

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

LABROT & GRAHAM'S OLD OSCAR PEPPER DISTILLERY

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: LABROT & GRAHAM'S OLD OSCAR PEPPER DISTILLERY

Other Name/Site Number: Oscar Pepper Distillery
Old Crow Distillery
Kentucky Dew Distilling Company
Registered Distillery No. 52/WD-01

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 7855 McCracken Pike

Not for publication: __

City/Town: Versailles

Vicinity: X

State: Kentucky

County: Woodford

Code: 239

Zip Code: 40601

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: X

Public-Local: __

Public-State: __

Public-Federal: __

Category of Property

Building(s): __

District: X

Site: __

Structure: __

Object: __

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

16

1

7

__

24

Non-contributing

5 buildings

__ sites

2 structures

__ objects

7 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 23

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

LABROT & GRAHAM'S OLD OSCAR PEPPER DISTILLERY

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this _____ nomination _____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property _____ meets _____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property _____ meets _____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered in the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

LABROT & GRAHAM'S OLD OSCAR PEPPER DISTILLERY

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: INDUSTRY Sub: manufacturing facility

Current: INDUSTRY Sub: manufacturing facility

7. DESCRIPTION

Architectural Classification: Other:Industrial

Materials:

Foundation: stone

Walls: log, frame, stone, common brick, glazed terra cotta tile, corrugated metal, clapboard

Roof: shingle and standing-seam metal

Other: concrete

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Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.**Summary**

Labrot & Graham's Old Oscar Pepper Distillery is a bourbon whiskey manufacturing complex in Woodford County, Kentucky, standing on a site that has been used for the conversion of grain into alcohol since 1812, when Elijah Pepper, a farmer-distiller, established his 350 acre farm. The nominated 72-acre property from this former agricultural tract is located 6.5 miles northwest of the county seat of Versailles among horse farms and residences in a rural undeveloped agricultural valley formed by Glenn's Creek and traversed by McCracken Pike (MAP 1).

The Grassy Springs Branch of the creek flows north to south through the property creating steep slopes on both sides and a flat, wider stream bank to the west. Two springs still bubble from the limestone terrain on the east hill. Impoundment of the stream in 1941 with a dam and spillway has created a water supply for the distillery by forming a two-and-a-half acre pond that is now a prominent feature in the landscape. Below the dam, the outflow of Grassy Springs Branch joins Glenn's Creek, which then flows northwesterly past the distilling community of Millville, and into the Kentucky River south of Frankfort. The industrial buildings of the distillery are aligned along the bank with the distillery building itself at the neck of the pond. Access roads are from the south side of McCracken Pike at two levels: low along the pond at the west end of the property and farther east near the crest of a hill through a formal gate.

The site is significant for its embodiment of a continuum of architecture in its 17 contributing buildings, 6 contributing structures, and 1 site. Only 6 buildings are non-contributing. The treatment of the landscape and the built structures show advances in building technology, the distilling process, and barrel storage until the middle of the 20th century. The buildings particularly represent pre- and immediate post-Prohibition industrial forms without late 20th-century intrusions.

Examples are the Pepper family's log farm house (1812 plus later additions) high on the hill east of the waterway; Oscar Pepper's stone distillery (1838) in the now expanded and irregularly shaped still house with three towering chimneys (1934, replaced 1995); two three-and-a-half-story stone warehouses of the 1890s that contrast with the four-and-a-half-story post-Prohibition glazed terra cotta tile warehouses of the 1930s added by Labrot & Graham.

Unique to the site is a long gravity barrel run of a raised metal rail system built in 1934. This system allows gravity to roll barrels from the still house to warehouses for storage.

Rehabilitation of the distillery site and buildings was undertaken between 1994 and 1996 by the Brown-Forman Corporation to produce, store, and bottle select bourbon for the 21st century. The addition of a ranch-style Company Residence in 1948, a new Visitors Center and parking lot (1996), and a new Pump House (1998) are the three non-contributing buildings in the industrial site dating after 1945. Three non-contributing farm buildings on the agricultural hillside near the Pepper House are post 1950. Otherwise Labrot & Graham's Old Oscar Pepper Distillery remains preserved in its rural setting with industrial distilling architecture representing the time frame from 1838 to 1945.

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Description

In 1812, Elijah Pepper selected his farm alongside Glenn's Creek as an excellent place to support both diversified agriculture and a distilling operation. The protective valley and stream banks created by the Grassy Springs Branch with its limestone filtered springs provided both the necessary water power for running a grain mill plus clean water for fermenting and distilling. The higher, flat hillside on both sides of the creek served for a residence and agricultural and grazing land. The development of this site between 1812 and 1945 can be evidenced today through three architectural building types: 1) the 1812 log homestead of the Pepper family representing residential architecture of the distillery owners and managers who ran the industry; 2) the nucleus of industrial architecture for bourbon production that commenced in 1838 in stone buildings and continued into the 20th century; and, 3) the glazed terra cotta structural tile warehouse construction of the post-Prohibition period.

Changes in ownership, management, and technology over more than a hundred years greatly influenced the development of the site and the architecture that remains today. In general, the distillery began and grew as a farm-distilling industry under three generations of the Pepper family. The expertise of Scotsman James Crow, master distiller under Oscar Pepper from 1833-1855, contributed to the success and fame of the bourbon produced by the Peppers.

Farming to raise the grain for fermentation was the longest task. Distilling itself was carried out only four to five months of the year using copper stills. Through estate land divisions, by 1872 the remaining 326 acre Pepper tract had been carved into various parcels, and the thirty-three acre distillery site was sold to Labrot & Graham, who owned and operated the distillery for sixty-three years. During this time, either the distillery managers or owners lived in the Pepper's log residence overlooking the distillery, thus maintaining the home's tie to the industrial site.

At the enactment of Prohibition in 1920 Labrot & Graham sealed and shut the ten stone buildings that formed their expanded column still complex, leaving everything intact. Resumption of the industry in 1933 by a newly incorporated Labrot & Graham firm rebuilt the old buildings but also brought further new construction and materials, specifically three glazed clay tile warehouses and the gravity barrel run. Purchase of the distillery in 1940 by Brown-Forman initiated new water and fire-safety standards resulting in the construction of the concrete dam and spillway to form a pond.

Between 1945 and 1973 little new construction was carried out by Brown-Forman. Additionally, the distilling industry went into a general decline. The site was sold to a farmer for storage use, remaining neglected for twenty years. In 1994 Brown-Forman, a corporation producing other alcoholic beverages, repurchased their former distillery to initiate production of a long-aging specialty bourbon that would be produced, stored, and bottled at the site. Full rehabilitation of the setting and existing buildings was undertaken from 1994 to 1996 to create a newly functioning distillery as well as a heritage tourism site where the historic industrial architecture could tell the history of Kentucky bourbon production. This project followed the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and qualified for federal historic preservation tax credits. The Labrot & Graham Distillery exhibits 17 buildings, 6 structures, and a pond that contribute to the complex. Three 20th-century farm buildings, a new Pump House, and a 1996 Visitors Center with accommodations for tourism are sympathetic non-contributing additions of post 1945.

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Pepper Log House (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 23. Photos 32-36. Related Resources: Map 1, Nos. 18a, 24-28. Catwalk, No.18a; Stone Steps, No. 24; Spring Box, No. 25; Tobacco Barn, No.26; Carriage Shed, No.27; Feed Shed, No. 28.

The earliest building that remains on this property is the log house Elijah and Sarah Pepper built upon settling the land. Elijah Pepper had participated in a mill and distillery business with a brother-in-law in Versailles at the beginning of the 1800s, but no primary records have been found. Pepper paid tax in Bourbon County on other land in 1810, and then settled in Woodford County by 1812. Elijah cultivated a prosperous farm and distilling business well documented by census records and the inventory of his estate upon his death in 1831.

Elijah Pepper's log house, which has been enlarged by four significant building campaigns, is built into the slope of the hill directly east of the creek and the distillery complex.¹ Access by foot from the still house is across the pond on a metal catwalk (No. 18a) and up a steep flight of original limestone steps set into the hillside (No. 24). South of the steps on the hillside is a stone spring box, modernized with concrete, to catch one of the bubbling springs (No. 25).

The Pepper House, viewed from the west, appears as a white, ell-shaped form (PHOTO 32). The rectangular main block with a gable roof consists of two stories set into the hill on an east-west axis. The gable-roofed wing forming an ell is only one story and extends north from the eastern end of the building. The west gable end looking over the valley features a columned front porch set on a seven-foot stone foundation to compensate for the topography of the hillside.

A distinctive structure on the east exterior facade is a large evenly coursed cut limestone chimney that corbels up from the higher elevation of the land as if to anchor the building in the hillside (PHOTOS 33-34). The chimney is built into the gable end of a squared and dove-tail notched log wall of broad timbers that extends two stories. At the attic level wood clapboard closes the peak. The chinking is a broad, flat, white lime-based mortar in good condition. This was the earliest section of the house, built with two bays on both the north and south facades over a two-thirds stone foundation. The original two bays at the second-story level are distinguishable on the east end of the south facade. The south facade of the building shows the architectural changes that have been integrated into the building over time (PHOTO 35).

The gable roof of rusted corrugated metal extends over two building sections of two bays each at the second floor. The division of the building is articulated by changes in the artificial siding that has been applied over earlier wood clapboard. The windows are all replacement one-over-one sash on this level. On the first floor a pent porch roof mimics the gable roof in length. The facade is divided by four stone entrance steps and the entrance door. Irregular fenestration clarifies the two building sections. At the east end a former open porch has been enclosed, accounting for a trio of windows on the east end facade and three pairs of double-hung multi-pane sash, the door, and a single double-hung window on the south facade. This section aligns

¹ Brown-Forman Corporation purchased the log house and surrounding 30 acres in 1997 after the distillery had been restored and the National Register nomination had been submitted. Its acquisition by Brown-Forman Corporation is recorded in Woodford County Deed Book 178, p. 105.

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with the earliest section of the building. The western section, over a shallower foundation, includes a single small window.

The west facade (see PHOTO 32) that overlooks the creek features a front porch on a stone foundation that is narrower than the facade and appears centrally placed in the full dimension. Its hipped roof is supported by four Doric columns in the front and two at the walls with a simple wooden rail and balusters. Entrance to the porch is only from the first floor room through a central entrance door. Photographic evidence from 1936 indicates that at that time a wide staircase descended off the porch (PHOTO 10). Two windows exist in this facade: one at the north corner, the other just south of the door. At the second floor level a small square window is found in the center of the facade above the porch roof. Both exterior and interior construction materials of the second floor of this west section of the house indicate that the second-floor rooms and roof were added during the 20th century. This is particularly visible on the north facade where different sidings have been used.

The north side of the house features a one-story clapboard wing that extends north on a stone footing (PHOTO 35). It attaches to the log house just west of the eastern most window bay. Its gable roof terminates below the eaves of the main building. A tall brick chimney is located in the center of the roof but west of the ridge. The east facade of the wing has an off-center entrance and two one-over-one windows. The gable-end north facade features both a large and small window in the eastern half. The original windows of the south side of the west facade have been converted to a picture window; two double-hung sashes occur to the north, also replacements.

The history of the various building campaigns can be most easily understood through the interior fabric of the house. The earliest section, attributed to 1812, is the two-story log building at the east end. The attic framing shows mortise and tenoned rafters and cross braces nailed in place with hand-wrought nails. The original roof would have been wood shingle, based on the lath construction and a remaining shingle layer. The framing in the basement consists of logs, most with bark still on. The original ground-floor plan appears to have been a large single room (15' x 20') to the east with a central fireplace in the east wall (PHOTO 36). At the west end an eight-foot-wide entrance hall extended the width of the building with entries on the north and south facades. The staircase to the second floor and cellar was off the hall at the east end. The log walls of this room remain exposed and preserved fully intact with the exception of a large doorway cut in the south wall to open into an enclosed porch area. The fireplace, with a simple wooden mantel, now has a metal screen insert and four metal vents in the adjoining stonework. Interior doors of the main room at the cellar staircase and to the hall are board and batten or paneled. The authentic casing at these doorways provides a mixture of Federal style fluted trim that is now lacking around the windows. Historic fabric of the log walls on the second floor has been found under contemporary materials.

The second building campaign presumably occurred under Elijah's son, Oscar, between 1850 and his death in 1865. Census records show a stone mason was living with Oscar and his wife in 1850, a period of time when the farm-distillery complex was being developed. A 20' by 30' addition to the log house extended the building to the west one story on a new rectangular stone foundation that matched the existing in width. The cellar framing used bark-stripped logs that span twenty feet. The foundation for the porch attached to the west end is 9' deep and 14' feet

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long. The hipped porch roof is supported by six Doric columns. The roof of this one-story addition was presumably a gable, which was replaced during the next building campaign.

The third addition to the first two building campaigns probably occurred after James Goins, head distiller, purchased the house in 1884. Here he raised a family of twelve children. Added was the one-story pent roof on the southeast end of the house and an extension of the one-story roof at the southwest end. A photograph taken in 1895 shows the Goins family with this side of the building in the background (ILLUSTRATION 1). The stone foundation walls in the basement differ from those of the second building campaign, supporting this chronology. The photo shows the west-end first floor space was enclosed, but to the east an open, columned porch with lattice work for balusters existed. The windows at this time were six-over-six double-hung, and the steps and foundation walls were all whitewashed.

The fourth building campaign may also have been carried out by the Goins family before 1906. Added was a one-story frame addition to the north on a stone footing. The space includes an entrance vestibule plus two rooms and a bathroom. The wing has a central chimney that could have originally been part of an exterior wall. The south room, entered from the hallway of the log house, contains a glazed tile hearth and fireplace surround plus a classic style mantel. Adjoining it to the west is a built-in dish cabinet, implying that this room may have been added for kitchen use. The window and door casings in the southeast corner of this room represent late 19th-century millwork. The remaining windows are newer.

The Goins family sold the Pepper homestead in 1906, after which four other families owned it. From 1918 until 1977 it was under shared ownership of Labrot's son-in-law, R. A. Baker, who became part owner of the distillery. Twentieth-century building materials both on the inside and outside of the house show that changes were made in this century affecting siding, windows, doors, bathrooms, and the kitchen. The second floor west rooms and attic space were also added, creating a continuous roof line. This addition plus replacement windows, the porch enclosure and the doorway cut in the south log wall have an effect on the 19th-century appearance of the building. On the whole, however, the Pepper homestead represents purposeful construction and architectural evolution over 150 years to accommodate families of distillery owners or of distillers who lived in the building while associated with industry on the stream below. The integrity of the earliest building campaigns with significant architectural features and fabric remain appreciably intact.

Three other structures near the Pepper House relate to the agricultural use of the site during the last half of the 20th century and have therefore been classified non-contributing. These are a frame Tobacco Barn (No. 26), a frame Carriage Shed (No. 27) and a small wooden feed shed on the side of the hill not far from the Spring Box (No. 28).

Distillery Ownership and Expansion

When Elijah Pepper died in 1831 he left his remaining land (326 acres) and his house to his wife Sarah. After her death it was to be divided among their eight children. Sarah's purchase of much farming and distillery equipment at the estate sale implied she carried on the farming and distilling business. Assistance presumably came from her two oldest boys, Samuel and Oscar, and the slaves she acquired. When Elijah's wooden still house was abandoned for a more

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permanent stone structure is not known, but there is substantial evidence that by 1838 the first stone still house existed for Oscar Pepper's Distillery. This is deduced from close inspection of a photograph of 1883 showing a barrel head advertising the "Old Oscar Pepper Distillery 1838"(PHOTO 2).² Furthermore, Labrot & Graham celebrated their centennial in 1938--an uncontested date apparently based on Oscar's founding date of 1838. It is known from a court deposition that Oscar Pepper had employed James Crow as his distiller in 1833, and he worked in this capacity through 1855. For an undisclosed reason, during 1837 and 1838 Crow was relieved of his duties.³ Perhaps construction of the new distillery during this period precluded Crow's employment.

The earliest site maps that show a distillery are the land division records of Oscar Pepper's estate from 1869 and a plat showing a redistribution of the distillery site to James Pepper in 1872 (MAPS 2-3). Both identify the still house on the west side of the stream, springs, and the grist mill east of the stream and north of the distillery. The earliest known photograph of the distillery dates from 1883 during Labrot & Graham's ownership (PHOTO 1). This provides the first full visual understanding of the buildings at the site. An artistic rendition used for a warehouse receipt of the first decade of the 20th century depicts the buildings of the 19th century with accuracy (ILLUSTRATION 2). From these documents one can conclude that the second oldest extant building on the site after the dwelling house are portions of the distillery house or "still house."⁴ The two stone warehouses are documented by 1870.⁵ They remained on the site and in use until Prohibition. They were demolished in 1934 due to frail condition, but much stone was reused. A bottling house took over some of the site. Today only foundation footprints of the bottling house remain. Just as the process of making bourbon whiskey has evolved over time, so have the buildings in which it was manufactured. Tracking the changes, additions, and demolitions of these buildings is the best way to understand the chronology and history of the current distillery. The growth of the site through Prohibition and its rebirth after Repeal can best be defined by the Sanborn Insurance maps.

In 1886 (MAP 4) the Labrot & Graham "Old Oscar Pepper Distillery," Registered No. 52, 7th District Woodford County, KY includes a corn house, a bridge and truck track to move the corn to the corn sheller, a pool, a whiskey pipe that leads to the cistern room, bonded warehouse A for 4500 barrels, bonded warehouse B for 4500 barrels, each with patented racks (often called "ricks") for storage. A coopers shop, a staves shed, scale, and office are shown.

²A limited edition of 350 commemorative booklets entitled *Labrot & Graham, Distillers, Frankfort, Ky: Distillery Established 1838, Woodford Co. Ky* was published by the Labrot & Graham Distillery in 1938 on the centennial of the establishment of the Oscar Pepper Distillery 1838. It contains photographs and information that were critical to understanding the history of the site. Photo 1 and others from pre-1938 can be found in this booklet. A copy can be found in the Brown-Forman Archive.

³Woodford Circuit Court bundle 447, Order Book 20.

⁴ The grist mill is known to have been demolished by 1901.

⁵ These "two stone warehouses" are mentioned for the first time on 1 January 1870 in a lease agreement between Nannie Pepper, Oscar's wife and guardian of O'Bannon Pepper who inherited the distillery property, and Gaines Berry & Co. Woodford County Deed Book Z, p. 563.

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By 1894 (MAP 5) the following have been added: bonded Warehouse C for 5000 barrels with steam heat, a granary with a trestle to the corn sheller, a second pool, enlarged cooper shop, steam heat in the other warehouses.

Added by 1896 (MAP 6) is Bonded Warehouse D for 5000 barrels attached by a shed to Warehouse C. A two-story porch has been added to the distillery.

By 1903 (MAP 7) the main additions are porches around the entrances to Warehouses A and B and a bonded bottling house attached to Warehouses C and D. In 1910 (MAP 8) the site around the buildings is developed with a driveway and a drain into the creek. The Warehouse capacities have all increased. Heat is no longer used in Warehouses A and B. Slop tubs and connecting pipes are installed, a heating boiler exists, and a new storage facility parallel to Warehouses C and D shows that it is used for cotton seed and other storage. A dwelling house is added to the hill off the driveway.

By 1912 (MAP 9) the Kentucky Highlands Railroad Switch runs into the site, additional drainage lines are shown, and a rectangular feed headquarters building below Warehouses C and D exists. A small office with a porch occurs near the dwelling house.

The 1936 map (MAP 10) identifies the major changes that took place after the repeal of Prohibition: The Warehouses A and B are reduced in size and converted to shops and stock rooms. The cooperage becomes a shed. The cistern room is converted to a government office and the whiskey pipe is eliminated. Three fuel oil tanks are added behind the government office. The two covered cisterns become service reservoirs and a new, rectangular cistern is added. The scale house and office is expanded into a larger office. The original distillery building loses its porch and becomes totally encapsulated in an expanded facility. The cotton seed and storage house is converted to a slop dryer house. Warehouses C and D are now heated and the bottling house is removed. Added to the site are three glazed tile Warehouses, E, F, and H and a barrel house east of Warehouse E. On the hillside the small office aligned with Warehouse D is converted to a gate house. The elevated barrel run is under construction. Two new dwelling houses close to McCracken Pike are included in the site.

Four years later in 1940 (MAP 11) when the distillery is fully functional, new roadways are clearly defined, the barrel run is complete, a recoopering shop has been added near Warehouse F, and a new brick bottling house and a case goods storage house stand where former Warehouses A and B had existed. The distillery shows further refinements regarding water and power supplies, in particular an expanded boiler house fueled by coal and pump houses and wells. The addition of the dam in 1941-42 to impound the stream added a different landscape feature to the site that remains today.

The individual resources are discussed chronologically and numbered according to MAP 1. Historical background and changes have been included to identify earlier appearances, construction, or usage.

Distillery Building with attached Boiler House (contributing building)

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Map 1, No. 1: early still house built circa 1838; improved 1874; additions circa 1890; two-story porch added circa 1895; rebuilt with added boiler house 1934; west front added 1940; fermenting annex added 1942; rehabilitated 1996 to 1942 exterior appearance. See Photos No. 1-6, 10-11, 16-19.

This building currently houses the production area of the distilling processes from start to finish. Grain is delivered by truck and is sorted and stored. It is ground to a pulp for deposit in the fermenting tanks where it is mixed with water and yeast. Fermented mash, "beer," is separated and pumped to the still room. Three copper pot stills are heated to allow distillation to take place (these replace a previous column still). The resulting alcohol is collected and stored in the cisterns for warehousing in barrels. Filled barrels are rolled to the warehouses on the barrel run for storage. The use of masonry and metal for fire safety and the irregular heights and shapes of the architecture are related to the historic functions performed in each section of the structure.

The general overall appearance of the distillery when viewed from the north is a low, two-story, rectangular-shaped, fenestrated, masonry mass with a standing-seam metal roof (PHOTO 18). The roof increases in height at the north end as it extends over the earliest distillery section which terminates with a square upward extension to the south. Toward the rear of the building and the creek, four other separate rectangular and vertical superstructures ranging from two to four stories above the roof are clad in corrugated gray metal. Each structure exhibits different roof lines and varying fenestration patterns. These are all overshadowed in height by three black 100-foot smoke stacks that project from the boiler house at the north end of the structure.

The prominent building facade is a two-section, two-story limestone wall made up of a five and three-bay unit. Each has six-over-six, double-hung, segmental-arched windows set in segmentally arched openings accented by a limestone soldier course. In the middle of the three-bay section to the south, over the entrance door and directly under the second floor window, has been placed a mill stone incised with the inscription "Old Oscar Pepper Distillery Est. 1838 Labrot & Graham Est. 1878." The gable roof of standing-seam metal is punctuated by eleven small gable-roofed metal sky lights for the fermenting room. The coursed and mortared limestone varies slightly in dimension and color in the different building sections, but an overall homogeneity prevails. These building sections were built around the early 1838 distillery structure. The five bay section was added to the west in 1940 under Brown-Forman's new ownership. In the 1890s a porch had stood in the same location. The three-bay fermenting room expanded the structure to the south and was completed by 1942. At that time the mill stone was moved from the truck entrance of the boiler house where it had been installed in 1934 to this more prominent location.⁶

The upper level extensions are repaired balloon framing, resheathed in 1996 with gray corrugated siding to replicate the building after Repeal. Windows are wooden double-hung sash with light patterns ranging from two over two to six over six and some casements. The three 100-foot-tall smoke stacks erected in 1934 have been replaced, but the replicas sit in their original location aligned north-south over the boiler room. All roof surfaces have been re-covered with gray standing-seam metal over solid sheathing. The roof over the distillery room is pierced for ventilation with single pitch metal framed skylights.

⁶*The Woodford Sun*, 20 December 1934. The mill stone was reportedly then nearly a hundred years old.

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The reconstruction of the Distillery Building in 1934 following Repeal of Prohibition changed its 19th-century appearance (PHOTOS 3-6 and 16-17). Above the original 1838 masonry building two or three stories of frame construction clad in corrugated metal were added. The new space was used for grain storage, milling operations, and to accommodate an elevator tower and a penthouse for a new column still. These uses remained until production ceased in 1957. After years of no use, the rehabilitation of the distillery between 1994 and 1996 for a specialty bourbon meant an opportunity to rework the interior for contemporary needs that included slower production but a chance to bring visitors into the area and demonstrate the process. The outside of the distillery has been restored to its 1934-42 appearance, but the interior has certain modifications. The added fermenting room of 1942 that formerly held six large tanks now has two levels, each with a cooker and four tanks for mashing and fermenting. Office space and a laboratory are incorporated in these areas. The still area, housed within the walls of the 1838 distillery, has a platformed area for three or more copper pot stills and gauging equipment (PHOTO 19). On the first floor barrels are stored under the platform and exhibit and demonstration space for barrel construction is retained. The new production equipment includes four 7,500 gallon fermenting vats made out of the traditional material, cypress wood; one 7,500 gallon steel mash cooker; one yeast cooker; one 2,500 gallon copper beer pot still; one 1,650 gallon copper spirits pot still; one 1,650 gallon copper high wines pot still; and one 1,400 gallon steel barrel gauge tank.

Round Stone Reservoirs (contributing structures)

Map 1, No. 6: one closest to the Distillery Building presumably relates to its construction, circa 1838; northern pool built circa 1890. Photo No. 11

Two stone-lined pools ten feet in diameter and approximately eight feet deep were originally used as water reservoirs for the distilling process. The pool closest to the distillery building is reported to have been built by Oscar Pepper and James Crow in 1838.⁷ A second pool first appears on the Sanborn map of 1894. These pools were protected by conical roofs topped by small decorative cupolas that are clearly identified on the illustration of the Oscar Pepper Bonded Warehouse Receipt depicting the site in the 1880s (see ILLUSTRATION No. 2).

The water used by the Old Oscar Pepper Distillery came from two springs located on the east side of Grassy Springs Branch Creek opposite the distillery (see MAPS 2-3). While the creek may have been used as a secondary supply, it was contaminated by other users upstream. Eventually, when additional water was needed to increase production after Repeal of Prohibition, deep ground wells were dug to tap into supplies of non-polluted water, a method used currently.

Scale House, Weight Scale and Company Office (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 9: built by 1883; enlarged and remodeled 1934; restored 1996 to 1934 appearance. Photos No. 8-9, 21

⁷ The 1938 Labrot & Graham commemorative booklet on the centennial of the Oscar Pepper Distillery states that both pools were built in 1838 (pp. 10-11). However, the earliest Sanborn map of the site from 1886 shows only one pool.

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This building is one of the few common brick structures on the site but is painted yellow to hide various architectural changes over time. East of the building is a concrete-lined pit with the scale, now covered by boards. The one-story structure is in an ell shape with gable roofs at different heights, but all finished in painted standing-seam metal. The shorter section of the building faces south with a porch covered by a shed roof on squared columns. The six-light entrance door is to the west and a small window to the east. A matching window plus a larger one and a gable-peak vent punctuate the east facade. The wing to the south has two metal industrial casement windows with 20 lights each on the south facade and one in the east. The north facade includes a similar window and entrance door. Rehabilitation in 1996 converted the building to an office and a sitting area. A bathroom and pantry adjoin this larger room.

The building was built originally as a single-block, brick Scale House with a shed porch adjacent to a drive-on scale. It has been identified with a drive-through shed addition in the 1883 site photograph. Later the scales were placed just to the south of the office in their current location. About 1900, a wooden shed with a sloped roof was added to the east side of the building covering the scale. In 1934 when the distillery was rebuilt, the wooden shed was removed, revealing a partially bricked-in door and an elongated window. The prominent Lexington architect Warfield Gratz designed the ell addition and revised porch for this building, converting it to an office, scale room, and bath and pantry area.⁸ Gratz's work has been fully restored with the exception of the removal of a wall that had been added to enclose the scale room and an exterior chimney. In 1934 the scale pit was excavated and relined in concrete for the scale. The scale was designed to be read from the inside office by connections that went through the wall. This was not included in the restoration.

Government Office (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 7: built as a cistern room circa 1885; enlarged circa 1907; converted to a Government Office in 1934; rehabilitated for employee use in 1996 to 1934 exterior appearance. Photos 7, 20

This one story, coursed random-shaped and mortared limestone building with a gable roof sheathed in painted standing-seam metal has a central, single segmentally arched window on each facade except the south. The sash are six-over-six. A small gable-roofed hood with pediment details on square columns marks the main south entrance. The building was fully restored in 1996 to its appearance in 1934. A corner bathroom was converted to a mechanical room during the restoration. The structure is used by employees of the distillery.

This building was built as a cistern room to which whiskey was piped from the distillery. It is located on the earliest Sanborn map of 1886 adjacent to the southeast corner of Warehouse A. By 1910 Sanborn shows it as a rectangle rather than a square and it contained two tubs. Window or door openings were only on the east and west sides. In 1934 the building was converted from a cistern room to a Government Office. The door opening was added in the south facade and windows were opened in the north facade as well as in a toilet room at the northwest corner. The Colonial Revival contributions are attributed to the architect Warfield Gratz, Louisville.

⁸ The architect's contributions to the 1934 rebuilding are noted in a local newspaper account but no plans have ever been found.

Bonded Warehouse C (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 11: built 1890 to 1895. Photos 15, 24-27

This warehouse was the first one built south of the distillery building, but in form and materials it replicated Warehouses A and B that had been constructed by 1870 but were destroyed during Prohibition. The warehouse is solid stone and with Warehouse D the two represent the only stone warehouses still in use in the Commonwealth of Kentucky for bourbon storage. The building is 58 by 100 feet in size and three-and-a-half floors tall. The low pitched standing-seam metal gable roof and gutters and downspouts were replaced in 1996. At the north end a gable roofed and metal-clad rectangular housing projects upward to compensate for the interior elevator/lift system. Small multiple-light windows are included on three sides. The masonry construction is of rough, but uniform, mortared limestone with significant use of quoins. Repointing was completed in 1996. Fenestration is regularly patterned in five bays of segmentally arched windows with double-hung wood sash and iron security bars. Each window has metal-covered wooden shutters designed to fit the arched openings. Entrances with metal doors exist at both gable ends. The interior is fitted with a wooden rack system that supports three tiers of barrels per floor with a total capacity of 5,000 barrels (PHOTO 15).⁹ To improve and uniformly control the whiskey aging process, for about two decades beginning about 1890, this warehouse and Warehouses A and B were steam heated. A separate boiler house had been erected between the distillery building and Warehouse C to supply heat to the "hot house" within Warehouse C. After 1912 heating was curtailed, probably for financial reasons. After Repeal, all the warehouses were again equipped with steam heat.

Bonded Warehouse D (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 12: built circa 1895; rehabilitated 1996. Photos 24-28

This warehouse stands in line with Warehouse C and is separated only by a narrow passage. It is equal in height and width to its neighbor but is only 75 feet long, reducing capacity to 3,500 barrels. The building has four bays of windows, all equipped with the same treatments as the other warehouse. Warehouse D was not steam heated until after Repeal. During the 1996 restoration it was found that some of the barrel rack system had been removed and structural sections were badly deteriorated. Rather than repair or replace the system it was removed and the warehouse was reroofed and converted to a small bottling facility for the distillery. The bottling and packaging area occurs on the west side of the space; barrels are transported on a track through a window on the east side for dumping. At the south end of the building a staircase and platform have been installed at the third floor level.

Watchman's Guard House (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 10 (known also as office, gate house, and checker's office): built circa 1911; restored 1996. Photo 27

⁹ Whiskey barrels were first stood on end and on each other or stacked on their sides for aging, but the method was considered inconvenient. An effective rack system for "improved" whiskey barrel storage was designed and filed for patent in 1881. Such racks were apparently installed in these early warehouses by 1886.

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This square, single-story, balloon frame building sits on a stone foundation just west of the upper driveway to the distillery and warehouses and in alignment with Warehouse D. It is clad with horizontal, tongue and groove, ship-lap sheathing painted white. A pyramidal roof and a shed extension over a three columned porch is covered with gray standing-seam metal. Three wooden steps lead to the wooden raised porch and the central entry door with 21 lights. The north and south facades have double-hung two-over-two windows. The building was restored in 1996.

According to the Sanborn map of 1912, this Guard House appears to have been associated with the installation of the Kentucky Highland Railroad from 1911 to 1912 for increased supervision of plant traffic and security. The railroad tracks were located further down the hill from the house. They were removed in the reconstruction after Repeal.

Company Residence (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 19: built 1905; later addition.

This residence is one of two remaining Company houses of four originally built to service employees of the distillery. The house stands one-story on a mortared foundation approximately 750 feet north of the distillery on the east side of the creek. Access is across a raised concrete ford in the creek. It is of saddle-bag plan with a central chimney and paired entry doors covered by a shed-porch section attached under the front eave. A gable roof crosses the front and at matching pitch extends to the rear over a one-room north wing. A later, lower extension extends this wing further. A shed roof section has been added on the east side. In the front facade original large windows have been replaced with smaller units and infill clapboard. An exterior stone root cellar mounded over with earth lies northeast of the house. This house has not been inhabited for over thirty years and is in only fair condition.

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Cistern Room (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 5: built 1934; metal addition circa 1935. Contributing building.
Photos 13, 25

The Cistern Room built in 1934 across from Warehouses C and D replaced a small cistern built by 1896 between Warehouses C and D on the east side and the earlier Cistern Room near Warehouses A and B. The 1934 building is larger in scale but designed similarly to the building that was converted to a Government Office. The Cistern Room is a one-story, solid stone square structure with a pyramidal roof covered in standing-seam metal. Pairs of four-over-four wooden sash in square-headed openings occur on two facades. Windows are fitted with iron bars and single leaf, metal-clad wooden shutters. The double-leaf wooden entrance door in the west facade is also metal clad. Early photos show that barrel track ran from this door opening into the warehouses for ease in transporting the barrels for storage. Large pipe, mounted overhead, fed the bourbon from the distillery to large cistern tanks in this building for barreling. Adjoining the south side of the building is a narrower annex constructed of balloon framing covered with corrugated metal. It has a metal roof, a concrete foundation, and one wood window and two industrial metal sash. Because bourbon barrels are now filled in the distillery building, the Cistern Room and annex are used for storage.

When built in 1934, the Cistern Room took the place of two pre-existing structures on the site. A granary had been located where the Cistern Room currently stands. Between 1897 and 1903 the first bottling house had also been built of stone against the east wall of the small cistern room at the end of the passage between Warehouses C and D. The bottling building extended against the two walls of the warehouses as well.¹⁰ To increase space for the new Cistern Room, the bottling house and smaller cistern were demolished. The stone from the bottling house is believed to have been used to build the new Cistern Room.

Barrel Run (contributing structure)

Map 1, No. 17: begun in 1934 and extended as warranted by post-Prohibition warehouse construction; extended north to distillery building 1996. Contributing structure (new section excepted). Photos 26, 30

The Barrel Run is a raised rail system of parallel pipe-rail that is mounted about a foot off the ground on pipe supports except where it runs across a roadway. The rail line runs from the northwest corner of the distillery building on the west side of Warehouses C, D, and E and then along the east side of Warehouse F to the south side of Warehouse H. A connecting line goes to each warehouse. Gravity and the declining grade of the land is the force that allows a man

¹⁰ The Bottled-in-Bond Act of 1897, sponsored by Secretary of Treasury John G. Carlisle, a former speaker of the House of Representatives and U.S. Senator from Kentucky influenced the construction of this bottling space. The act specified that whiskey made at one place and all at one time, aged for four years in a bonded warehouse, and bottled at 100 proof, could be so identified by a green stamp with Carlisle's portrait and the name of the distiller to ensure the quality of its contents. William L. Downard, *Dictionary of the History of the American Brewing and Distilling Industries* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 28-29.

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without mechanical assistance to easily roll a full 500 pound barrel from the distillery building to any of the warehouses for aging. It is the longest barrel run ever used in a distillery.

The original system was shorter because it started at the Cistern Room and ran between Warehouses C and D and then immediately south to the newer warehouses. In 1996 when the distillery was rehabilitated, barreling of whiskey became a process incorporated in the distillery building. It was then necessary to construct a new spur starting at the distillery building and running across the roadway to connect with the existing leg below Warehouse C. The inception for the barrel run came from an unused railroad bed from the Kentucky Highlands Railroad. In 1908 a rail line had been built to serve the distilleries south of Frankfort to Millville. In 1911 the section from Millville to Versailles was installed, including a spur line into the Labrot & Graham distillery. It ran along the west side of Warehouses C and D and then split at a switch with a spur that went to Warehouses A and B and between the first Cistern Room and the end of the distillery. During Prohibition the tracks were torn up but the graded rail bed remained. Reactivating it for an elevated barrel run took place during the post-Prohibition reconstruction.

Bonded Warehouse E (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 13: built 1934-35. Photos 14, 28

This is the first of three glazed terra cotta tile warehouses on coursed stone foundations built during the post-Prohibition period. The glazed structural terra cotta tile was an inexpensive, light, fireproof material popular during the first half of the 20th century for large warehouses that could be heated. The more typical warehouse prior to Prohibition was wood frame construction sheathed in corrugated galvanized metal¹¹. The presence of solely the 19th-century limestone warehouses and the 20th-century glazed tile warehouses at this distillery makes it a unique site in regard to construction materials.

This four-and-a-half story warehouse is 55 by 170 feet long with ten window bays regularly spaced. It has a capacity of 11,500 barrels. The low-pitched, standing-seam metal gable roof is penetrated in the center by a rectangular housing of corrugated metal for the barrel elevator mechanism. All window openings are fitted with metal industrial windows of multiple lights and metal bars. Outside doors are metal clad with security hinges and forged hasps following government regulations. The interior wooden post-and-beam construction that supports barrel storage has five levels, each containing three tiers of barrels per level. At the north end, a raised and stone-faced concrete platform connects the first floors of Warehouses D and E. On the south facade, large double doors at ground level facilitate loading.

Bonded Warehouse F (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 14: built 1935-36. Photos 14, 29

This warehouse is identical with its neighbor in construction materials, shape, windows, and roof, but is built into the hillside. The barrel lift is at the southeast corner resulting in a rectangular tower that rises 17 feet above the roof level. This location allows immediate

¹¹These buildings are known as open rick warehouses and were not intended to be heated.

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dispersal of the barrels from the barrel run that connects to this corner. The building is 55 by 175 feet and has a capacity for 11,200 barrels on 12 to 18 tiers of storage.

Slop Dryer House (Conference Center): (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 3: built 1934-35. Photos 12, 23

This building was designed during the 1934 reconstruction of the distillery to convert liquid slop-residue of the fermenting process known as "spent beer"--to cattle feed by a drying process. The slop was piped into vats at the rear of the building from the distillery and a drying unit was housed in the building. The asymmetrical sections of the building and the irregular roof types, lines, vents and chimneys relate to the original equipment and space usages but create a very haphazard appearance. By 1996 when the site was rehabilitated slop drying had been eliminated from the industrial distilling process. This building thus had to be adapted for a new use. The addition of insulation, bathrooms, utilities, a new wood floor, and a new 10 by 20 feet kitchen area at the rear allowed the building to be converted to a Conference Center.

The Slop Dryer House has a rectangular footprint and a stone and concrete foundation. Projecting housing at the rear for tanks has been eliminated and terracing has been added. Balloon-frame construction is sheathed diagonally and clad in corrugated metal siding. The west facade consists of five sections: a one-bay, two-story square unit with a flat roof, a one-bay unit with a door and a shed roof; another two-bay unit with a flat roof with two windows on the first floor and an off-center window on the second; a two-bay gable roofed section with windows on the second floor and a door (formerly a window) and window on the first. A one-story, two-bay gable roof section was added at a later date to the south end. The flat roofs are built up composition; all others are standing-seam metal. Various sized vent pipes protrude from two sections of roof. The windows are regular in size with six-over-six double-hung sash. The diagonal sheathing on the interior, newly painted, serves as the final finish.

Bonded Warehouse H (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 15: built 1939-40. Photo 30

This warehouse was the last to be constructed at the distillery and conforms in design, materials, and details with Warehouses E and F. It has a smaller dimension of 55 by 85 feet with only five window bays but retains a four-and-a-half-story height. The warehouse has a capacity for 5,200 barrels.

Recooper Shop/Warehouse G (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 16: built circa 1936. Photo 29

This building has dimensions of 18 by 40 feet and is balloon-frame construction covered with corrugated metal and a standing-seam metal roof. A metal-clad entry door is located on the west gable end near the barrel run. Four windows penetrate each side of the building and the east gable end. Windows have iron bars and wooden shutters. The building was built to repair

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leaking barrels. Because bonded spirits were often stored in the building overnight while repairs were underway, the building was treated as a bonded warehouse and heavily secured.

Bottling House Foundation and site of Former Warehouses A and B (contributing site)

Map 1, No. 8: built 1935-1936, burned circa 1990, demolished to foundation walls 1995.

In approximately the location of the earliest Warehouses A and B of Labrot & Graham's Old Oscar Pepper Distillery stand remains of a 21 x 88 foot stone foundation for the Bottling House constructed in 1935 for the restored distillery.¹² The main walls were constructed of the same glazed terra cotta clay tile used for the warehouses and the roof was standing-seam metal. Metal window sash and bars were also similar. A fire in this building in 1990 when the site was unused caused serious damage to the structure. It was demolished in 1995 for safety reasons, leaving the foundation to mark its location.

The Warehouses A and B, replaced by the Bottling House in 1935, were masonry warehouses built by 1870 and identifiable in the earliest photograph of the distillery dated 1883 (see PHOTO 1).¹³ Warehouse A was notable for its two-story gable roof construction and 5 bays of windows. Warehouse B was built to the west, parallel to A but appreciably longer and of two stories. It had a shed roof pitched to the east and half as many windows on the second floor as the first. By 1886 Sanborn maps indicate that both warehouses contained patent racks for storage, Warehouse B holding 7,500 barrels, Warehouse A 4,500. A portion of Warehouse A was identified as a Free Warehouse area. Between 1920 and 1933 Warehouses A and B were deconstructed and the limestone was used for other construction or burned for fertilizer.

Electrical Control House (contributing building)

Map 1, No. 2: built circa 1934-37 or 1942. Photo 22

This small, single-story, limestone building has segmentally arched window and door openings and a pyramidal roof. Although found roofed in asphalt shingles in 1994, it has been reroofed in standing-seam metal to conform to all other buildings. The main entrance door and windows are of wood and have two-over-two lights. On the east end for access to transformers a metal clad door has been installed. The structure was built to house controls and breakers for electrical service distribution and continues that use today.

Fire Storage Station (contributing building)

¹²Photographs confirm that only a portion of Warehouse B was still standing by 1934 and that the bottling house was built on a new, stone foundation and not on either of the old warehouse's foundations.

¹³No mention of warehouses or footprints occur on the plat maps showing the distribution of Oscar Pepper's property in 1869 (MAPS 2-3). However, Nannie Pepper's lease agreement with Gaines Berry & Co. of 1870 describes a distillery and two warehouses. Presumably what existed in 1870 are the same warehouses shown in the 1883 photograph published in "The Kentucky Bluegrass Region" in *Vernacular Architecture Forum*, May 10-11, 1990, p. 89A (published by the Kentucky Heritage Council). The other image of these buildings is found on the lithograph used on the Bonded Warehouse Receipt of the Old Oscar Pepper Distillery (see ILLUSTRATION 2).

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Map 1, No. 4: built ca. 1942. Photo 25

A small, six-sided solid masonry building located adjacent to the Cistern Room. It has a peaked hexagonal roof covered with standing-seam metal to match other roofs on the site. The wooden entry door and a window at the rear each have four lights. The building took the place of a raised wooden tank for distilled water that stood on this site in 1935. The building was originally used for the storage of hand-operated portable fire equipment. Today it is a general storage area.

Pond, Iron Catwalk, Old Pump House, Dam (contributing structures)

Map 1, Nos. 18, 18 a-b, d: built 1941-42. Photo of Dam, 38

New Pump House (non-contributing structure)

Map 1, No. 18 c: built 1998. Non-contributing.

The body of water created by the impoundment of the Grassy Springs Branch of Glenn's Creek in 1942 creates a picturesque backdrop for the distillery buildings in the base of the valley (No. 18). The overall size of the pond is 2.75 acres. At its widest section, near Warehouse E and F, it is 200 feet across, lapping at natural banks on both sides. At the narrower and shallow end by the distillery building it decreases to 100 feet wide where it can be crossed by a metal Catwalk (No. 18a) suspended on stone abutments for a former small wooden bridge. Stone and concrete embankments in this area control the water. The pond is approximately 10 to 12 feet deep.

The Dam (No. 18d) that created the impoundment is a rough, poured concrete encapsulation of a former causeway across the waterway (PHOTO 38). Along the dam edge is a railed metal catwalk that crosses the spillway on two-foot high concrete standards. Adjacent to this is a driveway that crosses the top of the spillway, reaching a dirt road on the far side. The spillway from the impoundment is in the center. Water runs from the pond through this and across a broad concave concrete slab into a wild and vegetated narrow creek bed.

The need for the dam arose in 1941 when existing restrictions of both the natural spring flow and water storage precluded running the distillery beyond a certain capacity or during hot weather when an excess of cooling water was required. The dam had been partially created by a causeway built for the Kentucky Highland Railroad. CXS Railroad later acquired the right-of-way and abandoned it. The dam was constructed by personnel and equipment of Brown-Forman to control the natural flow of the Grassy Springs Branch and to store pumped water from a series of drilled underground wells and from water piped from the Kentucky River by a cross county pipeline.

A small, glazed tile Pump House (No. 18b) on the lower access road to the warehouses formerly provided the mechanics for pumping the water to different site locations. For fire safety reasons the pond has been an important security measure for the site. Today water used directly in the distilling process is obtained from deep wells. Pond water remains available for use in any cooling processes. A new, metal-clad Pump House (No. 18c) has been added west of the pond near the dam for contemporary use. This building is non-contributing.

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Main Entrance: Stone Posts, Flanking Walls, and Iron Gates (non-contributing structure)

Map 1, No. 22: posts built 1934-35; gates and flanking walls added 1996. Photo 37

The main entry to the plant was clearly defined in 1934 by the addition of two large posts of coursed limestone with mortared joints on each side of the entrance road from McCracken Pike. During 1996 flanking curved limestone walls were added to the outside of the posts and new wrought iron gates erected between them to close access to the site. The fixed sections of the ironwork have been decoratively treated in gold and black to represent corn and grain stalks. Iron birds sit on the rail. The large swinging gates that cross the road feature a simpler pattern of iron stiles topped by grain pods.

Company Residence (non-contributing building)

Map 1, No. 21: built 1948-49.

This one-story frame ranch-style house with horizontal cladding was built after World War II for Labrot & Graham's on-site manager. It was designed to fit into the side of the hill and is accessed from a long driveway off McCrackin Pike at the north end. The roof is a low-pitch hip with a chimney. A porch with small square columns extends out from the main structure. The street facade has a recessed center with the main entrance door.

Visitors Center (non-contributing building)

Map 1, No. 20: built 1996. Photo 31

The multi-purpose building built for offices and a visitors center at the top of the hill is approached from the parking lot off the driveway from McCracken Pike. The large, one and a half story ell-shaped structure features gray clapboard siding and gable roofs finished in standing-seam metal with the longest one punctuated by four gabled dormers. A distinctive characteristic of the building is a wrap-around porch with stone piers and tapered paired columns. The view of the distillery complex to the east and south in the valley below is impressive. The building sits on a tall, stone masonry basement built into the hillside. On the east elevation the basement is exposed and tied into a massive stone retaining wall system with a stone staircase down to the distillery and warehouse complex. The interior features a large open timber-framed exhibition space where visitors can gather for tours. A retail shop, restrooms, an orientation film room and office space is accommodated in wings to the north and west. The building is approximately on the location of the distillery manager's residence built when the distillery was reconstructed in 1934 but demolished for the 1996 rehabilitation.

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List of Contributing Resources (24)**Buildings (16)**

- Pepper Log House
- Distillery Building with attached Boiler House
- Scale House, Weight Scale and Company Office
- Government Office
- Bonded Warehouse C
- Bonded Warehouse D
- Bonded Warehouse E
- Bonded Warehouse F
- Bonded Warehouse H
- Re Cooper Shop/Warehouse G
- Watchman's Guard House
- Company Residence
- Cistern Room
- Slop Dryer House (Conference Center)
- Electrical Control House
- Fire Storage Station

Structures (7)

- Round Stone Reservoirs (2)
- Barrel Run
- Pond
- Iron Catwalk
- Old Pump House
- Dam

Sites (1)

- Bottling House Foundation and site of Former Warehouses A and B

List of Non-contributing Resources (7)**Buildings (5)**

- Tobacco Barn (See description of Pepper Log House)
- Carriage Shed (See description of Pepper Log House)
- Feed Shed (See description of Pepper Log House)
- Company Residence
- Visitors Center

Structures (2)

- New Pump House
- Main Entrance: Stone Posts, Flanking Walls, and Iron Gates

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: Locally:

Applicable National
Register Criteria:

A X B C X D

Criteria Considerations
(Exceptions):

A B C D E F G

NHL Criteria:

1

NHL Theme(s):

V. Developing the American Economy
1. extraction and production

Areas of Significance:

Industry

Period(s) of Significance:

1838-1945

Significant Dates:

1838, 1878, 1890, 1934

Significant Person(s):

n/a

Cultural Affiliation:

n/a

Architect/Builder:

n/a

Historic Contexts:

XVIII. Technology
G. Industrial Production Processes (Including Agriculture)

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State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.**Summary**

Labrot & Graham's Old Oscar Pepper Distillery in Versailles, Woodford County, Kentucky meets National Historic Landmark Criterion 1 for its association with the historic development of the bourbon industry, an enterprise of national significance centered in Kentucky. As the birthplace of bourbon in the 1830s, this site illustrates, like no other property, the history of bourbon distillation in Kentucky. With its intact rural setting, Labrot & Graham presents the evolution of the trade from the traditional pot still distilling of farmers during the early 19th century to the mature and highly specialized industry of the post-Repeal era. The industrial architecture setting of the pre- and post-Prohibition periods stands with few intrusions from the last half of the 20th-century.

Of all Kentucky distilleries, Labrot & Graham is closely associated with the development of bourbon as a distinctive Kentucky alcoholic beverage and the one that became the leading export of the United States. It was at this rural, agricultural site on the Grassy Springs branch of Glenn's Creek from 1833 to 1855 that Scottish-born chemist Dr. James Crow first employed the scientific techniques that came to be regarded as essential to bourbon production. Crow perfected the sour-mash method of making bourbon--today a cornerstone of the national industry--and he employed instruments to gauge the temperature, acidity, and sugar-content of the bourbon and its chemical antecedents. He was an innovator in the maturing of whisky in charred oak barrels, giving his product the amber hue that is now accepted as a defining characteristic of bourbon. According to bourbon historians Gary and Mardee Regan, "Crow probably was the first to make what we would recognize today as bourbon."¹⁴

The varied historic resources at Labrot & Graham explain the evolution of the bourbon industry that Dr. Crow helped to standardize. The site includes the 1812 Elijah Pepper family house, the only surviving residential building associated with antebellum distilling in rural Kentucky.¹⁵ At the core of the extant still house are the 60' x 75' stone walls of the original ca. 1838 still house, which through multiple transformations has been the site of continuous distillation, excepting Prohibition, from the 1830s until 1973. Associated with the still house is a neighboring stone cistern (ca. 1838), which, although it has lost its roof, still conveys its function within the distilling process. Finally, the site retains the rural characteristics of its antebellum setting.

The post-1870s corporate/industrial operation of the site is illustrated by numerous buildings and by the facility's use of space, which was dictated by the methods and needs of bourbon production. Stone warehouses built in 1890 and 1895 and the larger glazed terra cotta tile warehouses added between 1934 and 1940 were developed as specialized buildings necessary to the process of maturing bourbon in charred oak barrels, the technique that Crow helped

¹⁴Gary, Regan and Mardee. *The Book of Bourbon*. Shelburne, VT: Chapters Publishing, Ltd., 1995.

¹⁵Hall, David, "Kentucky Distilling Resources," Draft on file, Kentucky Heritage Council.

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popularize. Also preserved at the site is an elevated barrel run (1934), a structure once common at distilleries but now rare.

Few Kentucky distilleries possess a comparable level of historic association or high degree of integrity as Labrot & Graham. Through sponsored survey work, the Kentucky Heritage Council has identified three distillery complexes that have resources surviving from the formative years of the industry's development before the Civil War: Labrot & Graham, Maker's Mark (formerly Burks), Marion County (NHL 1980), and Buffalo Trace, Franklin County. As the site of bourbon refinement by Crow, and because it retains resources reflecting the history and evolution of bourbon distilling of both pre- and immediately post-Prohibition years, with few late 20th century intrusions, Labrot & Graham's Old Oscar Pepper Distillery qualifies as a strong candidate for National Historic Landmark designation.

To provide a context for surviving Kentucky distilleries, the Kentucky Heritage Council (KHC) recently undertook a survey and evaluation of selected bourbon distilleries from a pre-existing survey of forty-three producers.¹⁶ The geographic focus of the study was the Bluegrass region (seven counties) and Owensboro, Daviess County. Operating distilleries known to have a diversity of historic resources or others that illustrated industrial or architectural aspects of distilling history were selected for further investigation by KHC. The 18 selected sites are considered by the KHC and knowledgeable bourbon historians to be the most historically significant and most physically intact distilleries within Kentucky and present a temporal, functional, and geographic cross-section of the history of distilling.

The survey first presents a brief review of the bourbon production process and its historic development as well as the industrial property types and energy systems that evolved over time for the grain milling (water power), distilling (fire or steam power for pot or column stills), barreling, warehousing, maturing, bottling, and distribution of bourbon. The integrity and significance of a particular distillery is reported to relate to the combination of the existing historic architectural forms and at least the presence of the still house and warehouses. Location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association intertwine as well. The second half of the report provides an integrity and significance profile in alphabetical name order of each of the 18 distilleries surveyed.¹⁷

To further reduce the number of distilleries for a comparison with Labrot & Graham the list was reviewed in the context of this nomination for the completeness of the distillery, whether it was

¹⁶ The report entitled "An Evaluation of Kentucky's Historic Distilleries" was prepared by J. Daniel Pezzoni of Landmark Preservation Associates, Lexington, Virginia, with assistance from Marty Perry, Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort and discussions with David Hall. The earlier, larger study is a Distillery Survey and National Register Nomination Project carried out by the Kentucky Heritage Council. Further work to expand the latter project is being finished by David Hall through sponsorship of the Kentucky Distillers Association and the Kentucky Heritage Council. Additionally, Sam K. Cecil's recent *Evolution of the Bourbon Whiskey Industry* (Paducah, KY, 1999) also describes some of these distilleries.

¹⁷ The distilleries surveyed were (name and county): Barton (Nelson), Boulevard (Anderson), Buffalo Trace (Franklin), Charles Medley (Daviess), Cummins Collins (Larue), Four Roses (Anderson), Glenmore (Daviess), Heaven Hill (Nelson), Jim Beam (Bullitt) Jim Beam Waterfill Warehouse (Nelson), Labrot & Graham (Woodford), Loretto (Marion), Maker's Mark (Marion), Old Grand Dad (Franklin), Old Stanley (Daviess), Old Taylor (Woodford), Seagram's Lotus Road Warehouses (Bullitt) T.W. Samuels (Nelson).

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still functioning, whether it had ante-bellum roots, the presence of 19th-century buildings or unusual or regionally distinctive features or events, and the integrity or purity of the entire complex in relation to a designated period of significance. These parameters meant only eight distilleries could be counted that still retained distillery buildings with 19th-century heritage. Seven of the eight could be shown as producing bourbon today.¹⁸ These seven that still produce bourbon and also represent the oldest complete Kentucky distillery resources with 19th-century architecture retained are presented in Figure 1.

From these comparisons it becomes evident that three distilleries stand out: Maker's Mark, Labrot & Graham, and Buffalo Trace. Maker's Mark (NHL 1980) outside Loretto, Marion County, is classified as the oldest. In about 1805, purportedly at a site on, Hardin's Creek Charles Burks established a grist mill for farm-distilling. Production ceased at this still before the Civil War.¹⁹ At a branch into Hardin's Creek where Maker's Mark stands, about 1892 George Burks established a still house adjoining a pre-existing grist mill. The mill had been built about 1810 by Richard Burks.²⁰ Burks' Distillery changed hands and produced various beverages until Prohibition. The site developed around the still house and incorporated the mill after grain ceased to be milled there. Traditional metal-clad warehouses and frame buildings with Victorian features became characteristic of the distillery.

Today a unique feature of the site is probably the earliest retail liquor store--the "Quart Room"--in a building where bourbon was sold by the quart. During Prohibition most warehouses were razed and rebuilt after repeal. The early still house and historic Victorian buildings, residences, and remaining warehouse sections have been rehabilitated for heritage tourism since 1953. They provide the feel of the last quarter of the 19th century to the turn of the 20th. Modern warehousing exists at the site but in a hilltop location. Maker's Mark also retains the distinction of ownership by the Samuels family, distillers who have been producing whiskey since the 18th century at various sites in Kentucky.

Another distillery of note is Buffalo Trace (formerly Ancient Age) in Frankfort, Franklin County, on the Kentucky River. Founded by the mid-19th century on a site possibly used for distilling by 1787, the setting now has a mixed urban and rural landscape with new development encroaching on the boundaries, compromising the site's integrity of setting. The 100-acre complex retains at least 110 buildings built from the 1860s through the present. Because the distillery was used for "concentration" warehousing during Prohibition it suffered fewer losses than most distilleries or even Maker's Mark and Labrot & Graham. It is an outstanding example of the industrial architecture of bourbon production using many different construction materials over time. The site features the unique incorporation of a recreational park with a grotto pool and log buildings

¹⁸ Old Taylor in Millville, Woodford County, only a brief distance from Labrot & Graham was eliminated in this round because it is closed. Founded in 1850 and rebuilt in 1880, this site is distinctive for its romantic 1887 castle-like stone still house and sunken gardens with a classical columned spring shelter, all intended as a tourist attraction. Massive warehouses of later vintage remain.

¹⁹ Maker's Mark National Historic Landmark Nomination. Clear documentation of the 1805 date in relation to the site is not provided.

²⁰ Deeds and liens of the George and Richard Burks property clarify the earliest sequence of events. Further documentation can be established by Sanborn Insurance maps periodically from 1892 to 1936. These documents are not referenced in the nomination.

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from 1936 on a hillside. This distillery has also been ranked as the earliest to incorporate steam power and institute climate-controlled warehouses (1880s).

The Labrot & Graham Old Oscar Pepper Distillery represents the farm site where James Crow, master distiller for Oscar Pepper, developed the methodology of the sour mash process for producing the quality bourbon that became America's most exported whiskey. The remaining 19th-century still and warehouses and structures of stone, the large glazed tile warehouses built after repeal, and other metal clad structures retain their direct historic association with the surrounding undeveloped agricultural landscape. Over looking the distillery is Elijah Pepper's log home of 1812, which incorporates subsequent additions dating from the period of significance. The site tells the story of bourbon production from farmer-distiller to a distillery with industrial architectural forms dating before 1945. Modest production and then closure of the distillery between 1957 and 1994 froze the buildings in time (causing some losses as well). The construction hiatus, however, allowed the distillery complex to be restored in 1996 to its historic 1945 appearance within the original rural farm setting.

Among the surviving Kentucky distilleries, Labrot & Graham is distinctive because it alone illustrates the broadest period of bourbon production of any extant Kentucky site, while at the same time retaining the evolutionary components of bourbon production. Modified to adapt new technologies, the facility's still house has been site of a continuous distilling operation—excepting Prohibition—from the late 1830s through World War II. In addition, unlike the Buffalo Trace distillery, the rural setting of Labrot & Graham has not been compromised by subsequent suburban development. In contrast to the Maker's Mark distillery, which has been extensively rehabilitated to represent a nineteenth century site, the Labrot & Graham distillery's restoration clearly reflects its twentieth century heritage, the period during which bourbon became identified as an American spirit.

Reviewing the integrity and historical significance of extant distilleries in the Commonwealth, the Kentucky Heritage Council has stated: "Currently within Kentucky, no other site gives as strong a view of a highly changing industry with the sensitivity to its site that is seen at Labrot & Graham. The site is without peer in the retention of its rural character while depicting the evolution of this nationally significant industry."²¹

In addition to Maker's Mark, one other distillery has been designated as a National Historic Landmark, Brombergers Distillery in Pennsylvania (NHL 1980). Site of the oldest surviving distillery in its original location, the site has been recognized for the earliest and continuous production of alcohol from grain in the United States. The whiskey produced, however, did not rely on corn or the charred oak barrel aging process--components particular to the national product Kentucky bourbon. Recent termination of production of Pennsylvania sour mash has caused the buildings to fall into disrepair.

Narrative Statement of Significance

Early American Alcohol Production and Use

²¹David L. Morgan to Carol D. Shull, March 9, 2000.

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A review of the history of distilling confirms that this industry is significant in the agricultural, industrial, social and political history of the United States. Early European colonists in America were well acquainted with both the need for alcohol for medicinal purposes and its pleasing effects to the senses during pain, cold, or for purely pleasurable associations on social occasions. Whether the product was imported as rum from the West Indies, or made locally from molasses, apples, or grain, it was a highly desired commodity known as whiskey (grain), brandy (fruit), or rum (molasses) enjoyed by the growing colonial population. Receipts, account books, and correspondence related to the Revolutionary War document the routine purchase of rum by various military officers.

For the military, alcohol was not only a beverage but a payment system or reward for a task well done. General George Washington noted in 1777 that "It is necessary, there should always be a Sufficient Quantity of Spirits with the Army, to furnish moderate Supplies to the Troops. In some instances, such as when they are marching in hot or Cold weather, in Camp or Wet, on fatigue or in Working Parties, it is so essential that it is not to be dispensed with."²² But production depended upon grain, fruits, or sugar, and a balance had to be maintained between the consumption of foods to feed the troops or citizens and those lost to alcohol production. Regulatory procedures and enactments helped keep production under control, but the farmer-distiller clearly had two goals: plant grains during the growing season and mill it, mash it, and produce alcohol using stills during the winter months.

American independence further encouraged the development of distillers. Their production continued to flourish using both grain and molasses. Import duties in 1789 raised the price of rum, helping the farmer-distiller. Then in 1791, Alexander Hamilton's *Report on Manufacturers* presented to Congress led to an excise tax levied on domestic whiskey. Reasons given were a concern for the public's consumption of alcohol and the need for government revenues. Rebellions broke out in the frontier areas of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia among the Scotch and Irish farmers where farm distilleries had become the most lucrative means of converting heavy grain into a more easily transportable and valuable product--whiskey--now unfairly taxed.

Unrest and finally resistance came to a head in August 1794 when militia men were summoned to march Westward and quell the rebels. But some farmers did not wait. To avoid taxation they packed their copper stills on a horse or wagon and moved farther south to Kentucky where agricultural land was plentiful and the limestone watersheds and soil proved conducive to quality corn and whiskey.

The American economist Tench Coxe's *View of the United States of America* (1794) revealed that two million bushels of grain were required for the annual consumption of four million gallons of distilled spirits in the U.S.²³ He bemoaned the fact that closing of West Indian ports, to American shipping due to international relations problems, would effect the closure of 100

²² John C. Fitzpatrick, ed. *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, 37 vols. (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office) 9:105.

²³ Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1794), pp. 107, 227.

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American distilleries for lack of molasses. Alcohol had become a part of the American economy as well as a consumable during the work day. The farmer-distillers prospered.

Tench Coxe's 1794 *View of America* presents the first illustration of the importance of distilling in American agriculture at the end of the eighteenth century. For the year ending September 30, 1790 he lists an export volume of *Spirits* in various categories and measures. The largest products are: American [Spirits] (513,234 gallons); West India (4,742 gallons); and, Gin (10,252 gallons).²⁴ American farmers produced alcohol not only for local consumption but for an ever expanding export market. Coxe described the state of distilling at the turn of the century as: "household manufactures are carried on within the families of almost all the farmers and planters, and of a great proportion of the inhabitants of the villages and towns. This practice is increasing under the animating influences of private interest and public spirit."²⁵ The farmer-distiller was thus encouraged throughout the United States.

For example, in 1797 George Washington established a distillery at his 1770s "merchant mill" at Mount Vernon in Virginia. Washington's venture into distilling was encouraged by his farm manager, a Scotsman named James Anderson, who had experience operating stills in both Great Britain and Virginia. The distillery was a sandstone walled building measuring 75' by 35' and contained five stills and a boiler. The complex produced corn and rye whisky, which in 1799, numbered 11,000 gals, valued at \$7,000, and was the third highest revenue source on Washington's plantation. Unlike the grist mill's flour, which was sold overseas, Washington appears to have sold his whisky locally. Anderson and his son operated the distillery with the assistance of 6 slaves. The distillery's refuse had the added benefit of feeding 150 pigs and 30 cows that were stockyarded at the facility. Distilleries are very commonly associated with grain mills because the process requires both an adequate supply of fresh water and a mill to supply the ground corn or rye seed.²⁶

Antebellum Kentucky Bourbon

Migratory farmers from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia incited by the whiskey tax had already begun to settle the land in the territory that would become the Commonwealth of Kentucky in 1792. Here these farmer/distillers established grist mills and turned their grain into whiskey using copper stills. All that was needed were bushels of grain, a mill for grinding, mash tubs with pure, clear water for fermentation, fire for heating the still, and cold water to assist in the condensation process. Kegs or barrels stored the final product. It was this basic process that would evolve over time producing alcohol that by the first quarter of the 19th century came to be called bourbon after Bourbon County, then the largest in the state.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 409.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 431.

²⁶Fusonie, Alan and Donna Jean, *George Washington Pioneer Farmer* (Mount Vernon Ladies Association, 1998); White, Esther C. and Leeson, Christy E., "'A Business I am Entirely Unacquainted With:' George Washington and the Mount Vernon Distillery" Paper presented at the Gunston Hall on Historical Archaeology, 2000.

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In 1810 Tench Coxe presented a new, more detailed, set of statistics for the production of distilled spirits. Kentucky, behind Pennsylvania, was the second highest producer, with over 2.2 million gallons annually, followed by Virginia, North Carolina, Ohio, and Tennessee. At the time, Kentucky hosted 2,000 stills, producing a total value of \$740,242.²⁷ Kentucky's output by 1810 thus could be ranked second in the country. A century later it would be first.

The distinguishing characteristic between Kentucky whiskey known as bourbon stems from the basic ingredient used in Kentucky--corn. The plentiful whiskey production in neighboring states--Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois--used a combination of barley, corn and rye. The alcohols produced there were often referred to as "high wines and cologne spirits."²⁸ These products had high alcohol content but no taste or color, and were not capable of being improved by age. During the 19th century and before regulations were enacted, such alcohol was used immediately in processes of the growing chemical industry and by rectifiers who would add sweeteners and color to artificially produce whiskey.²⁹

Kentucky bourbon production developed from a more finely proportioned combination of corn, rye, and barley malt. Distillation was carried out using a copper still. In more advanced methods this distillate was redistilled in a copper still set over a wood fire.³⁰ Finally, a distinctive flavor and color was imparted to the alcohol by storage in charred white oak barrels. An article describing products of Kentucky distillers in a whiskey trade and revenue publication of 1875 said "Time alone ripens and matures them, and they can never be said to be in prime condition for a market unless softened and mellowed by the heat of at least three summers."³¹ Bourbon characteristics were distinctive enough so that a product was labeled bourbon only if it originated from Kentucky.

Precise attribution as to who was the original distiller or creator of Kentucky bourbon has been much debated and researched, and substantive arguments for Evan Williams, Rev. Elijah Craig, or others whose names are cited in early literature or from oral tradition have not been substantiated.³² There are early advertisements for "bourbon whiskey," however, classifying the drink as a marketable commercial product. One such appeared in the *Western Citizen* on 21 June 1821 from the distiller Stout and Adams, Maysville, Bourbon County, selling "Bourbon Whiskey by the barrel or keg."³³ Documented recipes exist that varied slightly from distiller to distiller but used the same basic ingredients. Production increased and the export market down the

²⁷ Tench Coxe, *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America for the Year 1810* (Philadelphia, 1814), p. 22. These statistics are excerpted from Crowgey, p. 82.

²⁸ "The Whisky Trade of Frankfort and the Revenue from Kentucky Whisky," *The Tri-Weekly Yeoman* (Frankfort), 2 March 1875.

²⁹ W. E. Bradley, "Kentucky Whisky," *Fetter's Southern Magazine* 4 (1994): 615 and 621.

³⁰ This method of using two distilling processes was clearly identified in an article entitled "The Properties of Kentucky Whisky," *The Louisville Commercial*, 30 March 1870.

³¹ "The Properties of Kentucky Whisky." *The Louisville Commercial*, 30 March 1870.

³² For a detailed discussion of early producers of Kentucky bourbon and its evolution, see Henry G. Crowgey, *Kentucky Bourbon: The Years of Whiskeymaking* (Lexington, 1971), p. 25 ff.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 120.

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Mississippi grew, so that by 1840 the use of the name bourbon to identify a distinctive Kentucky whiskey in the American market had been well established.

Original survey sheets of the U.S. Census of Manufactures for 1820 provide detailed returns by state and county from individual manufacturers. Ironically, no distilleries were enumerated for Bourbon and Woodford Counties. From other Kentucky counties, it appears that corn or corn and rye were the grains typically used; costs per gallon ranged from 5 cents to 50 cents (with the higher sum most frequent); and production time ranged generally from four to five months. Larger producers devoted six months to distilling and had as many as 5 stills and 90 or more tubs.

Dr. James C. Crow and Scientific Distilling.

To achieve a uniform and dependable bourbon whiskey, the imprecision of early production techniques was transformed between 1833 and 1855 by a Scotsman, James Christopher Crow, known as Dr. Crow. Crow became the master distiller for Oscar Pepper, Elijah's oldest son who took over the original distillery after his father's death in 1831. Crow's influence on the bourbon produced at the "Old Oscar Pepper Distillery," was significant in the history of bourbon production, because he instituted scientific methodology to perfect quality.

Crow was born on June 11, 1787, the son of William and Catherine Early Crow, at Dirleton, twenty miles east of Edinburgh. Newspaper reports of his time implied he had a medical degree from the medical school at the University of Edinburgh, but no records there have been found.³⁴ He came to the United States through Philadelphia and by 1823 was working in a small distillery of Col. Willis Field, Sr., State Representative from Woodford County. Here he began perfection of the process before he took over Pepper's distillery. Crow died on 20 April 1856, soon after leaving the Oscar Pepper Distillery. At the time of his death, the Oscar Pepper Distillery was the core of scientific distilling in Kentucky.

Soon after his death, Crow was recognized as integral to the development of the bourbon industry. The 1870 *Louisville Commercial* claimed that generations of master distillers associated with James Crow and those who followed in his footsteps used the "copper process," one in which the liquid from the sour mash was distilled from copper stills heated by fire and then redistilled in another copper still heated over a wood fire.³⁵ Published in 1894, the first comprehensive history of Kentucky whiskey described Crow as "the most famous of the old distillers." His whiskey was "a synonym for all that was best in Kentucky's favorite beverage,

³⁴ The earliest known published account about Crow in *The Woodford Weekly*, 1870, stated that "the renowned distiller of Woodford. . . had been a student of medicine and studied and was educated at one of the first medical schools in his native city, from which he graduated at an early age with honor." Newspaper articles from *The New York Times* (9 September 1897) and *St. Louis Republic* in 1897 state that he graduated from the Edinburgh, Scotland, College of Medicine and Surgery. According to Sam Thomas who researched Crow's life, Crow left no matriculation or graduation records at the medical school of the University of Edinburgh, but he became famous in his lifetime as Dr. Crow. Old Parochial Records in Edinburgh revealed his birth date as 11 June 1787.

³⁵ Affidavit of master distiller Van Johnson, dated 14 July 1904. Reprinted in *Spirits* (April 1935): 29.

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and he gave more attention to minutiae than was customary with his contemporaries."³⁶ *The New York Times* titled its September 1897 biographical sketch of Crow, "James Crow, Whisky Maker. The Man Who Reduced Distilling to a Science in Kentucky Back in the Thirties." The article stated that "to him, more than any other man is due the international reputation that Kentucky whiskey enjoys and the vast distilling interests of the country are largely the result of his discoveries." Shortly thereafter the *St. Louis Republic*, described Crow as "Kentucky's Great Original Scientist." In 1909, Col. Edmund H. Taylor, famed distiller of his day, stated that "I remember when James Crow, whom I knew. . . gave us the first practical use of the hydrometer, saccharometer, thermometer, etc., which inaugurated a new basis toward systematic procedure in the distillation of Kentucky whisky."³⁷ The brand name, "Old Crow," imparted to his traditional bourbon remains popular today.

Bourbon Production, 1850-1945

Examination of manufacturing data from the U.S. Census provides a brief outline of the importance of Kentucky's role in the United States' production of distilled alcohol from before the Civil War through the end of World War II. Unfortunately due to fluctuations from decade to decade in the data collected (such as methods for arriving at product values and for counting distillery establishments), some data is equivocal or missing. However, trends are visible over the decades from 1850 to 1910 (Prohibition eliminated statistics for 1920 and 1930), and brief descriptions of the liquor industry supply some historic context for the Census figures. Other published manufacturing reports combined with the census data help paint a national picture of the ebb and flow of distilling in the United States and clearly show that by 1900 the Kentucky production of bourbon out ranked all other nationally distilled alcoholic beverages of America.

In 1850 the Census table "Professions, Occupations and Trades of the Male Population" classify 49 distillers in Kentucky and 114,715 farmers (a manufacturers table has not been located). By the 1860 Census over 1200 distilled liquor manufacturers operated in Kentucky. This increase in the number of distillers over a decade appears to be the fact that on census surveys, farmers such as Elijah or Oscar Pepper considered their chief occupation farming, not distilling. Only professional distillers working in a large plant would have answered the survey as a distiller.

Starting with the Census of 1860 and continuing to 1910 the manufacture of *Liquor* is broken into six categories: bottled, distilled, malt, rectified, wine, cordials. National events such as the Civil War and the Temperance Movement played a role in the economics of distilleries. Obvious, however, is the consistent rise in the value of production at the U.S. level until 1900 and then a large increase in 1910. The marked increase of Kentucky's product between 1900 and 1910 shows bourbon's growing importance. The fluctuations in the number of distilleries reflects the gradual elimination of smaller plants and consolidation of others in larger more economic production processes. This was especially true for the distilled alcohol producers of Illinois and Indiana, whose product was not barreled. In Kentucky the smaller distilleries existed longer.

³⁶ W. E. Bradley, "Kentucky Whisky." *Fetter's Southern Magazine* 4 (1894): 626-627. Bradley, himself was a chemist and distiller, and a graduate of Yale University who resided in Frankfort.

³⁷ *Louisville Times*, 1909.

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CATEGORY	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
U.S. Distilleries	968	1,215	719	844	440	967*	?
U.S. Value	\$15.77 million	\$30.93 million	\$36.19 million	\$41.06 million	\$104.19 million	\$96.79 million	\$204.69 million
KY Distilleries	49 distillers 114,715 farmers	N/A	141	215 Jefferson 19 Woodford 6	126	177	206
KY Value	N/A	N/A	\$4.53 million	\$8.28 million	\$15.15 million	\$9.78 million	\$44.36 million
KY % US	N/A	N/A	13%	20%	15%	10%	22%

*Excluded were 646 small distilleries producing less than \$500 in value.

A comparison of census data between 1900 and 1910 that ranks the states in their production continually pits Illinois against Kentucky. In 1900 Illinois claimed to be the number one producer in the country of distilled spirits, with Kentucky the fourth.³⁸ This is established by comparing total production. However, when one compares proof gallons only (the product Kentucky is producing), Kentucky is higher than all other states by both volume and value. North Carolina had the highest number of establishments--250--but a lesser product value. These contextual statistics thus rank Kentucky as the first in the country. In 1910 the description of distilled spirits indicates that Kentucky has advanced to second place from fourth.³⁹ The value of production has increased nearly four times. By comparing the gallon production again between Illinois and Kentucky, Kentucky again ranks first.

STATE/YEAR ¹	1900 KENTUCKY	1900 ILLINOIS	1910 KENTUCKY	1910 ILLINOIS
Number of distilleries	177	20	206	9
Value of total production	\$9,786,527	\$38,208,076	\$44,360,000	\$55,200,000
Total gallons	21,709,873	32,508,435	N/A	N/A
Proof gallons	21,511,608	301,121	N/A	N/A

In the world market, the popularity and demand for Kentucky whiskey was also growing rapidly. By 1875 bourbon was described as "the national beverage of America" and being imported to foreign markets in Europe, Mexico, Cuba, and South America.⁴⁰ Twenty-five years later in 1900 the largest number of gallons of any liquor exported by the U.S. was bourbon--863,241 proof gallons.⁴¹ The export of rye by comparison during the same period was merely 91,721 gallons. By 1900 bourbon stood as a unique American distilled spirit that could be ranked first in the nation in both production and export. In 1964 bourbon was recognized "as a distinctive product

³⁸ This information is found in Table LXXVI of *Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900: Manufactures, Part I United States by Industries*, Vol. VII (Washington, D.C., 1902).

³⁹ *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910: Manufactures, 1909, Reports by States with Statistics for Principal Cities*, Vol. IX (Washington, D.C., 1912), p. 392.

⁴⁰ "The Whisky Trade of Frankfort and the Revenue from Kentucky Whisky." *The Tri-Weekly Yeoman* (Frankfort), 2 March 1875.

⁴¹ *Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900: Manufactures, Part III, Special Reports on Selected Industries*, Vol. IX, p. 617.

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of the United States” by the U. S. Congress.⁴² Production of bourbon in nine states beside Kentucky was identified in 1983.⁴³ Kentucky, however, is the only state name that can be used on a product label. Today, 98% of all bourbon is made in Kentucky by at least 15 functioning distilleries. In the landscape, however, 50 distilleries have been documented and at least 25 or more distillery sites or allied buildings remain standing as relics of the farm-distilleries that grew into larger businesses.⁴⁴

The Pepper Family Distillery, 1812-1838

Born about 1775 in Fauquier, Virginia, Elijah Pepper followed his family to Kentucky in 1797. He first established a distillery with his brother-in-law at the Big Spring behind the Woodford County Courthouse in Versailles.⁴⁵ Bourbon County tax records and the census of 1810 show that he moved there for a three year period before returning to Woodford County. Elijah and his wife Sarah were between the ages 26 and 45 in 1810, and they had seven children (four boys) and nine black slaves. By 1812 Elijah was paying tax on 200 acres of property along Glenn's Creek where he established his grist mill and distillery. Clear title to the property was not established until 1821 and the deed recorded the following year.⁴⁶ He selected the Grassy Springs Branch of the Creek for its waterway through limestone cliffs and three springs that bubbled out of the banks of the creek. Census records of 1820 confirm that the Pepper family are living in Woodford County and both are over 45 years old. Their family has not grown but their slave holdings have increased to 12. Five members of the household are involved with agriculture.

Ten years later the 1830 census confirms the success of Pepper's farmstead by the documentation of 13 male and 12 female slaves. Before March 20, 1831 Elijah Pepper died. The extent of his agricultural and distilling business is clarified by his inventory that lists hemp on hand and 8 acres ready to break, flax and flax seed, wheat, rye, 41 barrels of whiskey (1560 gallons), 6 stills, 74 mash tubs, kegs, stands, 22 horses, 113 hogs, 95 sheep, 30 lambs, and over 30 different types of cattle. Farming and timbering equipment is numerous. Household possessions include carpeting, silver, and furnishings that show wealth. No details of the interior of the house or out buildings are provided. The list of possessions sold show that his wife Sarah purchased much

⁴² Gilman G. Udell, *Liquor Laws* (Washington, D.C., 1978).

⁴³ Mary Goodbody, "The American Spirit," *The Cook's Magazine* (September/October 1983): 51. The states listed were: Virginia, Illinois, Indiana, Georgia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Mississippi, Missouri, and California.

⁴⁴ In addition to Labrot & Graham and Maker's Mark, the other distilleries are: Buffalo Trace (Ancient Age), Frankfort; Barton, Bardstown; Boulevard, Anderson Co.; Brown-Forman, Louisville; Charles Medley, Daviess Co.; Cummins Collins, Larue Co.; Early Times, Louisville; Four Roses, Lawrenceburg; Glenmore, Daviess Co.; Heaven Hill, Bardstown; Jim Beam, Clermont, Loretto, Marion Co.; United Distillers, Louisville; Wild Turkey, Lawrenceburg.

⁴⁵ Elijah Pepper's grandson, James E. Pepper, would advertise in *The Wine and Spirit Bulletin* in 1891 that his old "Pepper" Whisky was made from the same formula used for over 100 years by three generations of the Pepper family.

⁴⁶ Woodford County Deed Book I, p. 138 showing title of land for 350 acres from a John Johnson via Edmond Scearce described on May 12, 1821 and recorded February 25, 1822.

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farm and distillery equipment, including "stills and tubs etc. in still house."⁴⁷ Since Sarah inherited the property, she presumably continued the business with the help of her eldest son Oscar, who eventually took it over.

The only information known about the first distillery stems from a report of 1901 by Daniel Bowmar, *Woodford Sun* editor, who reported that a visit to the site that year identified only oak posts and stone remains.⁴⁸ The location as reported by a later historian was "a short distance" above the then current Labrot & Graham Distillery.⁴⁹ This information is consistent with land divisions maps of 1869 and 1872 that identify the grist mill high up stream and on the east side.⁵⁰ The earliest distillery was in the same area and apparently built of logs. Log construction would have been consistent with that used for the Pepper homestead.

The one architectural contribution from Elijah Pepper's ownership of the 350 acre site between 1812 and 1831 that remains is his former residence on the hillside of the Grassy Springs Branch of Glenn's Creek overlooking the current distillery. The two-story log house with a massive exterior limestone chimney was enlarged by a second generation of the Pepper family and subsequent homeowners who were distillers or part owner's of the distillery.

During Daniel Bowmar's site visit in 1901, he found the log dwelling house "well preserved and still an attractive home." In 1920, W. E. Railey wrote in an historical overview of Woodford County published in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*:

Elijah Pepper erected on his farm on Glenn's Creek a comfortable log house on the elevated slope above the creek that faces the Versailles and Frankfort road. The residence is still standing but in recent years has been weatherboarded.⁵¹

Elijah Pepper's log dwelling has been lived in since 1812 and expanded and altered as any farmstead would be treated to accommodate new families, different living patterns, developing technologies, and modern society. But the exterior structural elements of the building from the unaltered trees in the basement to the attic rafters are nearly fully intact, with the exception of doors, windows, and a wall section. Cladding has taken place periodically with differing materials over the years, still hiding original fabric. While other log structures in Kentucky and the United States may have higher integrity because of less change, the significance of this building is its continuous use and retention in association with the farm-distillery site. Furthermore, it exhibits early settlers' use of vernacular building materials and the propensity for timber construction in rural areas at the beginning of the 19th century. Of the three log structures

⁴⁷Woodford County Will Book I, p. 24, 32, 34, 296.

⁴⁸"Early Times In Woodford County," *The Woodford Sun*, 15 July 1943. The oldest site is just north of the present distillery building.

⁴⁹ W. E. Railey, "Woodford County," *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* 18 (May 1920): 82-83. This account was reiterated in W. E. Railey, *History of Woodford County* (Frankfort, 1938), pp. 41-42.

⁵⁰ Property division plat, dated August 1869, recorded in Woodford County Will Book T, p. 541. Property division plat, dated October 29, 1872, recorded in Woodford County Deed Book U, p. 579.

⁵¹ Railey, "Woodford County," p. 82.

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built and used by Elijah Pepper at the site, it is the only one that has survived into the 21st century. For its association with the founder of the farm-distillery and ownership and use by distillers of the Labrot & Graham Distillery, the building is significant.

Oscar Pepper's Distillery, 1838-1878

Oscar Neville Pepper (1809-1865) became manager of the distillery after his father's death in 1831, but still considers himself a farmer according to census records of 1840. He was married by 1845 and presumably took over the Pepper residence by this time. Deeds and wills show that by 1851 he had acquired his siblings' shares of the division of his mother's land after her death.⁵² During Oscar's tenure of the plantation, a major addition was put on the dwelling house and the log structures of his father's milling and distillery business were replaced by stone buildings. These were formative years for the advancement of the Pepper whiskey business as the Oscar Pepper Distillery. Oscar engaged James Crow as his distillery master, and according to Oscar Pepper's deposition in a Woodford Circuit Court suit, Crow distilled for Pepper each season from 1833 until 1855, excepting 1837 and 1838. Annual production in 1855 was 80 barrels from which Crow retained compensation.⁵³ When Pepper died in June 1865, a newspaper advertisement for the administrator's sale noted his personal property included "a few barrels of very old Crow Whiskey, the last chance for a good drink."

The architectural changes to the Pepper farmstead and distillery under Oscar Pepper continued the use of timber in the dwelling house but added the new use of stone at the distillery site. The major addition to the residential property extended it westward toward the creek with a 30 foot deep one-story room built over a stone foundation. This supported a columned porch with a large staircase, and the full wing was topped by a gable roof. The character of the house today is defined by the open porch that looks out onto the creek valley and distillery below, but the staircase is now missing. Architecturally the integrity of this section is best quantified in the cellar, where entire tree trunks span the approximate 20 foot width of the building in a space that is nearly 30 feet deep. A second floor added to this section in the 1920s and other upgrades to the windows have hidden remaining historic fabric at the first floor level.

The expansion of the house is commensurate with the growth of Pepper's family and the improvements to the distilling business. Census records of 1850 identify Oscar again as a farmer and with a real estate value of \$3000. His wife Nannie, 23, two children under two, a farmer, and a stone mason from Ireland, Thomas Mayhall, age 28, live in his home. The presence of the stone mason identifies that construction work was underway, either at the residence or distillery.

⁵² Elijah's will deeded the property to Sarah Pepper for distribution to her children after her death. Distributions from Oscar's siblings occur in two identified deeds, Woodford County Deed Book U, pp. 747-48 and Deed Book Y, pp. 477-78.

⁵³ According to court records, Crow received as compensation one-eighth "their production with the stipulation that Crow had to remove his part at the end of each year," because Pepper did not have room to store it. Crow had little trouble selling his part, even before it had been aged, and in fact he had orders for it in advance. Their overall annual production was, at least as noted in 1855, 80 barrels. Dr. Crow's remuneration was therefore from the sale of his 10 barrels.

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Labrot & Graham's centennial celebration in 1938 establishes the date of 1838 as the founding of the Oscar Pepper Distillery. This implies that some significant change in the status of the site had occurred that year. James Crow had been manning the stills since 1833, but was not working for Pepper in 1837 and 1838. Could it be because new construction of the distillery prevented him from tending to his labors? Regardless, the conversion to stone construction and the relocation of the distillery to the west side of the stream occurred under Oscar's ownership by 1838. This commenced a stone building tradition at the distillery that expanded until 1918 and was reintroduced in a restoration phase after Repeal of Prohibition. The stone construction has become a hallmark of the site.

Limestone has been used in Kentucky as a building material since pioneers first abandoned their forts and stations in the late 1780s. But working with stone takes skilled craftsmen who know their trade, rather than a frontiersman who merely wields an ax. The limestone hillsides of Woodford County served multiple purposes as farmer-distillers developed their businesses. Corn grown on fields supported by limestone bedrock, and the waters of limestone-filtered springs, all added together to produce whiskey with a flavoring all its own. When quarried and shaped, the stone served as building blocks. Fired limestone could be ground and slaked for mortar or turned back into the fields for fertilizer.

The 1838 Oscar Pepper stone distillery building today is at the core of the distillery structure. Use of masonry to construct the still house may have been inspired by James Crow, Pepper's distiller, because of its permanence and fireproof qualities.⁵⁴ Knowledge of the original building in its purest form after construction can only be hypothesized. It is represented schematically on the land division records after Oscar's death in 1869. In 1883 it appears in the only early photograph of the distillery. The stone structure is a one-and-a-half story rectangle with an asymmetrical gable roof about 60' by 75' in area. A tall brick smoke stack and other smaller wood and stone structures adjoin it. The roof configuration and segmentally arched window openings are attributes of the structure that enable one to trace its evolution through different building campaigns and complete integration into the final distillery complex of the 1940s. The basic scale and mass, as well as window construction established design features eventually integrated into stone warehouses that are unique to the distillery.

Under Oscar Pepper's ownership the farm and distillery flourished and his family increased to seven children. The 1860 census shows his real estate valued at \$31,600 and his personal property at \$36,000. His acquisition of land from his siblings after his mother's death in 1851 explains the real estate increase. His listed occupation as a farmer shows that the distillery business was not his primary income. Indeed by the time of his death in June 1865, his farmstead was assisted by eleven female slaves and twelve male slaves who would have tended the crops

⁵⁴ Carolyn Murray Wooley, "Kentucky's early stone houses," *Antiques* 55 (March 1974): 599. A photograph is included. Prior to joining Pepper, Crow had been employed at the Stege's Glen Spring Distilling Company several miles down Glenn's Creek where the buildings were made of stone. This site was the former home and mill of Cyrus McCracken, who arrived from Pennsylvania in 1775 where stone construction was frequent. He built a two-room stone house and then added a mill in 1789. McCracken Mill Pike where Labrot & Graham is located is named for this mill. After McCracken's death the mill was converted into the superintendent's dwelling for Stege's Distillery. A stone building associated with the distillery remains extant today and has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

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and cattle listed in his household inventory totaling nearly \$22,000.⁵⁵ The 400 barrels of corn, 400 bushels of rye, 40 bushels of barley malt and 30 bushels of barley all testify to bourbon production, as does a copper still and boiler. The alcohol inventory lists 120 gallons of whisky using a 40 and 80 cent-per-gallon price. But animal husbandry was clearly another venture. The farm supported 21 horses and mares, 7 mules, 25 milk cows, 30 yearlings and steers, 56 sheep and over 100 hogs. The household was equally rich with a piano, a "refrigerator," and law books.

Oscar died without a will but left his wife with seven children and the farm and distillery business. Court settlement of Oscar's estate in 1869 divided his property holdings of 829 acres into seven unequal lots for his seven children.⁵⁶ P. O'Bannon Pepper was only seven years old, automatically placing him under the guardianship of his mother, Nannie (1827-99). O'Bannon inherited the 160 acres containing the distillery, grist mill, and dwelling house, which carefully placed all the financially productive property in the hands of Mrs. Pepper. The division map of Oscar's property provides the earliest complete map of the site, identifying the dwelling house, grist mill, distillery, and the springs (see MAP 2).

Old Crow Distillery, 1870-1878

As guardian of O'Bannon's inheritance, Nannie Pepper immediately leased the distillery to Gaines, Berry & Co. of Frankfort.⁵⁷ The trio of investors was William A. Gaines, Hiram Berry, and Edmond H. Taylor. As of January 1, 1870, for the first time the Pepper Distillery was functioning as a bourbon producing enterprise outside the Pepper family. James Pepper, however, at the age of 20, is listed as manager of the distillery in the 1870 census. The lease agreement provides new knowledge about the distillery not gained from the 1869 map. It describes the property as containing "The Distillery and all the fixtures belonging thereto, together with the mill, Distillers House [probably James Crow's former home], and two stone warehouses."⁵⁸ The two-year agreement included use of "the hog pen which is enclosed by fence immediately in the rear of the stone warehouse next and nearest to the distillery."⁵⁹ The stone construction of these two early distillery warehouses set a precedent for later warehouse construction at the site.⁶⁰ Precisely when they were built has not been determined. If they were part of Oscar's property, it appears they would have been identified on the plat division of 1869 or with other inventory documentation. The one hypothesis that can be drawn is that they were built under Nannie Pepper between 1865 and 1870 in preparation for her lease of the distillery to a separate distiller. Regardless, the two stone buildings complemented the stone distillery and were located upstream to the north and west. An 1883 photograph illustrates that these early

⁵⁵ Woodford County Will Book S, Appraisement inventory, June 19, 1865, pp. 359-62.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 541.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ The earliest extant stone warehouse in Kentucky was erected by Jacob Spears about 1790 (or perhaps as late as 1836-1838) at his distillery north of Paris, in Bourbon County, Kentucky. His two-story, three-bay, stone structure (BB-308) was almost residential in appearance. See Langsam and Johnson, *Historic Architecture of Bourbon County, Kentucky* (Georgetown, 1985), 38-39.

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warehouses were two different shapes. One was two stories and had a shed roof. The other had a low pitched gable roof over only one-and-a-half stories of height. A gable-roofed pent house pierces the central ridge line and provided ventilation as well as housing for the barrel lift. These buildings became known as Warehouses A and B after additional ones were added. Each served as a "bonded" warehouse in a different proportion. No remnants of Warehouses A or B remain at the site today, though when they had to be demolished after Prohibition some stone was reused. The site became the location of the bottling house, since demolished. The gable roofed bottling house served as the prototype for the extant Warehouses C and D, built between 1890 and 1895.

During the 1870s Gaines, Berry & Co. began to produce "Old Crow Whiskey" and the distillery also became known as the Old Crow Distillery. W. H. Gaines lived nearby on the Grassy Springs Road but other partners were Frankfort residents. According to an early Kentucky History, "Gaines, Berry & Co. determined to keep alive the brand, and to make their whiskey in precisely the same manner as Crow had made his. To that end they leased the old distillery where Crow had distilled during his lifetime and employed as their distiller one [W.F.] Mitchell who had learned the art under Crow and to whom Crow had imparted his method."⁶¹

In the October Term Circuit Court of 1872, James Edwards Pepper (ca. 1851-1906), brought a suit against his mother, Nannie Pepper for his sixth share of the distillery site that had been allocated to his brother O'Bannon in 1869. James won the suit and received 33 acres on both sides of the creek that included sites labeled on a land division map as "Old Crow Distillery, Mill, Old Crow House," and two springs on the east side of the creek⁶² Two years later, James Pepper and Edmund H. Taylor, Jr., who had withdrawn from Gaines, Berry & Co. in 1870, entered into an agreement whereby Taylor would make substantial improvements to the distillery and was to be reimbursed one half the net earnings plus an additional amount for his investment. Taylor expended \$25,000 on the property. Pepper eventually went bankrupt and forfeited the distillery to Taylor.⁶³

Taylor's bourbon produced at the former Pepper distillery and more readily referred to as the "Old Crow Distillery," was popular and highly prized for its barreling technique. It was during this decade of the 1870s, that the largest bourbon production in the state was emanating from Woodford County, in or just south of Frankfort, the state capital. In its March 2, 1875 issue Frankfort's *Tri-Weekly Yeoman* reported that "Shipments of whisky to Europe, Mexico, Cuba, and South America are often made direct from this city via New York generally, but sometimes by way of New Orleans. The costly fluid, now known the world over 'as the national beverage of

⁶¹ E. Polk Johnson, *A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians* (Chicago, 1912), 3:1513-1515.

⁶² Woodford County Will Book U, p. 579.

⁶³ James E. Pepper built the Henry Clay Distillery on the Old Frankfort Pike in Lexington in 1880. The plant was purchased by Schenley Products Company in 1933, but it was leveled, except for a still house under construction, following a fire a year later. Rebuilt, the distillery closed in 1971. No records can be found in Fauquier County, Virginia, where Elijah Pepper was born and lived until 1797, to substantiate his grandson's claim. Gerald Carson has confused the issue even further by stating in his *The Social History of Bourbon* (New ark, 1963) that Elijah established his distillery on the Frankfort Pike in Lexington in 1780.

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America,' is put up in the stoutest of white oak barrels with a view to standing travel, and especially the jolts and jars of frequent trans-shipments and ocean voyaging. The house of E. H. Taylor, Jr., it is generally understood, furnishes the model whisky barrel of the world." But Taylor had a variety of whiskey enterprises, and economic failure occurred in 1877. A large creditor, Gregory, Stagg & Co. of St. Louis, bailed him out, causing Taylor's distillery properties to be deeded to George L. Stagg.⁶⁴ In 1878, Stagg deeded the 33 acres of the Pepper distillery to James H. Graham, beginning the Labrot & Graham tenure of the distillery for a 62-year duration, the longest any owner has held the site.

Labrot & Graham's "Old Oscar Pepper Distillery," 1878-1940

The Labrot & Graham partnership established a new name for a bourbon whiskey produced in a historically established distillery. The partnership created a family-oriented business with local ties to the area and a background in alcohol production. The continuation of the business under the name Labrot & Graham regardless of changes within the partnership, has over-time established the integrity and tradition of the distillery and been cause for its success despite the hiatus of Prohibition. This commitment to the name and the retention of a small industry in a rural setting by reusing the historic architecture for new production techniques has helped keep the Labrot & Graham distillery site viable into the 21st century. It has also established a continuum of use from the founding farm-distillery of 1812 to the present.

The name Labrot & Graham stems from the partnership that was established. James Hiram Graham (1842-1912) of Irish descent was born in Louisville, the son of a successful carpenter, builder, and saw mill owner, William Graham, and Esther Christopher Graham.⁶⁵ Before he purchased the distillery, he was in the transfer business. Half interest on the property was immediately sold to Leopold Labrot, a French wine producer who immigrated to America about 1870. His background as a vintner brought him first to the workforce in the Frankfort Hermitage Distillery and later to Cincinnati, where he worked in the wholesale liquor business with an uncle.

While documentation of the changes and improvements made by Edmund Taylor and James Pepper have never been concretely substantiated, the architectural development of the distillery under Labrot & Graham can be more easily traced through photography and Sanborn insurance maps of industrial sites. In February 1883, the earliest extant photographs of the distillery site and workmen were made by J. K. Hamilton of Frankfort (see Photo No. 1). This overall view of the distillery looking north, identifies the main architectural forms as simple shed or gable roof

⁶⁴George L. Stagg Company vs. E. H. Taylor, Jr., & Sons, *Kentucky Reports* 94 (Frankfort, January Term, 94), p. 659. These included his O. F. C. Distillery and its companion Carlisle Distillery that Taylor had acquired less than a decade before. They were arranged adjacent to one another along the Kentucky River in Frankfort. That complex evolved into Ancient Age Distillery, now known as Buffalo Trace (FR-218), a significant site diverse in make and style with all attributes of a distillery that has functioned consistently, even through Prohibition.

⁶⁵His grandfather, Andrew Graham, Sr., had died on his way to Louisville, having emigrated from Tyrone County, Ireland, with his family. His uncle, Andrew Graham, Jr., became a leading Louisville tobacco merchant, and Andrew's daughter (James H. Graham's first cousin) married Louisville whiskey merchant J. T. S. Brown, Jr., half-brother of George Garvin Brown. The Browns were initially partners in 1870, but soon went separate ways. George Garvin Brown would later form a partnership with George Forman, which is now the Brown-Forman Corporation.

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construction, at least five of them of stone: the corn house to the left, the Warehouses B (shed roof) and A (gable roof), the distillery house with the chimney and the Cistern Room, a small tall structure at the corner of the distillery. The utilitarian forms are linked by a ramped trestle system for hand cart transport of the corn from the long shed on the hillside to the corn sheller for processing and distribution to the mash tubs. The large shed with wooden plank siding was apparently the cattle barn. Feeding cattle from the spent stillage (by-product from fermented mash) was a standard practice at distilleries of the time. Of all these structures, the gable roof Warehouse A became the pattern followed in later construction. The distillery retained its original shape but became surrounded by new walls.

By 1886 the earliest Sanborn Insurance Map classifies Labrot & Graham as the "Old Oscar Pepper Distillery" Registered Distillery No. 52 and identifies the important characteristics and capacities of the buildings as well as confirming the picture (MAP 4). Expansion of the distillery took place between 1894 and 1896 through the construction of Bonded Warehouse C and D, patterned after the earlier warehouse A.

These linked, massive, three-and-a-half-story limestone warehouses with characteristic pent houses characterize the Labrot & Graham Distillery today for their uniqueness in masonry warehouse construction. Most other warehouses of the time used timber framing and metal siding--a fireproof system more quickly and easily built. Such extensive use of stone construction at one distillery is rare. Only a few stone structures associated with distilleries now exist and none except those at Labrot & Graham Distillery are actively in use as warehouses in Kentucky or elsewhere.⁶⁶ A large, two-story, stone warehouse with a low gable roof; constructed after the Civil War, is used as a barn at the site of the original Early Times Distillery (NE-405) near Early Times in Nelson County, Kentucky.⁶⁷

As an architectural type, distillery warehouses around the world feature specific attributes: gable roofs, regularly placed windows for ventilation; metal bars and metal or metal-clad wood shutters at each window for security; entrance doors at each end for barrel access; interior ricks (patent racks) designed in tiers at each floor level to hold barrels easily and allow them to be turned or shifted; a raised housing above the roof ridge that serves for ventilation and barrel lifts mechanics. Maintaining these attributes in new stone warehouses that replicated a pre-existing structure provides a design continuity to the site for which credit must go to Labrot & Graham.

During the 1870s when ownership of the distillery was changing hands, the Pepper residence also shifted owners. Nannie Pepper had continued to live in the house with her unmarried children, but in 1873 her son P. O'Bannon died at the age of 10. He held the 126 acres east of the distillery with the Pepper home. This tract adjoined Oscar Neville Pepper's inherited land. Presumably due to the proximity of these properties, Oscar Neville acquired his brother's 126 acres with the

⁶⁶Sam Thomas interview with David Hall of Bardstown, Kentucky. Hall is actively preparing a survey of distilling facilities in Kentucky under a program jointly sponsored by the Kentucky Distillers Association and the Kentucky Heritage Council. J. Daniel Pezzoni's "An Evaluation of Kentucky's Historic Distilleries," January 2000, Kentucky Heritage Council, further confirms this.

⁶⁷Surveyed for the Distillery Survey and National Register Nomination Project, NE 405. Also pictured in Harry Harrison Kroll's *Bluegrass, Belles, and Bourbon* (New York, 1967), p. 103.

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dwelling house. He then sold the same property to a Fantley Johnson in 1882.⁶⁸ In 1884 Johnson sold the dwelling house and 75 acres to Alice and James Goins.⁶⁹ Mr. Goins was head distiller at Labrot & Graham's Distillery. He could watch the site from his front porch as Oscar and James had done or walk down the hill and the limestone steps and across the creek directly to the distillery house. The Goins family owned the Pepper dwelling until 1906 and raised twelve children in the building. They were presumably responsible for adding the two-room east wing over a crawl space and a side porch on the south facade. A photo of the Goins family in front of the south facade in 1895 provides the earliest extant photo of the building (see Illustration 1). Though small, the Goins architectural contribution to the building is represented through the stylized machine milled interior wood trim found in the east wing and a typical Victorian-era tiled fireplace and metal firebox. On the south side porch, posts, bracket work, and lattice add 19th-century design aesthetics to the earlier log home.

The substantive architectural improvement made to the Old Oscar Pepper Distillery of Labrot & Graham between 1895 and Prohibition was demolition of the corn house and construction of a storage shed on the creek side of Warehouses C and D. This eliminated the trestle through the property and made room for installation of a railroad switch for shipping corn in and barrels out. At the same time the cattle slop trough was appropriately regulated. The Kentucky Highlands Railroad had arrived to Labrot & Graham by 1911, both to bring grain to the site and to remove bourbon to market. The railroad spur is clear evidence of the increased production at local distilleries brought on by bourbon's early twentieth century popularity. However, the railroad did not have a significant impact on the means of production at the facility prior to its abandonment after Prohibition in 1920.

Partnership and personnel changes were more numerous. In 1899, Graham retired, selling his half interest to Labrot. J. M. Vanderveer took over for Graham but the proprietorship remained Labrot & Graham. The facility continued to be known as the Old Oscar Pepper Distillery, but James Pepper, who had set up his own distillery in Lexington, sued Labrot & Graham for the use of the name "Old Pepper Whiskey."⁷⁰ In 1911 Leopold Labrot died, leaving proprietorship in the hands of his son-in-law, Richard A. Baker.

A change in ownership of the Pepper residence occurred in 1906 when it was purchased by new owners, Richard and Mamie Hawkins who apparently had no association with the distillery. They continued to cultivate the land for tobacco and corn and had an orchard. These owners may have added the second floor addition on the west wing of the house overlooking the creek. In 1918 the Hawkins sold the dwelling and land to Richard and Irma Baker and Gene and Mildred Wilson. The Pepper residence was then partially owned by one of the distillery owners. After the Bakers died, the house remained in the Wilson family until 1977.

Prohibition (1920-1933) and Repeal

⁶⁸ Woodford County Deed Book 5, p. 474.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

⁷⁰ James E. Pepper against Labrot & Graham. Opinion by Justice Matthews, United States Circuit Court for the Sixth Circuit and District of Kentucky, October 23, 1880.

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The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified on January 29, 1919 instituting Prohibition that eliminated the production, sale, or transport of alcohol. Enforcement by the Volstead Act of 1920 caused the Labrot & Graham Distillery to close its doors until Repeal through ratification of the 21st Amendment in December 1933. Thirteen years passed, and during this period the distillery was vacant and unused. Goods or materials were sold for salvage and many buildings were left damaged and roofless.

Richard and Irma Baker and Claude V. Bixler, a new managing partner, incorporated Labrot & Graham in August 1933 and began the process of rebuilding its architecture (see Photos No. 3-9).⁷¹ The significance of this task and the way it was accomplished contributes to the national status of this distillery over others that were rebuilt. Labrot & Graham took particular care to renovate and construct in a compatible manner. They reused stone from old warehouse ruins for additions to the distillery building and for the foundations of new masonry warehouses. The overall plan for expanding and rebuilding the distillery after 1934 is a fine example of quality industrial design that incorporated pre-existing buildings and materials and new construction materials in keeping with current labor costs and skills. The topography of the land and the needs of the industry were coordinated to produce a labor-saving and economic plant. Just as corn and the other grains had been transported down from a hillside storage shed over an elevated trestle, so the new warehouses were situated along the gentle decline of a long barrel run.

The Labrot & Graham barrel run is over 500 feet long and consists of two parallel rails spaced with the necessary width to allow barrels to move along the run without a worker to keep them in place. Its complexity, along with safety and insurance requirements, helped determine where new buildings would be constructed. The barrel run became an extensive, timesaving connector system from the Cistern Room, where barrels are first filled with spirits, to all the storage warehouses, including the re-cooper shop. The two-rail system enabled two men to handle a great number of filled bourbon barrels and quickly move them from one location to another without loading and unloading from a truck or other wheeled conveyance. The Labrot & Graham barrel run is an exceptional conveyance system when compared to the average barrel run at other distilleries.

In addition to the barrel run, the most significant addition to the rebuilt Labrot & Graham Distillery after Prohibition were the three glazed terra cotta tile warehouses E, F, and H added between 1934 and 1940. In comparison with other distilleries, most warehousing built after Repeal was wood-framed and clad in corrugated metal. The Labrot & Graham warehouses present a quality, durable material that compliments the historic limestone buildings in shape and color. These structures are all four-and-a-half stories tall but of varying lengths, constructed on raised limestone foundations and designed with heating systems for controlled aging. They emulate the construction type and shape of the limestone warehouses but are larger in every

⁷¹ A 1931 *Woodford Sun* article revealed that "the tall brick smokestack . . . was demolished by dynamite. . . Only the foundation of the distillery remains." The editor's account continued: "Two stone warehouses in which whiskey was formerly stored in bond, known as Warehouses A and B, have been razed and the material utilized for building stone or ground for fertilizing purposes." A series of photographs by C. Bixler confirms that the smokestack and part of the old boiler room had been destroyed. However, the walls of the distillery were still intact, although everything inside had been removed. Warehouse A had indeed been razed, but the walls of B could be seen in partial ruin.

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dimension. The use of terra cotta structural units represents a popular and simple construction medium for fireproof structures that was employed throughout the country during this time. The careful placement of these warehouses along the stream bank in conjunction with the barrel run was calculated to expand storage capacity. The terra cotta tiles were additionally used for other small, functional buildings that can now easily be identified as post-Repeal structures.

A building of purely functional architectural design and associated with a more advanced distillery process was introduced to the site in 1934. This is the Slop Dryer House which replaced the open cattle feed station and incorporated a process that allowed the stillage or "spent beer" to be piped in, dried out, and then recycled as cattle feed. The frame structure that incorporated the various stages of this process is covered with corrugated metal. The rectangular, five-section facade is noteworthy for its totally asymmetrical roof line and heights, vents, chimneys and window and door openings. The building is a classic industrial structure representing the concept of "form follows function."

The addition of a new Cistern Room in 1934 of limestone construction repeated the original masonry materials in a square shape with a pyramidal standing seam metal roof. Stone probably came from an earlier bottling house that was demolished. Because the building held whiskey that was piped in from the distillery building, security bars and shutters are part of the architectural form.

Two buildings that were adapted for new use and treated in a Colonial Revival mode by a prominent Lexington architect, Warfield Gratz, were the 1883 Scale House that was converted to the Company Office and the old Cistern Room of 1885 that became the Government Office. The conversion of both of these buildings for office use in 1934 incorporated sensitivity to window, door, and cornice detailing on the outside and added functional bathrooms and wall divisions. In the case of the Scale House, a new brick wing to match the old was added. The original porch was retained and earlier changes to the building were well documented. Both buildings stand as early examples of building preservation and sensitive adaptive use.

The 1838 distillery house built by Oscar Pepper went through its greatest conversion during the 1934 reconstruction. Changes were made to house new equipment, such as the tall column still for increased production, and to modernize and incorporate some corn storage and the milling process in the building. Corn was no longer brought and stored by farmers in a corn house for later use. Corn now arrived by truck from distant farms. To accommodate needs for height, different super-structure units of varying levels and roof styles were added behind the walls of the old distillery. These now stand above the roofline of the early distillery structure. They are clad in corrugated metal and standing seam metal roofs and integrate the upper stories. A new two-story stone wing attached to the west facade of the original distillery walls expanded internal space. The same segmental window patterns and detailing were used throughout to blend the old and new. The largest and most formidable addition consisted of three one-hundred-foot-tall cast iron smoke stacks replacing the former brick chimney. Today these stacks have become symbolic of the site. On the whole, the reconstruction of the distillery to meet new needs and expanded production in 1934 was completed with every effort to retain the early appearance and materials of the past with preservation treatment and sympathetic additions. New buildings on the whole employed permanent contemporary masonry materials, expanding the architectural scale of the structures but maintaining the critical design issues for barrel warehouse buildings.

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Brown-Forman Distillers Corporation, 1940-1973

Despite Labrot & Graham's reconstruction, expansion, production, and storage of 25,673 barrels of whiskey in the warehouses by 1940, the ownership of the distillery changed hands. On July 18, 1940, *The Woodford Sun* announced the distillery's purchase by Brown-Forman Distillers Corporation, known for their brands of Old Forester and Early Times. Their purchase price for the entire plant was \$75,000.

While Brown-Forman took over production and storage, concerns for mounting war efforts on the European front fostered a need for accelerated production in apprehension of war. The new site manager found insufficient supplies of water to service high production volume intended for defense purposes. The solution was to impound the creek with a concrete dam and spillway at a pre-existing railroad crossing. The work accomplished by Brown-Forman personnel created a poured concrete dam and spillway with an iron walkway. The result was a 2.75 acre pond between the banks of the creek. This water not only supplied the distillery with a constant supply for a longer annual production run but was a ready reserve for fire fighting purposes. The pond established a reflective backdrop for the distillery architecture and creates a scenic and permanent focus in the landscape.

An addition to the distillery house and one small new building completed Brown-Forman's expansion of the plant by the end of 1945 and the war years. An extension to the distillery added a three-bay facade on the south side of the building to incorporate a fermenting room in 1942. Limestone and an extended standing seam metal roof were again the chosen materials to integrate the whole. A final touch was incorporating the existing inscribed mill stone over the new doorway to mark the Labrot & Graham centennial in a prominent location. At the same time, to house fire equipment storage, a small, one-story six-sided limestone building with segmentally arched window and door openings was built next to the Cistern Room. This is a new shape for the site, but it blends easily with the older construction and provides geometric interest.

The close of the war brought an end to Brown-Forman's initial control of the distillery and created a coda to the sixty-two years that Labrot & Graham ran the plant. After 1945, Brown-Forman took up normal whiskey production and continued aging and storage, but curtailed the bottling plant at the site initiated in 1934 by Labrot & Graham. A decline in the bourbon market in the 1950s caused termination of production in 1957. By 1965 storage was discontinued as well. The plant was closed down and Brown-Forman conveyed the property in 1973 to Freeman Hockensmith, a local farmer who used the complex for agricultural storage and a brief attempt to produce fuel alcohol.

Brown-Forman Returns

In the early 1990s, as demand for bourbon began to show signs of a resurgence, Brown-Forman became interested in producing a premium bourbon using traditional methods. They commissioned a study of possible sites in Kentucky to establish such a facility. Their old Labrot & Graham Distillery was recommended. Late in 1994 Brown-Forman repurchased the property from Mary Ann Hockensmith. Their goal was to completely rehabilitate the facility with exterior restoration to its 1945 appearance. Interior changes for production of premium bourbon using the original copper still process would be introduced to retain the original integrity to the highest

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extent. A new Visitors Center would be incorporated at the site for heritage tourism purposes. After a cost of \$7.4 million dollars, on October 17, 1996 the distillery was dedicated and opened for public tours. Promoted are heritage bourbon production and the preservation of Kentucky's only distillery where expansion from a farm-distillery to a reconstructed post-Prohibition plant of 1945 vintage can be seen. In 1997 the 42+ acre site was newly expanded by purchase of 30+ acres of Elijah Pepper's original farmstead with the springs and original dwelling house on the hill to the east. This inclusion enables the entire history of the property to be told from the Pepper's 1812 farm distilling enterprise to the present.

Summary

Since 1812, when Elijah Pepper selected the Grassy Spring branch of Glenn's Creek to establish his farm, grist mill, and distillery and erect his log house on the hill overlooking the creek, bourbon whiskey continues to be made in a time-honored manner. The proprietors and distillers who have used the natural and cultivated resources of the land to maintain the Pepper and Labrot & Graham tradition in this location were instrumental forces behind the industry for which Kentucky is known and celebrated around the world. Here, before the Civil War, the bourbon standard and process was perfected by James Crow in the stone still house currently in use. His accomplishments enabled Kentucky bourbon to become the nation's leading distilled alcohol product in production and export. Even as industrial changes have evolved, and some have been mandated by public policy, the Labrot & Graham Old Oscar Pepper complex has maintained a high degree of integrity and exhibits an architectural cohesiveness of industrial fabric from the formative years of bourbon production to the middle of the 20th century through keen sensitivity to siting and preservation of scale, massing, materials, and workmanship.

The Labrot & Graham Old Oscar Pepper Distillery site traces the story of bourbon distilling from the early history of American farmer-distillers through the transformation to a corporate industrial operation after the 1870s and the challenges of Prohibition and its repeal in the twentieth century. The structures explicitly identify the difference between the pre and post-Prohibition building materials and advances in American building technology while still retaining the traditional architectural forms necessary for the bourbon distilling process until the end of World War II. Simultaneously they provide an understanding of the economic evolution of the production of bourbon from a farm-distillery under the Peppers to a thriving turn-of-the-century private partnership under Labrot & Graham.

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

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Maps

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Kentucky State Archives and Records Center Kentucky Historical Society

Kentucky Heritage Council

Mason County Historical Society

The Filson Club Historical Society

Fauquier County Virginia Court Clerk's Office

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Fauquier County Virginia Historical Society

Brown-Forman Corporation

Woodford County Court Clerk's Office

Woodford County Historical Society

Louisville Free Public Library

Woodford County Library

Oscar Getz Museum of Whiskey History

University of Edinburgh

Lexington Public Library

Photographs

Cusick Collection, Kentucky Historical Society

Claude V. Bixler Collection and miscellaneous views of distillery, Brown-Forman Corporation

Sherman Dozier Collection, Versailles

Woodford County Historical Society, Versailles

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- Previously Listed in the National Register.
- Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
- Designated a National Historic Landmark.
- Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
- Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency
- Local Government
- University
- Other (Specify Repository): Brown-Forman Archives

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 72.21 acres

UTM References:	Point	Zone	Easting	Northing
	1.	16	692350	4220700
	2.	16	692190	4220700
	3.	16	692130	4220500
	4.	16	692190	4220480
	5.	16	692130	4220100
	6.	16	691960	4220200
	7.	16	691560	4220170
	8.	16	691490	4220500
	9.	16	692200	4220760

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundaries of this historic distillery district are the property holdings of the Brown-Forman Corporation in Woodford County on the Grassy Springs branch of Glenn's Creek that consist of two tracts of land as surveyed by J. B. Kiesel and Associates, Inc., Crestwood, Kentucky, August 6, 1977 and shown on the accompanying copy of the survey, job number 97036. The tracts are identified in Woodford County Deed Books 165, p. 321 and Book 178, p. 505. Their legal survey descriptions are as follows:

Woodford County Deed Books 165, p. 321, December 1994

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BEGINNING at a P. K. nail in the centerline of Kentucky Highway 1659 (McCrackin Pike) said monument being a common corner with Cynthia L. Gary, as recorded in Deed Book 118, Page 73, of the County Clerk's Office of Woodford County and being Tract One of the Minor Subdivision of the Dorsey Caudle property, as recorded in Plat Cabinet A, Slide 167; thence, leaving the common corner of Cynthia L. Gary and following the centerline of Kentucky Highway 1659 as follows: South 33 deg. 35 min. 25 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, South 30 deg. 38 min. 59 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, South 28 deg. 20 min. 32 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, south 36 deg. 51 min. 49 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K., nail; thence, South 56 deg. 45 min. 16 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P.K. nail; thence, south 79 deg. 58 min. 07 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, South 87 deg. 57 min. 33 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 89 deg. 18 min. 34 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 83 deg. 15 min. 08 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K, nail; thence, North 77 deg. 52 min. 19 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 75 deg. 34 min. 07 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K, nail; thence, North 75 deg. 14 min. 50 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 72 deg. 28 min. 49 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 52 deg. 31 min. 17 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 22 deg. 34 min. 02 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence North 13 deg. 18 min. 48 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 10 deg. 18 min. 11. sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 07 deg. 01 min. 06 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 03 deg. 41 min. 31 sec. east, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 01 deg. 53 min. 36 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K, nail; thence, North 03 deg. 53 min. 31 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 12 deg. 34 min. 32 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence North, 26 deg. 11 min. 34 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 40 deg. 11 min. 58 sec. East, 100.00 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 49 deg. 57 min. 55 sec. East, 100 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 54 deg. 16 min. 10 sec. East; 100 feet, to a P. K. nail; thence, North 58 deg. 46 min. 31 sec. East, 91.41 feet, to a P. K. nail being a common corner with William H. and Margaret C. Woolums as recorded in Deed Book 108, page 627; thence, leaving the centerline of Kentucky Highway 1659 and following the common line of William H. and Margaret C. Woolums as follows: South 75 deg. 52 min. 56 sec. East, 132.26 feet, to an existing iron pipe on the north side of Grassy Springs Creek; thence, South 43 deg. 00 min. 11 sec. West, 98.09 feet, to an iron rod set at a fence post on the north side of Grassy Springs Creek; thence, crossing Grassy springs Creek and following the fence line as follows: South 29 deg. 34 min. 33 sec. East, 94.00 feet, to an iron rod set at a 49 inch Sycamore tree; thence, south 06 deg. 30 min. 12 sec. West, 108.99 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 06 deg. 06 min. 05 sec. West, 293.30 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 04 deg. 24 min. 47 sec. West, 105.53 feet, to an iron rod set at a corner post; thence, South 10 deg. 53 min. 18 sec. East, 78.49 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 12 deg. 54 min. 47 sec. East, 254.75 feet, to an iron rod set at a metal fence post; thence, South 12 deg. 30 min. 03 sec. East, 170.40 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 00 deg. 28 min. 11 sec. West, 67.02 feet, to an iron rod set at a 36 inch Sycamore tree near a spring box; thence, South 07 deg. 11 min. 26 sec. East, 95.51 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 03 deg. 29 min. 42 sec. East, 108.80 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 04 deg. 45 min. 45 sec. 85.15 feet, to an iron rod set at a 12 inch Hackberry tree; thence, South 20 deg. 24 min. 22 sec. West, 48.35 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 15 deg. 51 min. 26 sec. West, 152.69 feet, to an iron rod being a common corner with Stephen J. and Penelope K. Pomeranz as recorded in Deed Book 159, Page 86; thence, leaving the common line of William H. and Margaret C. Woolums and following the common line of Stephen J. and Penelope K. Pomeranz as follows: South 16 deg. 44 min. 58 sec. West, 230.52 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 17 deg. 02 min. 25 sec. West, 130.45 feet, to an iron rod set at a corner post; thence, North 74 deg. 10

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min. 45 sec. West, 179.08 foot, to an iron rod set at a corner post; thence, North 34 deg. 24 min. 19 sec. West, 244.00 feet, to an iron rod set at a corner post; thence, South 82 deg. 19 min. 46 sec. West, 139.50 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 81 deg. 06 min. 27 sec. West, 107.62 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 86 deg. 01 min. 10 sec. West, 174.59 feet, to an iron rod set at a corner post; thence, North 68 deg. 12 min. 29 sec. West, 182.46 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 87 deg. 59 min. 05 sec. West, 51.22 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 85 deg. 16 min. 54 sec. West, 40.47 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 89 deg. 45 min. 57 sec. West, 102.53 feet, to an iron rod; thence South 85 deg. 47 min. 19 sec. West, 56.04 feet, to an iron rod; thence North 89 deg. 03 min. 53 sec. West, 27.55 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 81 deg. 16 min. 41 sec. West, 40.15 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 88 deg. 35 min. 45 sec. West, 99.78 feet, to an iron rod; thence, North 89 deg. 45 min. 09 sec. West, 43.95 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 86 deg. 21 min. 28 sec. West, 105.52 feet, to an iron rod set at a corner; thence, crossing an access road South 86 deg. 13 min. 42 sec. West, 40.30 feet, to an iron rod set at a corner post; thence, South 02 deg. 53 min. 00 sec. East, 123.56 feet, to an iron rod; thence, South 05 deg. 10 min. 23 sec. East, 84.09 feet to an iron rod being a common corner with Courtney Enterprises, Inc., as recorded in Deed Book 160, Page 242; thence, leaving the common line of Stephen J. and Penelope K. Pomeranz and following the common line of Courtney Enterprises, Inc. as follows: South 78 deg. 51 min. 35 sec. West, 41.69 feet, to an iron rod set in the east bank of Glenn's Creek and being a common corner with James R. Lodmell, as recorded in Deed Book 124, Page 306; thence, leaving the common line of Courtney Enterprises, Inc. and following the common line of James R. Lodmell following the east bank of Glenn's Creek as follows: North 10 deg. 02 min. 50 sec. West, 49.79 feet, to an iron rod; thence, North 22 deg. 03 min. 29 sec. West 130.26 feet, to an iron rod; thence, North 26 deg. 56 min. 25 sec. West, 109.80 feet, to an iron rod; thence, North 30 deg. 50 min. 17 sec. West, 244.85 feet, to an iron rod; thence, North 07 deg. 30 min. 28 sec. west, 42.29 feet, to an iron rod; thence, North 28 deg. 37 min. 04 sec. west, 62.37 feet, to an iron rod set on the east bank of Glenn's Creek and the south bank of Grassy Springs Creek; thence, crossing Grassy Springs Creek and following the east bank of Glenn's Creek as follows: North 12 deg. 44 min. 22 sec. West, 213.54 feet, to an iron rod; thence, North 01 deg. 43 min. 51 Sec. West, 49.20 feet, to an iron rod being in a common line with R. E. Wheeler and Virginia Wheeler Hedges, as recorded in Deed Book 37, Page. 233; thence, leaving the common line of James H. Lodmell and following the common line of R. E. Wheeler and Virginia Wheeler Hedges as follows: North 05 deg. 01 min. 30 sec. west, 225.14 feet, to an iron rod set on the east bank of Glenn's Creek being a common corner with Cynthia L. Gary, as recorded in Deed Book 118, Page 73; thence, leaving the common line of R. E. Wheeler and Virginia Wheeler Hedges and following the common line of Cynthia L. Gary North 62 deg. 21 min. 14 sec. East, 232.90 feet, to the POINT OF BEGINNING. Said property containing 42.19 acres, more or less.

Excepting so much as lies within the undefined right-of-way of Kentucky Highway 1659 containing approximately 1.55 acres and subject to so much as lies within the undefined abandoned right-of-way as purchased by The Kentucky Highlands Railroad, as recorded in Deed Book 19, Page 398, referred to as the abandoned L and N Railroad, now the CSX Railroad, containing approximately 1.06 acres.

Woodford County Deed Book 178, p. 505, 19 May 1997
30.02 acres at 6175 McCracken Pike, Versailles, Kentucky 40383

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Beginning at a P.K. Nail (found) in the centerline of McCracken Road, corner to the Brown-Forman Corporation; thence with said centerline for the following twenty one calls-- North 66 deg. 37 min. 49 sec. East, 90.22 feet; thence North 73 deg. 26 min. 14 sec. East, 78.03 feet; thence North 79 deg. 45 min. 03 sec. East, 85.67 feet; thence North 86 deg. 53 min. 22 sec. East, 82.38 feet; thence South 84 deg. 07 min. 59 sec. East, 82.67 feet; thence South 76 deg. 57 min. 11 sec. East, 80.23 feet; thence South 73 deg. 05 min. 23 sec. East, 57.75 feet; thence South 67 deg. 36 min. 56 sec. East, 57.78 feet; thence South 56 deg. 59 min. 31 sec. East, 71.90 feet; thence South 54 deg. 23 min. 44 sec. East, 113.55 feet; thence South 62 deg. 03 min. 51 sec. East, 79.51 feet; thence South 66 deg. 33 min. 28 sec. East, 99.56 feet; thence South 68 deg. 21 min. 59 sec. East, 335.07 feet; thence South 69 deg. 03 min. 15 sec. East, 569.68 feet; thence South 71 deg. 39 min. 09 sec. East, 98.05 feet; thence South 70 deg. 18 min. 57 sec. East, 117.41 feet; thence South 67 deg. 45 min. 32 sec. East, 111.04 feet; thence South 54 deg. 37 min. 27 sec. East, 95.80 feet; thence South 33 deg. 20 min. 44 sec. East, 170.33 feet; thence South 35 deg. 38 min. 39 sec. East, 91.14 feet to the centerline intersection of New Cut Road; thence South 03 deg. 18 min. 37 sec. East, 20.00 feet to a P.K. nail (set); thence leaving said McCracken Road with a new line North 64 deg. 24 min. 58 sec. West, 1716.37 feet to an iron pin (set); thence continuing with new lines for the following seven calls--South 08 deg. 58 min. 17 sec. West, 401.98 feet to a post; thence South 05 deg. 01 min. 56 sec. West, 28.94 feet to a post; thence South 02 deg. 49 min. 00 sec. West, 370.98 feet to an iron pin (set); thence north of the barn South 81 deg. 56 min. 30 sec. East, 158.27 feet to an iron pin (set); thence South 08 deg. 04 min. 14 sec. West, 109.87 feet to a post; thence South 10 deg. 37 min. 17 sec. West, 157.83 feet to a post; thence South 00 deg. 06 min. 22 sec. East, 627.51 feet to an iron pin (set) in the line of Pomeranz; thence with same North 77 deg. 17 min. 33 sec. West, 648.98 feet to the point in the line of the Brown-Forman Corporation; thence with the same for the following fifteen calls -- North 15 deg. 51 min. 26 sec. East, 149.77 feet (shown as 152.69 feet in Deed of record in Deed Book 165, Page 321, in the office of the Clerk of Woodford County, Kentucky) to an iron rod; thence North 20 deg. 24 min. 22 sec. East, 48.35 feet to an iron rod at a 12 inch Hackberry; thence North 04 deg. 45 min. 45 sec. West, 85.15 feet to an iron rod; thence North 03 deg. 29 min. 42 sec. West, 108.8 feet to an iron rod; thence North 07 deg. 11 min. 26 sec. West, 95.51 feet to an iron rod at a 36 inch Sycamore near a spring box; thence North 00 deg. 28 min. 11 sec. East, 67.02 feet to an iron rod; thence North 12 deg. 30 min. 03 sec. West, 170.40 feet to an iron rod at a metal post; thence North 12 deg. 54 min. 47 sec. West, 254.75 feet to an iron rod; thence North 10 deg. 53 min. 18 sec. West, 78.48 feet to an iron rod at a post; thence North 04 deg. 24 min. 47 sec. East, 105.53 feet to an iron rod; thence North 06 deg. 06 min. 05 sec. East, 293.30 feet to an iron rod; thence North 06 deg. 30 min. 12 sec. East, 108.99 feet to an iron rod at a 48 inch Sycamore; thence North 29 deg. 34 min. 33 sec. West, 94.00 feet to an iron rod; thence North 43 deg. 00 min. 11 sec. East, 98.09 feet to an iron pipe on the north side of Grassy Springs Creek; thence North 75 deg. 52 min. 56 sec. West, 132.26 feet to the POINT OF BEGINNING and containing 30.020 acres.

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Boundary Justification:

These two tracts of land acquired sequentially by the Brown-Forman Corporation in 1994 and 1997 reconnect the distillery site to the historic residence of the farmer-distiller Elijah Pepper for the first time since the division of the land in 1869 after the death of Elijah's son Oscar Pepper (1865). The reconstitution of a 72 acre tract of Pepper's 326 original acres of farmland into a historic district preserves the original farmstead with the distillery site and explains the evolution and history of Kentucky's distilling industry. The unification of the farmstead with the distillery also returns the complex to the relevant geographic setting during the time the master distiller James Crow perfected bourbon at Pepper's still in the mid-19th century.

