deed suggests that Flournoy was an officer of the Petersburg Steam Mill Company, together with Reuben Graves, George Cornelius, and John Terrill.⁸ Flournoy and Graves were also stockholders in the Petersburg Bank, chartered by the Kentucky Legislature in 1818, together with Absalom Graves, Benjamin G. Willis, and others.⁹

No records of the production or capacity of the Petersburg Steam Mill Company, which presumably was operating by 1818, have been found. The concern is not listed in the 1820 US Manufacturing Census, although it may not have been counted if the annual gross was under \$2000. Flournoy maintained an interest in the mill until 1825 when he "transferred all [his] right, title, and interest to [his] claim on the Petersburg Mill, together with the old dwelling house [the so-called John Tanner "Mansion"] and small house between the said old house and the mill ground" to his partners Graves, Cornelius, and Terrill.¹⁰ Although Flournoy, his wife, and 14 slaves are listed in the 1830 Census, the household was gone by 1840.¹¹

John J. Flournoy nurtured the infant settlement at Petersburg and established the Petersburg Steam Mill Company thereby laying the groundwork for what would become the town's (and county's) most significant industry. Aside from the fact that the mill was steam powered little is known about its production capacity and equipment. Grist and saw mills were commonplace across an early 19th century agrarian landscape where farmers needed to process raw grains and settlers required sawn boards for construction. While practical treatises like Oliver Evans' seminal 1795 *The Young Mill-Wright and Miller's Guide* were revered and applied by mill wrights until the middle of the 19th century, steam power was coming into use and outmoding water power as early as 1820.¹²

Water powered saw and gristmills in Boone County were located along permanent streams like Gunpowder Creek, Woolper Creek and Middle Creek. However, most of them were small operations grossing less than \$2,000/year and do not appear in the Federal Manufacturing Schedules.¹³ By 1850, only one of the three mills listed in the Manufacturing Schedules was

water powered, although other water powered mills were certainly operating around the county. These other “community” mills probably provided saw and grist milling services for areas no larger than a few thousand acres. By comparison, the Petersburg Steam Mill Company had an advantageous location on the Ohio River and could operate year-round with steam power. Even before Flournoy and his partners divested themselves of the operation, the mill at Petersburg was probably on an order of magnitude far greater than any other mill in Boone County.

The Petersburg Distillery

The mill established by Flournoy and his partners was transformed into an industrial power by a Virginian named William Snyder from the mid-1830s to just before the onset of the Civil War. John and William Snyder were brothers who came to Petersburg from Albermarle County, Virginia, and in 1833 they bought the steam mill and both adjacent dwellings.¹⁴ By 1836, William had begun operating a distillery in conjunction with the mill. The 1840 Census shows that the John Snyder household included 6 men and boys, 7 women and girls, and 7 slaves. William Snyder’s household had 6 males, 6 females and 3 slaves.¹⁵ A decade later, John had passed away although William, his wife and four children were still residing in Petersburg.¹⁶ Curiously, William listed his occupation as farmer, although a real estate valuation of \$34,000 belies his interest in the mill/distillery.

By 1850, Snyder’s mill and distillery complex was a successful concern worth tens of thousands of dollars. That year, Snyder had \$25,000 in capital invested in the flourmill and \$18,000 invested in the distillery.¹⁷ He had 35,000 bushels of wheat stored at the mill and 80,000 bushels of corn on hand at the distillery. Together, these raw materials were valued at \$52,000. The mill produced 7,000 barrels of flour valued at \$28,000 and 164,000 gallons of whiskey worth \$53,000 came off the still(s) at the distillery. The mill/distillery was worked by 16 hired hands, including two Kentucky distillers, William Layton and David Snyder (John Snyder’s son), George Lybrook, a German miller, Lewis Martin, a Pennsylvania miller, and coopers John B. Manning, Thomas Johnson, and James H. Snyder (another of John Snyder’s sons).¹⁸ At this time, William Snyder was operating the only notable distillery in Boone County and his flourmill was grossing 10 times more than the next most valuable flour mill, operated by a Mr. Hardesty.

Beginning in 1857, Lewis A. Loder recorded many of the routine operations of the Snyder industrial complex in his daily diary, which was kept until 1904.¹⁹ For example, Loder’s entry for January 12, 1857 states that “This morning the thermometer was two degrees below zero. Mr. Snyder sent two four-horse teams over on the ice to haul whiskey from the mouth of Tanner’s Creek to Lawrenceburg and was hauling whiskey from the distillery across the river with two one-horse sleds.” Snyder hauled whiskey across the frozen Ohio River twice more over the next several weeks.²⁰ Loder’s entries also indicate that William Snyder received huge shipments of corn (3000 to 4000 sacks at a time) and coal by steamboat and barge several times a year.

From Loder’s diaries, a startlingly clear picture of the breadth of William Snyder’s business interests may be painted. References in the diaries suggest that Snyder partnered with J.C. Jenkins to raise hogs at the distillery, a venture that made perfect financial sense, since hogs

were readily fattened on spent distillery mash. On March 15, 1860 Loder noted that “a man here by the name of Lewis Haynes putting up a pair of scales for Snyder & Jenkins to weigh hogs on.” Loder’s May 3, 1861 entry stated that “Jenkins and Snyder shipped five hundred head of hogs to Buffalo, NY.” Snyder also bought corn from the Gaffs [probably James Gaff], who operated a distillery in Aurora, Indiana, and may have partnered with them to some degree.²¹ In addition to hogs, Snyder raised sheep and served as the first president of the Petersburg & Burlington Turnpike, which was chartered in 1860.²²

The range of Snyder’s market may also be gleaned from Loder. The diary entries listed above indicate that Snyder moved barreled whiskey directly across the Ohio River when it was frozen to Lawrenceburg. From there, some traveled upriver on the Miami & Erie Canal to Cincinnati. In the mid-19th century, Cincinnati was THE midwestern entropot for whiskey. Cincinnati’s position in the industry is aptly described as follows:

Much of the whiskey distilled before the Civil War ... was a semi-finished article which moved through the commission houses to a rectifier [large commercial distiller], most likely located in Cincinnati, which brewed more lager beer than any other American city, handled more whiskey than any other mart in the whole world and made the barrels, stills, and rectifying columns which the distillers required.²³

In Kentucky, substantial whiskey markets were also evident in Covington, Maysville, and Louisville. Loder’s diary entry for October 10, 1859 stating “I was at Cincinnati and bot [sic] a barrel of Snyder’s Old Rye Whiskey,” indicates that Snyder’s product was marketed in the Queen City. In addition to Cincinnati, Loder’s diaries suggest that Snyder’s products made their way directly or indirectly to Louisville and Memphis.²⁴

Loder dutifully recorded the serious (and sometimes deadly) accidents that took place at the distillery and mill. The following excerpts from the diaries over a five year period illustrate the dangerous nature of milling and distilling in the 19th century;

February, 1857 - “In the forenoon today the still blew up in Mr. Wm Snyder’s distillery. Wm. Olds was scolded [sic] considerable & Jos. Huber slitley [sic] scolded.” (William Olds died the next day.)

November 30, 1857 - “A boiler blew up in Mr. Snyder’s mill, skalding [sic] a man by the name of Billy Cannon very badly.”

November 12, 1860 - “Lew Youell got caught in a wheel at the Snyder’s mill & was pretty badly hurt.”

November 19, 1861 - “Mrs. Carey’s boy got scalded by falling in a slop tub” (the boy died the next day.)

April 29, 1862 - “Jas. McDaniel come [sic] within an ace of dying by getting [stuck] fast in still.”

On the flipside, on amusing series of events recorded by Loder concerns a bear Mr. Snyder owned for a time 1857. The bear arrived from Evansville, Indiana on the steamboat *J.P. Tweed* on April 16, 1857. Needless to say, the bear had an impact on Petersburg during its stay. On July 5, 1857 Loder observed that “Sm’l Johnson boy got his arm hurt and otherwise bruised

by Mr. Snyder's bear." Six weeks later "Mr. Snyder's bear got loose and bit his Negro girl & run half over the town but he jumped over into Mrs. Snelling's yard and Perry McNeeley caught him, then tied a long cable to the piece of chain that was to him & took him back to his box."²⁵ On December 24, 1857 "Mr. Snelling made Mr. Snyder killed [sic] his bear."

By 1860, William Snyder had \$50,000 in capital invested in his milling and distilling complex, which included a sizeable cooperage.²⁶ That year, 80,000 bushels of wheat worth \$90,000 were on hand at the mill and a staggering 300,000 bushels of corn valued at \$150,000 were stored at the distillery. The mill ground 16,000 barrels of flour worth \$95,000 and the distillery produced 1.125 million gallons of whiskey valued at \$225,000. The complex employed more than 30 men, including 16 coopers managed by "boss cooper" William Smith.²⁷ Millers, distillers and distillery hands, day laborers, and even a boiler cleaner worked for Snyder and came from as far away as France and Germany.²⁸ Snyder, by now 60 years of age, listed his occupation as miller and distiller and indicated that he had real estate valued at \$42,000.

In the decade since 1850, production at Snyder's mill and distillery had markedly increased. Production of flour had more than doubled to 16,000 barrels per annum (from 7,000 in 1850) and the distillery was producing nearly 700% more than it had in 1850 (from 164,000 to 1,125,000 gallons annually). Snyder continued to run the most substantial flouring mill in Boone County, although another distiller appeared in the manufacturing schedules. At the same time, a man named Jonathan Patmor was operating a small steam mill and distillery downriver in the Hamilton District. The manufacturing schedules indicate that Patmor had a few hundred bushels of both rye and corn on hand and that he produced 3,000 gallons of rye and 72,000 gallons of slop that year.²⁹ By comparison with Snyder, Patmor was a small-scale distiller. Indeed, Snyder probably spilled more whiskey on an annual basis than Patmor could make.

By 1860, William Snyder had developed the distillery at Petersburg into an industrial behemoth. He was receiving regular shipments of thousands of sacks of corn and barge loads of coal. His whiskey was moving up and the down the Ohio River, as was his flour, and dozens of men were employed in his mill, distillery, and cooperage. Significantly, Snyder appears to have made a major investment in the distillery, which resulted in a sevenfold increase in whiskey production between 1850 and 1860.³⁰ Like the Petersburg Steam Milling Company, which invested in steam power, Snyder likely embraced new technology as it came available. By the mid-1800s, the principles of multiple-chambered rectification and the use of steam had been combined into what were known as continuous "rectifying" or "column" stills.³¹ The column still was invented in 1832 by Aeneas Coffey of Dublin, Ireland, and by 1850 was in widespread use in the large, commercial, distilleries of America.³² Column stills were capable of producing far more whiskey on a daily basis than earlier still technologies (i.e., pot stills, steam stills, and patent stills). Snyder's production of 1,125,000 gallons in 1860 translates to a daily production capacity of nearly 4,200 gallons - only column stills could produce that much whiskey in a single day.

Although William Snyder's mill and distillery at Petersburg was a grand production, in many ways the services he offered and his business philosophy mirrored that of a small scale rural distiller. During much of the 19th century, distilling was considered a respectable occupation. Many rural farmers engaged in distilling because "it was only by turning their corn

into whisky [sic] that the farmers could find a market for this grain."³³ While a bushel of corn was worth only 25 cents, the 2.5 gallons of whiskey made from it was worth nearly \$2.00.³⁴ Furthermore, a horse could carry either 4 bushels of grain or one 60-gallon barrel of whiskey, which was made from 24 bushels of grain.³⁵ Put another way, 15 bushels of corn was equal to either 1 large hog or 47 gallons of whiskey; the latter was favored because its value increased with age and because it was easier to store and transport.³⁶ In fact, distilling and hog raising were typically linked, as the spent grains ("stillage" or "slop") left over after distilling made excellent feed for livestock. The early authoritative works on distilling all stress the importance of integrating distilling operations with livestock, preferably swine.³⁷ While Snyder's operation was exponentially larger than any other in the county, he continued to turn corn into a value added product (whiskey) and raised and sold hogs to take advantage of what was essentially a by-product of the distilling process.

Although it would seem that Snyder's mill and distillery had grown into an economic juggernaut by the time the Civil War opened with the fall of Fort Sumter in April, 1861, the events of the next few months tell a startlingly different story. On September 9, 1861 15 writs of *fieri facias* were issued against William Snyder by as many men asking for repayment of debts ranging from \$500 to \$6,000.³⁸ Snyder was indebted for over \$30,000 (equivalent to about \$570,000 today) to some of the most influential men of his day, including Joseph C. Jenkins, Richard Parker, William Watts, William Appleton, John Gaines, and John Terrill. Beginning in February, 1862 William Snyder's personal property and real estate holdings in the Petersburg area were liquidated to pay his creditors.³⁹ The 2.5-acre mill and distillery lot, cooperage, and Snyder's residence were bought by William Appleton for \$13,080 at a public auction held on the Courthouse stair on February 3, 1862.⁴⁰ Snyder's other real estate, including 400 acres and several lots in Petersburg, were split between Jenkins and Terrill, whose bids came in at \$3,300 and \$8,000, respectively.⁴¹

In October 1861 months before his property was liquidated, Snyder departed Petersburg for the last time, bound for Chattanooga, Tennessee.⁴² The other Snyder households in Petersburg and the two Wingate families quickly followed Snyder to Tennessee, although Snyder's wife did not leave until June 1862.⁴³ Whether Snyder's sudden move was attributed to a desire to avoid embarrassment (or worse, prosecution) or to protect other interests in Chattanooga is not known. The summer of 1861 witnessed in rapid succession states declaring for the Union or Confederacy, the First Battle of Bull Run, and the initiation of the Federal blockade of Southern ports. Although speculative, it is possible that the Snyder and Wingate families were secessionists and moving to Chattanooga was an expression of their sentiments. Of course, they may also have had family or business interests in Chattanooga that required immediate attention. Regardless of the reason, it is clear that after nearly three decades, William Snyder had forever relinquished the reigns of the Petersburg Distillery.

In the wake of William Snyder's sudden departure, his son-in-law William Appleton took over the distillery complex and worked it, in partnership with J. C. Jenkins and James W. Gaff, for a number of years before selling out to Cincinnatians Julius Frieburg and Levi T. Workum. In the last three decades of the 19th century, the firm of Frieburg & Workum turned the Petersburg Distillery into the largest distillery built on Kentucky soil.

William Appleton (1861 to 1864)

Even before William Snyder's personal property and real estate were auctioned off at the courthouse in Burlington, Colonel William Appleton had assumed control of the distillery complex at Petersburg and was grinding corn into flour. This is suggested by Lewis Loder's diary entry for December 5, 1861, which notes "Col. Appleton got a barge load of coal."⁴⁴ William Appleton was born in Philadelphia in 1820 to British parents and moved to Petersburg at the age of 19.⁴⁵ Appleton married William Snyder's daughter Mary in 1843 and was almost certainly working in the distillery by this time. As such, he had nearly two decades of experience in the distillery before he assumed ownership.

By 1862, Appleton was shipping flour and whiskey on the Ohio River to Lawrenceburg, Indiana, and Cincinnati and even sent 100 barrels of whiskey via rail through St. Louis to Burlington, Iowa.⁴⁶ Appleton also began to diversify his business interests and dabbled in tobacco, which had become somewhat of a commodity in Petersburg.⁴⁷ Although he does not appear to have stopped making whiskey, his interest in other consumer goods was probably occasioned by the Federal government's initiation of a Liquor Excise Tax on distilled spirits. On September 1, 1862, the United States Bureau of Revenue instituted a tax of 20¢ per proof gallon on all distilled spirits. The tax was levied to fund the Union war effort and was the first of its kind imposed since Federal liquor taxes were abolished in 1818.⁴⁸ Although the tax was significant, the whiskey trade suffered more in 1862 from the imposition of martial law, which strictly prohibited "trade in the article" for part of the year.⁴⁹

In spite of the new Federal liquor tax, Appleton continued to make and sell flour and whiskey for the next couple of years, although Federal taxes ultimately impacted his business interests. As the Civil War progressed, the Federal government continued to raise the tax on distilled spirits. The Liquor Excise Tax was bumped to \$0.60 per proof gallon in March of 1864, and to \$1.50 in July of that year. However, distillers were made aware of the impending tax hikes in December of 1863.⁵⁰ As a result, "a speculative movement set in then, which, before the year closed, had reached immense proportions" during which time "distillers worked to their utmost capacity day and night."⁵¹ The goal of this production increase was to make as much whiskey as possible before the taxes took effect, because taxes were assessed on spirits as they came off the still, not after they were put into storage. Loder's diary entries for December 1863, and January 1864, reveal that Col. Appleton was receiving regular shipments of corn and coal; Loder himself brought Appleton a "load of rye" in November.⁵² Appleton worked the mill and distillery so steadily that on January 19, 1864, the "mill stopped to day on the acct of being out of grain."⁵³ It wasn't until late March that Appleton had enough grain to start the mill up again.

Rather than face the \$1.50/gallon tax, Appleton appears to have chosen to sell the distillery. On April 10, 1864, Joseph C. Jenkins of Petersburg and James Gaff of Aurora, Indiana, "bot [sic] the steam distillery of Col. Appleton and took possession of it today."⁵⁴ Loder continued to bring rye down to the distillery from North Bend and Jenkins and Gaff produced whiskey at the distillery until June 21 of that year. Around the country, whiskey production came to a standstill after the \$1.50 tax went into effect on July 1. Taking the costs of corn,

cooperage, and labor, together with the tax, whiskey making simply was no longer a profitable venture for most distillers.

The duties imposed during the Civil War raised significant amounts of cash for the Federal war machine, but they also caused vast numbers of distillers to either give up the trade or start producing and selling illicitly.⁵⁵ Reports of illegal distilling started to come in from Michigan and Illinois, where “in some cases, three to four thousand barrels had been made, without paying any tax.”⁵⁶ Consequently, there was little “confidence in the price of the article,” and the “purchaser paid particular attention to ascertain if the duty had been paid upon his purchases.”⁵⁷ Rather than argue for repeal of the tax, the larger distilleries rallied for better enforcement of revenue collection; some merged in order to both protect their interests and assist the government with enforcement. On January 1, 1865, the liquor tax peaked at \$2.00 per proof gallon on all spirits (except brandy). The liquor tax remained in effect until July 20, 1868, when it was reduced to 60¢ per proof gallon at the request of the Bureau of Internal Revenue in an effort to curb illicit distilling.

J.C. Jenkins & Company (1864 to 1869)

Despite the steep Federal Liquor Excise taxes imposed during and immediately following the Civil War, Joseph C. Jenkins and James Gaff continued to operate the mill, and were making whiskey again by late 1865. Jenkins was already well acquainted with the distillery’s operations, having partnered to some extent with its previous owner, William Snyder.⁵⁸ J.C. Jenkins was born in 1818 in Orange County, Virginia, and came to Boone County with his parents in 1833.⁵⁹ He raised hogs in concert with William Snyder and later became widely known as a breeder of Jersey cattle, Cotswold sheep, and Chester hogs. At one time, he owned 1,200 acres south and west of Petersburg, and in 1860 built a spectacular residence on the hilltop overlooking Petersburg. Known as Prospect Farm, the J.C. Jenkins house is Boone County’s only Italian Villa and was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1989.

Jenkins’ partner James Gaff was the brother of Thomas Gaff, who, in 1855, built the magnificent Hillforest Mansion across the Ohio River in Aurora, Indiana.⁶⁰ The Gaff family immigrated to New Jersey from Scotland in 1811.⁶¹ The three brothers (James, Thomas, and John) operated a successful Philadelphia distillery until the Panic of 1837 forced them to close. James moved out to Aurora in 1841 and his brothers followed over the next several years. James and Thomas opened the T. & J.W. Gaff & Co. Distillery on Hogan Creek in Aurora in 1843, and soon established a brewery. While Thomas called Hillforest his home, James built and lived in Linden Terrace, a mansion located at Fourth and Main Streets, Aurora, that was demolished in the 1940s. James’ involvement in the distillery at Petersburg was just one of his many business interests. Indeed, Loder rarely mentions Gaff in conjunction with the distillery, which suggests that Gaff was probably not directly involved with its day-to-day operations.

Under Joseph C. Jenkins and James Gaff, the Petersburg Distillery continued to operate much as it had under Appleton: flour was milled, whiskey was distilled, and occasional improvements were made.⁶² Along with capital improvements, the new owners hired Lewis Loder as the company clerk and bookkeeper.⁶³ Throughout early 1865, the firm appears to have

concentrated on grinding flour, which was regularly shipped down river.⁶⁴ By late 1865, whiskey was once again running off the stills at the Petersburg Distillery. In late 1865 and early 1866, Loder recorded a series of trips he made to Cincinnati or Covington to pay the Federal Excise Tax on whiskey made at the distillery. Loder's entry for November 11, 1865, states that "I was up to Covington to pay Govt. taxes on whiskey \$16,004 on 8002 gals." This indicates that Jenkins & Gaff were actually assessed the \$2.00/gallon rate six weeks before it officially went into effect! To protect its interests, the Federal Government even hired "detectives" to oversee production at the distillery.⁶⁵

The distillery continued to operate over the next couple of years, with the firm also engaging in cattle raising.⁶⁶ While most of Loder's diary entries from this period record the mundane operations of the distillery, a few of them bear repeating here:

December 18, 1866: "The whisky caught fire at the lower whisky house – made quite a scare but was soon put out."

March 29, 1867: "Last night some thieves broke in to J.C. Jenkins & Co. office blew open the safe took all the money and some valuable papers Amount stolen cash \$292.48.

September 13, 1868: "Two men come down from Cov. [Covington] to make a diagram of the distillery of JC Jenkins & Co."

November 6, 1868: "Inspector Wheeler was in Pete to inspect whiskey for the first time."

Included among the countless daily observations made by Loder in the 1860s is a telling notation from January 8, 1869: "The firm of J.C. Jenkins & Co. changed hands on yesterday to Wm. Appleton & Company." Like so many of Loder's observations, this seemingly momentous event was recorded almost in passing. However, the impact of this change in ownership affected the distillery operation at every level and ushered in an era of progress and stability that carried the distillery through the end of the century.

Freiburg & Workum (1869 to 1899)

Lewis Loder's observation that J.C. Jenkins & Co. had sold the distillery back to William Appleton is somewhat misleading. What had in fact occurred was the transfer of J.C. Jenkins' one-half share in the distillery complex to the Cincinnati firm of Freiburg & Workum.⁶⁷ Appleton retained a one-fourth interest in the distillery during the five years it was owned/operated by J.C. Jenkins & Company. James Gaff also owned one fourth of the distillery, which he kept until 1872.⁶⁸ During the years that Gaff and Appleton were minority partners in the distillery with Freiburg & Workum, Appleton oversaw the distillery, which was operated in his name. Before discussing the impact this change of ownership had on the distillery, let us first consider the new owners – Freiburg & Workum – and their place in the whiskey industry of 1870.

Julius Freiburg was born in 1823 in Bavaria, Germany, and immigrated to Cincinnati in 1847.⁶⁹ He soon moved to Williamstown, Kentucky, where he became involved in general

merchandising and took an interest in distilling. In Williamstown, he learned how to make Kentucky bourbon and, more importantly, realized that it was virtually unknown outside the state. Indeed, he is credited with bringing Kentucky bourbon to Cincinnati upon his return there in 1852. Presumably he came back because he felt that bourbon was a marketable commodity. Freiburg began distilling vinegar in 1853, but partnered with his brother-in-law Levi J. Workum in 1855 to manufacture distilled spirits. As the firm of Freiburg & Workum, the pair acquired the Bowen Distillery in Lynchburg, Ohio, in 1857 and was soon making bourbon and rye, as well as gin.

Cincinnati's whiskey industry of the late nineteenth century was marked by expansion and agglomeration and Freiburg & Workum were arguably the biggest fish in what was, at the time, a very large pond. In 1866, just before they bought the distillery at Petersburg, Freiburg & Workum bought a huge building in Cincinnati that was first used as a bonded "Class B" warehouse but later outfitted as a "redistilling and rectifying" house when the company branched out into that end of the business. Prior to this, the firm had focused on continuous distilling and had introduced several brands of bourbon, straight whiskey, rye, and gin, including Highland Pure Rye, Lynchburg Rye, J.A. Bowen Bourbon, Clinton Whiskey, and Eagle Gin. The simple statement acknowledged the company's business philosophy that "from time to time, the manufacture of other classes of goods was inaugurated to meet changes in the demands of trade."⁷⁰

In 1869, Freiburg & Workum moved their offices into a large building at No's 28 and 30 Main Street, Cincinnati, that fronted the rectifying house. All aspects of the liquor making process were carried out at that one facility, including "model departments for cooperage, cooper shops, re-distilling, rectifying, blending, bottling, and storage of whiskey."⁷¹ The firm continued to grow into the twentieth century. In 1903, they teamed up with several other firms to build the "most modern, best equipped, and largest spirit distillery in the country" at a site in Terre Haute, Indiana.

The expanding operation of Freiburg & Workum was typical of distillers of that era, many of who conducted their business legitimately. By contrast, during the 1870s, a conglomerate of blended whiskey manufacturers based in Peoria, Illinois (known as the "Whiskey Ring") reaped huge profits through tax evasion, price fixing, and by squeezing out small distilleries.⁷² After the Whiskey Ring was broken, Peoria's 10 to 15 massive distilleries regrouped as the "Whiskey Trust" (see below) and out produced Kentucky's 200 legitimate manufacturers well into the 1890s.⁷³

With the finances and business acumen of Freiburg & Workum behind it, the Petersburg Distillery witnessed significant capital improvements. Loder notes that "Wm. Appleton & Co. had a copper doubler brot [sic] down to put in there [sic] distillery" in January 1869, and a new copper worm was installed in the still in August of the same year.⁷⁴ In the fall of 1869, a new bonded warehouse and new beer cistern were also built at the distillery; the residents of Petersburg even held a Christmas celebration in the new warehouse after its completion.⁷⁵ Finally, just before the New Year, an additional copper still was installed at the distillery.⁷⁶ With the mechanical improvements complete, the distillery began importing massive quantities of grain, including corn, rye, and wheat. Over 6,000 bags of shelled corn and 1,000 bags of rye

were delivered in the month of February alone, and the deliveries continued through the spring of 1870.⁷⁷

Throughout 1869 and 1870, Freiburg & Workum geared up for serious production of whiskey at the Petersburg Distillery, although the 1870 Federal Census Manufacturing Schedules show that the improvements had not yet been reflected in production figures. That year, the mill ground 9,500 barrels of corn, 4,500 barrels of flour, 200 barrels of rye, and produced 150,000 gallons of whiskey.⁷⁸ The mill produced about ½ of what it had under William Snyder in 1860 and production at the distillery had fallen off over 86 percent from the 1.125 million gallons output in 1860. Presumably, changes in ownership and the steep Federal Excise Taxes had taken their toll during the 1860s and it took Freiburg & Workum a few years to bring the distillery back up to speed.

Freiburg & Workum continued to improve the distillery throughout the 1870s and had secured 100 percent interest in the facility by 1874. James Gaff sold his ¼ to Freiburg & Workum in 1872 and Appleton sold his ¼ share in 1874. It is not clear why Appleton sold out, although Gaff may have sold to concentrate on rebuilding the T & J.W. Gaff & Co. Distillery in Aurora, which was extensively damaged by fire in 1871.⁷⁹ Freiburg & Workum operated the distillery continuously through the 1870s and transported its products across the river to Lawrenceburg and Aurora and to Cincinnati via horse team or riverboat. From Lawrenceburg, Petersburg whiskey moved over the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad (which was later incorporated into the B&O RR system) to Cincinnati and points east and to St. Louis and points south and west. In 1878, the firm erected what was probably the largest building constructed on the site up until then: a 3 story bonded warehouse 68 feet wide by 148 feet long and with a floor area in excess of 30,000 square feet.⁸⁰

By 1880, Freiburg & Workum's distillery in Petersburg had rebounded to pre-Civil War production levels and was making more whiskey than any other distillery in the state of Kentucky. The 1880 Federal Census Manufacturing Schedules show that the Petersburg Distillery was worth \$250,000 and produced 975,820 gallons of whiskey that year. Comparisons with some of the other big whiskey producing counties in Kentucky imply the dominance of the Petersburg Distillery. The nine distilleries in famed Bourbon County produced only 433,263 gallons of whiskey in 1880. The 10 distilleries in Lexington managed just 888,515 gallons, while the 6 distilleries in unincorporated Franklin County combined for just over 1 million gallons. Over 3.1 million gallons were produced by 19 distilleries in Louisville and Jefferson County combined and the 5 distilleries in Kenton County (all located in Covington) distilled 1.26 million gallons. The only distillery in the state that came anywhere close to the Petersburg Distillery's 1880 production figures was the G.W. Robson & Co. Distillery in Campbell County, which produced nearly 790,000 gallons. Under Freiburg & Workum, a decade of continuous improvements and production had a marked effect on the output of the Petersburg Distillery.

While no good quality pictures of the Petersburg Distillery during the Freiburg & Workum era have surfaced, the D.J. Lake & Company 1883 *Atlas of Boone, Kenton and Campbell Counties, Kentucky* shows the layout of the Boone County Distilling Company⁸¹ on the map of Petersburg. By this time, the distillery complex occupied 15 acres and included 5 warehouses, about the same number of stables, a small building labeled "Scales Office" at the

intersection of Water and Mill Streets and the multi-story distillery building, which had a footprint in excess of 100 by 250 feet.

In the years after Lake mapped Petersburg, the distillery complex was damaged by a series of fires. Loder's July 29, 1883 diary entry notes that "a big fire broke out in the old Carpenter Shop – burned it then the ice house and about ten or twelve thousand staves – Str. Minnie went to Aurora for their fire engine and the Lawrenceburg Ferry got the engine from L'burg." Fire struck again in April of 1884, this time claiming the distillery clerk's residence and another small house on the property.⁸² This fire caused \$100,000 in damage, ravaging the still house proper, and destroying 200 barrels of whiskey, 17,000 bushels of corn and 1,000 sacks of malt, along with the two houses.⁸³ By the following summer, Freiburg & Workum had recovered enough that they were building another house for the distillery clerk: it is an exceptional brick two-family building that is still standing (see below).⁸⁴

In the midst of recovering from the fires of 1883/1884, Freiburg & Workum also faced the loss of one of its founders, Levi J. Workum, who passed away in 1883. Levi's widow, Hannah, sold the Workum family interest in the distillery to Julius Freiburg for \$37,500 in November of that year.⁸⁵ The firm quickly reorganized with Julius' sons J. Walter and Maurice J. Freiburg and Levi's sons Jephtha L. and Ezekiel L. Workum taking positions as officers in the company alongside founder Julius Freiburg.⁸⁶ With this influx of new blood, Freiburg & Workum continued to operate both the Petersburg Distillery and their distillery in Lynchburg, Ohio.

The following description of the Petersburg Distillery from an 1897 edition of the *Boone County Recorder* conveys the scope of Freiburg & Workum's distillery during its heyday:

This immense plant ... covers 15 acres of ground. They also own their own cooper shops, which cover nearly two acres of ground. They make their own barrels, employing twenty-five coopers. The payroll of the whole concern, when in full operation, amounts to \$1,000 per week. The entire plant is filled with the most modern conveniences. They operate their own malt house and make all the malt used on the premises. This is the most modern, and the best-equipped establishment of the kind in Kentucky, and has a capacity of two thousand five hundred bushels or twelve thousand gallons per day. All the grain and coal used by this firm is hoisted and hauled by steam, and that department of their business is a marvel of completeness. The firm owns their own steamboat, the Levi J. Workum, and have an immense corn chute situated on the Ohio river and Big Four railroad just above the city of Aurora, Ind. The chute consists of a large steel pipe, running from the railroad to the corn boat on the river. The ordinary shipments of this well-known distillery are one hundred fifty barrels per day. They manufacture some especially fine brands, which are sold in every state in the Union and some shipments go outside the boundary of the United States. The firm of Freiburg & Workum is noted for its kindness to its employees, never failing to assist in cases of need. It has the same force of hands now as 20 years ago. Hon. T.B. Mathews has been general manager of this immense business concern for the past ten years.⁸⁷

This description suggests that Freiburg & Workum continued to expand the Petersburg Distillery long after the death of Levi J. Workum, whose name was honored by an Ohio River steamboat. The distillery complex had elements on the Indiana shore in Aurora and its products were available in national and international markets. The facility had grown to the point where the distillery was capable of distilling up to 4 million gallons of whiskey per year – more than 4 times the amount produced in 1880. The daily capacity of the stills (12,000 gallons) was more than 14 times that of the average 1890s Kentucky distillery, which put out 825 gallons/day, and comparable to the 14 distilleries of Peoria, Illinois which averaged close to 13,000 gallons/day production.⁸⁸

After 65 years, the distillery in Petersburg, Kentucky had grown to the point where it was one of the largest in the United States. In the twilight of the 19th century, Freiburg & Workum finally parted with the distillery after more than 30 years as proprietors. In June 1899 Julius Freiburg and his wife Duffie sold the distillery to the Kentucky Distilleries & Warehouse Company for \$100,000.⁸⁹ Freiburg & Workum continued to own and operate other distilleries, even teaming up with several other distillers to build a massive new facility in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1904. Until 1899 each of the Petersburg Distillery's four owners had improved the facility and was dedicated to keeping it going – a trend that was to end with the arrival of its last significant owners.

The Distillery Conglomerate Years (1899 to 1918)

The Kentucky Distilleries and Warehouse Company (KD&WHC) was essentially the Kentucky arm of the “Whiskey Trust” of Peoria, Illinois, which formed in May 1887.⁹⁰ Officially known as the Distillers’ & Cattle Feeders’ Trust, the Whiskey Trust was a loose (and illegal) confederation of 65 distilleries in Illinois and Indiana that, on the surface, sold sour-mash slop to cattle feed companies. In reality, the trust “manipulated prices at the expense of independents, sold watered stock, and on occasion was implicated in the use of violence against a recalcitrant independent.”⁹¹ In 1890, the trust changed its corporate name to Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company and, over the next several years, acquired a number of Kentucky distilleries. However, antitrust officials in Illinois and Washington caught wind of their plans to shut down the distilleries and the “company” was forced to abandon that scheme and reorganize. By 1899, three new semi-autonomous alliances had developed, including the KD&WHC, the Standard Distilling and Distributing Company, and the American Spirits Manufacturing Company. That year, the three entities merged to form the Distilling Company of America, although the smaller companies continued to operate distilleries under their own names. Julius Kessler, a Hungarian native who owned and operated his own distilleries, was an officer in the Distilling Company of America and the Standard Distilling and Distributing, and served as President of the KD&WHC.

The KD&WHC formed in 1899 and “evolved from an analysis of the industry ... [which indicated] that greater profits could be made from the many Kentucky distilleries if their numbers could be reduced, overproduction curtailed, and efficiencies applied.”⁹² The company was incorporated in New Jersey because of that state's lax trust laws, and between 1899 and 1916, President Julius Kessler oversaw the acquisition of 59 Kentucky distilleries.⁹³ During this

period, the trust shut some distilleries down, combined others and produced popular brands at larger distilleries with better rail access.

The distillery in Petersburg, known by now as the Boone County Distillery, was one of the first acquired by the KD&WHC. The business plan of this Kentucky arm of the Whiskey Trust immediately impacted the distillery in Petersburg. Tax records from the distillery indicate that anywhere from 16,000 to 27,000 barrels of whiskey were in bond at any one time during the 1890s.⁹⁴ Tens of thousands of barrels of whiskey were produced and bonded every year while Freiburg & Workum owned the plant and over 41,000 barrels were on hand when the distillery was bought by the KD&WHC in mid-1899. From 1899-1900 no whiskey was bonded at the distillery, although 3,415 barrels were withdrawn in the last quarter of 1900; over 10,000 barrels were withdrawn and just fewer than 1,000 were bonded in 1900-1901. While no whiskey was bonded from 1901-1902 records indicate that approximately 8,000 barrels were withdrawn. Although records are incomplete and do not go beyond 1903 this pattern appears to have continued until the stores of whiskey bonded by Freiburg & Workum were depleted.

By 1910 the KD&WHC had exhausted much of the bonded whiskey at the Boone County Distillery and announced plans to close the facility and move their operations to Louisville.⁹⁵ During the next several years the remaining bonded whiskey was withdrawn and the massive brick warehouses were dismantled one by one. Much of the brick was taken for reuse in construction projects outside the county, although a number of buildings in Petersburg were constructed of distillery brick, including the tiny Petersburg Jail on Tanner Street. In addition to several houses, the National Register-listed Odd Fellows Hall (built in 1913) and the 1916 Petersburg Baptist Church were built of bricks from the distillery complex.

On December 20, 1918 the KD&WHC sold what was left of the Boone County Distillery, along with 14 other Kentucky distilleries, to the Republic Distributing Company for \$205,000.⁹⁶ Little remained of the facility in Petersburg and the transfer focused on the acreage and brands (Appleton, Boone County, Lexington Club and W.T. Snyder), rather than on the distilling equipment or stock. Although the KD&WHC persisted as a business entity into Prohibition, their distilleries focused on non-grain alcohol and medicines.⁹⁷ Little is known about the Republic Distributing Company, who they kept the distillery property for less than two years.⁹⁸

Distillery Remnants

Although most of the Boone County Distillery complex was gone by 1919, tangible remains of the facility endure. The distillery proper is an archaeological site with remnants of stone and brick foundations and walls. With the exception of the Distillery Cooperage, all of the buildings on the distillery parcel have been demolished. The Cooperage is located in a cow pasture just past the end of First Street. The circa 1870s single story brick building has segmental arched openings and a wood frame barn addition to one end. The Distillery Scales Office, located at the corner of Mill and Front Streets, is a small wood frame residence with paired front doors and is believed to date before 1850. The finest extant structure is the 1885 Distillery Clerk's (or Superintendent's) House and Guest House across Front Street from the Scales Office. The brick building is an exceptional Queen Anne style double house with an

urban form; it is unique in Boone County. Both the Cooperage and Superintendent's House were listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1989.

In addition to the three surviving buildings directly associated with the distillery, numerous other structures in Petersburg are somehow related to the distillery. Many of the smaller houses in Petersburg, especially on the south side of town, were built in the late 19th Century for distillery workers. Some early 20th century residences, such as the E.P. Berkshire House on Front Street, are built from salvaged distillery brick. As mentioned above, the 1913 Odd Fellows Hall and c. 1915 Petersburg Jail on Tanner Street and the 1916 Petersburg Baptist Church on Market Street were also constructed of distillery brick. The Odd Fellows Hall is one of the best mixed-use commercial buildings in Boone County and features the first-floor storefront and upper-story meeting rooms typical of such structures. The jail is a small, pyramidal roofed structure situated at the back of a narrow lot opposite the Odd Fellows Hall. It is owned by the Boone County Fiscal Court and is open to the public. The church is built in the Late Gothic Revival style with lancet windows and doors and a plan similar to other churches from the era.

Two other private residences with distillery connections also survive in Petersburg. The Jenkins-Berkshire House is located just south of the distillery property on Mill Street beyond the terminus of Second Street. The National Register-listed building is an excellent example of a Gothic Revival "Downing Cottage" and was built by J.C. Jenkins for his son. J.C. Jenkins' own residence – Prospect Farm – is majestically sited on the hill overlooking Petersburg. Listed in the National Register in 1989, the Jenkins House takes the form of an Italian Villa with Gothic, Greek Revival and Moorish elements. It is arguably the finest and most well known historic residence in Boone County.

Conclusion

In 1928, Mary Rector commented on the lack of industry in Petersburg. With the exception of gravel mining, which steadily encroaches on old Petersburg, the town has not witnessed any industry on a scale comparable to the distillery that dominated for nearly a century. The distillery at Petersburg began as a small-scale steam powered mill. Thanks to the ingenuity and business acumen of William Snyder, the distillery prospered and grew to mammoth proportions by the eve of the Civil War. Like distilleries around the country, the Petersburg Distillery suffered through Federal Excise Taxes during the Civil War, but continued to operate under William Appleton and J.C. Jenkins & Company. The last three decades of the 19th century was the heyday of the distillery. Freiburg & Workum vastly expanded the complex and nearly quadrupled its capacity making it the largest distillery in Kentucky and one of the largest in the nation. However, like so many other Kentucky distilleries, the Petersburg Distillery fell victim to the Kentucky Distilleries & Warehouse Company, which consolidated and closed dozens of Kentucky distilleries in the first two decades of the 20th century. The industry that once dominated Petersburg was already gone by the time Prohibition went into effect in early 1920. The Boone County Distillery has finally been acknowledged more than 75 years after Mary Rector mentioned it only in passing.

END NOTES

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- ¹ 1820 Federal Census, transcribed by Rowena Lawson in *Boone County Kentucky 1810 - 1840 Censuses*, Heritage Books, Inc., (1986).
- ² Margo Warminski, *Historic Structures of Boone County, Kentucky*, Boone County Historic Preservation Review Board, Burlington (In Press).
- ³ Mary Rector, *Petersburg Essay* (1928).
- ⁴ The plat was formally recorded by the Boone County Clerk in October, 1820. Boone County Deed Book E, Page 30 (hereafter Boone County DB E/30).
- ⁵ Warminski, *op. cit.* See also Boone County Recorder September 30, 1875.
- ⁶ Boone County DB D/63.
- ⁷ Boone County DB E/30.
- ⁸ Boone County DB K/303.
- ⁹ Rector, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰ Boone County DB K/303.
- ¹¹ 1830 and 1840 Censuses in Lawson, *op. cit.*
- ¹² Simmons, David A., *The Miller's Tale: Staley Farm, Timeline*, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus (October/November 1990).
- ¹³ Kreinbrink, Jeannine, *Crisler-Gulley Mills National Register Nomination*, Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort (1995).
- ¹⁴ Boone County DB K/303.
- ¹⁵ 1840 Census in Lawson, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁶ *1850 Federal Census of Boone County, KY*, Transcribed and edited by William Conrad (1978).
- ¹⁷ 1850 Federal Census Manufacturing Schedules.
- ¹⁸ *1850 Census, op. cit.*
- ¹⁹ The original Loder Diaries are stored at the Chapin Memorial Library in Petersburg. The references cited here come from transcriptions compiled in William Conrad's six-volume set entitled *The Loder Diary: a Transcription of the Original*.
- ²⁰ Loder, January 27 and February 2, 1857.
- ²¹ Loder, March 17, 1859: "Gaff s barge *Dearborn* here unloading corn for Mr. Snyder."

²² Loder, April 1, 1861: "William Snyder sold a lot of sheep (19) to a butcher in Cincinnati." April 11, 1860: "I swore in the President & Directors of the Petersburg & Burlington T/P [turnpike] Co. - Wm. Snyder - Pres. - Absalom Graves, Jno. Duncan, Alfred Rucker, J.H. Walton & Jno. P. Gaines - for directors for this year 1860."

²³ Carson, Gerald, *The Social History of Bourbon: an Unhurried Account of our Star Spangled Drink*, University Press of Kentucky, Lexington (1963, p. 66).

²⁴ Loder, April 9, 1857: Snyder "sent a lot of Rye whisky on the *Jacob Strader* to Louisville;" March 20, 1859: "Str *Universe* took a lot of flour from here to got to Memphis."

²⁵ Loder, August 21, 1857.

²⁶ 1860 Federal Census Manufacturing Schedules.

²⁷ *1860 Federal Census of Boone County, KY*, Transcribed and edited by William Conrad (1978).

²⁸ *1860 Census, op. cit.*

²⁹ *1860 Census, op. cit.*

³⁰ Given that Snyder's distillery produced 164,000 gallons/year in 1850 and assuming that the distillery operated 270 days/year [distilleries typically did not run during the hot summer months], his still(s) were probably capable of producing about 600 gallons of whiskey/day. This is about half the production capacity of the Staley Distillery in Miami County, Ohio, which could make 900 to 1200 gallons of whiskey per day with two pot stills with capacities of 100 and 110 gallons (see Simmons, *op cit.*). The Staley operation was at the upper limit of the production capacity of distilleries using pot or patent stills - 50 to 100 gallons per day was more typical for distilleries using pot stills.

³¹ Ellerhorst, J.G. and Company. *Bulletin of the American Copper & Brass Works, Manufacturers of all Copper and Brass Work Pertaining to Distilleries, Wood Alcohol, Chemical, Turpentine and Rosin, Varnish, Sugar House, Milk, Vinegar Factories, Soap and Glycerine, and White Lead Plants*. J.G. Ellerhost and Company, Cincinnati. (Circa 1900 Product Catalogue).

³² Morewood, Samuel, *Philosophical and Statistical History of the Inventions and Customs of Ancient and Modern Nations in the Manufacture and Use of Inebriating Liquors; with the Present Practice of Distillation in all its Varieties: Together with an extensive Illustration of the Consumption and Effects of Opium, and Other Stimulants Used in the East, as Substitutes for Wine and Spirits*, William Curry, Jr. & Company and William Carson, London (1838).

³³ Broadstone, M.A., *History of Greene County, Ohio, Volume I*, B. F. Bowen, Indianapolis, (1918, p. 221).

³⁴ Simmons, *op cit.*

³⁵ Regan, Gary and Mardee Haidin Regan, *The Book of Bourbon and Other Fine American Whiskeys*, Chapters Publishing Limited, Shelburne, Vermont (1995, p. 20).

³⁶ Dannenbaum, Jed, *Drink and Disorder: Temperance Reform in Cincinnati from the Washington Revival to the WCTU*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, (1984, p. 25).

³⁷ Morewood, *Philosophical and Statistical History* (1838). See also Anthony Boucherie, *The Art of Making Whiskey, so as to Obtain a Better, Purer, Cheaper and Greater Quantity of Spirit, from a Given Quantity of Grain: also, the Art of Converting It into Gin, after the Process of Holland Distillers, without any Augmentation of Price*, Worsley and Smith, Lexington (1819) and Michael August Krafft, *The American Distiller, or, the Theory and Practice of Distilling, According to the Latest Discoveries and Improvements, including the Most Improved Methods of Constructing Stills, and of Rectification*, Archibald Bartram, Philadelphia (1804).

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- 38 Boone County DB 22/4.
- 39 Loder, January 9, 1862: "Sheriff Baker was in Pete executing some of Mr. Wm. Snyders land;" February 1, 1862: "A sale of some property of Wm. Snyder such as horses, mules, & two corn barges;" February 3, 1862: "County court a sale of property of Mr. Wm. Snyder's land, mill & town property sold at the Courthouse door at Burlington, KY - also a lot of negroes were sold."
- 40 Boone County DB 22/4.
- 41 Boone County DB 22/7 and 22/8.
- 42 Loder, October 6, 1861: "William Snyder left Pete for Tennessee."
- 43 Loder, October 9, 1861; June 24, 1862: "Mrs. Snyder left for Chattanooga, TN."
- 44 Beginning in 1857, Lewis A. Loder recorded many of the routine operations of the mill and distilling complex in his daily diary, which was kept until 1904. The original Loder Diaries are stored at the Chapin Memorial Library in Petersburg. The references cited here come from transcripts compiled in William Conrad's six-volume set entitled *The Loder Diary: a Transcription of the Original*.
- 45 W.H. Perrin, J.H. Battle, & G.C. Kniffin, "Boone County," in *Kentucky: A History of the State, 7th Edition*, F.A. Battey, Louisville (1887).
- 46 Loder, March 10, 1862: "The screw propellor *Sweden* took one hundred bbls whisky to Cinti & towed an empty corn boat to the [North] Bend;" September 16, 1862: "W.H. Hayden & wife left Pete for Burl, Iowa - he also bot 100 barrels of whisky & shipped by railroad to St. Louis then Burlington;" September 24, 1862: "Col. Appleton sent 380 bbls of flour in a barge to Lawrenceburg...put off 2 [hogsheads] of tobacco for Col. Appleton."
- 47 Loder, October 13, 1862: "Col. Wm. Appleton carrying on the manufacturing of tobacco." November 11, 1862: "Good deal of tobacco coming to market at Pete buyers paying from 10 to 14 dollars per cwt [hundred pounds]."
- 48 Downard, William L., *Dictionary of the History of the American Brewing and Distilling Industries*. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut (1980).
- 49 *Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Cincinnati for the Commercial Year Ending August 31, 1863*, page 44, Gazette Company Steam Printing House, Cincinnati. Report on file at the Cincinnati Historical Society Library.
- 50 Downard, *op cit*.
- 51 *Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Cincinnati for the Commercial Year Ending August 31, 1864*, page 50, Gazette Company Steam Printing House, Cincinnati. Report on file at the Cincinnati Historical Society Library.
- 52 Loder, November 1, 1863.
- 53 Loder, January 19, 1864.
- 54 Loder, April 10, 1864.
- 55 Downard, *op cit*.

⁵⁶ *Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Cincinnati for the Commercial Year Ending August 31, 1865*, page 54, Gazette Company Steam Printing House, Cincinnati. Report on file at the Cincinnati Historical Society Library.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ See Becher, Matthew E., "The Distillery at Petersburg, Kentucky. Part 1: Snyder's Old Rye Whiskey," *Northern Kentucky Heritage*, IX (2):49-55.

⁵⁹ Perrin, et al., *op cit.*

⁶⁰ Hillforest Mansion became a National Historic Landmark in 1992.

⁶¹ See www.dearborncounty.org/history/hillfor.

⁶² J.C. Jenkins & Company acquired total ownership of the distillery complex several months after buying most of the property outright from Appleton. On December 6, 1864, Joseph C. Jenkins and his wife Elizabeth conveyed the sawmill lot, cooper shop (Lot 82) and Blacksmith shop (Lot 96) to Joseph C. Jenkins and James W. Gaff ("J.C. Jenkins & Co") for \$2000 (Boone County Deed Book 22, page 424 [hereafter DB 22/424]).

⁶³ Loder was already transporting rye grain for Appleton when Jenkins & Gaff purchased the distillery and continued to do so after the distillery changed hands. Loder's February 13, 1865, diary entry notes "I comc'd clerking at the mill for J.C. Jenkins & Co. at \$10 per week keeping books." June 9, 1865: "J.C. Jenkins brot down from Cinti 50,000 shingles to put a new roof on the mill."; June 24, 1867: "Robert Dulk comc'd putting a new Paten ruff [sic] on beer house of JCJ & Co. at Petersburg, KY."

⁶⁴ Loder, December 29, 1864: "Tug put off a large lot of empty flour barrels for Jenkins & Co."; April 15, 1865: "J.C. Jenkins & Co. shipped 150 barrels of flour on the Lady Franklin for Nashville, TN."; June 19, 1865: "The mill stopped today after running one month making flour."

⁶⁵ Loder, February 2, 1866: "A govt. detective by the name of Dr. Buckner came to Pete to look after things at the mill."

⁶⁶ Loder, multiple diary entries 1865-1867.

⁶⁷ On January 1, 1869, Joseph C. Jenkins and his wife Elizabeth A. conveyed ½ interest in 9.5 acres, including the steam mill and distillery, saw mill and cattle pens to Julius Freiburg and Levi T. Workum of Hamilton County, Ohio, for \$15,000 (DB 24/456).

⁶⁸ James W. Gaff and Rachel S. conveyed 1/4 interest in mill/distillery property to Freiburg & Workum for \$8,000 on August 20, 1872 (DB 29/264) and William Appleton conveyed 1/4 interest in the mill/distillery property to Freiburg & Workum for \$6,000 on December 16, 1874 (DB 27/396).

⁶⁹ Freiburg & Workum, *Fifty Years: 1855-1905*, Freiburg & Workum, Cincinnati (1904). The best period account of what was arguably Cincinnati's largest nineteenth century distiller and rectifier. The pamphlet was distributed by the company to their customers (along with a "desk requisite") as a Christmas gift. Photocopy on file at the Cincinnati Historical Society Library. See also Julius Freiburg's biographical sketch in *Cincinnati, The Queen City, Volume 3* (1912).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

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- ⁷² Carson, Gerald, *The Social History of Bourbon: an Unhurried Account of Our Star Spangled Drink*, University Press, Lexington (1963). Peoria's Whiskey Ring story was recounted in 1880 by General John McDonald in *Secrets of the Great Whiskey Ring*, Burt Franklin, New York, Research & Source Works Series 374 (1969). As supervisor of the largest Peoria company, McDonald took the brunt of the blame for the conspiracy, which having been linked to President Grant's re-election campaign, made waves nationwide.
- ⁷³ Downard, *op cit.*
- ⁷⁴ Loder, January 21, 1869; August 18, 16, 1869.
- ⁷⁵ Loder, November 9, 1869; December 12, 1869; December 24, 1869.
- ⁷⁶ Loder, December 29, 1869.
- ⁷⁷ Loder, multiple diary entries, February, 1870.
- ⁷⁸ 1870 Federal Census Manufacturing Schedules.
- ⁷⁹ Loder, June 14, 1871.
- ⁸⁰ Loder, April 23, 1878.
- ⁸¹ It is not clear when the firm adopted the Boone County Distilling Company moniker – Loder first refers to the facility by that name in 1882.
- ⁸² Loder, April 5, 1884: “Fire broke out this morning between 3 & 4am and burned the distillery – the dwelling house that W.T. Snyder lived in and a small house...” Lewis Loder resigned his position as distillery clerk in 1870 and William T. Snyder (distillery founder William Snyder’s son) was clerking for the distillery in the early 1880s. W.T. Snyder was so well versed in the distilling industry that President Grover Cleveland appointed him to a position in the revenue service in the mid-1880s.
- ⁸³ Reis, Jim, Pieces of the Past: Small Towns in 1884 Faced trial by Wind, Fire, *Kentucky Post*, June 4, 2001.
- ⁸⁴ Loder, August 23, 1885: “. brick house of F&W under construction...”
- ⁸⁵ DB 34/142.
- ⁸⁶ Freiburg & Workum, *50 Years: 1855-1905*.
- ⁸⁷ *Boone County Recorder*, August 25, 1897.
- ⁸⁸ Downard, *op cit*, Appendix XI: Statement of the Number of Grain and Molasses Distilleries in Operation, January 1, 1891, and Their Daily Capacities.
- ⁸⁹ DB 44/115.
- ⁹⁰ Downard, *op cit.*
- ⁹¹ Downard, *op cit.*, page. 214.
- ⁹² Downard, *op cit.*, page. 101.
- ⁹³ Included in the long list of acquisitions were the following: Normandy, J.B. Wathan & Brothers, J.G. Roach Old Log Cabin and J.G. Mattingly & Son distilleries in Louisville; W.H. McBrayer’s Cedar Brook and Bond & Lillard distilleries in Lawrenceburg, and the Ashland Distillery in Lexington. Downard, *op cit.*, Appendix VIII: Partial List of Firms in the Kentucky Distilleries and Warehouse Company.

⁹⁴ Boone County Distillery Company Papers. A small box of miscellaneous papers found in the basement of the Boone County Administration Building, Burlington.

⁹⁵ Reis, *op cit.*

⁹⁶ DB 44/115.

⁹⁷ Downard, *op cit.*

⁹⁸ DB 79/511: Republic Distributing Company sold “Old Cooper Shop” tract and 12-acre “Old Boone County Distilling Company” tract, and Old Distillery Office to Clarence LeBus (DB 79/511).