

Wilfrid Laurier University

Scholars Commons @ Laurier

Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive)

2000

The historical geography of the distilling industry in Ontario: 1850-1900

Tanya Lynn MacKinnon
Wilfrid Laurier University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd>



Part of the [Human Geography Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

MacKinnon, Tanya Lynn, "The historical geography of the distilling industry in Ontario: 1850-1900" (2000).
Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive). 427.
<https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd/427>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholars Commons @ Laurier. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive) by an authorized administrator of Scholars Commons @ Laurier. For more information, please contact scholarscommons@wlu.ca.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-53273-9

Canada

**THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE
DISTILLING INDUSTRY IN ONTARIO: 1850-1900**

BY

Tanya Lynn MacKinnon

Honours Bachelor of Arts, Trent University, 1998

THESIS

Submitted to the Department of Geography
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Masters of Arts degree
Wilfrid Laurier University
2000

©Tanya Lynn MacKinnon 2000

ABSTRACT

A significant change occurred in the spatial pattern of Ontario's distilling industry during the second half of the nineteenth century. Around 1850 there were approximately 150 distilleries and, by 1871, there were only 19. The industry went from numerous small, local distilleries to a few large industrial enterprises. This industry was one of the manufacturing industries to lead the way during Canada's industrial revolution. By 1871, the beginnings of whisky region was created for Canada in Southern Ontario, based on the "Big Five": Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. located in Walkerville near Windsor; Joseph E. Seagram in Waterloo; Gooderham & Worts Ltd. in Toronto; H. Corby in Corbyville near Belleville; and J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd. in Prescott. These five distilleries were producing millions of gallons of spirits and whisky each year. It was these distilleries that continued to dominate the distilling industry in Ontario throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.

No other substantial geographical work has been completed on the distilling industry in North America, consequently evidence was collected from a wide variety of primary data sources (building an extensive annotated bibliography). This evidence was used to explain the changing spatial pattern and the geographical distribution of the distilling industry. These primary data sources included: the Canada Census with careful attention paid to the census taker's manuscript census for the earlier years of 1851 and 1861; industrial records available at the Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, items such as personal and daily ledgers, scrapbooks, personal correspondence, and advertisements; "Appendix A - Spirits" of the Canadian Sessional Papers (1868 to 1900); the Dun & Bradstreet Reference Books (1864 to 1900); assessment rolls; gazetteers and directories; newspapers; fire insurance plans; county maps; photographs; and the Lanman & Kemp correspondence.

The factors of markets, transportation (namely rail), technological advances (especially in the production process), government influence (in the form of taxation and legislation) and entrepreneurialism were examined; it was determined that each factor played a critical role in the location of the "Big Five" distilleries and contributed to the demise of the small local distilleries.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to acknowledge special thanks to Dr. C. Grant Head who helped to make the following study possible. He provided the writer with valuable knowledge on research and methods in historical geography, extended help whenever required, stimulated productive discussions on the distilling industry, and shared in my research findings. Dr. Geoff McBoyle must also be thanked for his interest in the whisky industry and this topic, for his assistance in reading the manuscript, and for helping me to “step back” and view this research. Gratefulness is extended to Dr. Alan Brunger for exposing me to historical geography and putting me on the path to this research.

Appreciation is credited to Art Jahns at the Hiram Walker Archives for all his help over the last two years. I am happy that you undertook the huge responsibility of saving these historical resources for future generations. I loved our discussions about the distilling industry and the history of the Hiram Walker & Sons Distillery.

Mom and Dad, simply, for their love and support, and helping to make me what I am today. Thank-you for helping me achieve my goals. I want to express thanks to Glen for his love, understanding, guidance through my academic career, and for listening to all my struggles and problems in the research process, my exciting discoveries, and all my little whisky stories.

Finally the writer wishes to state: “To all those who enjoy a drink of Canadian whisky, may this thesis provide you with a background to where it all came from. Cheers.”

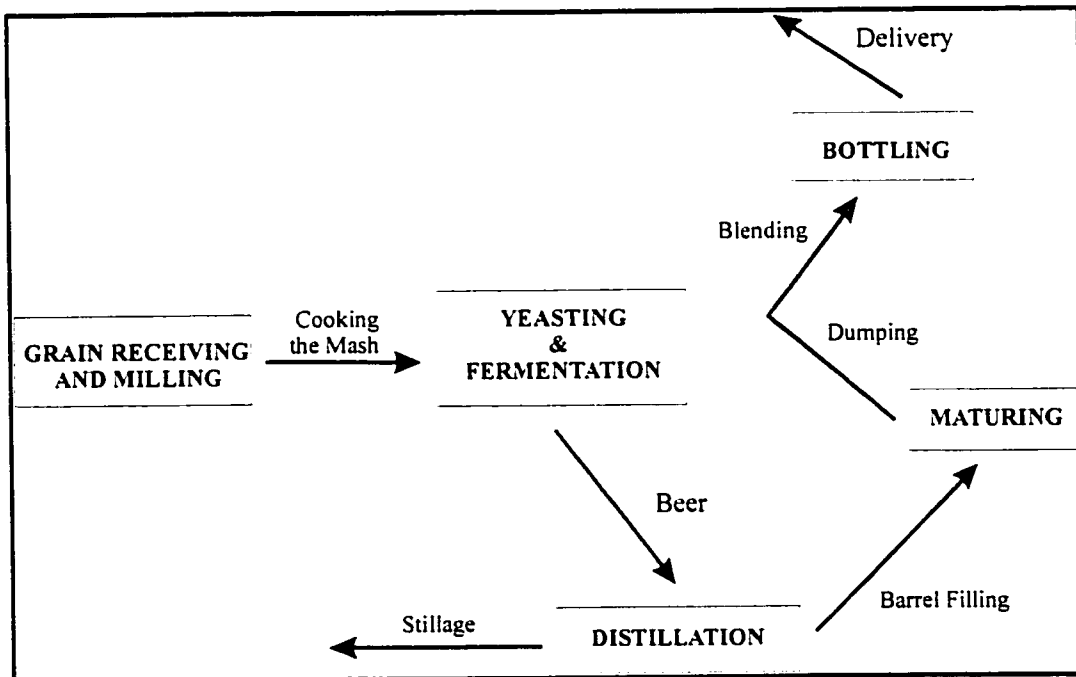
PREFACE

Many individuals have an interest in spirits and whisky but they do not know or fully understand the process by which it is made. In view of the fact that this thesis focuses on the distilling industry and its manufactured products, it is necessary to provide the reader with a background of the production process to aid in the understanding of many important aspects that reflect it. These aspects include but are not limited to: corn as a raw material, the pot still and the column still, machinery, the introduction of technology, transportation, cattle, taxes, legislation, barrels and bottling.

The Basic Process of Distilling

The process of distillation varied in the nineteenth century, but by 1900 the process had been established and has changed very little since. Referring to Figure 1 below, one can see the progression of grain as it enters the production process to its conversion to the final product ready for market.

Figure 1. The Distillation Process



1. **Grain**. This is the first step in the distilling process. It is necessary to have a good quality grain to achieve a good quality spirit. Corn is the main raw material or grain used to make Canadian whisky followed by rye, wheat and barley malt. Before the 1870's the raw materials varied considerably to include almost anything that contained either starch or sugar. The grain is received then milled into a fine meal or course flour (this is the historical connection to the grist mill) then weighed and fed into a large cooker which contains a certain amount of water. This mixture of water and meal is called mash. The mash is heated using steam to convert the starch from the meal into a solution whereby this starch is converted into sugar often by using the raw material barley malt.
2. **Fermentation**. The mash is pumped from the cookers through large cooling coils into the fermentation vats or tanks. In these tanks yeast is added and it is the yeast cells that convert the sugar in the mash into clear liquid alcohol and carbon dioxide gas. This all takes place within a controlled environment. To this point the process is very similar to that of brewing and, indeed, the fermented mash at this stage is called "beer" by North American distillers.
3. **Distillation**. The purpose of distillation is to separate the alcohol from the remaining water and to concentrate it. Once the fermentation is complete and all the sugar has been converted into alcohol, the fermented mash or "beer" is pumped into a still, usually a cylindrical copper tank that is several stories in height. The beer will enter near the top of the column still and steam is introduced at the bottom. Under close temperature control, the alcohol is vaporized and rises to the top of the still where the vapour is drawn off through a pipe to then travel through a series of condensers. The liquid alcohol drawn off these condensers is unmatured whisky or spirit. On the first distillation the liquid is known as "low wines". A second distillation undertaken is to concentrate the alcohol. The goal is to obtain a distillate which contains enough of the higher alcohols and congeners to give the distinctive taste. (Congenerics are the compounds aldehydes, esters and furforol and it is the stillperson that must create the proper combination of these compounds and the higher alcohol.) If there is too much of these congeners, the product is a

harsh spirit. Depending on the complexity of the apparatus, variation in the distilling process may occur resulting in variations in the final product. The distiller can control the concentration of the components that help make the flavour of the whisky or spirit.

The by-product of this process is called stillage which is alcohol-denuded mash and it settles to the bottom of the still. This stillage is high in protein, fat, vitamins and minerals and is often used to feed livestock.

At the end of this process the spirits or whisky are run into a large tank or the closed receiver. This is where the excise officer determines the number of proof gallons (Refer to Appendix A). This calculated amount is followed throughout the maturing and bottling process. The spirits or whisky are pumped from the closed receiver into another large tank where distilled water is added to bring the product to the desired barrelling strength. Then the spirits or whisky are barrelled and ready for aging.

4. **Maturing.** At this point, whisky will be matured in wood casks or barrels made of oak. It is the wood that mellows the whisky as the more volatile components in the whisky evaporate and as the whisky absorbs sugars and tannin from the wood. For modern Canadian whisky a blending with rye flavouring achieves the final product. It was not until 1890 that the Canadian federal government passed a law requiring distillers to age spirits and whisky for a minimum for two years.

5. **Bottling.** Bottling is the last stage of the process. The whisky is filtered several times, bottled, labeled and packaged. At this point the packaged whisky is ready for shipment. Bottling whisky did not become popular until the 1890's, before then the majority of spirits and whisky was barreled.

For more information on The Process of Distillation refer to:

Lorraine Brown, 200 Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whiskey. (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1994) 46-47.

J.R. Petrie, A Handbook on the Beverage Distilling Industry in Canada. (The Association of Canadian Distillers, 1957) 1-3.

William F. Rannie, Canadian Whiskey: The Product and the Industry. (Lincoln, Ontario: W.F. Rannie, 1976) 45-55.

Ronald Weir, The History of the Distillers Company, 1877-1939. (Oxford, New York: The Oxford University Press, 1995) 1-3.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
A. The Distilling Industry as a Secondary Manufacturing Industry	1
B. Purpose and Objectives	5
C. The Distilling Industry---Neglected in the Literature	6
D. Factors Affecting the Changing Spatial Pattern	8
E. Methods and Data Sources	17
F. Summary	20
2. 1850-1861: UBIQUITOUS DISTILLERIES TO DOMINATION BY GOODERHAM & WORTS IN TORONTO.....	25
A. The Pattern Changes	25
B. Distilleries in the 1850's	27
C. The Beginnings of the "Big Five"	30
D. Technological Change: The Pot Still versus the Column Still	38
E. Gooderham & Worts, Toronto	40
F. Production at the Hiram Walker distillery in 1861 and David Allan's Mill in 1853 and others	45
G. The Advent of Railway and an Alteration in the Market	52
H. The Beginning of Tighter Federal Government Control	60
I. Summary	61
3. 1861-1871: LARGE DISTILLING OPERATIONS, FACTORY PRODUCTION AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT.....	89
A. The Utilization of the Railway Network	91
B. The American Civil War (1861-1865)	97

C.	Factory Production	100
D.	Gooderham & Worts Fire of Oct 27, 1869	105
E.	The Federal Government Gains Control Over the Distilling Industry	109
F.	The Maitland Distillery Case	111
G.	Summary	116
4.	1871-1883: SECURING AND STABILIZING THE MARKET.....	135
A.	The Distilling Industry and the Stabilization of the Market	135
B.	A Niche Market.	143
C.	Increasing National and International Market Emergence.	145
D.	Entrepreneurs - Innovating with the Times	151
E.	Summary	155
5.	1883-1900: HIRAM WALKER & SONS LTD. VERSUS THE UNITED STATES AND FOREIGN MARKETS.....	174
A.	Canada's Whisky Region	174
B.	A Business Alliance in the Oligopolistic Structured Market	180
C.	Outstanding Community Men	184
D.	Federal Government Control over Ontario's Distilling Industry	192
E.	International Recognition of Canadian Whisky and the Foreign Market	204
F.	Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., "Canadian Club" in the United States, and the Fraudulent Whisky Makers	209
G.	Summary	220
6.	CONCLUSION.....	262

Appendices

A.	What is Proof, Underproof and Overproof?.	.	.	.	.	275
B.	Data Set of Distilleries Operating in Ontario	.	.	.	.	277
	Table I.	Distilleries in Ontario, around the 1850's	.	.		291
	Table II.	Distilleries in Ontario, around the 1860's	.	.		297
	Table III.	Distilleries in Ontario, 1871	.	.	.	301
	Table IV.	Distilleries in Ontario, 1881	.	.	.	303
	Table V.	Distilleries in Ontario, 1891	.	.	.	304
C.	Mapping Data	.	.	.	.	305
D.	Proof Gallons Manufactured in the Revenue Divisions of Ontario, 1868-1900					308
E.	Exports of Spirits from Warehouses to Locations Outside of Canada, 1868-1900	.	.	.	.	309
F.	Total Gallons of Spirits Stored in Warehouses across Canada, 1871-1900	.				311
G.	Gooderham & Worts, Limited (August 1882)	.	.	.	.	313

Works Consulted

I.	Manuscript Materials	.	.	.	.	318
II.	Printed Sources	.	.	.	.	323
III.	Assessment Rolls	.	.	.	.	327
IV.	Directories.	.	.	.	.	327
V.	Newspapers	.	.	.	.	329
VI.	Historical Atlases	.	.	.	.	332
VII.	Pamphlets	.	.	.	.	333
VIII.	Maps	.	.	.	.	333
IX.	Photographs	.	.	.	.	334
X.	Secondary Sources.	.	.	.	.	335
	A.	General.	.	.	.	335

B.	History of Whisky	.	.	.	.	.	.	336
C.	Township and City Histories	.	.	.	.	.	.	338
D.	The Canadian Economy	.	.	.	.	.	.	339
E.	Canada Before 1900	.	.	.	.	.	.	340
F.	Rail	.	.	.	.	.	.	341
G.	Methodological Theory and Historical Geography	.	.	.	.	.	.	341
H.	Industrial Location Theory	.	.	.	.	.	.	342
I.	American Civil War	.	.	.	.	.	.	342
XI.	Masters Theses	.	.	.	.	.	.	343
XII.	Dissertations	.	.	.	.	.	.	343
XIII.	Unpublished Materials	.	.	.	.	.	.	343
XIV.	Videos	.	.	.	.	.	.	344

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. Number of Distilleries in Ontario Counties and Major Cities, 1851 & 1861	85
II. Returns of Whiskey Distilled by Gallons Produced and Amount of Duties, 1857-1859	86
III. Various Distilleries that Survive from 1850 into 1861	87
IV. Top Ten Distillers by Production (1861)	87
V. Ontario Railway Network 1850-1899	88
VI. Indian Corn Imports from the United States, Illinois Output, and Chicago Exports, 1850-1865	88
VII. Top Ten Cities and Town in the United States and Ontario, 1860	134
VIII. "Summary of Duties of Excise-Federal Government Spirits (1846-1897)".	134
IX. Ontario compared with the Rest of Canada in terms of Gallons of Spirits Manufactured, 1871-1900	167
X. Annual Consumption and Revenue Collected per head of Spirits and Beer (1869-1900)	168
XI. Excise Duty Collected on Spirits Manufactured in Ontario (1871-1900)	169
XII. Exports of Spirits from Warehouses to Locations Outside of Canada, 1871-1883	170
XIII. Spirits Removed and Received from Warehouses in Canada, 1871	172
XIV. Whisky Sales Between November 9, 1881 and September 30, 1882	173
XV. Fixed and Floating Capital Invested versus Monetary Strength, 1890's	253
XVI. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. General Ledger Entry for the fiscal year September 1, 1891 to August 31, 1892	254
XVII. Indian Corn Used for Distillation, 1890-1900	255
XVIII. Top Ten Cities and Towns in the United States and Ontario, 1890.	255

XIX.	Spirits Removed and Received from Warehouses in Canada, 1891	. 256
XX.	Exports of Spirits from Warehouses to Locations Outside of Canada, 1883-1900	. 257
XXI.	Export Sales to the United States for Bottled "Canadian Club" In Cases	. 259
XXII.	Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. Sales (\$) in the United States and Foreign Markets, 1895-1900	. 259
XXIII.	Money Spent on Various Forms of Advertising (Foreign and Domestic) by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., 1888-1900	. 260

Note: tables for each chapter can be found at the end of the chapter, following the figures.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	The Distillation Process	iii
2	Total Production, 1851-52: Distilleries in Ontario	70
3	Total Production, 1861: Distilleries in Ontario	71
4	Change in the Total Production 1851 to 1881: Distilleries in Ontario	72
5	Map of the County of Hastings, 1864-65.	73
6	Hastings County Directory Advertisement - "H. Corby, Miller, Distiller".	74
7	A Typical Pot Still	75
8	Gooderham & Worts, 1855	76
9	Plan of Gooderham & Worts, 1855	76
10	Gooderham & Worts, 1863	77
11	Gooderham & Worts Engine Room	78
12	Gooderham and Worts Mashing Room	78
13	Three Chambered Charging Still	79
14	Gooderham & Worts - Rectifying and Still Rooms	80
15	Closed Circuit Rectifier Design	81
16	Allan's Mill, Guelph in 1853	81
17	Total Production compared to Total Population, 1851-52.	82
18	Total Production compared to Total Population, 1861	82
19	Railway Lines in Ontario, 1860	83
20	Ritchie, Ford & Co.'s Distillery, 1856	84
21	"Lloyd's American Railroad Map of the United States", 1859	84
22	Total Production, 1871: Distilleries in Ontario	125
23	Corbyville Mills and Distillery, 1870.	126
24	Ontario Railway Lines and Stations, 1865	127
25	Town of Belleville, 1864	129

26	Total Production compared to Total Population, 1871	130
27	Village of Waterloo, 1861	131
28	Various Advertisement for Ontario Distilleries in the 1860's	132
29	Walkerville Distillery Grain Log, 1869	133
30	Total Production 1881: Distilleries in Ontario	160
31	Perth Distillery - proprietor John A. McLaren, 1878	161
32	Map Showing the Railway Systems in the Eastern Provinces of Canada, 1876	162
33	Total Spirits Warehoused in Canada by Revenue Division, 1871	163
34	Labels for the Waterloo Distillery's White Wheat Whisky, 1873	164
35	Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, 1883	165
36	J.P. Wiser's Distillery and Stock Farm, 1879	166
37	Total Production, 1891, Distilleries in Ontario	231
38	H. Corby Distillery, late 1890's	232
39	Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., 1884	233
40	Joseph E. Seagram Distillery, 1890	234
41	Joseph E. Seagram Distillery, 1903	235
42	Gooderham & Worts Ltd. Distillery, 1896	236
43	Gooderham & Worts Ltd. Fire Insurance Plan, 1889	237
44	Aerial View of Gooderham & Worts Ltd., 1884	238
45	Aerial View of Gooderham & Worts Ltd., 1890	238
46	Fermenting Floor, Gooderham & Worts Ltd. (British Acetones), 1918	239
47	Royal Distillery, Hamilton (1913)	240
48	Spalding & Stewart Distillery, 1890's	240
49	Goad Insurance Plan of the Walkerville Distillery, 1884	241
50	Hiram Walker & Sons Whisky Labels, 1887 and 1888	243
51	Total Spirits Warehoused in Canada, 1891	244

52	Rail Lines in Ontario, 1889	245
53	Agents of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. (May 13, 1893 and May 11, 1899)	246
54	“Canadian Club Whisky” around the World in March 1897	248
55	Letter to a Fraudulent Whisky Dealer from Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.	249
56	“Fraudulent Whiskies”, July 25, 1898	250
57	Fraud Poster at Chicago, Illinois, October 1897	251
58	Fraud Poster at Elgin, Illinois, October 1898	252

Note: figures for each chapter can be found at the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This introductory chapter will familiarize the reader with the origins of distilleries and the importance of the distilling industry in Ontario as a contributing secondary manufacturing industry; state the purpose, objectives and hypothesis of this thesis; discuss the neglect of the distilling industry within literature and scholarly works; discuss the factors believed to be the important contributors to the changing spatial pattern of the distilling industry in the latter half of the nineteenth century; and finally detail the primary sources used within this thesis that helped in reconstructing the “facts” on the past geography of this industry.

A. The Importance of the Industry

Distilleries were one of the first secondary manufacturing industries operating in Canada in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1851 there were approximately 150 distilleries operating in what is known today as Ontario,¹ 20 years later in 1871 there were merely 19 remaining. The largest, Gooderham and Worts in Toronto, had a capacity to produce 7,500 gallons of whisky² a day. By 1871 in terms of fixed capital, number of employees, value of output and value-added³, 2 of the top 25 firms in Canada were distilleries.⁴ According to Bloomfield and Bloomfield (1989) in terms of the measure of value-added alone, the Gooderham and Worts Distillery and the Hiram Walker Distillery were Ontario's leading firms.⁵

The distilling industry was only one of the many secondary manufacturing industries operating in Canada after 1851. These secondary manufacturing industries, which were very important in the early growth of Canada, were ubiquitous, small in scale and generally low in terms of output. The first secondary manufacturing industries that appeared in Ontario were producing goods to meet the basic needs of society which were at one time produced within the home: shoes, clothing, furniture, beer and whisky. Secondary manufacturing industries relocated these consumer goods, that required time and skill to manufacture but could be sold at a relatively

inexpensive price to the consumer, away from home production and into a factory type setting.⁶ By the year 1851, "...almost 60% of manufacturing employment in Ontario was in consumer goods."⁷ Between 1851 and 1891 the demand for consumer goods grew with the aid of increasing urbanization resulting in the secondary manufacturing sector growing to five times its original size compared to a threefold growth in the primary sector.⁸ Gilmour (1972) found that secondary manufacturing industries would continue to grow and assist the growth of urban centres as long as the market remained for consumer goods by providing opportunities for expansion within the industry.⁹ Eventually the majority of widespread consumer goods industries would experience a concentration, with the number of firms decreasing relative to the population resulting in a concentration in early settled areas that had additional initial advantages.¹⁰ It is this statement that has been the basis for numerous scholarly works in historical geography written in regard to secondary manufacturing industries and the industrial revolution.

To establish how and why the distilling industry in Ontario is a significant part of Canada's secondary manufacturing industries a brief background must be provided to conceptualize the meaning and consequently the importance of this particular industry. The first distilleries in Ontario have their origins in grist mills which were a major feature of Canada's nineteenth century landscape. In the majority of cases the service charge for milling in early Ontario would be a portion of a farmer's crop.¹¹ The problem was that the grain would begin to accumulate in storage and this storage was limited.¹² The grain could not be left in storage for it would eventually be eaten by rodents or decompose.¹³ As a result many of these grist mills began to turn the excess grain into whisky which could then be stored indefinitely or sold to the local population for a profit. In fact, as time progressed these whisky sales turned out to be quite profitable and many millers chose to abandon grist milling for the more lucrative business of distilling. Consequently, due to the profitable nature of distilling there were numerous small local distilleries located throughout early nineteenth century Ontario at grist mill sites.

Whisky was a popular drink for the population of early Ontario. It was believed to have medicinal qualities but more importantly there were limitations in the variety of beverages available for consumption. Water, coffee, milk, beer, and whisky were the staples for many families. The popularity of alcoholic drink can be illustrated by the number of taverns in existence. For example, in Toronto in 1836 there was a tavern for every 137 citizens including men, women and children.¹⁴ In fact it was common to find taverns along major roads of travel and virtually every town had at least one drinking establishment or tavern. By 1874 Ontario, with a population of just over 1.65 million, had issued 6,185 liquor licenses to taverns, hotels, saloons, retail shops, and wholesale establishments.¹⁵ Clearly there was a demand for alcoholic drink that persisted throughout the nineteenth century.

Consequently for the first part of the nineteenth century there were numerous distilleries. By the 1850s a pattern of numerous local distilleries was beginning to change and the number of distilleries declined rapidly within a twenty year time period. Simply stated, a very significant change occurred in spatial distribution. The industrial revolution began in Canada in the 1860s and 1870s when the factory system was introduced to many secondary manufacturing industries. This caused an immense change in manufacturing industries as transportation and technological improvements occurred. This change in turn allowed for an expansion in the market beyond the local area. Production was increasing in the larger centres and there was a concentration occurring of manufacturing industries within the City of Toronto. The "Annual Review of Trade of Toronto" for 1861 in the Toronto Globe called the new construction of the Gooderham & Worts facilities "the most important contribution to the manufacturing interests of Toronto...It is the largest in Canada, and in point of completeness and general arrangement, is equalled by few on the continent."¹⁶ By the 1870s (in the matter of 20 years) the distilling industry had changed dramatically. The distilling industry was no longer widely dispersed over Ontario in a number of small local establishments but instead had concentrated into a few large enterprises. The beginnings of a roughly defined whisky region was created for Canada in Southern Ontario,

based on the “Big Five”: Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. located in Walkerville near Windsor; Joseph E. Seagram in Waterloo; Gooderham & Worts Ltd. in Toronto; H. Corby in Corbyville near Belleville; and J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd. in Prescott.¹⁷ It is also important to note that Walkerville and Corbyville were incorporated as towns several years after the creation of these two distilleries. These large distilleries began to grow in size and expand not only their production facilities but their business connections between various types of the firms. Ontario’s “Big Five” distilleries had also become an excellent source of revenue for the federal government through heavy taxation. For example, Gooderham & Worts in 1875 paid over \$1.5 million in taxes.¹⁸ The federal government had continued to increase the excise tax¹⁹ or duty consistently since 1862. From 1862 to 1864 the duty rose from \$0.09 to \$0.30 per wine gallon proof and then doubled between the years 1864 and 1867.²⁰ It was these five distilleries located across Southern Ontario that came to dominate Canada’s whisky industry and provided the legacy in the product names that consumers recognize today.

Not only were Ontario’s distilleries an important secondary manufacturing industry aiding the development of Canada as a nation but also an important feature located across Ontario’s nineteenth century landscape. The “Big Five” factory distilling enterprises that were present in the 1870s required substantial plots of land and large structures to house the necessary machinery, consequently they were distinguishable features present to the public on the landscape. Distilleries were also significant providers of employment to the local area. In Toronto, for example, Gooderham & Worts provided employment for over 150 families in 1871.²¹ The large factory distilling operations were not all located within large urban centers as one may assume. Walkerville was a village that grew as a result of the construction of the distillery by Hiram Walker. The majority of individuals in the village were employed by the distillery and the development of the village centered on the growth of the distillery. The distilling industry embraced the onset of railways and incorporated the use of rail lines into the production process. As time progressed railways became crucial to the continuing success of the

operations. It was rail that provided for the movement of goods (spirits, whisky, and raw materials) across the landscape. Through the use of rail lines the “Big Five” distilleries became export oriented supplying locations throughout Ontario, Canada, the United States, Great Britain, and other foreign countries. Through the profits generated by the industry, large sums of money were paid in taxes every year to the federal government which helped to fund many different projects such as the railway. Most importantly, the distilling industry was an important landscape feature because it examples the changing spatial patterns under the influence of the changing technology and the economy.

B. Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the changing distribution of the distilling industry in the region of Ontario in the time period 1850 to 1900.²² This specific time period has been chosen as it reflects the first major spatial change in distribution that occurred in Ontario’s distilling industry. After 1900 a second spatial change occurred -- further concentration or consolidation between the “Big Five” and further movement into the United States market -- but the ramifications of the period 1850 to 1900 are still present in the landscape today.

For the purpose of this thesis the definition of distillery used by the Customs, Excise and Commercial Laws of Canada in 1859 stated in Acts Relating to the Revenue, Finance, Duties of Customs, Excise and Licenses will be used: a distillery constitutes “...any establishment or place used for the rectifying of spirits by any process...”. In this thesis both spirits and whisky will be referred to as the products manufactured by the distilleries. For the purpose of this thesis spirits refers to other alcohol made by distillers but mainly includes high wines, low wines, and raw alcohol.²³ Whisky was the principal article produced by Ontario distilleries.²⁴

The objectives of this thesis are fourfold and are firmly grounded in the framework of historical geography. This framework is: geographical change through time; development of the landscape; and the evolution of spatial form. This historical framework will be developed by establishing plausible explanations formulated from the examination of a variety of primary

sources of evidence in connection to the objectives of this thesis.²⁵ The first objective is to determine the locations, and thus the spatial patterns, of distilleries in Ontario during the census years 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, and 1891. The second objective is to explain why there was a loss of small distilleries throughout Ontario. Thirdly, we need to explain the factors resulting in the location of the five major distilleries that emerged in Southern Ontario to create Canada's whisky region. Finally, through the examination of primary sources, the importance of this industry to Canada, to Ontario and to the local communities in which these five distilleries operated will be shown.

C. The Distilling Industry — Neglected in the Literature

In stating the objectives of this thesis, the question of importance emerges in terms of why this particular topic of the distilling industry in Ontario from 1850 to 1900 needs to be researched. The distilling industry is a part of the historical geography of industrial change concerned with the pattern, process, and impact of industrial change but more importantly it is an historical change of geographical significance since ramifications are still present today.

In general the study of the secondary manufacturing industries that had such a strong formative role in creating Canada's industrial sector (such as brewing, textiles, furniture, clothing, and distilling) in the nineteenth century, has been strangely neglected by historical geographers. Much of the geographical work conducted before the 1980s used a logical positivist framework: a geographic pattern was identified and subsequent explanation given of that pattern. This created very factual and statistical studies. What was missing in the majority of these studies was a humanistic aspect. The research on industrial change and manufacturing industries during the nineteenth century has been largely left to other disciplines like economics and history where the focus is grounded in economics and location theory. Often, within these economic and historical studies, distilling is considered a part of the food-processing category; the subtleties of the changing spatial pattern and the history of the industry itself are missed and a broad generalization occurs that may misinterpret the intricacies of this industry. For example, it has

been assumed by many that a concentration occurred within the large city centres like Toronto; this is partly accurate in terms of the distilling, but this does not explain the developed whisky region or the village of Walkerville or Corbyville. These two villages were created as a result of the construction of a milling and distilling operation. As these distilling operations prospered, the surrounding village grew in population and also grew in terms of the services provided to the inhabitants. These two villages, that were named after the proprietors of the distilling establishments, did not follow the general trend of concentration within large city centres. To illustrate this neglect of industrial change by geographers one needs only examine A Scholar's Guide to Geographical Writing on the American and Canadian Past (1993) and compare the industrial sections on manufacturing to other sections such as population and settlement to see the dramatic difference in the number of scholarly works. The study of industrial change in manufacturing industries appears to have fallen by the wayside in the choice of research topics by historical geographers.

Extensive bibliographic search has found no substantial geographical work completed on the distilling industry in Ontario. In fact there have been only two books published in which the subject matter focused entirely on Canada's distilling industry: Brown's 200 Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whisky (1994); and Rannie's Canadian Whisky: The Product and the Industry (1976). Within these two books the history of the distilling industry as a whole from 1850 to 1900 is dealt with in minor detail within one chapter and merely suggests, but does not detail, the geographical change in distribution that occurred in the industry during the second half of the nineteenth century. Brown tells, in 144 pages, the 200 year story of the entire whisky industry in Canada; as the book was produced by The Seagrams Company Ltd. there is some question of selectivity. Even for the topics that are indeed covered in this book, there is a need for more detailed information. This book provides a broad sweep of distilling in Canada together with mention of some of the key individuals including limited information about the technology used to produce spirits, the temperance movement and prohibition, and the distilleries in Canada

during the post-prohibition years. Although it does provide interesting information about the industry it does not focus upon any of the key aspects of the 1850 to 1900 period: the geographical shift that occurred; the factors affecting the industry; and why many of the small distilleries ceased to exist. It was from these changes that the five major distilleries emerged to dominate the industry in the twentieth century. Rannie's book, now dated, was similar to Brown's in that it covered the entire whisky industry in Canada. Together, these books provided important broad background.

D. Factors Affecting the Changing Spatial Pattern

There has been no substantial geographical work conducted on the distilling industry in North America and as a result there is a gap in knowledge and a very important secondary manufacturing industry in not only Ontario but in Canada has yet to be studied by geographers! In view of the fact that there has been no substantial geographical work on the distilling industry in North America, it is necessary to consider comparable scholarly works that have been written on the historical geography of the brewing industry and/or the change in the spatial pattern of the brewing industry. Most of the geographical works regarding the brewing industry are in the form of masters theses and doctoral dissertations and for the most part focus the United States. These works include: Gilmour's Spatial Evolution of Manufacturing: Southern Ontario 1851-1891 (1972) specifically the case study of the brewing industry, Booth's A Distributional Geography of the American Brewing Industry (1951); Baldwin's Historical Geography of the Brewing Industry: Focus on Wisconsin (1966); Dick's A Geographical Analysis of the Development of the Brewing Industry of Minnesota (1981); Cook's The Historical and Economic Geography of the Brewing Industry in the Denver Region, 1859-1987 (1987); and Smith's The Historical Geography of the U.S. Brewing Industry (1987). These works have proven to be particularly beneficial in ascertaining specific factors determined to be affecting the pattern of the brewing industry and beneficial in providing guidance in methods used. Such issues may be of value in discussing the

changing geographical distribution of Ontario's distilling industry since these two industries are similar in nature.

Both industries have a similar production process in which the end product is an alcoholic beverage (Refer to the Preface on page iii). In the case of spirits, whisky, and beer the end product has a considerably higher value per weight than the raw materials used in the process of its manufacture. As a result, available markets and access to these markets were important to these two industries. Water was the primary raw material used by both industries and consequently helped to influence the location of small brewing and distilling establishments along water routes. Many of these small breweries and distilleries were formed as a response to the prospering agricultural sector. Raw materials that were needed to make the alcoholic beverages were supplied by the local farmers; specifically barley, malt, hops, wheat, rye and other grains. The brewing and distilling industries were large suppliers of employment and were capital intensive. Both industries were subject to similar guidelines and regulations imposed by the government and the alcoholic beverages produced were subject to excise duty. Finally both industries experienced a large concentration in the number of establishments over a rather short period of time.²⁶ Similarities, such as these, lead one to assume that there may also be significant factors that are similar. Using these scholarly works as well as literature concerning industrial location theory it was possible to formulate a hypothesis on the likely factors that were affecting the geographical distribution of the industry.

The industrial location literature and the works on the brewing industry in the United States suggest, therefore, the importance of the following five factors: markets, transportation, technology, government influence and entrepreneurialism.

Markets:

Industrial location theory suggests that when the final product of an industry has a considerable gain in the value per weight when compared to the raw materials used in the process of manufacture this will help to distort the pattern of the industry towards the location of the

market.²⁷ There can also be advantages in locating near the markets since the cost to move the final product represents a high proportion of the value of that product, namely a reduction in transportation costs. For Ontario's distilling industry it is more complicated. The distilleries were often adjacent to a grist mill. Raw materials would be brought to the distillery by farmers in the surrounding agricultural region; and the manufactured spirits were often sold back to these farmers. Wagon transportation, in early Ontario, would limit the commercial travel distance of spirits due to high transportation costs. It seems that distilleries in Ontario were located near markets and raw materials.

Industrial location theory also suggests that once an establishment has achieved economies of large scale production there will be advantages over smaller establishments in terms of the ability to carry a larger supply of materials needed to ensure steady output and an evening out of the imbalances within the production process.²⁸ Economies of large scale production help by creating external connections which allow for the benefit of bulk purchases of the required materials and services as well as a greater access to new and established technology. Thus small industries tend to be characterized by a dispersed pattern of distribution across the landscape whereas larger industries need to concentrate within a major market often consuming a large share of the national output. Through technology an industry can grow in size thereby increasing the concentration within the market. Once the most efficient size is reached in terms of the internal technological structure of the establishment, it may be able to enjoy cost savings. Old, established industries benefit from this cost savings which helps to explain their existence over long periods of times. By maintaining the industrial activity and the cost savings these older, established industries can continue to prosper even though the original location factors may have been eliminated over time.²⁹ Through external economies of scale an industry may strengthen its tendencies to the market by creating a number of linkages and clustering within a city that contains similar industries.

It should also be noted that in the infancy of a manufacturing industry high import tariffs were often used to help protect its growth. In Canada, Macdonald's National Policy helped to protect infant industries and the tariffs raised were an important source of revenue for early Canada.³⁰ The tariff rate varied depending on the manufactured product.³¹ This tariff rate was presumably determined by the amount of protection an industry needed to foster production of the manufactured product in the home market and not from the importation of the product from abroad.³² Such was the case for the distilling industry. Import tariffs were used to protect this industry in Canada. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century import tariffs continued to rise and as a result these tariffs helped to foster the growth of this industry as well as many other secondary manufacturing industries.

Urbanization and general population growth influence the growth of markets. An industrial establishment that is located in a growing urban centre will benefit from this expanding market. In some cases when this population grows to a certain size the capacity for the support of an industrial establishment is created. This can be especially significant for market-oriented industries because a new establishment will often be created. In a market-oriented industry businesses will focus attention on and align business strategies toward the market. The managerial staff will develop and maintain a viable fit between the business objectives and the changing market to yield both profits and growth in the industry.

The examined scholarly works (as referred to above) indicate that the market is a guiding factor of spatial change. Booth (1951) concluded that in the United States brewing industry there was a national trend towards concentration into the main centers of malt liquor production: the Eastern centre consisted of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; and the Midwestern centre consisted of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Mississippi.³³ He determined that the market was the most influential factor when compared to other factors such as management, transportation, government, raw materials, power and fuel, labour and capital. Unlike the other sources examined Booth chose not to study cultural traditions because he deemed this to be an

“unscientific factor” that would only further complicate the spatial pattern.³⁴ However, in his conclusions he incorporated culture, particularly German individuals, as part of the market factor whereby the concentration of these individuals helped to influence the location of breweries.³⁵ Baldwin (1966) also concluded that the orientation to the market was a factor of particular importance in the location of breweries in Wisconsin. He determined that this market orientation was aided through the technological improvements of transportation, packaging, and management.³⁶ According to Baldwin (1966), the market was affected by individuals of German descent through both production and consumption thereby defining the character and size of the market.³⁷ He also found competition among brewers to be a strong influence in the location of Wisconsin breweries as larger breweries continually obtained more market share.³⁸ Dick (1981) also concluded that German ethnicity (a desire/demand for lager beer) and competition (which forced small breweries to cease operations) were important locational forces responsible for the diffusion of lager brewing in late nineteenth century Minnesota.³⁹ Smith (1991) generally ignored locational theory focusing instead on how culture influenced the national trend: specifically in terms of German regions of population concentration across the nation such as New York that created a demand for lager beer. Based on this literature it seems logical that the market may be an important factor affecting the spatial pattern of Ontario’s distilling industry. Ontario’s distilling industry also experienced a trend to concentration, the closure of distilleries, an increase in population and the creation of regions where there were particular ethnic concentrations so it is possible that the market was also an important factor which influenced the spatial pattern of distilleries within Ontario.

Transportation:

There is a relationship between the location of an industry and transportation costs. Industrial location theory suggests that the location of an industry in relation to either the raw materials or the market can influence the cost of the product. This helps to explain the early attraction and growth of industries in regions located near water routes. Until the efficiency of

rail improved, water routes were by far the most economical. Railways, initially, were extensions of the water network. It took time to develop the rail networks of main lines and feeders which helped to create greater efficiency and a reduction in transport costs. Depending on the location of the industry in relation to main rail lines or feeders the cost to ship a product varied. The improvements in rail transportation was an important contributing factor to the increased size of an industry as well as its location within urban areas (population density) where the rail lines were originally built.

The efficiency of transportation and the allowance for bulk handling make it possible to move products at greater distances for the same cost. This reduction in transportation costs is especially important to industries where transportation costs are high due to the perishability or fragility of the product. This cost reduction also affects the raw materials used within the industry because raw materials have a low value in comparison to their weight so transport costs are high. High transport costs curtail output keeping manufacturing industries small serving their surrounding area. The reduction in transport costs helps to eliminate the locational importance of materials which means that the location of plant no longer needs to be within the market it is supplying.

Baldwin, Dick and Cook hold that transportation, more specifically a national railway, as a major contributing factor to the changing spatial pattern of the brewing industry in the United States. Baldwin (1966) determined that increased competition from large, efficient brewers, at this time, would encroach upon the territory of the small breweries.⁴⁰ Dick (1981) explains that the influence of railroads (however debated) affected the concentration of breweries in Minnesota and enhanced competitive pressures.⁴¹ Cook (1987) discovered that it was high transportation costs that initially started the local market-orientation and distribution of breweries within Denver and these transportation costs could also be an important constraint for larger breweries because they were more dependent on transporting goods.⁴² He determined that it was high transportation costs that affected the distribution of the industry and by 1900 the larger breweries tended to

locate near the large central places.⁴³ Despite these limitations, Cook (1987) determined that there were in fact few locational constraints in the nineteenth century for breweries and that they could locate almost anywhere, however some locations were more favourable with advantages like water transportation or ice.⁴⁴ As both the distilling industry and the brewing industry utilized transportation it seems improvements in this transportation during the nineteenth century would also impact the location of distilleries.

Technology:

Industrial location theory suggests that improved production techniques and new sources of energy like steam or electricity will allow an industry to increase production output and with economies of scale decrease the costs per unit of the final product. This can prove to be crucial for success of certain industrial establishments where transportation costs are high. As well, this improved production can also aid in lowering the price of the product in relation to competitor pricing, thus creating an expanded market share. As technology increases the complexity of the industry follows through the mechanization of the establishments. Increased use of technology will shift the balance between capitalization and labour costs. Although labour costs became a smaller proportion of the total costs, increased production may even maintain or increase the labour force and may change the levels of skill required. Spatial access to such a labour pool is thus still an important factor.

Baldwin (1966) concluded that packaging (bottling) and mechanical refrigeration were important technological factors that aided the location of Wisconsin breweries but he defined this as a part of the market factor. Cook (1987) also found that improved production facilities (refrigeration), innovations (pasteurization, artificial ice) and packaging improvements (bottling) helped to decrease the number of breweries in Denver and cause the selective growth and success of some breweries.⁴⁵ Since Canada was undergoing a similar industrial revolution as the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century, it seems logical that the adoption of technology could clearly be a factor in the rise of certain establishments at the expense of others.

Government Influences and Entrepreneurialism:

Industrial location theory examines government influence in terms of its activity upon an industry mainly in the form of subsidies and incentives to locate within certain regions. However, government can have a decidedly more important impact upon an industry if there is a strong connection between it and the industry from which they both benefit. This is the case with the distilling industry where the government has become an integral component of the industry, especially within the production process. There are numerous taxes imposed on the industry which affects the cost of the product. Indeed, one can say with considerable truth that it is not the industry that determines the price of spirits, but the government. Taxes are just one aspect for there are also strict rules and regulations that also must be adhered to. Few industries are as severely subject to government controls as is the distilling industry.

Entrepreneurialism is a factor that is more random in nature because it is human decision-making in response to economic factors. It is the product of a large number of individual decisions that will help to determine the spatial pattern of any industry as individuals react to changing economic circumstances in the pursuit of their own businesses and personal goals. It is this decision-making which often results in the location of an industry within a region and its continuance through time by choices made (such as the amount of fixed capital available for operations). An entrepreneur will evaluate the market for opportunities, searching for advantages to make a profit. The individual's history, familiarity with an area, knowledge about the industry, business and managerial skills, and views of company strategy, are all factors in individual entrepreneurship. The affect of all these factors can appear random in nature since each individual is unique. The outcome of these factors operating at an early date sets the stage for the future of the industry as a whole or in a region. As this decisions are seen to operate in conjunction with economic factors, industrial location theory has relegated this factor to "human behaviour", or "other factors" often as secondary operating within the main economic and technological factors affecting the industry.

Interestingly, neither government influence nor entrepreneurialism were much mentioned by authors examining the locational pattern of breweries in the United States. Baldwin (1966) mentions that management was an important factor as it aided in market-orientation but does not cite entrepreneurialism as a defining factor itself. It is these two particular factors, however, that prove to be the most interesting in terms of Ontario's distilling industry. These factors were developed based on the fact that the federal government has always played a crucial role in the distilling industry since the nineteenth century; the fact that secondary bibliographic sources allude to its influence and works on the distilling industry in Europe demonstrate the importance of this factor. The selective growth of centres may have been the result of tenacity by individuals, especially in terms of the "Big Five" distilleries to survive under the same management for more than a half a century. Government influence and entrepreneurialism are factors which have yet to be examined by a geographer on the brewing industry in North America or the distilling industry in Ontario.

To summarize, the hypothesis of this thesis is that the industrial revolution (most importantly the transportation improvement of the railway and technological improvements, the creation of and the access to a larger market (namely shipment to the United States), taxation and other government influences, and entrepreneurialism greatly influenced the location of the "Big Five" distilleries and contributed to the demise of the small local distilleries. These five factors have been chosen because they are the possible triggers to the emergence of Ontario's five major distilleries and the movement of these five distilleries away from the rest of Ontario's small distilleries. A number of these factors can be at work within the industry at the same time, of course, but it is the influence on location that will vary their impact during different decades. One must remember, as Guelke (1971) stated, that:

...geographers are unable to isolate and measure separately each of the factors that is thought to affect a particular event...human geographers have to contend with a variety of human phenomena, in which the isolation of the essential relationships from the inessential facts is rendered extremely difficult by the vast number of conceivably relevant variables that might be involved in a given type of phenomenon.⁴⁶

The thesis will not likely be able to point to any single factor as having the greatest weight for any one establishment. There will certainly be different impacts of a particular factor at different times and it is also likely that any one factor may have a different influence upon a different establishment.

The inter-relatedness of these factors is also a problem. For example:

- I. the factor of “railway” involves who has the access to this technological improvement, who can afford to utilize this network, where do these networks lead, as well as the distribution of the product and the access to raw materials;
- II. “technological improvements” include such improvements as communications, the power source used, shipping, the expansion of facilities and the production of spirits;
- III. “a new and larger market” involves the movement away from the production centre, the change in culture, increase in population, a creation of economies of scale and force, and the movement outside of North America;
- IV. “government influence” includes taxation, custom and excise duties, excise officers required on premises, increased regulations and increased paperwork;
- V. “entrepreneurialism” includes management, the productivity to adopt new technologies, fixed capital available, organization, power and control, influence within the community, monopoly, and marketing as well as “vision”.

Clearly, a term like “government influence” hides the full range of factors involved.

E. Data Sources and Methods

To reconstruct the “facts” of size, distribution, and changes in the industries, as well as to examine the play of factors that established these, both primary and secondary data sources were utilized. Primary data sources are crucial to any work within the field of historical geography. With the desire to reconstruct a past geography one must review and analyze a wide range of primary data sources. An historical geographer must be able to understand or “enter” the time

period being studied and the “key” to this understanding is to get as close to the period as possible. Therefore, to research the past demands the use of sources from that time. To base a historical work on secondary sources results in bias of the present and can ultimately lead to biased conclusions. Consequently, this is why one can never truly understand a topic without the use of numerous primary data sources.

The time period chosen for this thesis helped determine the primary data sources that could be used. With only a 50 year focus it was hoped that a clear concise picture of the latter half of the nineteenth century could be developed, thereby achieving not only an understanding of what occurred in the distilling industry at this time but also how this influenced the changing spatial pattern. None of the brewing theses that were examined chose to focus on a short time period. For example, Cook (1987) focused on the period from 1859 to 1987, Dick (1981) chose the period 1849 to 1981, and Smith (1991) examined the entire industry in America from its inception before the year 1000. In doing this, it seemed that significant occurrences in some cases were not fully examined. The present work seeks to overcome this.

The primary sources used in this thesis include government, industry, and individual records, together with county and town histories. The Canada Census was the main source from which the spatial pattern was generated. Accordingly, this data source was considered to be the most important and so the most time was allotted to this data source by viewing all the census records, including, especially in the earlier years the census taker’s manuscripts, compiling the information gathered, comparing it with other sources, and developing the spatial pattern that can be seen in this thesis. The Hiram Walker & Sons Archives contains a variety of sources including personal ledgers, ledgers⁴⁷, sales books, price lists, scrapbooks containing numerous original newspaper articles and advertisements, fraud letters, personal correspondence, the Gooderham & Worts Agreement and other industrial records. Despite the fact that most of this archive has yet to be catalogued this archive contributed greatly to the understanding of this distillery and the industry. The Canadian Sessional Papers, particularly Appendix A-Spirits,

contained very useful statistical information about Canada's distilleries such as raw materials, amount of spirits produced, spirits warehoused, and spirits entered for consumption. This data set provided consistent information from 1868 to 1900 and allowed for an examination of the industry over time. Since this data source is available in bound copies at the libraries within Waterloo it was easy to collect the data and more time could be devoted to compiling them into charts so that trends could be observed over time. The Canadian Almanac was an excellent source for original rail maps. These maps were used with those found in various secondary sources. The Dun and Bradstreet Reference Books, assessment rolls, gazetteers and directories, newspapers, fire insurance plans, county maps, photographs, and the Lanman & Kemp Correspondence all provided information about Ontario's distilleries. The majority of these latter primary data sources are not available locally; they are in Toronto at the Ontario Archives, the Toronto Reference Library and the City of Toronto Archives. The Dun and Bradstreet Reference Books were examined from the years 1864 to 1900. County maps, photographs, fire insurance plans, and directories for areas that were known to have had distilleries were examined. Each assessment roll could not be examined for each city within a township and so only, if supplementary information was required, were the necessary ones examined. Unfortunately, there is probably large amounts of information waiting to be discovered in local newspapers but to conduct a search of that nature is beyond the scope of this thesis. A selective search, however, was undertaken. A listing for the available articles in Toronto newspapers for the Gooderham & Worts distillery generated by Otto (1994) was used, as well as a random search of newspapers for the "Big Five" distilleries. (Refer to the Works Consulted at the end of this thesis for a more detailed and comprehensive description of the primary data sources used in this thesis). Whenever possible every avenue for possible information from secondary sources was used. Numerous libraries, archives and historical societies were contacted in the hopes of locating information about specific distilleries that were in operation such as Armstrong's Distillery in Markham, the distilleries of the Town of Perth, and distilleries in the City of Hamilton.

F. Summary

Ontario's distilleries in the second half of the nineteenth century were an important feature on the landscape. This was a secondary manufacturing industry that underwent a significant change in spatial distribution in only 20 years as numerous local distilleries ceased operations. By the early 1870's the province of Ontario dominated Canada's whisky production and within Ontario this production was dominated by five large industrial enterprises. These "Big Five" distilleries formed Canada's whisky region in Southern Ontario. Since there has been no substantial geographical work completed on the distilling industry in North America a gap in knowledge has been created increasing the significance of this thesis topic. Five factors believed to be crucial to the changing spatial pattern were developed and will be examined throughout this thesis. The factors of markets, technology and transportation had been examined in scholarly works on the brewing industry in the United States (a comparable market-oriented industry), but the factors of government influence and entrepreneurialism have yet to be studied by a geographer on the distilling industry or brewing industry lending, once again, to the importance of this thesis. Through the use of secondary sources in addition to the use of a variety of primary sources the "facts" will be reconstructed as they pertain to size, distribution, and changes in the distilling industry, as well as the role of the factors that established these. This thesis chronologically covers four different periods examining the distilling industry's change in spatial pattern over the second half of the nineteenth century.

NOTES

¹ The word Ontario will be used to describe the region focused upon in this thesis to maintain a consistency throughout the decades as well as providing the connection to what the region is referred to at present. Canada West is the correct term for the period before Confederation although Upper Canada was commonly used and entered into the daily language of its citizens although not correct in terms of the given name to the region.

² “Whisky” is the preferred spelling of the word used in Canada and the United Kingdom. The common American spelling of whisky is with the letter “e” and should be noted as such. The word, however, varied in spelling throughout the nineteenth century by Canadian distillers and the spelling still varies today.

³ “Value-added” is defined as the difference between the sum of products produced and the sum of the raw materials used.

⁴ Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield, Industrial Leaders: The Largest Manufacturing Firms of Ontario in 1871, Research Report 8. (Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph Press, 1989) Appendix A-4.

⁵ The Gooderham & Worts Distillery in Toronto had a measure of value added totalling 1,020,000; followed by the Hiram Walker Distillery in Essex County at with a measure of 874,982. This measure of value added compared to other manufacturing firms as follows: William Hamilton’s foundry and machine shop of Toronto with a measure of 585,000, W.T. Benson’s grist mill in the Grenville South census district with a measure of 365,000, and Aldwell & Company’s brewery and malthouse in Toronto with a measure of 294,500. For more details refer to Appendix A-4 of the Bloomfield’s research report titled Industrial Leaders: The Largest Manufacturing Firms of Ontario in 1871 (1989).

⁶ James M. Gilmour, The Spatial Evolution of Manufacturing: Southern Ontario 1851-1891, Diss., University of Toronto, 1970 (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1972) 81.

⁷ Gilmour 28.

⁸ Gilmour 26.

⁹ Gilmour 140.

¹⁰ Gilmour 254.

¹¹ Lorraine Brown, 200 Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whiskey. (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1994) viii.

¹² Brown viii.

¹³ Brown viii.

¹⁴ Brown 7.

¹⁵ Gilmour 154.

¹⁶ Archives of Ontario, N11 R34, "Annual Review of the Trade of Toronto, for 1861," The Globe, [Toronto] 7 February 1862, p. 1.

¹⁷ These are the names of the distilleries as they appeared in the last decade of the nineteenth century. However, the proprietor names of the distilleries changed over the time period in question. For example:

Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. = (1858-1863: Hiram Walker distillery, 1863-1867: Hiram Walker & Co., 1871-1873: Hiram Walker & Son, 1873-1890: Hiram Walker & Sons, 1890-1900: Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.) Often referred to as the Walkerville Distillery.

Joseph E. Seagram = (1857-1863: George Randall & William Hespeler, 1863- 1881: Randall & Co., 1881-1883: Seagram & Roos, 1883-1900: Joseph E. Seagram). Often referred to as the Waterloo Distillery.

Gooderham & Worts Ltd. = (1850-1881: Gooderham & Worts, 1881-1900: Gooderham and Worts Ltd.). Often referred to as Toronto Steam Mills and Distillery.

H. Corby = (1859-1869: H. Corby, 1869-1873: H. Corby & Son, 1881-1900: H. Corby (was sold to Henry Jr. in 1881). The distillery was often referred to as Alma Mills in early years and then the H. Corby Distillery.

J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd. = (1850-1857: C.A. Payne, 1857-1863: Messrs. Egert & Averill, 1863-1871: J.P. Wiser, 1871-1875: J.P. Wiser & Co., 1875-1883: J.P. Wiser, 1883-1884: J.P. Wiser & Son, 1884-1894: J.P. Wiser & Sons, 1894-1900: J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd.)

¹⁸ Brown 20.

¹⁹ Excise tax can be defined as an internal charge on certain commodities such as tobacco, spirits, beer which is assessed on their manufacture, sale or consumption within Canada.

²⁰ J.R. Petrie, A Handbook on the Beverage Distilling Industry in Canada, (The Association of Canadian Distillers, 1957) 25.

²¹ Canada Census 1871.

²² It is noted that this thesis focuses upon Ontario with a limited examination of its role within the nation. However, since 1850 the majority of the distilling industry is centred within Ontario escalating to over 90 percent in later decades. Simply, Ontario is Canada's whisky region. The only distillery to rival an Ontario distillery was the Molson Brewery and Distillery in Montreal but by 1861 Gooderham & Worts had taken the position of number one and Molson's soon left the distilling part of the business to focus on brewing. It is only toward the end of the 1800's that we see new distilleries emerging outside of Ontario, however their production is of little importance at this date, for example, Henry Reifel and the British Columbia Distillery Company Ltd. Only when we move into the twentieth century, for example, with the relocation of the Seagram Distillery headquarters to Montreal by Samuel Bronfman does a country-wide focus seem appropriate. Refer to Merrill Dension's, The Barley and the Stream. The Molson Story. Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart, 1955.

²³ Although whisky was the main product manufactured by distilleries in Ontario, spirits will also be mentioned in this thesis. To only mention whisky would negate the other products that were produced at various distilleries. Spirits are especially important in the 1850's and 1860's when many small distilleries produced articles such as high wines and low wines. At the Gooderham &

Worts distillery raw alcohol was produced to provide foreign markets with spirits that could be mixed or diluted and then redistributed. For some primary sources such as the Sessional Papers the only mention is spirits. In this case whisky was included into the broad category of spirits. This was noted, however when the word “spirits” appears in this thesis, the word simply refers to raw alcohol, high wines and low wines.

²⁴ To example the fact that whisky was the main article produced by Ontario distilleries the 1861 Canada Census can be used. In the 1861 census, for those distillers that provided a return for the “kind of annual produce” manufactured, all (41) but 4 distillers answered whisky. There were also varying forms of whisky produced by Ontario distilleries. Depending on the distillery the quality could also vary. In the 1850’s. for example. many different grains were used by small distilleries to produced both whisky and spirits. This created many different whiskies that were poor in quality. By the 1860’s the large distilleries (the “Big Five”) were producing the bulk of Canada’s manufactured whisky.

²⁵ Refer to Leonard Guelke’s Historical Understanding in Geography: An Idealist Approach, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

²⁶ One may assume that because brewing and distilling are both involved in the process of producing alcohol that changes in the geographical distribution of these industries over time would be similar. In Ontario, at least, this is erroneous.

²⁷ R.C. Riley, Industrial Geography. (Toronto, Ontario: Irvin & Company Ltd., 1973) 149.

²⁸ Riley 5.

²⁹ David Smith, Industrial Location: An Economic Geographical Analysis. (New York, New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1971) 157.

³⁰ William L. Marr and Donald G. Paterson, Canada: An Economic History. (Toronto, Ontario: The MacMilln Company of Canada, 1980) 121.

³¹ A.W. Currie, Canadian Economic Development. 4th ed. (Toronto, Ontario: Thomas, Nelson Sons Ltd., 1963) 240.

³² Currie 240.

³³ Harry Booth, “A Distributional Geography of the American Brewing Industry.” (M.A. Thesis University of California, 1951) 100.

³⁴ Booth 4.

³⁵ Booth 103.

³⁶ William Owen Baldwin, “Historical Geography of the Brewing Industry: Focus on Wisconsin.” (Diss. University of Illinois, 1966) 189.

³⁷ Baldwin 189-190.

³⁸ Baldwin 190.

³⁹ Charles Edwin Dick, "A Geographical Analysis of the Development of the Brewing Industry of Minnesota." (Diss. University of Minnesota, 1981) 310.

⁴⁰ Baldwin 190.

⁴¹ Dick 312.

⁴² Stephen R Cook, "The Historical and Economic Geography of the Brewing Industry in the Denver Region, 1859-1987." (M.A. Thesis University of Colorado, 1987) 172 and 175.

⁴³ Cook 172.

⁴⁴ Cook 172.

⁴⁵ Cook 172.

⁴⁶ Leonard Guelke, "Problems of Scientific Explanation in Geography." Canadian Geographer 15.1 (1971) 38-51.

⁴⁷ It would be instructive to take the two ledger books that remain from this time period and total all of the sales of whisky to each client. This would not only show the amount of barrels and bottles sold for the year but also where the amounts of whisky were being sold, whether Toronto and Halifax or Ontario, the United States and Great Britain. However, because this exercise would have been extremely tedious, complicated, and time-consuming, this analysis could not be conducted.

CHAPTER 2

1850-1861: UBIQUITIOUS DISTILLERIES TO DOMINATION BY GOODERHAM & WORTS IN TORONTO

This chapter will examine the changing spatial pattern of the distilling industry in Ontario and the concentration around the City of Toronto. The origins of the “Big Five” distilleries are also examined to help understand why these men began operations and what were the contributing factors that affected their individual decisions to start a distillery. The pot still and the column still are compared to illustrate technological change and the resultant affects on the industry. Four different distilleries that were operating in the 1850s are reviewed to illustrate the range in size of distilling operations that were producing spirits and whisky. The changes in transportation are examined as rail reduced transportation costs allowing for an alteration in the market as more areas became accessible by those distilleries that had easy access to rail lines. Finally, early attempts at control over the industry by the federal government are mentioned to illustrate its agenda to gain revenue from the distilleries.

A. The Pattern Changes

Between the years 1850 and 1861 there was a dramatic decline in the number of distilleries operating in Ontario. Specifically, around the year 1850 there were approximately 153 distilleries operating in Ontario but by 1861 this number had declined to approximately 73.¹ This huge decline in the number of distilleries differs from other secondary manufacturing industries such as brewing and clothing because for these industries a concentration did not occur for at least another decade. In addition, the spatial pattern also changed in these years (Figure 2 and 3). In 1851, distilleries were spread widely across the populated area of Ontario. But there was a strong clustering of distilling centers along the Grand River corridor, including Waterloo, Preston, Brantford, Paris, Guelph and just off to the west, Simcoe; Toronto, Peterborough; and Prescott were also large producers as were to a lesser extent Windsor, Chatham, Belleville, and

Kingston. More than 100 other locations also had distilleries. As a whole, nine percent of the estimated total provincial production was manufactured at the distilling centre of Toronto; Gooderham & Worts was producing half of this figure.² Distilling centres at Prescott (namely S. Crane & Co. and Charles A Payne) were producing eight percent, Simcoe (Ritchie Ford & Jones, David Hayes and James G. Wilson) was producing eight percent and the town of Brantford (Joseph Mauby) was producing six percent. By 1861 this pattern had become intensively concentrated. A single distillery in Toronto dominated not only its immediate hinterland where it appears to have eliminated competitors, but the province. Between 1851 and 1861 the distillers of Middlesex County, Welland County, and Lincoln County disappeared. An examination of Figure 4 clearly shows the emergence of Toronto as a major distilling centre by 1861.³

It is difficult to determine when exactly the decline in the number of distilleries occurred during this time period. It is more probable that there were a number of factors that helped to influence the demise of each individual distillery. These factors could range from those discussed in the introduction of this thesis to those of proprietor's death or debt. Table I illustrates the number of distilleries within each county in Ontario and illustrates that there was a decline in number in almost all counties; in fact there are 10 counties that no longer contain distilleries in 1861 such as the Town of Peterborough. A comparison of Table I and Table II also illustrates this decline of distilleries within Ontario counties but shows the decline using the gallons produced by the county in 1857, 1858, and 1859. This decline and fluctuation in the total gallons produced by the counties may be representative of the widespread economic depression of the last three years of the 1850s while Ontario's distilling output had risen dramatically during the earlier 1850s. Over these three years the total number of gallons leveled out or declined. During these depression years, the counties of Brant, Cavelton, Durham, Bruce, Huron, Peterborough, Victoria, Stormont, Middlesex, Elgin, Wellington, Grey, Grenville and Oxford all experienced a significant reduction in the amount of spirits produced. This could have been a result of either the closure of a distillery or simply a decrease in the spirits produced by each distillery in

operation. Only two regions experienced an increase in the amount of spirits produced during the depression years: the County of Essex increased dramatically from 34,494 gallons in 1857 to 303,856 in 1859, and York Centre (which contains the City of Toronto) from 442,744 gallons in 1857 to 589,075 gallons in 1859. A change in the geographical landscape was underway. By 1861 many of the small distilleries in 1850 that were located in the rural areas of Ontario were gone. Those that remained were mainly within villages, towns and cities (Table III). In 1861 the industry was clearly dominated by one distillery located in Toronto: Gooderham & Worts. The production of this distillery was now 15 times its production in 1850.

B. Distilleries in the 1850's

The above describes the change that occurred in the spatial pattern, but this does not detail what these distilleries of the 1850s were like as industrial establishments or the origins of many of these distilleries. It is necessary to examine further the small distilleries that were in operation during this decade to better understand these establishments and their significance in the geographical landscape. According to the Census of the Canadas, the population of Ontario in 1851 was approximately 952,000 while the population of Canada was 2.4 million. Ontario at this time was largely agricultural and rural, but with the beginnings of manufacturing developing in villages, towns and cities. Of this manufacturing more than half was in the development of consumers goods. Spirits were one of these "consumer goods". In 1850 the distilleries were small, located at sources of good water with very local markets. The general pattern of distilleries that had emerged in the early 1850s was influenced by the established water routes or the transportation network that was in place. Distilleries were dependent on water not only to produce their spirits but also, like other industries and settlements in general, for much of their contact with the rest of Ontario. This need for a good source of water created a concentration of distilleries in settlements located along Lake Ontario and, inland from Lake Ontario, along rivers. Many of these distilleries were located in the tiniest of hamlets in rural areas but there was also the emergence of small distilleries in larger villages that had been developing in response to the

growing demands of the agricultural sector. Examples of these distilleries are Patton & Currey of the Village of Paris (with a population of 1,890), Morris Udell of the Village of Grimsby (with a population of 2,448), Frederick Creine of the Township of Pickering in Ontario County (with a population of 6,737) and Peter Kastner of the Township of Ellice in Perth County (with a population of 1,328). These were commonly connected to the business of grist milling or saw milling; contrasted with these were distilleries within towns and cities where there was a ready market for spirits simply due to the number of inhabitants. Joseph Mauby of the Town of Brantford (with a population of 3,877), Alfred Aldis of the Town of Chatham (with a population of 1,768), James G. Wilson of the Town of Simcoe (with a population of 1,452) and James Morton of the City of Kingston (with a population of 11,585) can all be cited as examples.

The first seven years of the 1850's are often described as a time of general prosperity and rapid economic growth in Ontario which is attributed to the influx of capital and immigrants. Many of the distilleries of the period 1850 to 1861 were self-financed by entrepreneurs who had recently arrived in Ontario and were actively engaging themselves in new businesses and manufacturing ventures. With a capital investment of around a thousand dollars or less any person could engage in the business of distilling and supply the local market with spirits or whisky and make a small profit. An examination of the fixed capital and the total production returned in the Census of Canada 1851-52 (for those distilleries that provided both returns) illustrates that the majority of the distilleries were producing each year more than the fixed capital invested into the establishment. According to Marr (1980) "...a regional capitalist controlled more than one type of enterprise."⁴ It was common to find a gentleman who owned a grist mill and a distillery. A merchant, entrepreneur, or gentleman with a relatively small amount of capital could finance a number of establishments within a village, town, city or township or simply lease a building to another for industrial purposes.⁵ Jacob Hespeler was one of these "regional capitalists". He arrived in Preston in 1835 and attempted to buy a site near the Speed River but there were objections to the conditions of the deal by Mrs. Erb (the town founder's wife).⁶

Instead he purchased other lands in Preston, erecting a store, grist mill and stone distillery on the north side of King Street.⁷ In addition to these ventures Hespeler was also the proprietor of a cooperage, a vinegar works and a saw mill. He continued to operate these businesses for several years but power and space were inadequate at this location for future prospects and as a result he purchased land a mile upstream in New Hope (a village incorporated as Hespeler in 1858) from Abraham Clemens and Robert Forbes.⁸ He purchased a large amount of property fronting on Queen Street as far west as Avenue Road giving him access to the west bank of the Speed River.⁹ There he built a stone dam, grist and flouring mill and cooperage, and shortly thereafter a distillery and saw mill.¹⁰ Hespeler was a prominent entrepreneur who had arrived in Ontario with capital and pursued different industrial ventures; he was actively involved in the community of Preston for almost 20 years until his business prospects led him to build this second group of establishments in Hespeler.¹¹ There were many such entrepreneurs who were engaged in both distilling and other industrial ventures around the 1850s besides distilling (Appendix B, Table I).

Regional capitalists specialized in entrepreneurship, not in a particular industry. This idea can partly account for the high turn-over of individuals within the distilling industry during the 1850s. A regional capitalist in the 1850s was encountering a market environment in regions of Ontario where there were opportunities within a variety of industries and one could choose to extend an interest into various manufacturing establishments without having to invest huge sums of fixed capital.¹² It was also possible to simply own the building in which the industrial operation took place. In this case the regional capitalist's returns were the rent from the property. For example, Charles A. Payne of the Town of Prescott was renting, and Samuel Elliot was renting from Charles Watts in Brantford Township. This opened the opportunity for other individuals to operate a distillery within the chosen building. There were also a great many already established in grist milling who simply added a still. Appendix B, Table I, illustrates the number of distilling establishments that also had a milling operation. Examples include, Peter Kastner of Ellice Township in Perth County; he was a farmer who decided to turn his local

agricultural surplus into an investment by establishing a grist mill and distillery on his farm property. Henry Corby of Thurlow Township in Hastings County was a miller who decided to add a distillery to his operations and Ritchie, Ford & Jones added a distillery to their grist milling operations in the Town of Simcoe. This was not a difficult process because to produce spirits the purchase of a still would suffice. The spirits may have been of varying quality but there was little competition within the local market at this time. Stills were readily available: they could even be purchased by catalogue through the local general store.¹³ Under these type of conditions almost anyone had the opportunity to operate a distillery for a few years. A building rented from a regional capitalist could be a distillery one year and something else the next. A distilling venture could be dabbled in with relatively little capital and then left behind without the loss of much money. If the distillery was attached to a grist mill it was relatively easy to abandon distilling, as there was a main business to fall back on. Surplus space could also, at this time, be easily converted into another industrial establishment like a saw mill or carding mill; relatively little machinery was involved or the property could be sold. The 1850s were a time of opportunity and a chance to try new business ventures for an entrepreneur with a relatively small amount of capital.

C. The Beginnings of the “Big Five”

Three of the five distilleries that emerged in the 1860s to create Canada's whisky region - Hiram Walker of Essex County (Walkerville), Henry Corby of Hastings County (Corbyville) and William Hespeler and George Randall of the Village of Waterloo -- did not become established as distilleries until the latter half of the 1850s. John Wiser did not emigrate to Ontario until the late 1850s, where he took up the management of a distillery purchased from Charles Payne of the Town of Prescott. Only Gooderham & Worts had a well-established presence within the distilling industry, having operations since 1838. The origins of these distilleries deserve discussion to help determine reasons for their particular location as well as an understanding of the entrepreneurs.

John Phillip Wiser

Prescott was considered to be an excellent site for trade and commerce, mainly due to its transportation linkages. In 1859, the Leeds and Grenville, Lanark and Renfrew County Directory described Prescott as a site with great transportation prospects due to the fact it was connected to Ottawa by railway (the Ottawa Prescott Railway Company completed in 1855) and also to Montreal, Toronto and Kingston by way of the Grand Trunk Railway; not to mention through water routes to the Northern Railway and in the United States, the Town of Ogdensburg; both provided communication with the Atlantic seaboard.¹⁴ Prescott was also a port of call for Canadian steamers in addition to having an established steam ferry route to the United States (Ogdensburg). Prescott was seen as a town with good prospects for an industrial establishment with great opportunity for trade, especially in view of the expanding communities located along the St. Lawrence. There were three distilleries in operation there at the end of the 1850s.

John Wiser was born at Trenton, Oneida County (United States) in 1825.¹⁵ In his early years he became skilled in the buying and selling of livestock.¹⁶ Through family connections and influence Wiser joined the firm of Amos Averell and Charles Egert, dry goods and general merchants at Gouverneur, New York.¹⁷ Wiser with his knowledge of livestock purchased cattle throughout northern New York for several years for Egert, then being the firm's general manager.¹⁸ Averell owned a distillery in Ogdensburg and wanted to engage in the venture of feeding cattle with distillery waste.¹⁹ Averell, at this time the dominant partner of the firm, expanded his distilling operations by purchasing the distillery of Charles Payne in Prescott in 1857.²⁰ Averell, too, recognized the competitive spirit of the times and desired a "distillery of the first capacity" in Leeds and Grenville County to compete with the other distilleries that were also in operation.²¹ Payne's distillery had been constructed about 1851, on what the enumerator of the Canada Census of 1851-52 called the "the eve of competition". It was to cost £2,500 upon completion for the building and machinery, which was powered by a steam engine; the firm would also fatten 100 cattle per year.²² In 1851 it was producing 30,000 gallons of high wines

and 15,000 gallons of whisky.²³ Averell enlarged the facilities, added new storehouses, made material repairs, and enlarged the engine room.²⁴ In 1857 Wiser became a partner with Egert and Averell, and soon moved to Prescott to handle operations of the new distillery.²⁵ But as already noted, 1857 marked the beginning of a series of years of a major depression. Whisky production produced in the Leeds and Grenville region declined from 258,344 to 206,482 gallons in 1859.²⁶ The firm Egert & Averell, however, increased its products to 69,680 gallons in 1858 and 84,836 in 1859.²⁷ This increase in the face of a widespread depression underlines Wiser's determination. Noteworthy factors in Wiser's establishment are his early acquisition of business experience, his association with what appears to have been a well-capitalized firm, Wiser's specific experience with cattle, the relationship between cattle and distillery waste, and the firm's acquisition of a functioning distillery in a good trading location, success in the newly acquired business not to mention to show that this firm was out to compete for the local market.

Henry Corby

Henry Corby and his family emigrated to Canada in 1831 from England and were not destined for Belleville (as the rest of the family is believed to have settled in Middlesex) but it is said in numerous historical accounts that they were so impressed with Belleville that the family chose to stay.²⁸ At the time of Corby's arrival in Ontario he had little money but he was able to purchase enough merchandise to open a small general store.²⁹ Drawing upon the knowledge of his apprenticeship in England, he shortly thereafter started a bakery.³⁰ By 1838 Corby had become the area's leading baker.³¹ In 1838 he abandoned the general store to expand the bakery.³² In 1837 he was one of the first to offer his services as an unattached volunteer, when the MacKenzie rebellion broke out in Canada.³³ At the conclusion of the rebellion, Corby sold the bakery and purchased a steamer, called *Queen*, which he operated for four years between Belleville and Kingston acting as the captain.³⁴ It was here that he became familiar with cargo transportation and became acquainted with the buying and selling of grain.

From his arrival, Corby had very been active in the Belleville community. He was a leader among the Liberal Party often voicing his opinions during town meetings against the incumbent Conservatives.³⁵ It is said that the Leader of the Conservative Party was strongly opposed to Corby's idea to construct a dam across the Moira River in Belleville, part of his future plan to operate a distillery in conjunction with a future milling business.³⁶ It is not entirely certain if Corby had arrangements from the beginning to build a distillery but assuming that he did the Conservatives would have blocked his attempt due to the temperance leanings of the leader of the party.³⁷ It is unknown whether this was the reason that the plans to erect the grist mill and dam in Belleville were halted, and permission to build the dam was not given by the Belleville authorities. Corby had friends in Thurlow Township, just four miles up the river from Belleville, and they aided him in arrangements to build a dam and mill site at this location instead.³⁸ It is possible these political differences helped him chose the site of the grist mill which ultimately led to the distilling establishment.

In 1855 Corby bought from Slyer Reed and the Hon. Robert Reed a grist mill which he proceeded to renovate at Hayden's Corners (Corbyville) and began plans on the construction of a dam.³⁹ The building was located on the Bay of Quinte and the Moira River that led into Lake Ontario (Figure 5). The milling operations began in 1857 but it was not until 1859 that Corby decided to add a small distillery.⁴⁰ The distillery was named Alma Mills.⁴¹ The main focus of operations was still in the business of grist milling and many of the older citizens of Belleville claimed that Corby at the start of his distilling operations only distilled a bottle now and again and it was not until the increased demand by his customers (the farmers) a few years later that Corby increased production and expanded facilities.⁴² An advertisement in the Hastings County Directory 1860-61, (Figure 6) illustrates the importance of milling to the operations in Thurlow. According to the advertisement, Corby was a miller and distiller with 30 and 50 gallon casks of celebrated whisky for sale, but there was also a choice of flour, feed, bran and grains for sale as well the purchase of grain from area residents.⁴³ The key factors to be noted in Corby's

development of a grist mill and distilling operation are his previous successes in starting other business ventures, his knowledge of the grain trade, the established reputation Corby had created in Belleville and the surrounding area, his persistence to continue plans to build a grist mill and dam along the Moira River despite rejection, and Corby's decision to add a distillery to an already successful milling operation.

James Worts and William Gooderham

James Worts emigrated to Canada from England in 1831 and established a grist mill which historically is known as one of old Toronto's landmarks, *The Windmill*, as it dominated the mouth of the Don River.⁴⁴ William Gooderham had a successful career as a merchant and miller in England and emigrated to Canada in 1832 with about 54 people (servants, 2 families and 11 orphans).⁴⁵ He invested approximately £3,000 into Worts' milling business creating the partnership.⁴⁶ Worts died before the erection of the distillery in 1837 but his son James Gooderham Worts assumed his father's position in 1845 to return the name and partnership to Gooderham & Worts.⁴⁷ This distillery was the first major enterprise of its kind in Ontario. There was a demand for whisky in early Ontario especially in the growing trading centre of Toronto. Gooderham and Worts both came from families with wealth. For them it was relatively easy to start a business in grist milling.

The Gooderham and Worts families were "new" families of the commercial and industrial elite in Toronto and by the 1850s they were gaining wealth and influence in the community with the help of their successful businesses. According to Masters (1947) there was a close connection between religion and the business world; Toronto church records demonstrate "...that the men who were establishing Toronto's economic supremacy were at the same time building its churches and supplying many of their secular officials."⁴⁸ Worts and Gooderham, for example, were supporters of Trinity Anglican Church of which Gooderham became a warden in 1853. These men came from wealth but had a sense for business and entrepreneurial opportunities.

Hiram Walker

Hiram Walker was born in East Douglas, Massachusetts in 1816.⁴⁹ In 1838 he moved to Detroit, Michigan, which was growing in population and in various mercantile establishments.⁵⁰ It was here that Walker amassed experience, training and skills from a number of business establishments. These ranged from working in a grocery store, leather goods store and general store, to partnership in a tannery, to operating his own grocery store where he also sold wines and liquor. Through this retail store Walker turned to the wholesale trade of buying grain on a commission basis gaining knowledge through various transactions with farmers.⁵¹ In 1851 this grain trading operation extended into Canada and throughout the United States.⁵² As a grocer Walker had sold vinegar and according to Chauvin (1926) Walker reasoned that the profit would be greater to himself as a dealer if he could lower the wholesale cost of the whisky as there was a profit to be had in the handling of the product.⁵³ On this premise he opened a vinegar factory and perhaps it was the idea of manufacturing vinegar that opened the door to distilling spirits. In Detroit he made his first barrel of whisky in 1854.⁵⁴ He would purchase high wines (grain spirits in their rawest form) and refine them through the process of leaching through charcoal and then place the product on the market.⁵⁵ This better quality product made by Walker became very popular. It is conceivable that this success in the grain trade, the operation of a retail and liquor store, and the operation of a vinegar factory helped to transform Walker into an entrepreneur with a wide range of experience that would allow him to recognize the opportunities that were being presented in Canada.

According to Chauvin (1926) there were seven factors that increased Walker's interest in Canada as a site for a milling and distilling firm.⁵⁶ First, despite the business depression, a poor wheat harvest in the United States sent wheat prices to an all time high. Secondly, Canada had cheap land for sale and had lower-priced building materials. Thirdly, Walker had experience in the grain business as well as in distilling whisky, a history as a businessman including the selling

of liquor. Fourthly, Canadian distilleries were not suffering the harassment that existed in Michigan from active prohibitionists and there was not the instability that existed in Michigan from the local legislature with the numerous changing laws with regards to the selling and making of spirits. Fifthly, there was relatively little competition in flour milling and distilling in South Western Ontario compared to Detroit. Sixthly, it was believed by many that Canada would settle constitutional differences and bring the provinces together (potential for good trading). Finally, being from Detroit Walker had gained knowledge about nearby Windsor and the County of Essex from a number of individuals: there seemed to be a constant influx of immigrants creating a large stable market for which there was a good transportation route to eastern centres with the new Great Western Railway providing connections to cities like Toronto, Montreal, New York, Buffalo, and Boston and the potential to access western states like Chicago, there was the prospect of ample grain. Consequently because of these factors one can assume Walker saw the prospect of success and opportunity to start a new milling and distilling business in Canada. Walker came to Canada with \$40,000, a fortune that he had developed over the nearly 20 years in his businesses in Detroit.⁵⁷ In 1856 and 1857 Walker purchased approximately 468 acres of land in Essex County for £1,300 and chose the sites for a mill and distillery.⁵⁸ The year 1857 was spent constructing the first steam mill in Essex County; a mill made mostly out of lumber.⁵⁹ By the spring of 1858 the mill and distillery were in production. Notable factors in the establishment of Walker's grist milling and distilling operations were his wide variety of experience gathered from working in various businesses, his success in Canada and the United States in the trading of grain, his previous endeavours in the art of distillation, and the favourable conditions that Canada presented to an entrepreneur for running such an establishment when compared to the United States (such as cheaper land prices, trade potential, and less competition).

William Hespeler and George Randall

Hespeler and Randall were general merchants in Waterloo, Ontario and made "old rye" by the barrel. The distillery was a part of the local store and so the distilling operations that

began in the Town of Waterloo started as a storekeeper's specialty. Granite Mills and Waterloo Distillery were built in 1857 by Hespeler who was a merchant from Berlin (present day Kitchener, Ontario) and Randall who was a contractor for the Grand Trunk Railway.⁶⁰ The basis of the operation was to grind the grain and the surplus would be distilled into spirits that would be sold to the local population. The distillery waste would also be used to feed cattle located in the adjoining barns.

As we have noted earlier, the distilleries were developed for a number of different reasons, however commonalities can be seen between the "Big Five" distilleries regardless of when the operations began. They had all acquired the necessary skills to manage an industrial establishment through years of experience in various mercantile and industrial ventures. In particular, Walker, Hespeler and Randall were experienced in the art of distillation and these men then decided to build a milling and distilling operation. Walker and Corby were familiar with trading grain and the potential for profits by owning a grist mill. Wiser, unlike the others, was given the opportunity to manage a profitable distillery. He was experienced in the livestock trade and knew of the prospect of feeding animals on distillery waste. Each of the "Big Five" distilleries were attached to a grist mill and were located on excellent sources of water. In fact Worts, Gooderham and Corby realized the profitable nature of distilling through their milling operations and then decided to add a distillery to their operations. These men were familiar with the area that surrounded their new businesses and saw the potential for trade. For example Worts had located his business in the growing trading centre of Toronto and Corby had lived in the Belleville community for almost 15 years before starting his milling operation. In the late 1850s each distiller had been confronted with the increasing demand for whisky and spirits. A new highly competitive market was in existence and this competition along with the economic depression made entering the distilling industry a risky venture when compared to the early 1850s.

D. Technological Change: The Pot Still versus the Column Still

New technological developments were being embraced by many distilleries during the 1850's. This included a more efficient way to produce spirits and whisky that would produce a larger quantity in a shorter amount of time, reduce the labour involved in the production process, and create a better, more marketable final product (whisky). The majority of distilleries throughout Ontario around 1850 were using the pot still. This type of still created spirits easily and could produce an adequate amount to service the local population. Shuttleworth (1924) provides an example of a typical small still (Figure 7). The wooden tank would have contained a coiled condensing unit (the "worm") surrounded by cold water. The alcohol vapour would flow from the still through the coil and condense into spirit which then flowed into the second still below (alcohol has a lower boiling point than water). At the top of the still, the still narrows and curves over into a thin pipe called the worm. The "worm" was a coil that was immersed in cold water and it is here that the alcohol vapour was condensed into liquid. Distillation by this pot still method required two distillations in separate stills. Rectifying equipment was often added to produce high-proof spirits. Spirits from the first distillation were low-wines and spirits from the second distillation were high wines.

The pot still was a discontinuous process whereby the still had to be filled, distilled, emptied and recharged, creating a delay in the process; oftentimes there would be the need for a second distillation because the first distillation would have created a very weak product.⁶¹ The recharging required extra labour and fuel. This method was often used by individuals with different levels of knowledge about the process of distilling; as a result the final product varied in quality and there were often inadequate concentrations of raw materials used that created a rather poor tasting spirit.⁶² Moreover, it used fire (usually from oil, wood or coal) for boiling which was not only dangerous but it was a slow process to reach the desired boiling point.⁶³ Wear and tear on the equipment from repeated heating and cooling was considerable, and had negative affects on the quality of the spirit.⁶⁴

For those individuals who could spare a large amount of fixed capital to invest in the distillery, however, there was the opportunity to construct a better distillery with a column still that provided a more efficient means of production. With economic pressures, the desire to reduce costs, and the desire to enlarge the local market area to gain access to the widespread and growing consumption for whisky (which was partially due to population growth), continuous distillation was extremely attractive. It offered speed, an immense capacity, a lower cost per unit of output, and the option to use a mixed grain mash.⁶⁵ But to utilize continuous distillation required a large investment of capital: for the large boilers, pumps, mash tubs, malting tubs, large vats, and for other ancillary equipment.⁶⁶ Capital was also required for the facilities to house all this new equipment. This was a different type of fixed capital investment that assumed a long term commitment. In essence it was the continuity that made this new process expensive. The continuous process of distillation symbolized the transition of the distillery to factory production. The advent of this early factory type system appeared at an earlier date when compared to other manufacturing industries because it was relatively easy to integrate the flow of liquids through the different processes of production. This was the beginning of the distillery moving away from the business of milling and association with another businesses to become its own industrial enterprise. Technological changes brought with it industrial change.

It is likely that many distillers did not have the means for this type of fixed capital investment. In this case it is possible that these distillers may have phased distilling out of their business endeavours, not entering the new market. To invest a large amount of capital meant commitment to the industry and once this capital was invested there was no longer the ability to easily change the establishment. The new machinery required for the production and use of the column still meant that there could be no easy conversion of the building into a saw mill for example. The distilling industry would require longevity and the willingness of the individual to remain within the business. Those that did undertake this capital investment were gambling within a new expanded market. Producing large amounts of spirits required expanded markets.

The newly completed steam railways opened those markets. Column still producers occupied a new level in the competition hierarchy, now able to compete over larger areas. It was a gamble: invest a large amount of capital to gain a larger output and the possibility of higher profit. Some distilleries won and some lost.

E. Gooderham & Worts, Toronto

At an early date, the Gooderham & Worts distillery embraced the new technology of the column still wholeheartedly and continued to improve the process of distilling. This explains the huge increase in production experienced by this firm from 80,000 gallons in 1850 to 1,250,000 in 1861. This distilling establishment surpassed the competition by leaps and bounds in the 1850s to achieve domination in the region of Toronto a mere 10 years later. The process that this distillery underwent is remarkable when compared to other secondary manufacturing establishments at this time that were all relatively small in terms of production and did not experience the affects of new technology until the 1860s. It becomes necessary to retrace the evolution of this firm during the 1850s to appreciate the technological changes that occurred which significantly altered the nature of this distillery.

The distillery of Gooderham & Worts was described by the British Colonist of April 16, 1850 to be a distillery that had been growing rapidly since the early 1840s and was now on as large a scale as many in the district. Figure 8 shows the Gooderham & Worts facilities sometime in 1855. The facility is small, constructed around the old windmill. To the right may be the cattle sheds and there is a wharf in the foreground. The distillery would not remain this size for long; by 1861 it was very different.

The property of this Toronto distillery in 1850 contained numerous facilities. The flour mills could produce 900 bushels per week. The wharf provided easy access to water transportation. Located at the end of this wharf were 2 storehouses (90 feet by 30 feet and 2 stories high) with a capacity to store 20,000 bushels of wheat. In 1846, a Riley's patent still (column still) was added to the distillery. According to the British Colonist April 16, 1850, "Its

great utility consists in enabling the distiller to run his beer in much less time than in the old Dutch still; and spirits can at one operation be brought to 50 percent overproof, which before this invention could not be done without the assistance of a copper still.”⁶⁷ From this description it is clear that Gooderham & Worts had changed to the column still. It is from the British Colonist of April 16, 1850 that we find figures that give us a size for the operation: 18,000 bushels of grain per year producing approximately 80,000 gallons of whisky.⁶⁸ The description below was taken from the British Colonist of April 16, 1850. It described the distillery as “an exceedingly extensive establishment...The machinery appears to be very substantial and durable, and in complete working order; and everything here appears to be performed with a spirit and system which reflects much credit on the proprietors.” On the property there was an above ground ice house (30 feet square by 12 feet high) to preserve the ice that was to be used in the distillery during the summer months (to help regulate the temperatures). Close to the mills there was a cooper shop where ten men were employed to produce the barrels needed by both the mill and the distillery. There was a dairy with 108 cows that were fed principally on distillery waste and the milk produced from the cows was sold within the City of Toronto. Three hundred head of cattle were sold each year, having been fattened on the distillery waste. The mill and distilling operation employed approximately 31 individuals where wages averaged £50 to £120 a year, a total of around £3,000, many of whom lived near the distillery. Additionally, the city’s assessment rolls inform us Messrs. Gooderham & Worts were involved in other business ventures in Toronto which included general stores, saw mills, tanneries, cooperages, and a dairy.⁶⁹

By 1856 Gooderham and Worts were producing 800 gallons of whisky a day and grinding 300 bushels of wheat, and shipping 325,000 bushels of wheat to Great Britain per year.⁷⁰ Figure 9 is a copy of a plan from 1855 and it illustrates the number of different buildings on the property. Steam was installed in the 1850s and the column still allowed Gooderham & Worts to establish their fortunes. Growth of the business in the boom years of the early 1850’s and the new found capital from an increased production capacity (increasing sales) allowed for the

construction of a new large distillery to replace the original wooden building surrounding the old stone windmill. Despite the economic depression, therefore, Gooderham & Worts expanded, using the capital of the 1850s and with a strong commitment demonstrated the new direction of spirits and whisky.

The foundation of this new distillery was laid in April of 1859 and was completed in 1861.⁷¹ Many local labourers and mechanics were employed in connection with the construction.⁷² According to the Toronto Globe in 1862 the construction "...was well planned, designed and executed using the best architects and copper and brass works sparing no expense."⁷³ The building and its contents were estimated to cost up to \$200,000.⁷⁴ The principal building was substantial and extensive, designed for steam mills and a distillery, made from lime-stone that was shipped in from Kingston quarries.⁷⁵ It was 5 stories (between 70 and 80 feet in height), with a chimney stretching 100 feet high, approximately 300 feet long and 80 feet wide.⁷⁶ The view of this distillery (Figure 10) published in the Canadian Illustrated News of Hamilton on April 25, 1863 differs markedly for the earlier structure shown in Figure 8.

The walls were made unusually thick (3 feet 6 inches thick) and it was planned that the entire first floor would be fire-proof.⁷⁷ There was no wood used on the first floor. This decision to make the distillery fire-proof may have been a result of a fire of 1842. There was substantial support given to the building with all the beams for each floor doubled to form a very solid foundation.⁷⁸ This number of beams not only provided added strength but in the event that the wood may become diseased the faulty wood beam could be removed easily.⁷⁹ To protect against the possibility of rotten timbers no beam was inserted into the walls but rested on projections from the inside of the wall allowing air to circulate around the ends of the beam where decay was often first observed.⁸⁰ This initial planning created a building with "staying power". Despite what were significant additions in the centre of the distillery, the beams were additionally supported with iron pillars a foot in diameter, three located on each of the first four stories.

The machinery that was installed to cater to this new process of producing spirits deserves further attention. The “Annual Review of Trade of Toronto for 1861” was published in the Toronto Globe of February 7, 1862, providing the clearest description of the distilling process used. The Gooderham & Worts distillery was described as the largest in Canada and equalled by few on the continent. In terms of the manufacturing interests of Toronto during the year 1861, Gooderham & Worts had made the most important contribution.⁸¹ The reporter was taken on an extensive tour of the premises where the operations were described. By detailing the production process as described in this article it is possible to comprehend the enormity of this establishment. The technological improvements that were made to this distillery exemplifies the desire of the firm to compete and gain a competitive edge by producing large amounts of marketable spirits. More importantly with these technological improvements the firm of Gooderham & Worts had achieved by 1861 a distilling process which required very few workmen thereby making the production process more efficient, precise, and scientific in addition to reducing the labour costs and eliminating human error. In the “Annual Review of Trade of Toronto” this production process was described as follows, “...scarcely any other establishment in Canada is there so much accomplished without the aid of manual labour. From the time the corn (grain) is received at the door until it is ‘racked’ or drawn off in barrels, as whisky or spirits, it is not handled by human hands!”⁸² This machinery and the construction of this distillery did require a large fixed capital which illustrates the long term commitment this firm was willing to undertake. The Canada Census of 1861 reported Gooderham and Worts with a fixed capital invested of between \$100,000 to \$200,000.

The engine room (Figure 11) was designed to be completely fire-proof with the ceiling, walls and foundation made of stone.⁸³ It contained a low pressure steam engine of 100 horse power that was claimed to be the largest in Canada. It was driven by steam generated by six boilers constructed to handle double the pressure. The mill had 8 run of stones capable of producing 150 barrels of flour a day and at the same time the ability to mash 1,500 bushels of

grain for the distillery.⁸⁴ Elevators were constructed to hoist the grain into the building. The building was located along-side the railway track and was adjacent to the company's private wharf. The new establishment, employing 150 men in 1861, now had a capacity of 7,500 gallons of spirits per day or 2.5 million a year.⁸⁵

The production process is described in detail below and has been adapted from the reporter's account as written in the "Annual Review of Trade of Toronto in 1861."⁸⁶ Grain (corn, barley, oats and rye) was received at the private wharf and was placed into the hopper, then weighed. It was said that a car load of grain could be unloaded in only 20 minutes. The grain would be elevated at a rate of 1,000 bushels per hour to the fifth floor (the highest story) of the building. Here the grain would be screened and cleaned. Once the grain was clean it would be lowered into one of the 6 "stock hoppers" that had a capacity of 2,500 bushels each. Then the grain, when needed, would be lowered to the mill stones to be ground into meal. The mill stones, according to the reporter, were "... driven by one of the simplest, yet one of the most complete arrangements in the entire building..." and this arrangement had to be "...seen with one's own eyes" because he could not describe it. The meal was then elevated a second time to the top of the building where it would be conveyed to another set of hoppers, located over the mash tubs. Here, the mash descended into a movable "scale hopper" that was placed on a small railway where it could be weighed again at a rate of 600 to 700 bushels in 10 minutes. Then this hopper was pushed on top of the particular mash tub designed to its reception and the mash was loaded into the tub. The reporter conveyed the size of these tubs by saying that "...a small dwelling could be easily packed" into one mash tub (Figure 12). The different grains would be mixed together at this location in the proper proportions and converted into a thin liquid with the introduction of hot and cold water and steam.

The meal, now at the right temperature, was kept in these mash tubs for four hours where it was constantly overturned with a revolving action designed for optimal effect. Once this process was complete the alcoholic liquid descended into fermenting tubs (of which there were

10 in 1861 but it was mentioned in the article that there were plans to increase the number to 28 or 30) where it would ferment for 4 days. These tubs were located on the lower story so the fermented liquor had to be elevated by a brass pump (with a capacity so large it, too, was claimed to be unequalled in Canada) and once at the copper still (there were 2 with a capacity of 1,500 gallons) using high heat, the spirits were separated from the congeners. The spirits would then travel through the “worm” and the distillery waste was removed through a pipe into the ground where it crossed the street to a receptacle. The spirit travelled through 1001 feet of pipe (the worm) where it was then condensed from steam into a white liquid known as raw spirits. This liquid ran slowly from the bottom of the worm into a pipe and was pumped into a large tank at the top of the building. The liquid was then distributed into a series of 42 rectifiers, each with a capacity of 800 gallons when charged with powdered charcoal (there is no second distillation here). The charcoal would be renewed every six to eight months. The liquid was slowly filtered partially separating the spirits from essential oils. When the filtering was complete the liquid was conveyed into more receivers where more manipulation transpired to draw off “Canadian whisky”. The whisky would be barrelled and placed in a large storeroom where it aged 2 to 12 months until ready for market.

F. The Competition: Hiram Walker distillery in 1861, David Allan’s Mill in 1853, and others

It is necessary to examine Gooderham & Worts’ competition towards the end of the 1850s. This will help to establish the scale of distilleries that still existed and indicate how different Gooderham & Worts was as a result of that firm’s adoption of technology. The competition at this time was uneven and can be termed one-sided. There was varied competition in existence at the end the 1850s despite the adoption of new technology by distilleries. The Hiram Walker distillery will be examined to illustrate the general similarities between the two distilleries and the fact that Walker’s new distillery, although using much of the same technology, did not have the capital to produce a large distilling operation like that of Gooderham & Worts.

David Allan's distillery in the Town of Guelph will be examined to show that there were distilleries in operation that had also embraced new technology to aid in the distilling process and yet they were average and relatively small when compared to the Gooderham & Worts distillery in Toronto. The distillery of Thomas Reid in the County of Waterloo illustrates that there were still small local operations much like those that had existed in 1850. The Gooderham & Worts distillery had large capital available and hence could take full advantage of the new technologies as they became available, which illustrates the competitive edge the firm was trying to achieve at an early date in the hope of capturing the newly expanding markets.

The Hiram Walker distillery, located one mile north of the Town of Windsor on the Detroit River, was, in 1861, similar to Gooderham and Worts in terms of the production process, but did not match it in size. An article published in the Detroit Advertiser and Tribune on November 27, 1861 describes it.³⁷ The distillery building was four stories high, constructed of wood. The machinery was powered by an 80 horse power engine. There were four runs of stones, two constantly used for producing the wheat flour sold to the Canadian market, and two preparing the grain for the distillery, as well as all the usual machinery one may expect to find in the production of whisky and spirits. The capital invested in this distillery, that was only 4 years old, was \$35,000.³⁸ Not a bad sum for an individual establishment of 1861, but a far cry from the investment of Gooderham & Worts. The business in 1861 consisted of a farm of 200 acres, 12 dwelling houses, a malt house, a cooper shop, and large four-story brick storehouses then in the process of construction. Walker built his distillery in 1857 out of wood whereas Gooderham and Worts would soon make plans for a more soundly-constructed building that would be partially fire-proof. Walker also fattened livestock from the distillery waste, approximately 3,000 hogs and 1,000 cattle. It was in the summer of 1858 that Walker had begun distilling.

The distilling process was very similar to that used by Gooderham & Worts. According to the Detroit Advertiser and Tribune, Walker had found that corn was the grain that returned the most in terms of yields and so 3,600 bushels were consumed per week. The corn was ground into

meal and moved by elevator to the fourth story and weighed into batches of from 48 to 60 hundred weight (or approximately 6,700 pounds).⁹⁹ Each batch would be taken into the mash tub (about 16 feet in diameter and 4 feet high) and stirred. Hot water was added (enough to form a thin mixture), which was then stirred and boiled by means of steam for 20 minutes. The mixture would then be cooled by forcing cold water around the inner surface of the tub that was lined with copper. A quantity of malt and ground oats or rye (one-fifth the quantity of corn used) was added with about 150 pounds of yeast and, once thoroughly stirred, was run into the fermenting tubs. At this distillery there were 20 fermenting tubs with a capacity of 4,000 to 4,500 gallons each which, surprisingly, was more than Gooderham & Worts at this time. Here the mixture would ferment for five days and was then brought into a large reservoir under the building where amounts would be taken out when wanted.

These withdrawals were pumped to the still. Walker's still (in 1861) was designed for distilleries that were at a capacity from 100 to 1,000 bushels. The still had been purchased by catalogue from the firm of Hoffman-Ahlers Co. out of Louisville and Cincinnati; it was common and designed for a wide range of capacities.

The still consisted of a large wooden cylinder, 35 feet high and 8 feet in diameter divided into 3 compartments, each containing a separate vessel. (Figure 13 illustrates this three chambered charging still that Walker started with in 1858.) Steam would be passed into the lower compartment and the contents were set to boiling. The steam was collected by the charger (an inverted tub 3 feet in diameter and 4 feet high). The still was kept constantly full of fluid from the reservoir. Every 20 minutes the contents of the lower compartment were blown out with steam and the fluid of each compartment above let in, while the compartment above would be newly supplied from the charger. From the top of the still, having passed through the entire length, the steam would be conducted into the doubler, a contrivance similar to the still, but of smaller size with only one compartment. In Walker's still, the doubler was copper. Instead of the fermented liquid from the reservoir used in the still, the doubler now contained low wines

through which steam passed to the “worm” (a large tub 25 feet high and 12 feet in diameter) occupied throughout the entire length by a coil of copper pipe (8 inches in diameter at the start tapering down to 2.5 inches). Cold water surrounded the pipe. The water was pumped in at the bottom of the worm and became heated as it approached the top by the rapid condensation of the steam. At the top of the “worm” the hot water would move into a large reservoir and this water would be used again, supplying the mash tub and other purposes. The condensed steam poured from the “worm” and tested with a hydrometer. If the steam was of sufficient strength it would be drawn off after this first distillation (called high wines), and moved directly to the rectifying room; if it was below the standard it was called “low wines” and was sent back to the doubler. The longer the same charge remained in the still the greater the proportion of low wines. Therefore faster re-charging meant much more efficient production. The high wines were sent to the rectifying tubs for filtering by using charcoal. The pure spirits were obtained by the condensation of steam given off by boiling the high wines and 15 to 20 barrels of these spirits were produced per day. Whisky was obtained in the same manner, however the strength and recipe varied; plus almost all the whisky was aged for at least a month or more depending on the brand. Approximately 50 barrels of whisky were produced each day. Much of the whisky gallons produced found a ready market in Canada. According to the Census of Canada 1861, the Hiram Walker distillery produced 400,000 gallons of whisky and was second in Ontario in terms of production next to Gooderham & Worts (Table IV). Clearly, the process was very similar to that of Gooderham & Worts but on a smaller scale.

The main difference between these two distilleries in terms of the production process was the rectifier. Rectification was important because alcohol in the 1850s was often poor, strong, colourless and contained undesirable congeners, and that from pot stills was particularly affected. It was common not to age the whisky and if it was aged for a month then it was advertised as old. Rectification, or filtration, helped eliminate these congeners. Both Hiram Walker and Gooderham & Worts leached the liquid through charcoal to remove many of the worst impurities.

Although Hiram Walker did not have a maturation period in 1858 (this soon changed); his whisky was superior by 1858 standards due to his attention to rectification. A few inches above the solid bottom of his rectification tubs was a perforated bottom where a woollen blanket or cleanly-carded cotton was placed upon which a layer of gravel or pebbles was added. A six inch layer of charcoal was then laid upon this layer of gravel, then a layer of barley malt and another layer of charcoal up to a foot and a half from the top of the cask; then another woollen blanket, another layer of gravel and finally more charcoal to within eight inches from the top of the cask. There was a series of these rectifiers, each one connected to the other by means of a faucet. The liquid was passed through the rectifiers to a common reservoir at the bottom. This rectifying system allowed for the gauging of the capacity to the demand, a varied yield of whisky per day, and a production rate scheduled to demand.

Gooderham & Worts' rectifiers were of an open tub design that worked using gravity whereas Hiram Walker used a closed circuit design. Figure 14 illustrates the rectifiers (and the stills) used in the Gooderham and Worts distillery. The open tub design worked by gravity and was slow, it resulted in great evaporation, and required many tubs which ultimately meant considerable space and capital. However, the quality of the whisky was such that rectifying tubes were not necessary. The closed circuit design required fewer units with no evaporation and required less space. Figure 15 illustrates the closed circuit design as used by Walker in the early 1860s. This closed rectifier was adopted a few years after the construction of the distillery by Walker and it is possible the Gooderham & Worts also changed to embrace this new technology because it could produce an even purer whisky that was cheaper to manufacture.

Although the rectifiers were a main difference between the two distilleries and the closed circuit rectifier was likely adopted by Gooderham & Worts, there was also a difference in the type of still used in 1861. From the description of the still it was of rather small capacity but it was perfect for a smaller distillery. Walker had this three chambered still in operation for only a few years because the still was not adequate to meet the increased demand.

David Allan's Guelph Mills & Distillery was of a much smaller scale. In 1861 the Census of Canada reported his distillery as producing 78,500 gallons of whisky. The distillery, built in 1835 by William Allan, was located on the east side of the Speed River extending from Allan's bridge. This milling and distilling operation was owned by William Allan in 1851 until his son David took over in 1859 after William's death. Figure 16 shows a watercolour of the mill in 1853. The milling and distilling operations were described in an article in the Guelph Advertiser newspaper on June 30, 1853 and is described below. The mill and granary were 100 feet long by 40 feet wide and 3.5 stories high. It contained 4 run of stones driven by a water wheel 16 feet in diameter and 13 feet wide. A new stone building that was being added to the property measuring 50 feet long by 38 feet wide and 5.5 stories high, was intended to have separate power to run two pairs of stones and a barley mill. This machinery was installed in 1853. There was a small railway for the movement of grain and other material from the mill to the distillery that was on the opposite (east) bank. An elevated framework supported by buttresses placed in the stream bed allowed for communication between the two sides of the river. Allan noted to the reporter as they were walking over the river that they were "passing over the first Guelph Railway, and although only 190 feet long, it has proved a railway of no mean importance to its proprietor." In 1853 Allan was also revamping the distilling facilities. The new building was 140 feet long by 50 feet wide with some parts of it 56 feet high. Old tubs and utensils were being removed for much larger equipment. A new furnace was fitted at a cost of approximately \$1,000. The mashing of grain was increased from 50 bushels to 100 bushels. There was a malt kiln measuring 20 square feet inside, with upper and lower floors, 70 feet long, with pipes, spouts and conveniences for conveying the grain with the least possible labour. It was described as a "beautiful and well-ordered manufacturing establishment...", to compensate Allan one would need more than \$4,000. There was also a hog (250 in number) and cattle (50 head) yard located on the property where the animals were fed primarily on distillery waste. There was a carding and fulling establishment as well as a lumber yard on the west side with a adjoining

cooperage where the barrels were made for the flour and whisky. At this time there were 30 men employed constantly in addition to several teams that would daily cart whisky, flour and mill stuff to their Hamilton warehouse and general customers. The Guelph Advertiser explained that, "...it not infrequently happens that the distillery is run to its last barrel." Although this description is from 1853 it does provide a detailed illustration of what a smaller distillery would contain. It is probable that by 1861 Allan had made some improvements to the distilling operations; however, the property would be essentially the same.

Many other small scale distilleries continued to serve the local markets in 1861. Thomas Reid's distillery in the Village of Blair (four miles from the Village of Galt and one mile from the Village of Preston) in Waterloo County can be cited as one example. In 1861 this distillery produced spirits to be valued at \$1,500 or approximately 5,000 gallons.⁹⁰ In February 1857 Reid advertised in the Galt Reporter that the distillery would be in operation soon and consequently he was in need of any quantity of spring wheat, oats, rye or grain from local farmers. To start this operation Reid had to rely on local farmers. The Carlisle Mills or Dew Drop Distillery, which Reid rented, was originally built in 1846 by Samuel B. Bowman as a grist mill and it was known at the time as one of 2 mills in Canada that used water a second time through 2 water wheels (the first at 25 horse power and the second at 15 horse power). This building was two and a half stories high (the lower story forming the cellarage), 84 feet by 44 feet, made of stone and built of heavy timber reinforced with iron rods located on 8 acres of land where the water was provided by a pond and springs.⁹¹ There was the necessary machinery including mash tubs, receivers and rectifiers, with the capability of mashing 60 bushels per day.⁹² There was also a boiler of 15 horse power, a force pump to move water throughout the building, and one run of stone ("that could do all the required chopping") as well as stabling and cattle and hog pens.⁹³ Reid placed an advertisement on June 26 to inform the public that the distillery was in operation. He wanted the public to know that he had had a long experience in the business as he had worked for six years with Messrs. Ewart and Stanton, one year with Mr. Elliot of Galt and seven years with William

Hespeler of Waterloo.⁹⁴ It was with this experience he was hoping to make “an article of whisky unequalled in the country.”⁹⁵ Reid believed that if everyone tried this whisky he knew that they would all enjoy it.⁹⁶ Despite his hopes for success the times were hard for beginners, his distillery did not survive and was offered for sale or to rent in 1863.⁹⁷

Obviously there was a range of distilleries in operation in 1861. There were small local distilleries, mid-sized distilleries, and distilleries that were moving towards factory production. Many of these distilleries began to adopt new technologies as they became available. For the larger distilleries, the column still offered even greater production. Growth now depended heavily upon the amount of fixed capital that one could invest into the operations. Gooderham & Worts had become a clear leader by 1861; they had created a new distillery that had no competitors in terms of gallons produced annually and in terms of technological advances in building construction, machinery and distilling equipment.

G. The Advent of the Railway and an Alteration in the Market

Ontario's distilleries were centred around Lake Ontario and, with the improvement of railways accessibility, were greatly influenced. Comparing Figure 17 and 18, we can see that both the counties of Essex and York had greatly increased in the production of spirits and whisky from 1851 to 1861. For example, Essex County (mainly the new distillery of Hiram Walker) had a production per capita level of 15.98 gallons in 1861 compared to 2.38 gallons in 1851. The average production per capita for Ontario in 1851 was 1.95⁹⁸ gallons and by 1861 it had risen to 2.94 gallons. The City of Toronto was producing 34.58 gallons per person compared to only 2.76 gallons in 1851. Many counties (such as Middlesex and Lanark) continued at relatively the same production levels. It is clear that many Ontario counties had discontinued the production of spirits and whisky. The counties of Peel and Halton are two such examples. Ontario's distilleries were producing gallons of spirits and whisky across the landscape.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, much of the spirits and whisky consumed in Ontario had been imported. Imported, good quality whisky was relatively expensive for the

general consumer because of customs duties and transportation costs. These duties were designed to protect the infant industry from foreign competition and stimulate its growth.⁹⁹ As we have seen, however, by mid-century Ontario had a significant local manufacture of whisky and spirits. According to the Custom House Returns, the amount of whisky entering the port of Toronto had decreased from 75,786 gallons in 1856 to 531 gallons in 1859.¹⁰⁰ The “Annual Review of Trade of Toronto” in the Toronto Globe of January 25, 1860, further underlines the reversal from importing to exporting that had been achieved:

The country from Ottawa to the Detroit Rivers, is now principally supplied by Toronto distilleries, and during the coming year the production will be largely augmented by the completion of the distillery of Messrs. Gooderham and Worts. The home market is already supplied, and it is the intention of this enterprising firm to export to England the great bulk of their increased manufacture. They will, of course, make a much superior description of whisky than that sold here, and no doubt will create a profitable trade. When complete, they can turn out 150 barrels of 40 O.P. [overproof] whisky per day. It is expected they will require half a million of bushels annually of Western grain, besides what they can get in our own markets.

The access to more distant markets, whether regionally or internationally, required efficient, low-cost transportation.

In 1850, Ontario’s distilleries were widespread throughout the settled areas, and far from a local market. Most of the larger ones were adjacent to water routes. Water routes were often a low-cost transportation provider but from the fall to the spring these natural waterways were restricted due to frozen water. In the 1850s, a great burst of steam railway construction had a major impact on transportation. Railways were relatively immune to the winter, they could reach beyond the water routes, they were a faster mode of transport, and were less likely to damage goods. This meant that for distilleries the shipping system would be more efficient, away from water, and less expensive. Geographical barriers of distance and of high-cost overland transport were broken.

The Grand River Corridor is an excellent example of how rail overtook water transportation. Before the railways came the Grand River provided significant advantages: with canalization to Brantford in the 1830s, the Grand River provided low-cost transportation right

through to Buffalo. Communities and villages along this river had access and opportunities to transport goods away from the local community that many comparable distilleries of the time could not do. According to the "Second Report of the Grand River Navigation Company" in 1835 there were high hopes for the exports along the river and that, "The exports will be very large, consisting of wheat, flour, agricultural produce, whisky, shingles, Plaster of Paris, in large quantities pine timber from above Brantford...[as well as various other products]."¹⁰¹ The distillery of Patton and Currey in the Village of Paris is one example of a rather isolated distillery but the Grand River canal system allowed the firm to transport whisky downstream and export whisky providing a profit even after paying the transportation costs.¹⁰² This canal system could move the goods at greater distances and provide inducements to manufacturers and capitalists. Many villages like Dunnville, Indiana, and York Mills grew from the opportunities the canal system provided and in these villages distilleries were opened, such as James Kirkland's distillery and Thomas Mussen's distillery in Indiana. In 1850 there were over 100 steamers on the Grand River.¹⁰³ However this was to decline shortly thereafter because "railway fever" took over. These villages that had been important during the canal era no longer held the advantage over the others now served by the railway system. Rail lines cut across the Grand River corridor east-west, moving the main transportation away from the river. The outstanding advantages of this corridor were no longer outstanding.

The period of 1850 to 1857 is characterized as the first railway boom with the construction of the main trunk lines. In 1850 there were only 66 miles of completed railway in all of Canada compared to over 10,000 miles in the United States.¹⁰⁴ By 1859 the miles had increased by 300 times to 1,800 miles in Canada of which 1,375 were in Ontario (Table V), yet this was far from the number of miles in the United States in 1850. The main trunk lines were connected into the United States' rail network. Between 1853 and 1855 the Great Western Railway was constructed from Niagara Falls bridging across the river to the United States through to Windsor which was connected by ferry to Detroit and the United States rail network. A spur

line was completed in 1856 to connect the Great Western Railway to Toronto. The Grand Trunk Railway ran from Quebec City to Sarnia tying together the major urban centres of Ontario such as Prescott (Egert & Averell distillery), Kingston (Morton's Kingston Brewery & Distillery), Belleville (H. Corby distillery), Toronto (Gooderham & Worts distillery), and Guelph (Allan's Mill and Distillery). Figure 19 illustrates this railway coverage of Ontario in the late 1850s. However it is clear that these rail lines did not entirely cover Ontario which meant that some centres were left at a disadvantage. The Town of Simcoe is a good example of an area that was at a considerable disadvantage with no rail lines so the main mode of transporting spirits and whisky had to be over road or water routes or simply to supply only the local population. The distillery of Ritchie, Ford & Co. operated in this town (Figure 20) and continued to operate into the 1860s but soon began to experience difficulties since it could not adequately compete with those distilleries on rail lines that benefited from an expanding market. The urban centres directly on these key rail lines were able to expand their market area. Small distilleries that were once sheltered by the cost of transportation were now vulnerable to lower-cost spirits and whisky of the newly-expanded transportation advantaged distilleries such as Gooderham & Worts. Railways broke down the geographic isolation of small communities thus allowing the larger distilleries to dominate the small distilleries in the smaller communities. This meant a change from sheltered local markets to intense competition.

Gooderham & Worts since it has access to numerous rail lines entering Toronto from the north, west and east such as the Grand Trunk Railway and the Northern Railway (that stretched to Lake Huron) there was an easy distribution of goods across Ontario. This configuration of main rail lines meant that by 1860 the trend had been set for urban dominance and this dominance would be ensured as the number of lines increased thereby increasing Toronto's range and influence over the rest of Ontario. This influence can be clearly seen in the changing spatial pattern of Ontario's distilleries from 1850 to 1861 with the dominance shifting to the City of Toronto. Gooderham & Worts, it appears, removed the competition around the City of Toronto.

The distilleries that once circled this city supplying local markets had by 1861 disappeared (Figure 4). This region around Toronto is where it is possible to view the beginnings of this distillery branching out to control and extend its market area. Lambton Mills in Etobicoke that was operated by William Howland is one example of a distillery that was gone by 1861.¹⁰⁵ The Lambton Mills was a family business that was founded in the 1840s with both a mill and distillery. In 1851 the distillery was producing approximately 18,000 gallons of spirits.¹⁰⁶ It is uncertain what caused this distillery to close down by 1861, but the influence of the Gooderham & Worts distillery may well have been a contributing factor.

However, it was not only this region around Toronto that was affected by rail transportation. Any distillery that was located on a rail line had the opportunity to ship quantities of whisky to various locations throughout Ontario. It was not necessarily the influence of one distillery into local regions but the impact of numerous distilleries from across Ontario that were competing for an expanded market within the local regions. There was now a choice for the general store buyer of spirits and whisky. It was this choice that could be easily manipulated by price and even quality. As mentioned previously a distillery like Hiram Walker was using a rectifier and filtering to help remove impurities and thereby improving the taste of the whisky, and his still allowed for a control in the strength of the spirits. If, for example, we assume that within a small village there is a local distillery that was producing spirits, the advent of competing whiskies that were the same price or lower would pose a problem because once the consumer tried the different whiskies available, if there was a noticeable improvement in taste then it is unlikely that the consumer would continue to buy the local spirits.

The Hiram Walker distillery was aimed almost entirely at exporting whisky across the river into Michigan in 1858, but within a few years it was also transporting spirits and whisky across Ontario. Walker was considered to be an innovator and a good marketer. With his background he was aware of the competition that existed in the United States between various brands of whisky. Walker knew the type of brands that were selling in the United States and in

order to compete he had to produce a quality product which would have also been shipped throughout Ontario.

Gooderham & Worts had been aware of the need of adequate transportation facilities for some time and had the capital to utilize it. In 1840 their trade in wheat and flour, that had helped Gooderham and Worts acquire a substantial amount of capital, had already been extended to Montreal and even beyond Canada. According to the British Colonist April 16, 1850 in the fall of 1849 they had shipped 80,000 bushels of wheat to Great Britain and the United States. Gooderham & Worts owned a steam vessel called the *Western Miller* that shipped produce directly to Quebec. It made 11 trips in 1849 (10 trips from Toronto to Quebec) and in 1850 it made its first trip to Halifax with a cargo load of flour. In fact Gooderham & Worts by 1861 were already engaged in the exporting of whisky into Quebec, not to mention the rest of Ontario. Common whisky (whisky of a lower strength and poorer quality) was largely consumed by the people of Ontario but the distillery also manufactured higher quality whiskies. Common whisky could be purchased at \$0.20 per gallon in 1861 but there was no market for it wholesale in Quebec.¹⁰⁷ Instead the higher grades "Toddy" and "Old Rye" (known as Canadian whisky) were increasingly in demand. These spirits of 50 O.P. were the preferred beverage of individuals in Quebec and large amounts were shipped there as well as to the markets of London and Liverpool. "Toddy" and "Old Rye" whiskies were the purest that could be manufactured and Gooderham & Worts expressed the desire in 1861 that it would be an improvement if these brands would take the place of the common whisky preferred by consumers in Ontario.¹⁰⁸ Spirits and whisky from both large and small distilleries were a staple on grocery store shelves. Although considered by commissioners as of relatively poor quality, Ontarians may well have enjoyed the taste of this common whisky. Gooderham & Worts was hoping to change the palate of the individuals throughout Ontario communities with new access to these markets. The local distillery was against tough competition and unless there was the means to compete with a comparable product it can be assumed that this influenced many small distilleries to close down since the business

was becoming unprofitable. As the market expanded and grew in certain areas it was then that distilleries within an township, village, town or city would relinquish control to the more efficient producers.

A possible indication of the increased shipment of spirits into and through the United States can be exemplified by a public notice placed in numerous newspapers by R.S.M. Bouchette of the Customs Department in 1860.¹⁰⁹ In 1859 there was an increase in duties on manufacturing goods and the government was trying to gain control of the movement of spirits. Figure 21 illustrates the coverage of railroads in the Eastern United States in 1859. The notice stated that no spirits or strong waters, whether distilled or rectified in Canada, could pass through any port or place in the United States in transit to a Canadian port and be admitted thereon as free of Canadian manufacture unless before the spirits were to be transmitted or forwarded through the United States the distiller or exporter had reported to the Collector of Customs at the port closest to the distillery or other place of exportation.¹¹⁰ At this location the Collector or Officer would gauge the spirits, test the strength, accept Bonds or secure the spirits by sealing the contents of the casks that were intended to pass through the United States. All spirits would be considered foreign and subject to the appropriate duty unless bonds or a Certificate of Collector as to the Canadian port of exportation could be provided. It is apparent that the Customs Department was trying to deal with the increased transportation caused by the increased number of rail lines that linked into the United States railway network (Figure 21).

The impact of established rail networks was not only in the shipment of the product to new markets but also the shipment of raw materials, specifically corn, to the distillery. It had been established in the 1850s that corn provided the most profitable yield and was the best raw material to be used in conjunction with lesser amounts of local raw materials like wheat and barley. Rail networks connecting to the United States allowed distilleries to ship in large quantities of corn. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 provided free importation into Canada and America of a wide range of natural articles such as fish, timber and grain thereby integrating the

two markets in an attempt to create a single market. The Treaty helped to facilitate the shipment of corn. Although the treaty came to an end in March of 1866 due to political differences it had provided a convenience trade for both nations. This Treaty impacted distilleries through the shipment of corn into Canada but also in the shipment of flour to the United States. This exporting of flour was important to those distilleries that had grist mills in operation because revenue could be generated from this export and help to provide the capital needed to buy the corn used in the distillery or for other expenses.¹¹¹ According to Officer and Smith (1968), "Between 1854 and 1855 United States imports to Canada increased by 35 per cent, with virtually all of the increase occurring in the form of reciprocity goods."¹¹² As well the increase in exports to the United States was also a result of reciprocity goods. There was a two-way grain and flour trade that had existed before the treaty but it was somewhat limited due to expensive transportation costs which the treaty helped to decrease with lower tariffs. It is the shipment of grain that was important to distilleries in Ontario as the desire grew to use corn as the principal raw material in production. Corn could be shipped from the United States and into Ontario with the decrease in transportation costs. Since corn could not be grown effectively or produced in sufficient quantities in Ontario at that time, the main supplier of this corn was the United States, especially from the Western States. Illinois was increasing production in corn and the development of the railway had increased that demand (Table VI).

By 1862 Gooderham & Worts was shipping large quantities of grain, mostly corn, across Canada all of which was imported from Chicago and other western markets. The importance of rail transportation to the distillery of Gooderham & Worts can be illustrated in the construction of the new distillery in 1861 it was placed alongside the track of the Grand Trunk Railway where a private siding was built large enough for fourteen cars. The Hiram Walker distillery also imported corn from western markets and malt from Toronto to be used in conjunction with local grain to create its whisky. Due to the fact that there was restricted growth in Ontario of this corn, due to non-optimal growing conditions, transportation significantly altered the access to the grain

especially as the cost to ship it declined. Those distilleries that were located on rail lines had the advantage to use this raw material that produced high, low-cost yields. Any distillery that did not have access to rail, such as the Waterloo Region, had to rely on local produce such as wheat. This caused a difference in the quality of the produced product. It was not only the availability of rail lines but a distillery also needed the means to undertake the shipping of a large amount of produce and grain. This was why corn was a good raw material to transport because the high yield made it profitable to ship even if transportation costs were high. A distillery had to have the capital to be able to utilize rail transportation. Clearly the advent of rail contributed to this new hierarchy in distilleries.

H. The Beginning of Tighter Federal Government Control

The beginnings of tighter control occurred towards the end of the 1850s. The federal government had recognized spirits to be a good source of revenue since the end of the eighteenth century. A still tax was introduced in 1794 with each distiller required to pay 1 shilling and 3 pence per gallon of still capacity; the minimum was 10 gallons.¹¹³ Excise taxation began in 1803 when a provision was made for inspectors to manage the measurements and regulations of the stills.¹¹⁴ In 1819 the still tax was doubled. In 1846 the basis of taxation was switched to the production not the still capacity and this made distilling unprofitable for some small operations. The tax was now £40 in addition to two pence a gallon for each still.¹¹⁵ This tax brought distillers under direct government control. By the 1850s it is possible that many of these operations had become victims of this change, for the environment and nature of the industry had changed drastically. These taxes provided substantial revenue for the federal government.

In 1859 a new act (“An Act respecting Duties of Excise, on Distillers and Brewers, and Spirits and Beer made by them”) was passed respecting excise duties on distillers and brewers, and the products made by them. This act detailed licenses, bonds, duties and how they are ascertained, the warehousing of spirits, the power of the inspectors and recovery of duties and various penalties providing a clear outline to distillers of Ontario as to the control the federal

government would exercise over distilleries. The federal government now had major control of distilling operations. Examples of this power include: a person must have a license to distill and if distilling occurs without a license than there is a penalty of \$40 for each day the offense was committed as well as a forfeiting of all spirits made, every mash-tub, fermenting-tub or other vessel, machinery, and utensils (for Caption 19.2); a distiller must keep a book or books that can be given to the Revenue Inspector when he so desires, the distillery must be made available to the inspector at all seasonable hours to his inspection and must record all quantities of grain etc. entering into the distillery and all spirits produced for (Caption 19.11); a distiller must twice a month provide to the Revenue Inspector, in writing, a true account of the gallons of spirits dutiable, the total quantity produced, the quantity at each time, quantities of grain etc. used and signed by the party (for Caption 19.12); when the account has been rendered all duties owed must be paid (for Caption 19.13); a distiller will receive a penalty if notice is not given about his intention to work any days not already predetermined (for Caption 19.19.3); and a Revenue Inspector may, at any hour, enter the premise referred to in the License (for Caption 19.21).¹¹⁶ The revenue that distilleries were generating for the federal government by 1861 was astounding. For example, due to these laws there was a excise tax of six cents per gallon on all proof high wines manufactured in the Hiram Walker Distillery and this tax often amounted to \$3,000 per month.¹¹⁷ The Gooderham & Worts distillery in 1861 paid \$24,000 in taxes, an excise duty to the government amounting to over \$100 per day!¹¹⁸ These taxes were just the beginning in the federal government's attempt to control the distilling industry and collect exorbitant amounts of revenue to be used for many different projects to improve the soon-to-be nation of Canada.

I. Summary

In this chapter, we proceeded to examine five locational factors for the influence on the changing spatial pattern of Ontario's distilling industry. The distilling industry experienced a trend towards concentration with a decline of numerous establishments across the landscape. The pattern of dispersion that characterized the industry in the early 1850s no longer held merit. In

Toronto, we see that there was one distillery that was distinguishing itself from the rest of the industry. Gooderham & Worts embraced technological changes and undertook measures to integrate technology into the production process to lower costs and increase the production capacity. In only 10 years this distilling operation went from producing 80,000 gallons to more than 1,250,000. Many other distilleries were also adopting new technologies, however, the extent was not as great as Gooderham & Worts. In fact, continuous distillation symbolized the transition of the industry to factory production (mass production). Industrial change had begun in the industry. Consequently technology was the most important influence on the spatial pattern during this period. The introduction of the new technology of rail was also an important factor for this decade because this new transportation spurred technological advancement in the industry. Rail lines broke down the geographical isolation of communities creating new competitive markets. Those small distilleries that were operating in the local communities found it very difficult to compete with the emerging factory operations. Transportation by rail contributed to the new hierarchical level of the distilleries brought on by the technological advancement in the industry. It is likely that this hierarchical level of distilleries caused increasing problems for some distilleries. Factory production had barely begun within the distilling industry the potential affects of the changing spatial pattern were at their onset. The federal government in this period had also extended "its hand" over the distilling industry with increased rules and regulations. Entrepreneurialism was also an important factor during this period, especially in the creation of three of the "Big Five" distilleries. The opportunities for profit that were abundant in the early 1850s no longer seemed as enticing. This decade was merely the beginning for changes within the distilling industry and there were surely more to come. It seems that many small distilleries fell victim to the changes in the industry, but how many more follow?

NOTES

¹ The statistic often used by scholars is simply the number of distilleries recorded in the Canada Census, specifically 100 distilleries in 1851-52 and 53 in 1861. No detailed analysis had been done before this date to determine the number of distilleries in operation. Consequently, after a detailed analysis using a number of different primary sources it was determined that these statistics are indeed inaccurate. Refer to Appendix B, Table I to view how this statistic was generated. It must be also noted that because these statistics are estimated values the term licensed has been omitted from the sentence. This is due to the fact the number of licensed distilleries can not be verified without another statistical source, namely the Department of Inland Revenue Records which recorded licensed distillers. Unfortunately this document is lost. However, during this time period, it is probable that these distilleries were in license with the government and there is the likelihood that more distilleries were in operation without the notice of the government.

² The whole provincial production is unknown for the census years of 1851-52. This figure is only an estimation of Gooderham & Worts portion of production from those distilleries that provided returns in the Canada Census.

³ This figure was created using standardized total production for the two years. Refer to Appendix B to see how this was determined.

⁴ William L. Marr and Donald G. Paterson, Canada: An Economic History (Toronto, Ontario: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1980) 237.

⁵ This statement may help to explain the variation in proprietor names, the ownership of numerous industries by one individual or a company of a few men and the differences which arise when comparing distiller names in directories to other sources of information.

⁶ W.H.E. Schmalz, "The Hespeler Family." Waterloo Historical Society 57 (1969): 21.

⁷ Schmalz 21.

⁸ Schmalz 21.

⁹ Schmalz 22.

¹⁰ W.H. Smith, Canada Past, Present & Future. 1852. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1973.

¹¹ Schmalz 22.

¹² Marr 237.

¹³ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook.

¹⁴ As quoted in William Teatero's Historical Research - Wiser's Distillery Limited. (Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University, 1977) 3.

¹⁵ Lorraine Brown 200 Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whiskey. (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1994) 24.

¹⁶ Brown 24.

¹⁷ Teatero 1.

¹⁸ Teatero 1.

¹⁹ Brown 24.

²⁰ Teatero 2.

²¹ Teatero 2.

²² Canada Census 1851-1852.

²³ Canada Census 1851-1852.

²⁴ Teatero 2.

²⁵ Brown 24.

²⁶ Refer to Table II. from the Sessional Papers 41 of the Legislative Assembly of Canada 1860 v 4.

²⁷ Refer to Table II. from the Sessional Papers 41 of the Legislative Assembly of Canada 1860 v 4.

²⁸ Canadiana Room, Belleville Public Library, Vertical File. "The Corby Story." Canadian Beverage Review March-April 1951: 34.

²⁹ Ibid 34.

³⁰ Brown 35.

³¹ He had learned the baking trade as an apprentice in London.

³² Canadiana Room, Belleville Public Library, Vertical File. "The Corby Story." Canadian Beverage Review March-April 1951: 34.

³³ Ibid 35.

³⁴ Ibid 35.

³⁵ Ibid 36.

³⁶ Ibid 36.

³⁷ Ibid 36.

³⁸ Ibid. 36.

- ³⁹ The Reeds' were the owners of a large distillery in Belleville that was built in 1812.
- ⁴⁰ Brown 35.
- ⁴¹ The distillery was named after his first wife who died in a drowning accident with his two children on the Moria River in 1838.
- ⁴² Canadiana Room, Belleville Public Library, Vertical File. "The Corby Story." Canadian Beverage Review March-April 1951: 36.
- ⁴³ Archives of Ontario, B 70 Series C R 9. Directory of the County of Hastings 1860-1861.
- ⁴⁴ Brown 16.
- ⁴⁵ Brown 16-17.
- ⁴⁶ Brown 17.
- ⁴⁷ Brown 17.
- ⁴⁸ D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto 1850-1900 (Toronto, Ontario: The University of Toronto Press, 1947) 30.
- ⁴⁹ Francis X. Chauvin, "Hiram Walker and The Development of the Walker Institutions in Walkerville, Ontario," 1926, Chapter 2, page 8.
- ⁵⁰ Chauvin Chapter 4, page 5.
- ⁵¹ Chauvin Chapter 6, page 5.
- ⁵² Chauvin Chapter 6, page 6.
- ⁵³ Chauvin Chapter 7, page 4.
- ⁵⁴ Chauvin Chapter 7, page 5.
- ⁵⁵ Chauvin Chapter 7, page 5.
- ⁵⁶ For more detail on the factors below refer to Chauvin Chapter 6 & 7.
- ⁵⁷ Chauvin Chapter 7, page 4.
- ⁵⁸ Chauvin Chapter 8, pages 3 & 4.
- ⁵⁹ Chauvin Chapter 8, page 4.
- ⁶⁰ Doris Lewis Rare Book Room, University of Waterloo, F17244. The Seagram Plant in Waterloo Exhibition October 25, 1996 - November 2, 1997.

⁶¹ Ronald Weir, The History of the Distillers Company, 1877-1939 (Oxford, New York: The Oxford University Press, 1995). Refer to Chapter 1: Continuous Distillation and the Coffey Still pages 7-26.

⁶² Weir 7.

⁶³ Weir 7.

⁶⁴ Weir 7.

⁶⁵ Weir 7.

⁶⁶ Weir 14.

⁶⁷ "Messrs. Gooderham & Worts, City Steam Mills and Distillery." The British Colonist. [Toronto] 16 April 1850: 2. As taken from Stephen Otto's Gooderham & Worts Heritage Plan Report 4, Inventory of Archival Sources. March 1994.

⁶⁸ There is no other return of the gallons produced by this distillery in 1850. The assessment rolls only provide the capital and average value of the merchandise and the Census return for the City of Toronto no longer exists. This stresses the importance of various sources of primary data sources. Without this statistic the number of gallons would have been greatly exaggerated thereby decreasing the importance of the technological change this distillery underwent as well as distorting the spatial pattern. Before this statistic was found the number of gallons had been estimated at 448,875. This was determined using Shuttleworth's estimate of 53,000 gallons for the year 1845, the Toronto Globe supplement of December 15, 1855 at 32,000 gallons a day capacity, the 1861 Canada Census at 1,250,000 gallons a year and the value for York Centre in 1857 from the Sessional Papers of 1860 at 442,744 gallons.

⁶⁹ Archives of Ontario, GS 6134, Assessment rolls for the City of Toronto 1850-1853.

⁷⁰ Baldwin Room, Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library. "Breweries and distilleries are numerous." The Globe. [Toronto] 13 December 1856, supplement, p 4.

⁷¹ On its completion in 1861 it was the largest in Canada, surpassing Molson located in Montreal. Due to the suggested size of the Molson Brewery and Distillery located in Montreal it is likely that this distillery was supplying the Ottawa region with spirits and helps to explain why there is a decline in the region by 1861. This decline occurred because it seems likely that due to the Ottawa region's proximity to Montreal, spirits and whisky could have been obtained from the large city located across the border. The Molson Distillery dominated Canadian whisky from 1820 to about 1861. Unlike many distilleries in Ontario, this distillery did not begin as a grist mill. This distillery faced severe competition from Gooderham & Worts with its exports of "Old Rye" and "Toddy". Molson would soon leave distilling to focus on brewing due to increasing competition, higher taxes, and increasing temperance agitation. Refer to Lorraine Brown's 200 Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whiskey. (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1994) pages 13-16 or Merrill Denison's The Barley and the Stream, The Molson Story. (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart, 1955) for more information of the history of this distillery located in Montreal, Quebec.

⁷² Archives of Ontario, N11 R14, "New Steam Mills and Distillery." The Globe. [Toronto] 11 July 1859: 2.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Archives of Ontario, N11 R34, "Annual Review of the Trade of Toronto, for 1861." The Globe. [Toronto] 7 February 1862: 1.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid, N11 R14, "New Steam Mills and Distillery." The Globe. [Toronto] 11 July 1859, p. 2. Globe July 11, 1859.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid, N11 R34, "Annual Review of the Trade of Toronto, for 1861." The Globe. [Toronto] 7 February 1862: 1.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Archives of Ontario, N11 R34, "Annual Review of the Trade of Toronto, for 1861." The Globe. [Toronto] 7 February 1862: 1.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Census of Canada 1861.

⁸⁶ The "Annual Review of Trade of Toronto in 1861" can be viewed in detail at the Toronto Metropolitan Reference Library. This is one of the original copies that has survived.

⁸⁷ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. A Description of the Hiram Walker Distillery in 1861. Detroit Advertiser & Detroit Tribune. [Detroit] 27, November, 1861.

⁸⁸ Census of Canada 1861.

⁸⁹ A hundred weight is 112 pounds. So $(60 \times 112 = 6,720)$.

⁹⁰ Census of Canada 1861.

⁹¹ Kitchener Public Library, "To Capitalists." Galt Reporter. [Galt] 18 September 1863.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid, "Carlisle Distillery." Galt Reporter. [Galt] 26 June 1857.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid. In this advertisement Reid mentions that this distillery could be easily converted into a tannery or woollen factory.

⁹⁸ These figures were calculated using data from the Canada Census that was aggregated to the 1991 census districts or counties. The calculated total for the county was then divided by the production values as seen in Appendix B, Table I and II.

⁹⁹ Marr 121.

¹⁰⁰ J.J.E. Linton, A Prohibitory Liquor Law for Upper Canada, (Toronto: Maclear & Co., 1860) 30.

¹⁰¹ Bruce Emerson Hill, The Grand River Navigation Company, (Brantford, Ontario: Brant Historical Society, 1994) 117.

¹⁰² Donald A. Smith At the Forks of the Grand 1793-1920. (Paris, Ontario: Paris Centennial Committee, 1956).

¹⁰³ Hill 130.

¹⁰⁴ Currie 109.

¹⁰⁵ The area around Toronto had developed with many villages that thrived on the milling of grain. For example Weston, Etobicoke, York Mills, Pine Grove, and Milton.

¹⁰⁶ Canada Census 1851-52.

¹⁰⁷ Archives of Ontario, N11 R34, "Annual Review of the Trade of Toronto, for 1861." The Globe. [Toronto] 7 February 1862: 1.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Kitchener Public Library, "Notice to Distillers and Others in Canada." Galt Reporter. [Galt] 7 September 1860.

¹¹⁰ However, the Reciprocity Treaty in combination with the Crimean War caused debt for some grist mill/distilleries from which the proprietor could not recover. For example J.W. Gamble of Pine Grove Mills in York County succumbed to debt in 1857 and was forced to sell the property.

¹¹¹ L.H. Officer and L.B. Smith, "The Canadian-American Reciprocity Treaty of 1855 to 1866," Journal of Economic History 28 (1968): 599-600.

¹¹² Officer and Smith 599-600.

¹¹³ Canada. An Act to increase the revenue, and to compel the accounting more regularly for the same... CIHM no. 53914: 1797?.

¹¹⁴ Canada. An Act to Lay and Collect a Duty upon Stills. Upper Canada: 1803?.

¹¹⁵ Petrie 4.

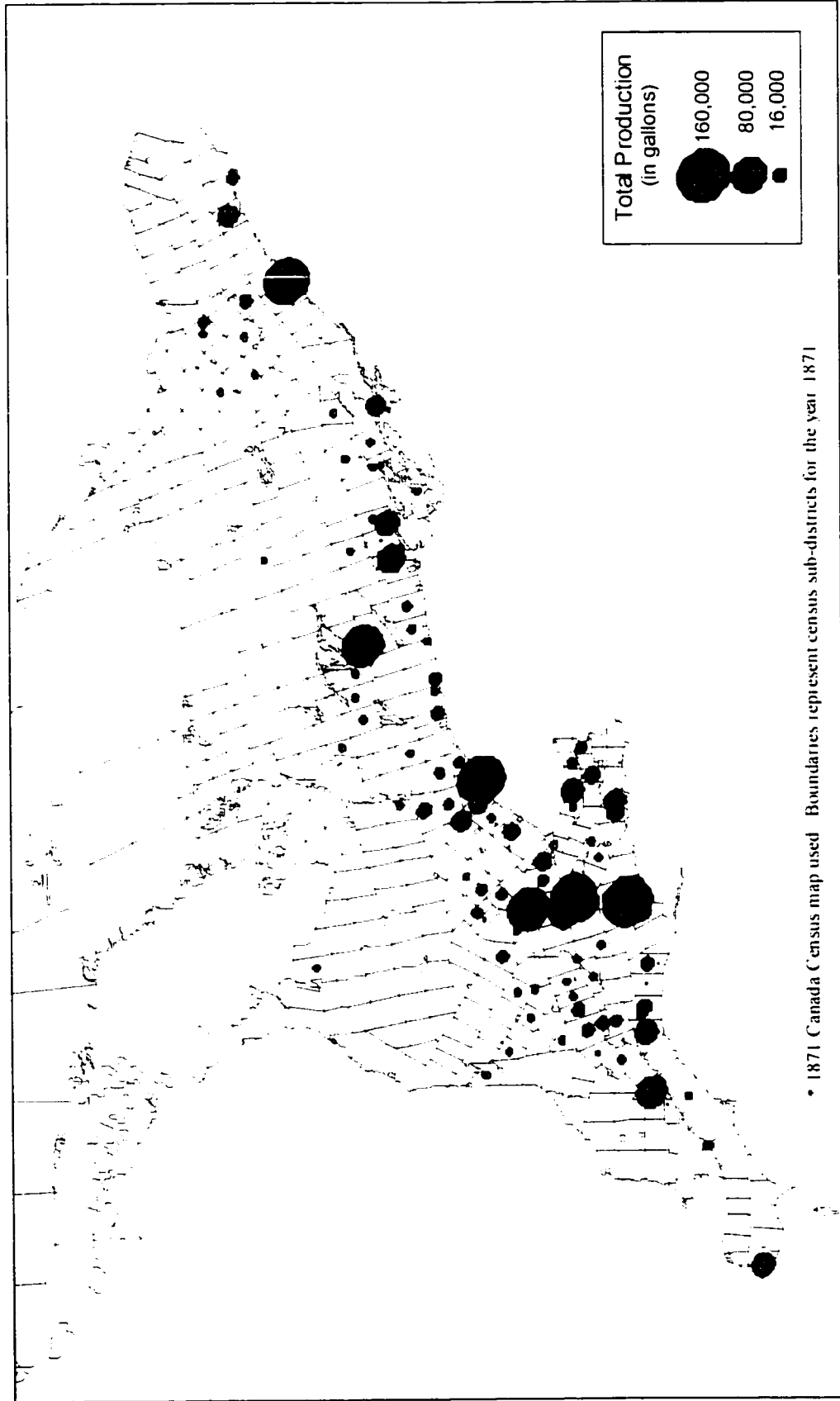
¹¹⁶ Canada. Acts Relating to the Revenue, Finance, Duties of Customs, Excise & Licenses...
Toronto, Ontario: Stewart Derbishire & Geogre Desbarats, 1859: 84-94.

¹¹⁷ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. "A Description of the Hiram Walker Distillery in 1861," Detroit Advertiser and Tribune November 27, 1861.

¹¹⁸ Archives of Ontario. N11 R34, "Annual Review of the Trade of Toronto, for 1861." The Globe. [Toronto] 7 February 1862: 1.

Total Production, 1851-52 Distilleries in Ontario

Figure 2.

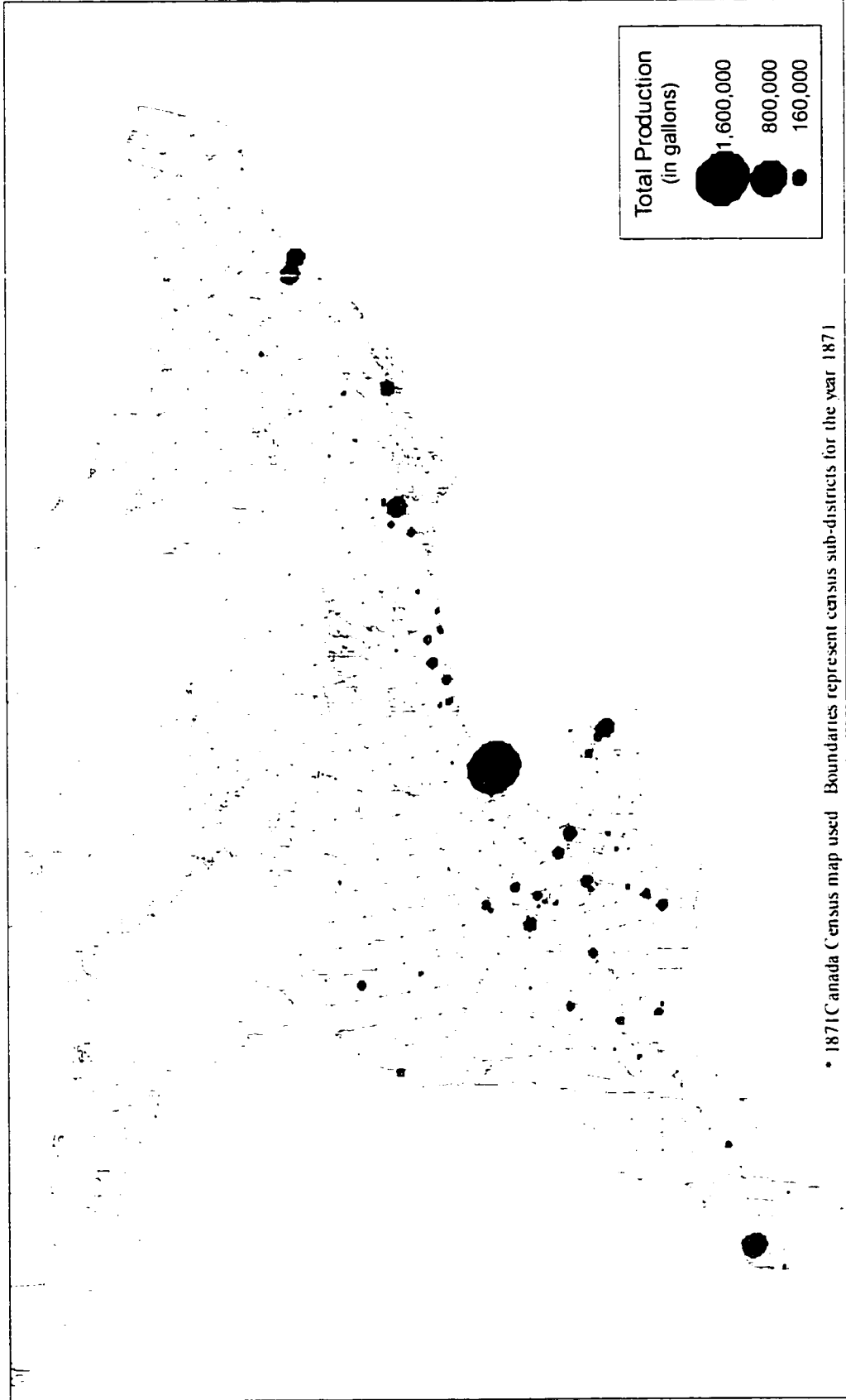


• 1871 Canada Census map used Boundaries represent census sub-districts for the year 1871

Note: green circles represent distilleries with unknown values of production, these circles are proportioned by the number of distilleries not the total production.
Sources: Canada Census, 1851-1852; Canada Directory of 1851; Smith's Business Directory of 1852; Canada Directory of 1857.

Total Production, 1861 Distilleries in Ontario

Figure 3.



Note: green circles represent distilleries with unknown values of production, these circles are proportioned by the number of distilleries not the total production.
 Sources: *Canada Census, 1861*; *Mitchell's Gazetteer & Business Directory of Canada, 1864*; *Various Tremaine Maps for Ontario Counties*; *Dun & Bradstreet References Books.*

Change in the Total Production 1851 to 1881 Distilleries in Ontario

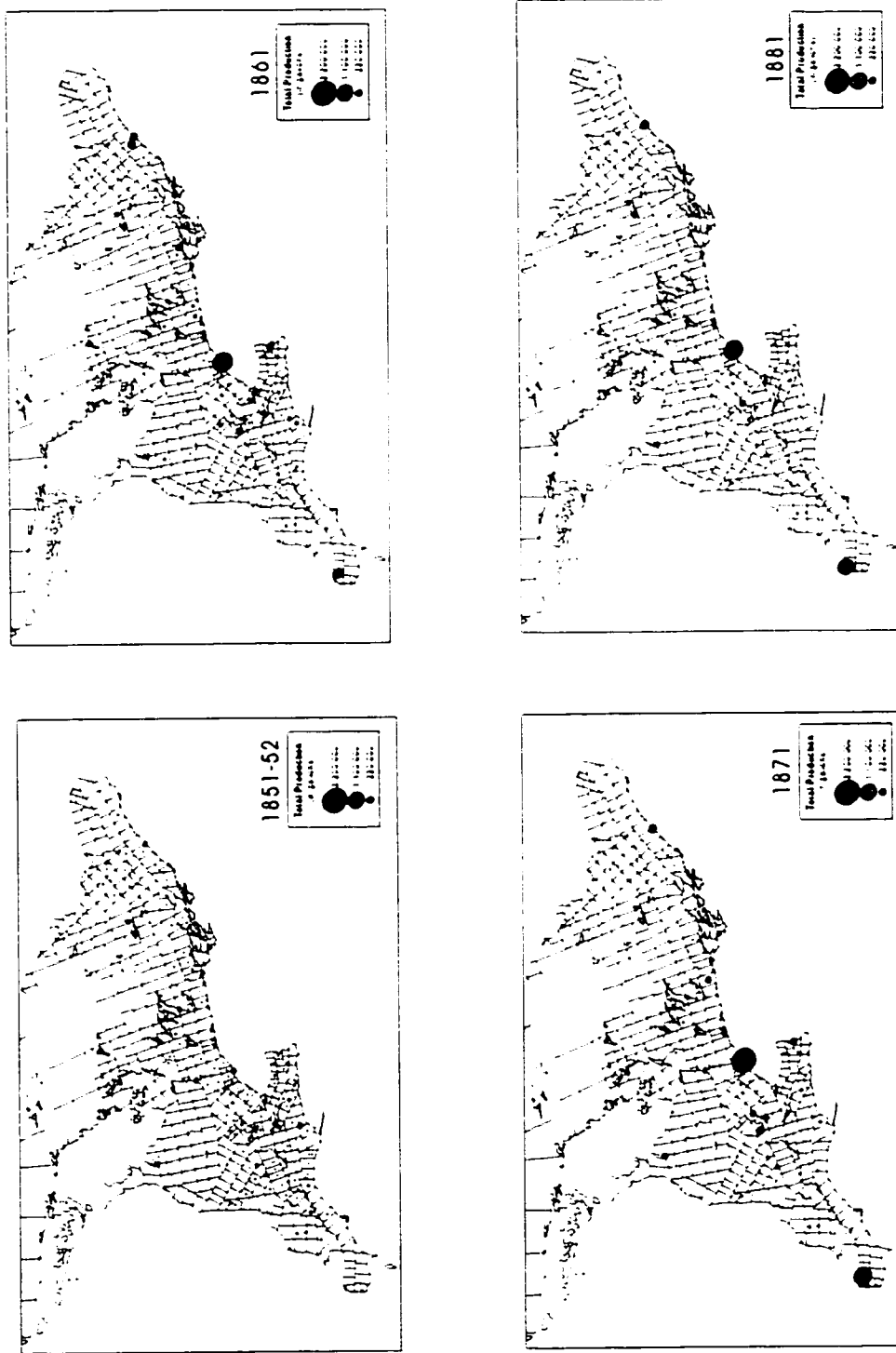


Figure 4.

• All four maps were generated using a 1871 Canada Census map. Boundaries represent the census sub-districts for the year 1871.
 Note: green circles represent distilleries with unknown values of production; these circles are proportioned by the number of distilleries not the total production.
 Sources: Canada Census 1851-1881, Various Directories and Tremaine Maps, Dun and Bradstreet Reference Books.

Figure 5.

Map of the County of Hastings, 1864-65



Note: the red has been added to the map to highlight Belleville and the location of Corbyville.

Source: Archives of Ontario, B 70 Series C R 14. Directory of the County of Hastings 1864-1865.
(Belleville: Mackenzie Bowell, 1865.)

Figure 6.

Hastings County Directory Advertisement - "H. Corby, Miller, Distiller"

H. CORBY,
MILLER, DISTILLER
 AND GENERAL PRODUCE DEALER,
ALMA MILLS,
 THURLOW,
 AND FRONT STREET, BELLEVILLE.

THE SUBSCRIBER keeps constantly on hand his

CHOICE BRANDS OF FLOUR,
 IN BAGS AND BARRELS, AND
Celebrated WHISKEY,
 In 20 and 60 gallon Casks, to suit purchasers, and all kinds of
CRACKED CORN, BEAN, SWEETS, GRAIN,
 &c., which he is prepared to sell at the lowest remunerative prices.

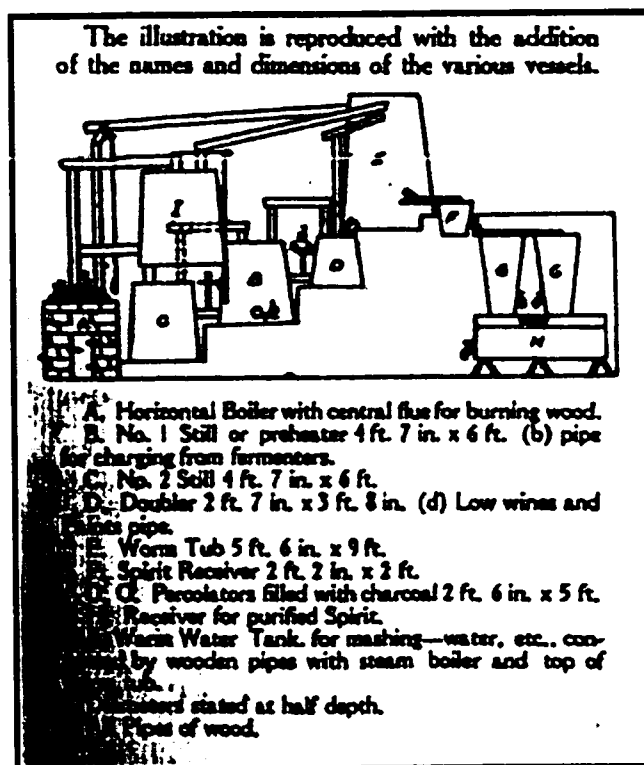
All orders left at his Office, opposite Pappan's Hotel, Front Street, will be promptly attended to. Having rented his Stone Warehouse and put it at service to facilitate the receiving of Grain, he is now ready to

PURCHASE ALL KINDS OF GRAIN,
 For which the HIGHEST PRICE IN CASH will be paid, or also at
 his Mills in Thurlow.
 Grain Shipped, Stored, and Bought on Commission.

Source: Archives of Ontario, B 70 Series C R 9. Directory of the County of Hastings 1860-1861.

Figure 7.

A Typical Pot Still



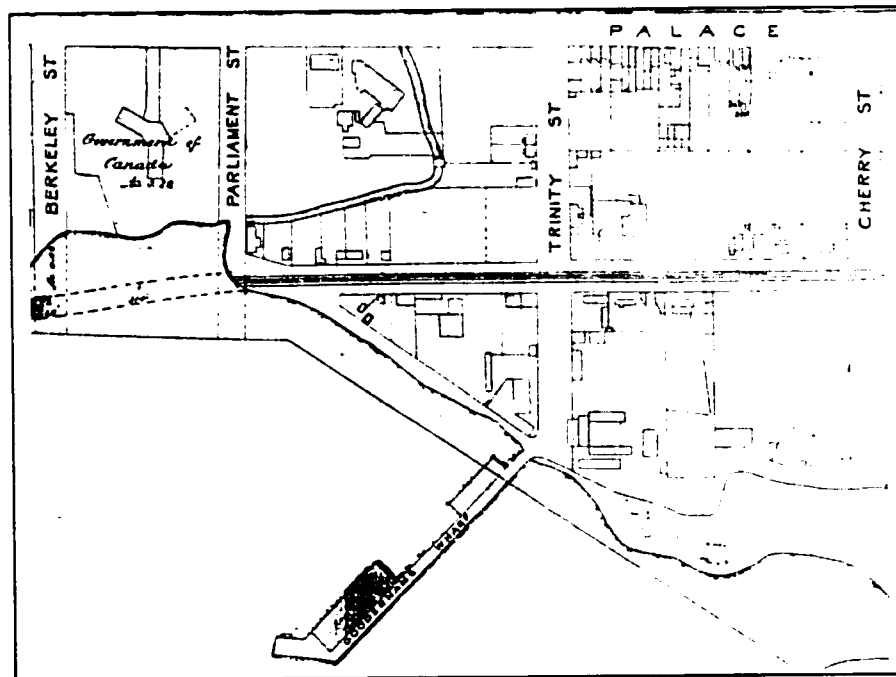
Taken from: E.B. Shuttleworth, The Windmill and its Times. (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1924) 67.

Figure 8. Gooderham & Worts, 1855



Source: J.C. Forbes, Gooderham & Worts, 1855. Toronto Reference Library. Photograph Collection. Acc. no. x21 Fra. Repro: T 31931.

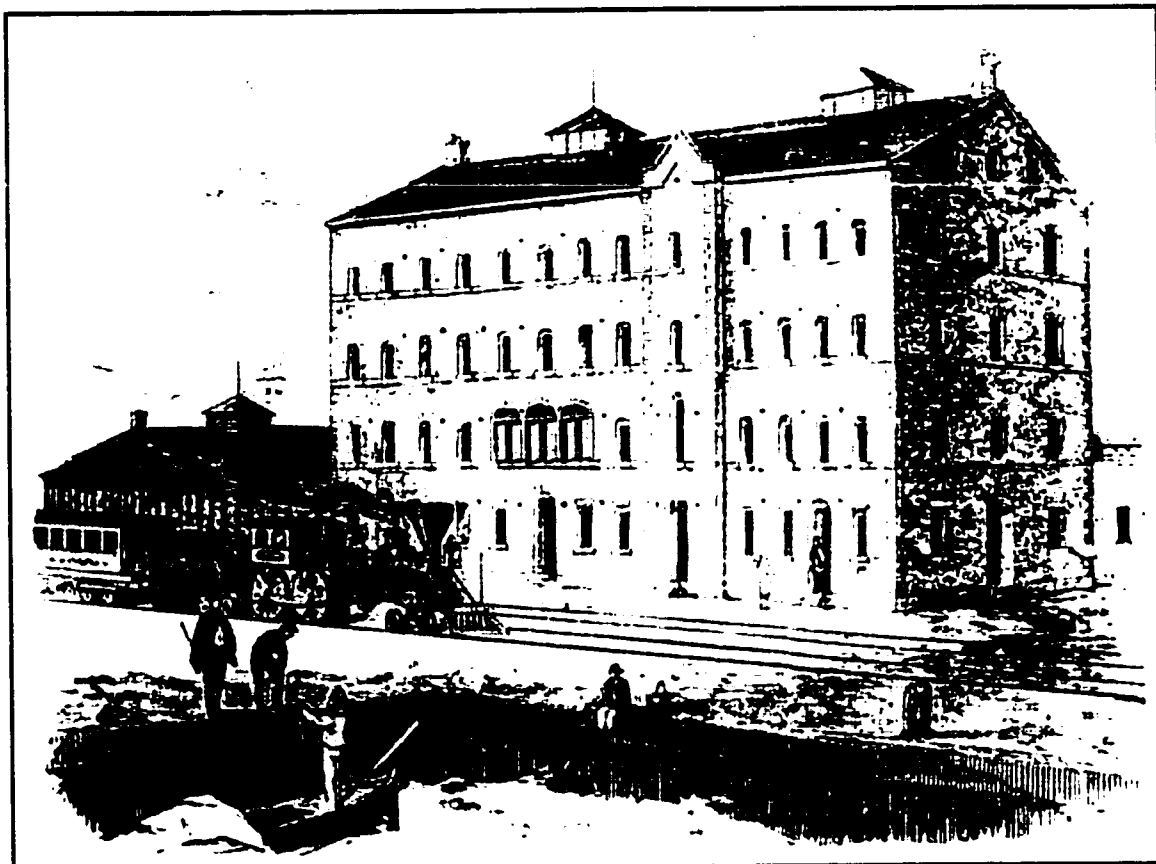
Figure 9. Plan of Gooderham & Worts, 1855



Original Source: Archives of Ontario, RG 22, Acc. 14055, GTR Reel 38. William Kingsford, "Plan of a right of way for the Grand Trunk Railway...1855." Taken from Stephen Otto's Gooderham & Worts Heritage Plan Report 4, Inventory of Archival Sources. March 1994.

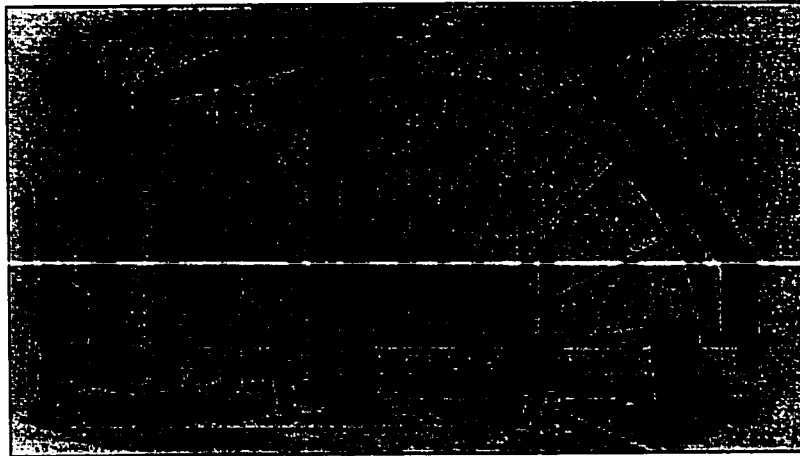
Figure 10.

Gooderham & Worts Distillery, 1863



Original Source: Baldwin Room, Toronto Metropolitan Reference Library. "Description of the Distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." *The Canadian Illustrated News*. [Hamilton] 25 April 1863, p. 282-3 and Supplement. Taken from Newell, Diane and Ralph Greenhill. "Gooderham and Worts Distillery." *Survivals: Aspects of Industrial Archaeology in Ontario*. (Erin, Ontario: The Boston Mills Press, 1989) 98.

Figure 11. Gooderham & Worts Engine Room



Original Source: Baldwin Room, Toronto Metropolitan Reference Library. "Description of the Distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." The Canadian Illustrated News. [Hamilton] 25 April 1863, p. 282-3 and Supplement. Taken from Lorraine Brown's 200 Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whiskey. (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1994) 18.

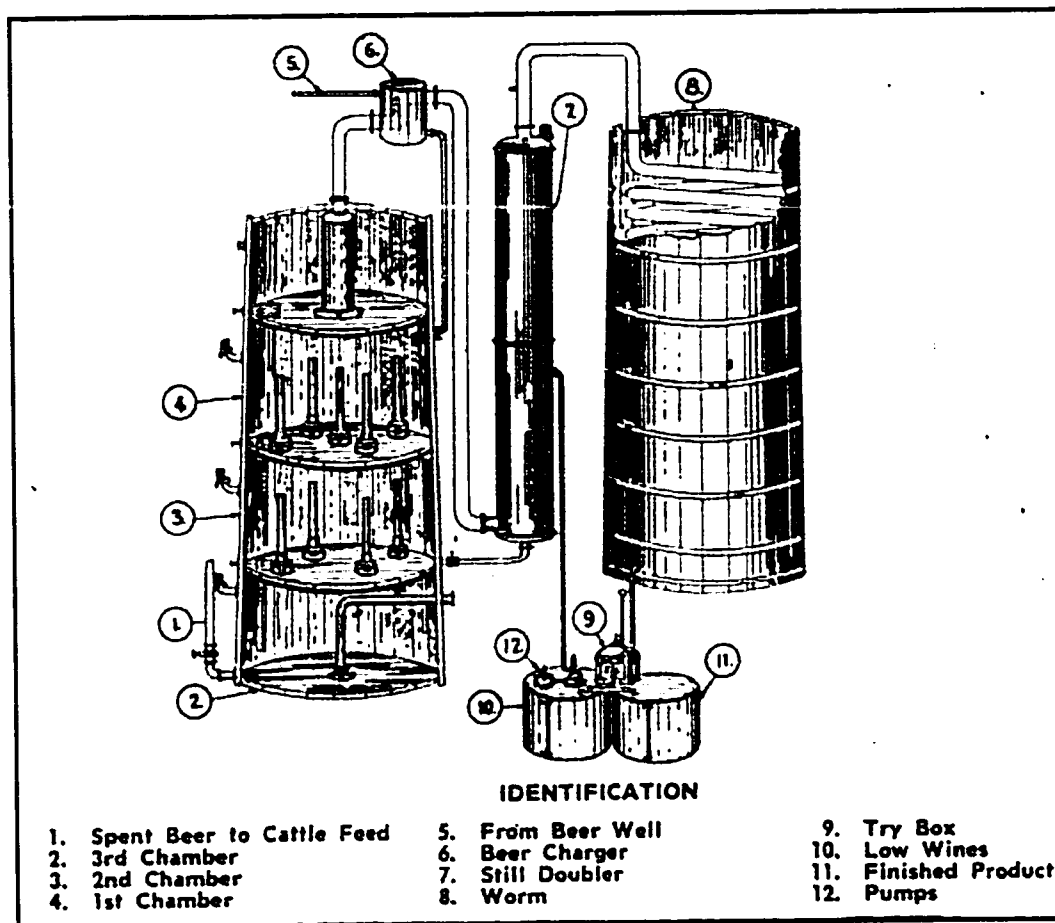
Figure 12. Gooderham & Worts Mashing Room



Original Source: Baldwin Room, Toronto Metropolitan Reference Library. "Description of the Distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." The Canadian Illustrated News. [Hamilton] 25 April 1863, p. 282-3 and Supplement. Taken from Lorraine Brown's 200 Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whiskey. (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1994) 51.

Figure 13.

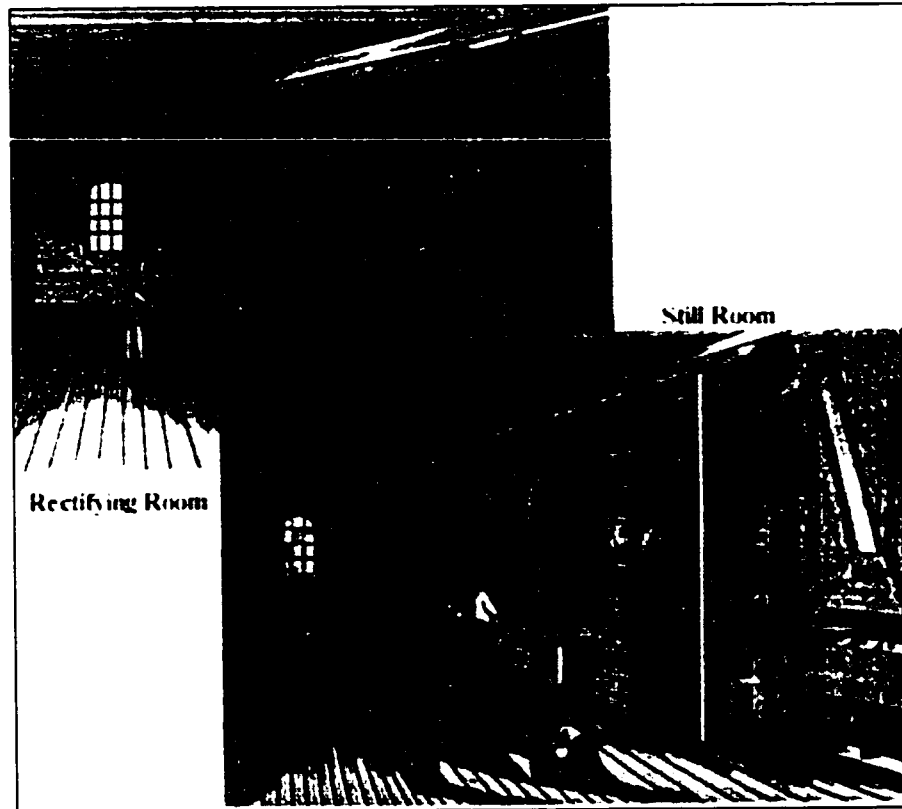
Three Chambered Charging Still



Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Adapted from Hoffman-Ahlers Co. 3rd ed. 1870's. Catalogue.

Figure 14.

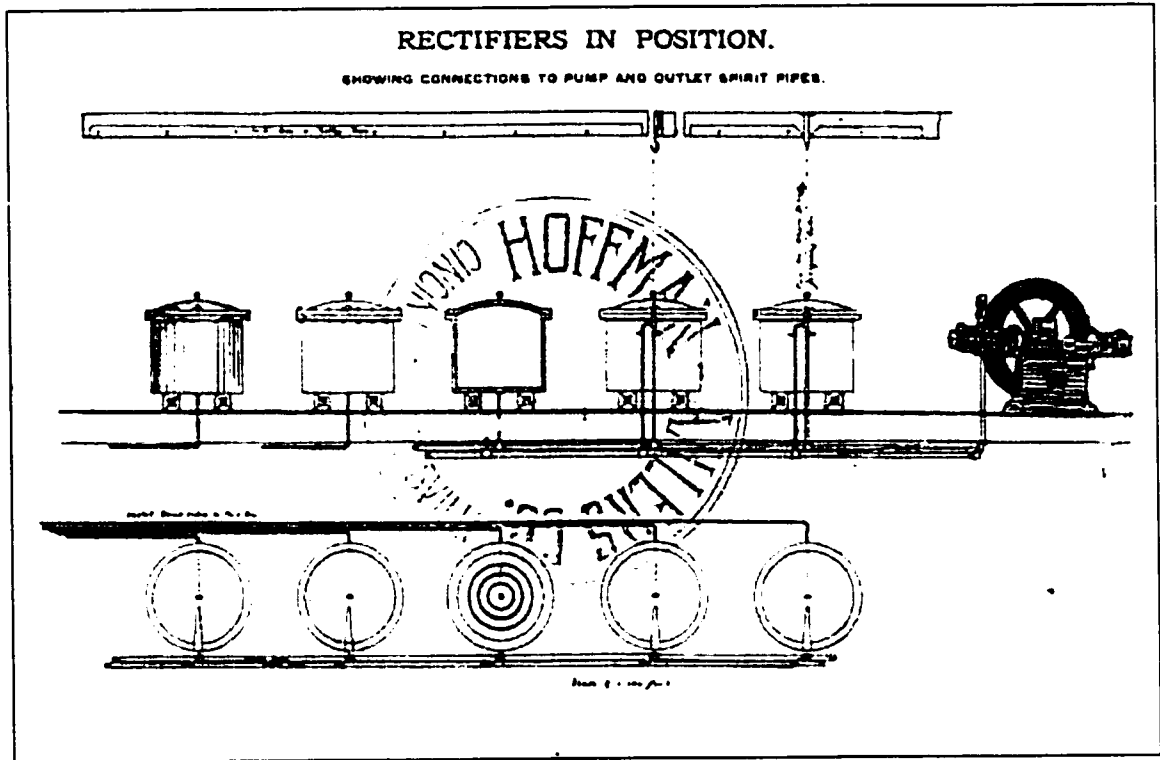
Gooderham & Worts Rectifying and Still Rooms



Original Source: Baldwin Room, Toronto Metropolitan Reference Library. "Description of the Distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." *The Canadian Illustrated News*. [Hamilton] 25 April 1863, p. 282-3 and Supplement. Taken from Lorraine Brown's *200 Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whiskey*. (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1994) 52.

Figure 15.

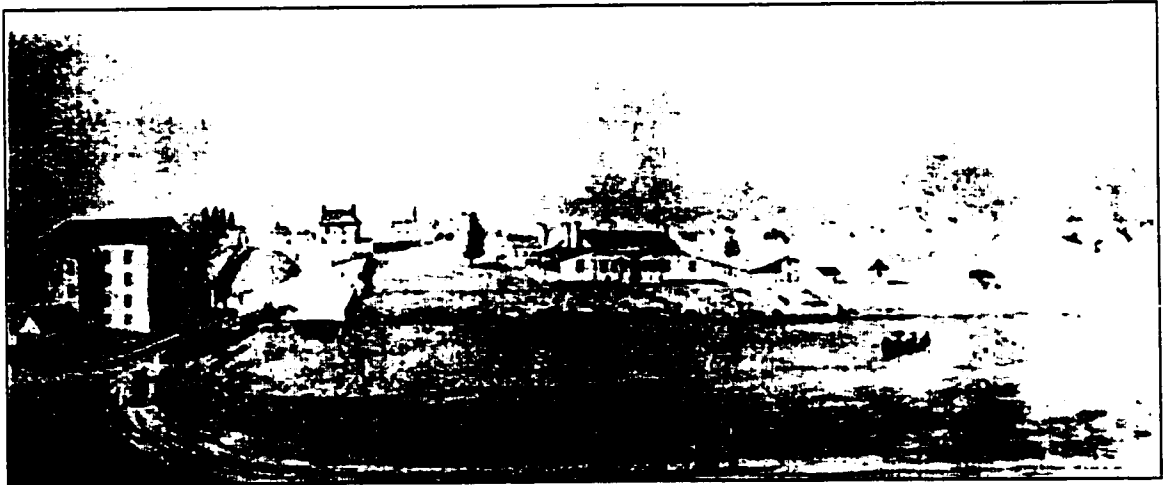
Closed Circuit Rectifier Design



Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. "Rectifiers in Position".

Figure 16.

Allan's Mill, Guelph in 1853



Taken from: Thelma Coleman, *The Canada Company*. (Stratford, Ontario: County of Perth & Cumming Publishers, 1978) 282. (An original watercolour of Guelph by David Kennedy.)

**Figure 17. Total Production compared to Total Population
Distilleries in Ontario, 1851-52**



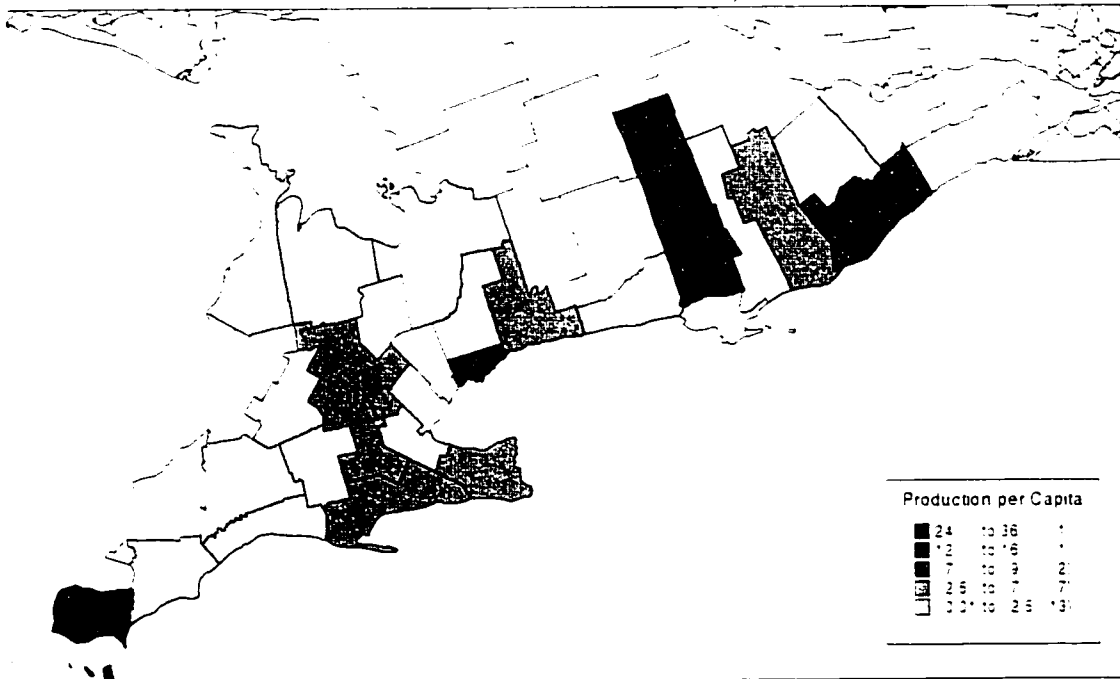
Note: Data has been aggregated to the 1991 census district boundaries.

York County is actually the city of Toronto with 1.38 for York and 2.75 for Toronto.

Sources: Canada Census, 1851-52 and Appendix Number 1 - Upper Canada, Census by Origin

Canada Directory of 1851, Smith's Business Directory of 1852, and the Canada Directory of 1857

Figure 18. Distilleries in Ontario, 1861



Note: Data has been aggregated to the 1991 census district boundaries.

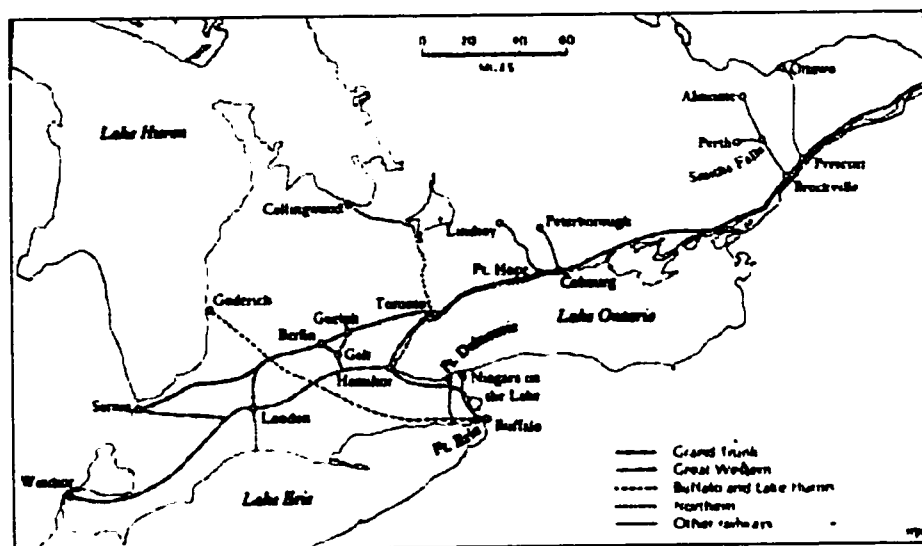
Sources: Canada Census, 1861.

Census Report of the Canadas, Number 6, - Upper Canada Personal Census, by Ages, 1861, Pages 370-513.

Mitchell's Gazetteer & Business Directory of Canada 1864, Tremaine Maps, Dun & Bradstreet Reference Books.

Figure 19.

Railway Lines in Ontario, 1860



Taken from: R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation: A Study in Historical Geography. (Toronto, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1974) 155).

Figure 20.

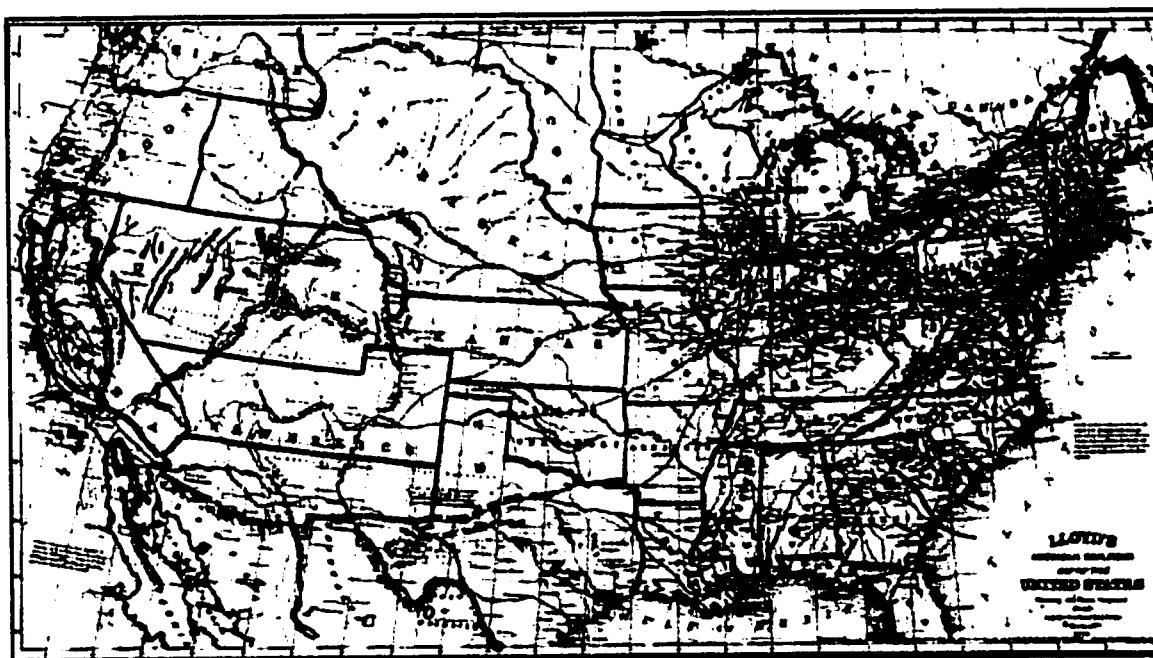
Ritchie Ford & Co.'s Distillery, 1856



Source: Archives of Ontario. Map of Norfolk County. 1856.

Figure 21.

"Lloyd's American Railroad Map of the United States", 1859



Taken from: Andrew M. Modelski, Railroad Maps of North America: The First 100 Years. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1984) 45.

Table I.

Number of Distilleries in Ontario Counties and Major Cities, 1851 & 1861

County	Number of Distilleries	
	1851	1861
Addington	2	2
Brant	4	2
Carelton	2	0
Durham	3	9
Elgin	9	3
Essex	1	3
Frontenac	1	1
Grenville	4	3
Grey	1	2
Haldimand	6	2
Halton	1	0
Hastings	7	4
Huron	3	0
Kent	4	4
Lanark	3	2
Lennox	3	0
Lincoln	4	1
Middlesex	9	2
Norfolk	6	3
Northumberland	3	2
Ontario	5	2
Oxford	6	1
Peel	2	0
Perth	3	2
Peterborough	3	0
Prince Edward	1	0
Simcoe	1	1
Stormont	2	0
Victoria	3	0
Waterloo	10	7
Wellsand	3	2
Wellington	7	5
Wentworth	6	1
York	15	2
City of Toronto	3	3
City of London	3	1
City of Kingston	3	1
City of Hamilton	0	1
City of Ottawa	1	0
	153	73

Source: See Appendix B.

Table II.

Returns of Whiskey Distilled by Gallons Produced and Amount of Duties, 1857-1859

Counties	1857		1858		1859	
	No. of Gallons	Amount of Duties \$	No. of Gallons	Amount of Duties \$	No. of Gallons	Amount of Duties \$
Brant	177,515	4,437.88	121,859	4,082.90	62,767	3,766.02
Carelton	3,945	98.62	5,674	273.77	-	-
Durham	92,050	2,301.27	71,621	2,659.12	53,961	3,237.66
Essex	34,494	862.38	71,187	2,518.33	303,856	18,231.37
Frontenac, Lennox, Addington	125,430	3,085.78	309,982	8,387.62	194,544	11,672.64
Hastings	183,961	4,599.03	227,753	9,695.92	165,394	9,923.64
Huron and Bruce	15,524	388.10	16,196	519.98	1,568	94.08
Haldimand	14,308	357.70	31,863	1,247.14	20,829	1,249.74
Kent	15,843	396.12	27,067	915.75	9,894	593.64
Lanark and Renfrew	2,141	53.53	3,090	106.56	2,600	156.00
Leeds and Grenville	258,344	6,458.60	219,037	8,232.62	206,482	12,388.91
Lincoln and Welland	204,654	5,116.35	157,761	5,324.07	113,788	6,827.27
Middlesex and Elgin 1st Division	27,184	679.60	25,938	1,007.50	8,639	518.36
Middlesex and Elgin 2nd Division	34,909	872.85	29,761	961.11	7,153	429.17
Northumberland	81,047	2,026.18	69,911	3,043.32	88,508	5,310.48
Norfolk	80,694	2,017.35	70,213	2,774.60	57,358	3,441.47
Oxford	14,494	362.35	10,298	315.43	1,200	72.00
Prince Edward	11,739	293.45	9,738	357.46	4,204	252.24
Peterborough and Victoria	8,022	200.53	1,111	27.77	-	-
Perth	1,771	44.32	-	-	8,986	314.75
Renfrew	-	-	-	-	176	10.56
Simcoe	-	-	-	-	1,024	61.44
Stormont, Dundas and Glengary	7,474	188.92	8,542	212.65	-	-
Waterloo	194,716	4,867.90	197,944	7,568.14	139,266	8,355.96
Wellington and Grey	179,245	4,481.12	148,121	5,576.52	106,467	6,387.99
Wentworth and Halton	-	-	201,058	6,129.83	80,759	4,845.54
York and Peel, E & W Division	8,391	209.77	10,197	254.93	24,278	1,456.66
York and Peel, Centre Division	442,744	11,068.60	592,297	24,451.52	589,075	35,344.53
TOTAL	2,220,639	55,468.30	2,638,219*	96,644.56	2,252,776**	134,942.12

* The total in the Sessional Papers chart said 2,638,215 but this was incorrect.

** The total in the Sessional Papers chart said 2,172,776 but this was incorrect.

For these figures the total was either added incorrectly or there was a misprint.

Source: Sessional Papers. No. 41. 1860.

Table III.

Various Distilleries that Survive from 1850 into 1861

Location	Distiller/Proprietor
Town of Amherstburg, Essex	John MacLeod
Town of Prescott, Grenville	S. Crane & Co. (1851) / J.P. Wiser (1861)
Onieda, Haldimand	Wm & T. Mussen
Indiana, Haldimand	James Kirkland
Town of Belleville, Hastings	Robert Read
Village of Trenton, Hastings	John F. Flindall
Town of Chatam, Kent	Jas. Northwood
Town of St. Catherines, Lincoln	F. J. Stinson
Grafton, Northumberland	Campell & Co. (1851) / McFarlane & Co. (1861)
Town of Cobourg, Northumberland	J. Boswell
Town of Simcoe, Norfolk	Richie, Ford & Co.
Ellice, Perth	Peter Kastner
Village of Ayr, Waterloo	George Coldiayh
Village of Preston	Jacob Erb & Son (1851) / A.A. Erb Bros. (1861)
Town of Guelph, Wellington	William Allan
City of Toronto	Gooderham & Worts
City of Kingston	James Morton

Source: See Appendix B.

Table IV.

Top Ten Distillers by Production (1861)

Proprietor or Distiller	Location	Gallons
Gooderham and Worts	City of Toronto	1,250,000
Hiram Walker	Sandwich East, Essex	400,000
Borst & Halladay	City of Toronto	250,000
J.P. Wiser	Town of Prescott	240,000
M. Himes	Village of Chippawa	240,000
Kingston City Brewery & Distillery	City of Kingston	180,000
W.H. Thomas*	City of Hamilton	137,600
William Hespeler	Village of Waterloo	108,000
W.J. Kerby	West Flamborough, Wentworth	93,120
Alfred Watts	Town of Brantford	90,000
		2,988,720

* a rectifier of spirits

Source: See Appendix B.

Table V.

Ontario Railway Network 1850-1899

(Single Track Miles)

Decade	New Lines Built	Lines in Operation at the End of the Decade
1850-1859	1,375	1,375
1860-1869	47	1,422
1870-1879	1,842	3,264
1880-1889	2,267	5,531
1890-1899	687	6,218

Table Taken from: G.T. Bloomfield, *Railway Life-Cycle in Ontario* (Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph, 1992) 3.

Table VI.

Indian Corn Imports from the United States, Illinois Output, and Chicago Exports, 1850-1865

(in thousands in dollars and thousands of bushels)

	Indian Corn Imports		Illinois Output	Chicago Corn Output
	Bushels	Dollars		
1850	77	37	58	645
1851	163	68	80	262
1852	209	106	67	3,221
1853	416	248	85	2,757
1854	1,030	711	113	2,780
1855	1,351	1,121	90	6,837
1856	1,670	838	140	7,518
1857	1,096	720	107	11,130
1858	699	393	110	6,815
1859	759	558	69	7,727
1860	1,048	529	115	4,349
1861	2,693	1,087		
1862	4,309	1,707		
1863	1,762	975		
1864	238	188		
1865	1,187	781		

Source: Robert Ankli 1971: 17.

Table Sources: Province of Canada, *Trade and Navigation Reports*. Robert Ankli, "Gross Farm Revenue in Pre-Civil War Illinois," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Illinois (1969) 165, 290.

CHAPTER 3
1861-1871: LARGE DISTILLING OPERATIONS, FACTORY PRODUCTION
AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL

Population growth in Ontario slowed in the 1860s. Although still mainly rural in nature there were many individuals located in established villages and towns as well as new villages that were continually being formed. Amongst Canadian cities, Montreal was the largest with a population of around 100,000 inhabitants in 1867, followed by Quebec City with 60,000 and then Toronto with 50,000.¹ Despite the difference in size, Toronto by 1871 was beginning to take control from Montreal as the more important trading city. With many available resources and a market for products, numerous manufacturing industries began to grow within the city.

In the 1860s there was an expansion of Ontario's manufacturing industries notably in the establishment of factories in Toronto, Hamilton and in the Grand River Valley. This decade can be distinguished by many changes that influenced the economy creating a prosperous era. The utilization of the railway network that was developed in the 1850s, Canada's Industrial Revolution, and trade with the United States increased to create the beginnings of the Quebec City-Windsor corridor reflecting the local population distribution, and major political changes were put into place with Confederation.² The American Civil War and the image of the rising power of the United States spurred the idea of creating a nation with a unified governmental system.³ Most of the enthusiasm for unity came from Ontario and Quebec which saw the significance of a connected economy. The establishment of a transcontinental economy which had developed successfully south of the border would help to tie together these existing economies; however to achieve this, financing was required.⁴ Confederation created a national economy with regional foci.

This chapter will examine the distilling industry's use of the railway network that had been developed in the 1850's; the American Civil War as it provided advantageous conditions for

those distilleries that recognized the opportunity; factory production and the growth of the “Big Five” distilleries; the Gooderham & Worts fire of October 27, 1869, its affect on the community, and the firm’s response to the destruction; and finally the federal government’s reaction to the loss in revenue through illicit distillation and fraud (the Maitland Distillery Case of 1869 examples one course of action). The distilling industry during this period can be characterized by a newly enlarged market, government control over the industry, and the improvement of the factory operations; these were all connected and helped to create the changing spatial pattern within the industry that occurred during this time period.

The 1860s yield a further decline of many distilleries which had remained in operation from the 1850s. By 1871 there was a further loss of 55 distilleries in Ontario resulting in only 19 licensed distilleries remaining.⁵ Much of this loss was concentrated in the last few years: from 33 in 1867 to 24 in 1868 and from 25 in 1870 to only 19 in 1871.⁶ Of these 19 distilleries only 7 were operating under the same proprietor from the 1850s. A comparison of Figure 3 (in Chapter 2) and Figure 22 depicts this decline. In the 1860s, the distilleries still ranged rather in size. This can be seen when examining the Dun and Bradstreet Reference Books and the pecuniary strength given to the operation. For example in 1864 Robert Read’s distillery in Belleville (Hastings County) was measured at a pecuniary strength of \$5,000 to \$10,000, Thomas Mackelm & Co.’s distillery in Chippawa (Welland County) was measured at \$25,000 to \$50,000, David Allan’s mill and distillery in Guelph (Wellington County) was measured at \$50,000 to \$100,000, and Gooderham & Worts (Toronto) was measured at \$500,000 to \$1,000,000. Almost all the distilleries with a pecuniary strength lower than \$25,000 were gone by 1870. The distilling industry was becoming more concentrated into centres of production, namely Toronto, Walkerville⁷, Prescott, and Waterloo (these four centres had four of the “Big Five”) as well as Guelph and Chippawa. Corbyville Mills & Distillery was still a small operation, and probably still mainly a mill (Figure 23). Of the 19 distilleries of 1871, Gooderham & Worts and Hiram Walker & Son dominated the landscape. Although the Gooderham & Worts distillery in Toronto

continued to have the largest production, the Hiram Walker & Son distillery, in operation for less than 15 years, had emerged to become a rival, now producing over a million gallons of whisky per year. According to the Canada Census, between 1861 and 1871 the Gooderham & Worts distillery increased the gallons of whisky produced by 68 percent whereas the Hiram Walker & Son distillery had increased their production by more than 200 percent!⁸ Gooderham & Worts by the late 1860s was the largest distillery in Canada. It was during this decade that the firm successfully managed to eliminate the competition of Molson's distillery in Montreal, partly through the exporting of large amounts of whisky to the provincial markets of Quebec. In 1863 the Molson Distillery produced 336,000 gallons of spirits but by 1867 the firm decided to sell its inventory, and leave the whisky business to focus on brewing.⁹

A. The Utilization of the Railway Network

Many of the distilleries operating in the 1860s, despite their location on rail lines, ceased operations. In fact many of the distilleries that had survived the 1850s were located on the trunk lines of the Grand Trunk Railway and the Great Western Railway. Figure 24 illustrates Ontario in 1865 with the operating rail lines and a listing of the various railway stations located along these lines. When this figure is compared to Appendix B, Table II, it is clear that many of the distilleries that ceased operation in the 1860's were located along the trunk lines and had access to a rail station. Along the Grand Trunk Railway various distilleries closed down including two distilleries in the Town of Bowmanville, John McCarthy & Co.'s¹⁰ distillery in the Village of Maitland in Grenville County, George Wallace's distillery in the Village of Oshawa, two distilleries in the Town of Port Hope, John Boswell's¹¹ distillery in the Town of Cobourg, and Morton's¹² Brewery & Distillery in the City of Kingston. The Town of Chatham, the Village of Komoka, the Village of Preston, and the Town of Etobicoke¹³ all experienced a loss of distilleries even though they were served by major railways. In the Town of Brantford and the Village of Indiana, distilleries closed down despite the service of the Buffalo & Lake Huron Railway. According to Jackman (1926) railways charged higher freight rates to industries located on

branch lines when compared to those on trunk lines and also charged more for shipping less-than-carload lots. There was, therefore, competitive disadvantage in terms of transportation costs for industries that shipped only small batches, and for those located on the branch lines. According to Jackman (1926) it was the discrimination in rates that helped to centralize traffic along the main trunk lines. This discrimination explain why many of the distilleries in the 1860s were located on the trunk lines of the Grand Trunk Railway and the Great Western Railway.

Although there were a number of distilleries located along trunk lines that ceased operations, there were also a few distilleries that did not have access to a rail station or a railway line which survived until the sixties, but closed down by 1871. The Village of Kincardine in Bruce County, the Townships of Normandy and Sydenham¹⁴ in Grey County, the Town of Simcoe and the Village of Waterford in Norfolk County, the Village of Elora and the Village of Fergus in Wellington County, and the Village of St. Jacob's¹⁵ in Waterloo County can all be cited as examples. Because the majority of the distilleries that closed down in the 1860s were located on rail lines it can be assumed that they were affected by the increased competition that was a result of the new expanded market conditions. Distilleries that had access to rail lines and stations may not have been able to carry on the sizable export of spirits for which rail transportation offered an advantage. One car load was approximately 2,300 gallons.¹⁶ Even if spirits and whisky were exported the price may not have been competitive when compared to those the a distillery the size of Gooderham & Worts. In addition there was also the competition on the home front to contend with. Competition that had begun in the local market during the 1850s intensified in the 1860s. Referring to Appendix B, Table II, it is clear that many distilleries were below the mean gallons produced in 1861 (65,924 gallons) and of those distilleries above the mean value even these "average" distilleries were dwarfed by the "Big Five". Although there were few new lines added to Ontario's rail network, the distilling industry's large producers of spirits and whisky did begin to fully utilize its possibilities for the movement of goods because this network eliminated the necessity of making whisky near the place of sale. As a result, those

distilleries that did not have access to a rail line were at a serious disadvantage because they were forced to operate within the local market, yet whisky from other distilleries could still be brought into the local market through the use of rail lines in combination with other modes of transportation such as a steamer using existing water routes and cartage along the roads.

Both Gooderham & Worts and Hiram Walker & Co. were using the rail network to enhance the movement of their goods. For these two distilleries, in particular, transportation became an important element for the success of the distillery and the profits generated. In the 1860s the amount of goods transported to and from these distilleries increased dramatically. This increase in transportation was not only from the shipment of spirits, whisky, and flour, but also from tremendous amounts of raw materials (mainly corn) into the distilling operation. At this time it was still rather expensive to ship goods across the rail lines but lower rates were provided for frequent shippers of freight and for full car load lots. This was important when the articles transported by the distilleries were bulky raw produce and heavy barrels of spirits. Due to the amount of traffic these two distilleries were producing, there can be little doubt that these lower rates gave them an advantage.

These businessmen had anticipated the importance of transportation to the industry at an early date and were generating large amounts of traffic, and consequently by the early 1860s both distilleries had spur tracks that led to the heart of their distilleries. It was in 1862 that the Hiram Walker distillery received spur tracks from the Great Western Railway which led to and from the distillery and cattle yards. Gooderham & Worts had already received a spur line from the Grand Trunk Railway which led to the distillery permitting the easy receiving of grain and the shipment of barrels and puncheons filled with spirits and whisky of different qualities to be carried to Montreal, Quebec City, and other various markets.¹⁷ To illustrate the volume of spirits and whisky transported from the distillery the Canadian Illustrated News in April 25, 1863 cited, that as of that date, there were 5,000 barrels and 2,000 puncheons out of the distillery which were expected to be returned. In car load lots this amounted to over 200 cars or more than 474,000

gallons in approximately four months!¹⁸ This means it can be safely estimated that the distillery would ship more than one million gallons of spirits a year. The New York based firm of Lanman & Kemp¹⁹ was one customer of Gooderham & Worts which received shipments of large quantities of industrial spirits by rail. Lanman & Kemp began business with Gooderham & Worts in 1864 after corresponding with the firm to learn about prices, quantities, and shipping. Their first order for 19 puncheons of spirits was shipped in bond to Lanman & Kemp in New York and Gooderham & Worts mentions that it took some time to get all the papers in order but assured the firm that future orders would not take as long.²⁰ Gooderham & Worts explained that the Grand Trunk allowed 21 puncheons into one car which put the fare at the lowest price (Grand Trunk freight in 1864 was \$275) the firm could afford to send the spirits to New York.²¹ In December 1864 Gooderham & Worts explained to its new customer that it would take time to find out what the railroads would charge to ship from Toronto to New York and the best guide to determine the price would be their rate for flour and to calculate one barrel spirits as equal to two barrels of flour, but the cheapest way to ship the spirits would be to buy their strongest spirit and then reduce its strength to what Lanman & Kemp required once it arrived.²² This firm became a regular customer for industrial alcohol. Two years later in October 30, 1866, the price to ship the spirits was down to \$150 per car (December of 1868 Lanman & Kemp had instructed Gooderham & Worts to ship one car every three weeks until further instructed). In 1868 Gooderham & Worts shipped over 62,000 gallons of spirits valued at over \$33,000, and in 1869 the firm shipped over 66,500 gallons (\$35,000) to Lanman & Kemp.²³ Clearly a vast quantity of spirits were transported by rail. Nevertheless, Gooderham & Worts was "...serious of satisfying any freight trade" and felt that the firm could ship spirits "...on as good terms as any other distillers in this Continent."²⁴

The shipment of spirits was not the only article shipped across rail lines. There were large quantities of raw materials shipped as well. The Gooderham & Worts distillery, in particular, transported raw materials from Ontario and the United States. Barley was received

from various parts of Ontario, rye was mainly from the Bay of Quinte area, and Indian corn came from “the Western States” of which Chicago and Joliet in Illinois and St. Louis in Missouri were the main supplying points. The Indian corn, which was the main raw material and required the longest travel distance, would be brought in from Chicago by ship via lakes Michigan, Huron, and Erie, then through the Welland Canal to Lake Ontario and their wharf in Toronto. Alternately, it came by a more direct route using both rail and water through Lake Huron and Georgian Bay to Collingwood then by the Northern Railway to Toronto.²⁵ This corn would be shipped by [standard?] gauge cars so that it could be carried over the American roads and over the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railway without transshipment. According to an article in the Toronto Globe on April 23, 1872, one car load of grain was approximately 400 bushels which meant that the distillery alone would receive over 625 car loads of grain (or at least 250,000 bushels) in one year. (This did not include shipments for the flouring mill.) Also, this article stated that, “This process of transit by which grain and its products are moved from the far West to New York is a business that is carried on by this firm on a very large scale, leaving much of its profits in Canada and it speaks well for Canadian enterprise that so large a business is done on this side in American raw produce.”²⁶ The distilleries of Gooderham & Worts and Hiram Walker & Co. relied heavily on transportation to produce spirits and the increased use of rail lines provided a less complicated means of shipping, not to mention a more direct, faster mode of travel.

It seems logical given the size of the operations and the quantity of spirits that could be manufactured that the two largest distilleries in Ontario in the 1860s would need to utilize rail transportation to continue to access the newly expanded markets. Many of the other Ontario distilleries did not have the luxury of a spur line that ran directly into the distilling operations which allowed for easy, more efficient transportation. Consequently in the 1860's the proximity to a rail line proved to be important. Although a distillery may have been on a trunk line the raw materials, whisky, and spirits had to be transported to and from the rail station to the rail cars.

This was an annoying step that Ontario's two largest distilleries eliminated. The location of the distillery within the local village or town in relation to a rail line could easily vary. To utilize the rail line, raw materials and products had to be transported to the rail line by cartage since it was not feasible to bring the rail line to the distillery. This was because many of the distilleries did not produce enough revenue or traffic to warrant such a measure. Depending on the location of a local distillery in relation to the rail station, the proximity could provide advantages by reducing transportation costs especially if the distillery was located near the rail line and a water route.

The J.P. Wiser distillery in Prescott had excellent access to water transport with the St. Lawrence River and could use rail transport by shipping on the Grand Trunk rail line or the Prescott & Ottawa Railway. An examination of Figure 25 shows that Read's Distillery located in Belleville in 1864 was an operation of four buildings and was not located on a water route or near to the Grand Trunk rail line. Consequently, to ship spirits and whisky this distillery would have to cart the product by road to the Bay of Quinte or across the town to the rail station. The distillery of H. Corby and the distillery of Hespeler, Randall & Roos (Granite Mills and the Waterloo Distillery) needed to focus more on rail transport because they lacked the excellent, direct water routes. In 1865 the closest rail station for the Waterloo Distillery was miles away in Berlin on the Grand Trunk Railway or in Preston on the Galt and Guelph branch of the Great Western; for the H. Corby distillery the closest rail line was miles away, the Grand Trunk line, in the Town of Belleville. It is not surprising that Corby and other prominent citizens were in support of the railway during the "Great Railroad Meeting". This location relative to rail lines may have affected the size of these distilleries in later years. Gooderham & Worts and Hiram Walker & Co. had an early advantage with their excellent availability of transportation.

To briefly summarize, large amounts of spirits were being manufactured in the 1860s, notably by Gooderham & Worts and Hiram Walker & Co. Figure 26 illustrates that Gooderham & Worts (York County) and Hiram Walker & Co. (Essex County) were two distilleries that were producing well over the average production per capita of 3.05 gallons per person in 1871. (Refer

to Figure 18 in Chapter 2 to compare the years 1861 and 1871.) The existence of an expanded market created more competition within the industry. To take advantage of the enlarged market and the increased production levels transportation, mainly the rail network, became very important not only to move the product to market but also for raw materials to reach the distillery. Railway transportation varied within the distilling industry with those distilleries having a large production capacity benefiting from bulk tariffs. Canada's whisky region was defined by the end of this decade with four of the "Big Five" distilleries claiming their positions in the landscape. But rail transportation itself was but one factor. An immense potential in the United States was another.

B. The American Civil War (1861-1865)

Despite growing Ontario and Canadian markets there was the possibility for even larger markets south of the border in American cities. Table VII illustrates the difference in the size of Ontario's largest urban centres to those of the United States in 1860. The population of the United States top ten cities was 1.4 times larger than the entire population of Ontario in 1860. The larger United States markets meant the possibility of a return in revenue that could never be achieved in Canada. It was in the 1860s that the United States became a focal market for Canadian whisky.

The American Civil War (1861 to 1865) helped to establish the movement of Ontario whisky into United States markets. During the Civil War the United States experienced a loss in production throughout its manufacturing industries. Military action drastically reduced the flow of labour and capital into normal industrial production. The casualties and injury statistics can illustrate the change that occurred in the labour force. There were 360,000 Union soldiers killed, 275,175 wounded and 258,000 Confederate troops killed, 197,000 wounded.²⁷ These men amounted to over one million individuals who were no longer working to produce the variety of consumer good products and industrial items that were required by society nor were they alive to consume the products. This meant that there was a demand for Canadian goods and this demand

was heightened by a diversion of resources to war production which created a depletion in the food and beverage stock as well as various other manufactured products. Military expenditure during a time of war can be expected to stimulate certain industries that are crucial to the war effort such as those using iron or wool, but in turn there is also a dislocation and loss of market suffered by other industries.²⁸

There was also a devaluation of American currency. This devaluation was a result of the diversion of resources and the increase in wages. In 1864 the Canadian dollar was worth \$2.50 in American dollars.²⁹ Many products produced by United States manufacturing firms were forced to increase their prices. (This many have been important for articles that were smuggled into the United States.) The American Civil War helped to contribute to Canadian prosperity. Although there has been very little written on the Civil War's impact on the growth of Ontario's industries, most of the references comment generally on the war as a contributing factor to the growth of Canadian industry; it can be deduced that the Civil War also aided in the growth of the distilling industry.

During a time of war the access to markets, raw materials, and imports are often denied.³⁰ During the Civil War there was protectionism in place against foreign imports into the United States. This protectionism was notably against spirits and whisky. In fact, the United States government did not want these products to enter the United States. It can be assumed that this restriction was placed because the government did not want soldiers to have access to this product as it could hamper their performance in the line of duty. However, spirits and whisky were used for medical purposes during the war especially for many of the injured who suffered amputations and needed help to alleviate their pain after surgery. Certainly there was not only a demand by consumers but on the battlefield generating a stimulus for the factory-made product of whisky. Although spirits and whisky were on limited entry into the United States this did not deter many Ontario distillers. Smuggling of many casks of whisky to the United States began by many distillers, notably, the firms of Hiram Walker & Co., Messrs. Gooderham & Worts, and J.P.

Wiser.³¹ It is not hard to see why these distilleries took advantage of the new market opportunity with Wiser and Walker having their origins in the United States, and Gooderham & Worts being involved heavily in transporting industrial spirits. These distilleries were also in an advantageous position being located along the border. The Hiram Walker & Co. distillery loaded jugs, casks and barrels into the hold of American smugglers boats for quick trips across the river almost every day during the war.³² Wiser, too, loaded barrels onto boats headed to Ogdensburg.³³ It seems that many Ontario distillers saw the Civil War as a business opportunity, despite the circumstances in which it was presented.

These unusual short term demands for Canadian manufactured products benefited many Ontario distilleries also in the long term. Sales increased and trade channels developed which lasted after the war. Wiser by this time was producing good quality, blended whisky and selling pure spirits, alcohol, common whisky, proof whisky, and rye whisky; he had the variety and the quality. Much of the profit of the war years was re-invested into the distillery for new buildings and machinery. Gooderham & Worts were able to put large amounts of capital into the distilling operation. Hiram Walker's expansion is relatively well documented. In 1863, Walker had formed a partnership with John McBride³⁴ and the firm was called Hiram Walker & Co. The \$40,000 that Walker brought to Canada had been invested into the buildings and machinery of the business. In these early years Walker was heavily involved with the Bank of Montreal at Windsor and had asked for additional advances to keep the mill and distillery operating until more profit could be realized.³⁵ The earliest known bill of sale illustrates the financial difficulties Walker was experiencing with his operations as he tried to make his mill and distillery a success. The bill of sale, dated December 24, 1860, is to Mr. S. Whitley for 5 barrels of "Magnolia"³⁶ whisky which were sent to Chatham. Walker stated that he hoped "... you will send me money soon as I am much in need of money now...".³⁷ He had spent much of his money on purchasing land and building the new operations. This \$40,000 did not last long and for this reason there is speculation that the need for money spurred Walker's idea of travelling salesmen to help increase

his clientele. Walker had made additional advances with the Bank of Montreal and was reported to have investments of over \$100,000 during his first few years of operation, but by 1862 the distillery was functioning at a more profitable level.³⁸ It has often been said that Ontario distillers got rich off the American Civil War. Walker had created a fortune in these few years. In June of 1863 Walker purchased a new home in Detroit for \$16,000 in cash.³⁹ In February of 1865, he purchased \$10,000 of the stock in the Detroit Advertiser and Tribune to gain interest in the newspaper and become a partner.⁴⁰ McBride, his partner, left the firm in 1867 and was paid \$12,560, a testimony to the material progress accomplished by the Walker institutions from 1858 to 1867.⁴¹ Within five short years Walker was operating a very profitable milling and distilling operation.

The Civil War created a stimulus for some Ontario distilleries allowing them to prosper and paved the way to a larger market. It is difficult to determine which Ontario distilleries participated in exporting spirits and whisky to the United States during the Civil War. However, it is known that three of the "Big Five" distilleries did embrace this opportunity for increased production and revenue. For these three distilleries an expanded market and increased exports to the United States created short term benefits with increasing revenue and long term benefits in established trade routes and business connections. It is possible that these benefits aided in cementing these distilleries into the geographical landscape. But this enlarged market for Ontario whisky could not have been satisfied without factory production.

C. Factory Production

Many distilleries made significant improvements in their operations. For most other industries in Ontario, improvement meant the introduction of factory production. But for the leaders in Ontario's distilling industry factory production had already been brought in; which meant that the new focus for the proprietor was to increase the efficiency. Factory production equated to an increased production capacity so more spirits and whisky could be manufactured for a lesser cost. This helps to explain why during the 1860s although there was a loss of

numerous distilleries throughout Ontario the gallons of spirits produced increased; the 19 distilleries in 1871 were producing more spirits and whisky than 74 had 10 years previously. Since there was this loss in distilleries, the various regions of Ontario must have been supplied by the remaining distilleries who had greatly increased their production. The development of the continuous process of producing spirits and whisky created the need to organize the operations and machinery, as well as helping to control and coordinate the production process from beginning to end.⁴² The methods that were adopted in the 1850's were improved upon in the 1860s. Steam was now the best power to run the factory and it became crucial to the operation of machinery. There was less supervision within areas of the production process, an organization of labour, and an increased importance of the distiller and taste tester for their scientific skills because there were no individuals involved in the production process, only those that monitored the machinery; by the late 1860s mass production that had begun merely 10 years previous could be seen in a number of distilleries across the province.

To improve the distilling operations, machinery and buildings more capital was required. The Waterloo Distillery was experiencing great success after only a few years of operation and was improving operations. In 1861 there were only four buildings (Figure 27). This distillery was far from the size and scale of Gooderham & Worts, especially when compared to Figure 8 in Chapter 2 (Gooderham & Worts in the mid 1850's). The enumerator in the Canada Census of 1861 stated that the distillery appeared to be doing rather well and that the owners were "having great difficulty meeting the demands of this whisky." What set this whisky apart was the use of old rye as opposed to the barley and potatoes that other local distillers in the area were using which was a German version of making spirits.⁴³ Under rapid expansion the proprietors, Hespeler and Randall, decided to take William Roos on as a new partner in 1863. According to the Census of Canada, between 1861 and 1871 the distillery had doubled its capacity from approximately 100,000 gallons to 200,000. This increased production illustrates the commitment of these men to success in the distilling industry. In 1864 Hespeler left the business to travel abroad and

decided to leave Joseph E. Seagram in charge of his interests in the operations and so begins Seagram's history in the distilling industry.

Those distilleries that had been smuggling large amounts of spirits during the Civil War had accumulated a large amount of capital that could be invested into the distilling operations. Gooderham & Worts, in particular, improved operations in the 1860's to create a distillery operating under highly efficient factory production. The fixed capital invested rose to more than double that which had been invested in 1861. A number of new buildings were constructed. By 1862 they were practising a second distillation to remove more congeners and with this second distillation there was no need to filter with charcoal.⁴⁴ The whisky was pumped into underground pipes that led to the old windmill tower where two copper column stills with a capacity of 1,500 gallons had been installed for this second distillation.⁴⁵ It was also at this time that Gooderham & Worts, along with other distillers such as Walker, began to add caramel colouring to the whisky to make a more appealing, marketable product. The Toronto Globe March 26, 1863 informed the public that Gooderham & Worts planned to erect more buildings in connection with the mills and distillery. A new block with an area of over 15,000 square feet would soon contain a malt house (141 x 70), cooper shop (78 x 26), a two story storehouse (85 x 32), an alcohol tower rising to 45 feet (32 x 16) and an office (20 x 25).⁴⁵ In the malt house there would be two malting floors, a granary and two kilns.⁴⁶ The buildings were to be made of red brick and stone to make them as strong as possible, with floors lying on iron columns, slate roofs and window sills of Georgetown stone.⁴⁷ There would be a coal boiler house and a water tank that would receive water pumped in from Lake Ontario.⁴⁸ Located by the storehouse was the bonded warehouse which was "under the exciseman's lock and key".⁴⁹ In the mid 1860s Gooderham & Worts expanded their facilities again for the fattening of cattle. Additional byres and vats (kept constantly filled with distillery waste) had been erected in 1866⁵⁰ and again merely a year later⁵¹ due to the firm's success. By 1866, 2,500 to 3,000 cattle were fattened in the winter months to be ready for markets in the spring.

Gooderham & Worts were determined to gain as much market share as possible. Factory production allowed the firm to squeeze out the competition of the smaller producing distilleries that could not produce spirits at the same rate or for the same cost. In correspondence to the firm of Lanman & Kemp dated November 20, 1868 Gooderham & Worts explained that,

There is a good deal of competition just now in distilling and money is being lost but we do not think it will last long. The break must go...[we are] now selling at about cost which is 5 cents per gallon less than any other manufacturer in Canada can produce it for equal and we know that no one in this country can make as good an article as we can.

This increased competition can be illustrated in various advertisements placed by Ontario's distilleries in newspapers and business directories and gazetteers. Figure 28 illustrates a sample of various distillers advertisements that were placed in the 1860s. By 1869 Gooderham & Worts had captured a large portion of the Ontario market and in 10 years had aided in the elimination of many distilleries in Ontario that could not produce spirits or whisky at the same competitive manufacturing cost. This is clearly stated by the firm in October 4, 1869 in correspondence to Lanman & Kemp. "Our policy as the largest Distillers in the Dominion is to keep the price of our spirits at its lowest manufacturing cost so as not to incite competition...we are selling today lower than smaller distillers can produce it for..."⁵³ This competition in the market was not only felt within Canada and Ontario but also in the United States because the firm was trying to expand its market throughout the country and even beyond. On August 4, 1868 the firm stated in correspondence to Lanman & Kemp that,

We do not see under existing circumstances that your distiller can sell alcohol much if anything under our price...If by making a slight deduction in our price you could lend us an order for 1 or 200 purchases...as we want some of the Mediterranean merchants to try our spirits.

It was factory production which allowed this firm to reduce the manufacturing cost of spirits so that they could successfully ship spirits into the United States at a competitive price.

However, it was in 1869 that Gooderham & Worts were subject to a devastating fire. Fire was a problem for early distilleries due to most of the buildings being made of wood, the air being filled with flour dust, and constant fires burning for the still. Gooderham & Worts, Hiram

Walker & Co., and J.P. Wiser all experienced fires in the 1860's. To overcome the losses caused by the fire, large amounts of capital were required. In many cases a fire was enough to put a local distillery out of business; but what is unique with these three distilling firms is that the destruction caused by the fire only stimulated innovation and improvement.

For Wiser, the fire came in 1864 only a year after he had assumed ownership. An advertisement placed in the Prescott Telegraph March 9, 1864 illustrates that Wiser was the new successor. Much of the operation that he had taken over from C.P. Egert & Co. (the manufacturers of high wines, proof, common whisky and alcohol and with a large stock on hand) were destroyed, but Wiser chose to rebuild and to expand his operations, accepting the risk and the large investment of capital to do so. Large docks were added for convenient access in the shipment of corn, other grains, and coal.⁵⁵ Barns were constructed to hold 2,000 head of cattle.⁵⁶ Profits being made from the Civil War permitted Wiser to rebuild and to improve the distillery.⁵⁷ Further, profits were also used in the late 1860s for an improved malt house with a rectifier, and copper tank receiver.⁵⁸ When all the repairs were completed the distillery had a new capacity to use 900 bushels of grain per day and the ability to feed 1,200 head of cattle.⁵⁹ At this time the distillery was in operation for 10 months of the year with a daily revenue of \$3,000.⁶⁰ Like many other distilleries the fattening of livestock provided large profits in addition to those made from spirits. Wiser was fulfilling his original ambition by purchasing livestock in Ontario, fattening them and selling them in the United States. The average number of livestock at the distillery was 3,000 to 4,000 cattle and 15,000 to 20,000 sheep.⁶¹ The 1860s for Wiser were a time of construction and gaining absolute control of the Leeds and Grenville County market with the elimination of the remaining competition.

On December 1, 1868 there was a fire at the distillery property of Walker in one of the cooperage buildings which spread to some of the adjacent buildings and destroyed them all quickly.⁶² The loss of these cooperage buildings, barrels and barrel material was estimated at

approximately \$1,500.⁶³ Since these buildings were located away from the distillery the loss was not severe.⁶⁴ Walker in 1870 decided to add a brick wall around the mill for fire protection.⁶⁵

D. Gooderham & Worts Fire of October 27, 1869

The Gooderham & Worts fire of 1869 must be highlighted not only for the magnitude of destruction caused by the fire but also the shear power that can be seen emanating from these men within the Toronto community. Both Worts and Gooderham had become influential businessmen, the distillery was recognized as an important manufacturing firm contributing to the economy of the city, and each had amassed fortunes from their distilling operations. The fire of 1869 destroyed the essential core of Canada's leading distilling operation.

The fire was believed to have started in the paint room located in the fermenting room by an employee who had stored benzene there to mix paint for the barrel heads. He had used a coal oil lamp (an open light) to tap the barrel. The air mixed with fumes from the barrel created a flame which ignited the barrel of benzene causing an explosion.⁶⁶ It was claimed in the Toronto Globe that Gooderham & Worts never knew that the barrel had been stored in this room or it would have been removed immediately since it was a potential hazard.⁶⁷ The flame climbed to the upper level and came in contact with the stills producing an uncontrollable conflagration. The flames spread through the five stories of the building and then extended to the east and west. "There was a large quantity of liquor in the distillery and it not only poured out of the building, but actually flowed in torrents over the railway track, finally a channel was dug for it under the rails, and the boiling, blazing spirits flowed into the bay burning brilliantly on the surface of the water."⁶⁸

Approximately 15 minutes after the fire began thousands of citizens came to watch the blaze consume the distillery.⁶⁹ According to the Daily Leader, there was a great deal of public interest as to whether or not the establishment would be rebuilt, but Gooderham & Worts assured the public on numerous occasions that repairs would begin immediately.⁷⁰ Many buildings like the cattle sheds and the copper shop were saved. On the wharf there was a large quantity in

storage of rye, liquor and spirits which was saved along with the rectifying house and coal yard. The boilers and engine works were saved as well as the storehouse and a large copper tub filled with spirits worth \$20,000.⁷¹ It was the main buildings of the mill and distillery including the machinery that was destroyed; these had cost over \$150,000 to erect a decade earlier. At this time there was between 6,000 and 9,000 bushels of imported Indian corn in the distillery, 30,000 gallons of spirits in the process of manufacture, and approximately 2,000 head of cattle in the sheds.⁷² It was estimated that the total loss in buildings, stock, and various other expenses would reach between \$100,000 and \$120,000.⁷³

Gooderham & Worts sent a cheque to the fire brigade for \$200 for their service at the fire. Jas Ashfield, Chief Engineer of the Fire Department, published the correspondence in the Toronto Globe and Daily Leader. The firm wanted them to use the money in any manner they saw fit. The \$200 was given in appreciation for the manner in which the firemen exerted themselves to put out the burning distillery.⁷⁴ Even though the firm had lost the distillery and were facing repairs that would cost over \$100,000, Gooderham & Worts took the time to issue a cheque and letter to thank the firemen who helped to save much of the operations. A meeting of the citizens was held at the request of a number of influential citizens, consented to by the Mayor, for the purpose for granting an expression of sympathy to the firm.⁷⁵ Clearly, Gooderham and Worts were prominent men in the Toronto community to warrant such a meeting.

The 1,500 cattle that were being fed on the distillery waste had to be shipped to the United States because there was no way to keep feeding them on local sources.⁷⁶ According to the Daily Leader, "The stoppage of the distillery will be severely felt by the owners of cattle in the city, as the animals were principally fed by the slops...200 horse wagons daily employed (to haul the distillery waste)."⁷⁷ Toronto and the surrounding vicinity farmers and dairymen had been supplied by the firm. As soon as word spread about the fire, grain prices rose \$5 a ton (the cattle owners had no choice but to pay or their animals would starve), not to mention the

increased prices for milk and whisky.⁷⁸ The destruction of the distillery was felt around Toronto by many consumers.

Gooderham & Worts were their own insurers; they did not carry outside insurance yet the damage was almost entirely covered by their insurance account.⁷⁹ These men had been prepared for such an event and to be their own insurers shows that this firm had a huge amount of floating capital. As stated in the Daily Leader, "The firm stands in proud position of being well able to clear the loss themselves and indeed the members of the firm appear to think little of it except that it is a slight interruption of their business."⁸⁰ The operations were fully restored within four months of the fire since the stone walls remained intact.⁸¹ It was the goal of Gooderham & Worts to "get back in running order by [February or] March" and to achieve this goal men had to work day and night.⁸² "The destruction of our distillery by fire has prevented our doing anything in order except arranging to rebuild."⁸³ The new distillery's internal arrangements were designed by architect David Roberts along with George Gooderham who spent several months visiting all the great distilleries from New York to Chicago making notes of what was to be seen. To tour and to draw the plans Roberts devoted a full year.⁸⁴ The fire allowed Gooderham & Worts to completely revamp the distilling operations using the perfect factory organized production process to produce spirits. This strategy succeeded and Gooderham & Worts built a larger and improved distillery that manufactured a better, purer product than before the fire, especially with the addition of more condensing power.⁸⁵ In fact the firm was comparing the new spirits to that of Europe and sent a sample to Lanman & Kemp for their opinion.⁸⁶ According to Gooderham & Worts, "our Distillery is working beautifully and we have been running to our full capacity ever since we started [production in February of 1870]."⁸⁷

It seems that Gooderham & Worts found the destruction of the distillery to be more of a nuisance than a financial detriment but as the months passed in the reconstruction of the distillery, income essentially stopped. The firm not only put money into the necessary reconstruction (\$100,000 or more) but also there was a large loss of business contracts for four

months. This was expressed in correspondence with the firm of Lanman & Kemp, November 13, 1869, which stated "...our loss is equal to a greater of a million...the loss of so much more and the annoyance of distributing our business and the disappointment to our customers will not effect us in the least." Gooderham & Worts had to settle all its business contracts which included referring customers such as Lanman & Kemp to Hiram Walker of Windsor or to various agents that still had their product in stock.⁸⁸ In February the firm was producing spirits again and were anxious to resume business contracts. To Lanman & Kemp, Gooderham & Worts stated in February 17, 1870 that, "We are anxious to commence supplying you as soon as possible...as you know we have lost quite a large amount...and we want to make some of it back again...". By the middle of March the first car load of spirits was shipped to Montreal and there were many orders waiting.⁸⁹ On December 27, 1870 instructions were given to ship 2 cars every 10 days.

Gooderham & Worts had succeeded in gaining a sizable portion and control of the Ontario and Canadian market for spirits and whisky. Factory production allowed this firm to substantially increase the gallon capacity of the distillery to help supply the increased demand. Many of Ontario's smaller distilleries had a difficult time competing against Canada's largest distiller since the firm established a low manufacturing cost and subsequently a low consumer price for the product. The question raised is, "How could a small distillery compete with Gooderham & Worts when the firm could sell spirits for a lower price than the small distiller could manufacture it?"⁹⁰ Even a fire which destroyed the distillery in 1869 did not hamper the success of this distilling establishment. Although it was a significant loss, the affects were felt more in the re-routing of business contracts to other distillers and agents. Factory production increased the capacity greatly but in the 1860s there was still not the adequate means to transport the large amounts of whisky and spirits through the existing rail network. It was this increased production that helped incite increased federal government involvement and control over the distilling industry.

E. The Federal Government Gains Control Over the Distilling Industry

Excise controls became extremely tight during the 1860's. The proprietors of the distilleries had to notify the intention of their trade, register to have a license, identify all their equipment, continually renew operations, give notice before the distilling operations began (at this time the manufacturing of spirits and whisky was less than 12 months), declare the amounts of spirits produced and all the raw materials used. Numerous records had to be kept in meticulous order by each distillery. The entire distilling industry had to report its raw materials and production to the federal government on a continual basis, about twice per month. Figure 29 shows a typical distillery grain log that would need constant attention. It can be presumed that a similar type of log was required in all Ontario distilleries for various aspects of production. This log shows the record for the first half of April 1869. (Note that the breakdown of grain is as follows: 84 percent corn, 12 percent rye, 3 percent malt and 1 percent oats).⁹¹

The excise officer became important in every stage of the distilling operation. These men were in charge of collecting duties for the federal government and conducting inspections of the premises to ensure that operations were functioning according to the laws. In fact within the 1860s both Walker's distillery and the Gooderham & Worts distillery had on-site excise officers. At a distillery there was a gauge between two large tubs that could indicate the amount of spirits at any time for the excise officer. The Gooderham & Worts distillery in 1863 paid 15 cents per gallon to the federal government or approximately \$450,000 in revenue.⁹² It is clear to see that a small distillery would find it difficult to function under such controls.

The federal government was also attempting to control the illicit distilling that was occurring throughout Ontario and Canada. This tightening of control in the 1860s changed the "free reign" market that had existed previously. According to Thomas Worthington, Commissioner of the Inland Revenue Department, August 10, 1870 in a report made for the Sessional Papers of 1871, "between 1860 and 1870 there was a vast expansion in the revenue collected from excise duties...although the increase in the revenue from other sources has been

comparatively small, the general result is that these revenues have expanded within 10 years from \$636,397...to...\$4,410,816...".⁹³ This expansion in revenue was generated from the increasing number of gallons of whisky and spirits produced in addition to the increasing rate of excise duties. Worthington stated that,

The revenue collected during the year now brought to a close, as compared with what was collected ten years ago, indicates an important accession of work and responsibility. Whilst the excise duties were fixed at a low rate, in comparison with the cost of producing the articles taxed, the supervision of their manufacture was of comparatively small importance, and until 1864 the survey of distilling and brewing was little more than nominal, the declaration of the manufacturer, as to the quality of goods produced, being accepted as the basis of the charge of duty. But so soon as the rate of duty created a high premium on illicit manufacturers, it became incumbent on the Government to make efficient provision for the protection of the revenue, and of the lawful trader, against the completion of parties who might otherwise succeed in evading payment of the whole or of a part of the duty on their products. An important increase in the outside service was, therefore, a necessity which could not be evaded.⁹⁴

Beverage alcohol was subject to the strictest tax of any commodity in Canada.

As control was achieved over the distilling industry the federal government was free to increase the excise duty thereby further increasing the amount of revenue generated from the distilling industry. The excise duty on spirits increased enormously from 9 cents a wine gallon in 1862 to 63 cents in 1871, an increase of 7 times in less than 10 years. The two main increases occurred from 1862 to 1864 (9 cents to 30 cents) and from 1864 to 1867 (30 cents to 60 cents).⁹⁵ According to Worthington, "excise duty on spirits has always been the chief source of Inland Revenue"⁹⁶ and "...by 1861 the Province of Canada had an outstanding debt of 66 million dollars, a heavy burden for a population of about 2.5 million, with a tax base much smaller than it is today."⁹⁷ To meet the interest on this debt more revenue was needed and this could not be collected from custom duties. In 1866 this debt had increased to 77 million.⁹⁸ There were no personal taxes at this time. This debt was not the only concern for increasing federal government revenue. Confederation⁹⁹ in 1867 provided an economic coherence; this creation of a nation would help competition with the United States and assist to develop a transcontinental railway network. Cheap transportation would provide an easy exchange of goods throughout the new

nation and stimulate growth. However, to realize the goals of Confederation there was need for money to fund the new nation and help build it. Consequently, Confederation meant an increase in tariff policy, custom and excise duties, especially on spirits and whisky.

This increased federal government control over the distilling industry helped destroy some illicit distilling operations and remove deceitful distillers from the industry. In the process of eliminating illicit distillers it can be assumed that the federal government also paved the road for the removal of smaller distilleries. This newly exerted influence may have made the production of spirits unprofitable for smaller distillers due to the increasing excise duties and the labour required to keep the operations in compliance with all regulations. These increased hassles may have been sufficient motivation for a proprietor to exit the industry. To maintain a profit, production costs needed to be lowered. Once the price to produce a unit rose with the addition of the excise duty, it is possible that many distillers could not compete. The federal government was not concerned about this reduction in the number of distilleries throughout Ontario, in fact, fewer distilleries created a more manageable industry.

The federal government was determined to eliminate illicit distillers but more importantly the deceitful distilling operations that were robbing the government of its entitled revenue. If anything was found by an excise officer to be out of the ordinary the distillery would be immediately closed down and operations ceased until the matter could be sufficiently explained and rectified. Moreover, the federal government was even ready to prosecute if the case justified the cause. The Borst, Halladay & Co. distillery in Maitland is an example of what the federal government was willing to do in order to achieve control of the industry and the power it possessed over the distilling industry.

F. The Maitland Distillery Case

In 1863 Martin Borst and Sherman Halladay invested money and proceeded to convert an old mill into a distillery as well as to construct cattle sheds to house 1,000 head of cattle that would be fattened on the distillery waste. The distilling business was carried on under the name

Borst, Halladay & Co. in the small village of Maitland, between Prescott and Brockville, close to the St. Lawrence River and half a mile from the Grand Trunk Railway Station. Referring to Figure 29 Borst, Halladay & Co. had placed an advertisement in the Canada Directory for 1864-65 to inform the public about their services as distillers and rectifiers as well as their retail store in Toronto. Although this distillery had barely begun operation, the production was over 275,000 gallons. This was produced annually until mid 1865 when the distillery was seized for alleged irregularities and was subsequently closed by the federal government pending trial in the beginning of January.

The Crown charged that S.S. Halladay had disposed of 200,000 gallons of spirits between September 1864 and July 1865. (The term spirits was used in the general sense by the Crown to include whisky and any other alcohol that may have been produced.) These spirits had never been entered in the stock book and the duty was never paid. Consequently, Halladay became liable to a penalty of \$200 in addition to a penalty of equal to three times the amount of the license fees including the duty that was payable under the Act totalling a debt to the government in the amount of at least \$180,000.¹⁰⁰ Simply stated, the regulations were not followed in the distillery to keep stock books in good order and there was a failure on the part of Halladay to enter the full statement of all grain or vegetable matter used in the distilling operations or the rectifying of spirits, In addition, spirits made at this distillery were illegally removed and the strength, the quantity of grain malted, and the amount of spirits removed from the distillery were falsely stated in the stock books. Halladay, probably in collusion with other individuals, did not properly fill out the stock books. The Crown explained to the jury that this \$180,000 was important revenue to the country and that a fraud had been committed. The Crown alleged that fraud had been committed because Halladay had smuggled almost 300,000 gallons via the Grand Trunk out of Ontario, and made 20 fraudulent affidavits every 2 weeks with regards to the spirits made. Shipping notes were stolen from the Grand Trunk Office which could prove the shipments of spirits, and the agent of the Grand Trunk Railway who had kept false rail books and who was

in collusion with Halladay had fled the country with these books. In this trial the Crown tried to prove that the distillery had shipped, over the Grand Trunk Railway alone, a much larger quantity of spirits than their whole annual returns had indicated and had sent these spirits to Montreal. The total amount of spirits was estimated to be 490,000 gallons. The Crown stated that the smuggling of 300,000 gallons was equal to a quart of spirits for every man, woman and child in Ontario.

To prove that the Maitland distillery had smuggled over 300,000 gallons of spirits the Crown proceeded to show the jury the amount of spirits that had to have been manufactured by using the distillery's own books using the amount of grain entering the distillery. This had to be done because the Grand Trunk rail shipment books were missing. The distillery's own books showed that more grain had entered the distillery operations than was accounted for in the amount of spirits alleged to have been manufactured. The question put to the jury was where did these barrels of spirits go? The Crown determined the amount of spirits using the following logic: there were 72 car loads of corn (each load weighing 22,000 pounds) none of which were entered into the stock book; this totalled 1,584,000 unaccounted pounds of corn; Borst & Halladay admitted that 5,524,470 pounds of corn were consumed between September 1, 1864 and July 1, 1865; using the figure of 17 pounds to convert the corn into gallons there were 418,145 gallons unaccounted for. This figure was actually larger when fictitious entries and the other grain used at the distillery for the year in question were taken into account. The missing gallons totalled 561,958.¹⁰¹ Consequently a total of 509,550 gallons was determined to have been manufactured during that period and according to the distillery's own statement that there was enough grain to make this. They had admitted to having 83,000 gallons on September 1 so there was a total of 592,550 gallons. On July 1 there were 30,592 gallons on hand leaving 561,958 gallons unaccounted, these spirits were disposed of somehow.

The federal government had been tipped that there was a lot of corn entering the distillery. The Crown contended that 37 car loads which left Kingston consigned to Borst,

Halladay & Co. were received in Maitland; however, only 6 cars were recorded in the books. In fact the distillery had been distinguished as the best purchasers of grain, but it was not recorded in any of the books. The operations looked very suspicious. Further investigation led to the belief that there was fraud occurring and there was a Grand Trunk Railway employee who mysteriously disappeared when wanted for questioning on the faulty shipment books, making the operations look even more suspicious. Despite the incriminating evidence the jury was unable to determine if the Crown was given their entitled share of revenue or if they were deprived revenue and the jury was discharged.¹⁰²

The government had stated to the jury before deliberations that,

you may, gentlemen, look on this case as you would on one between two private persons in a partnership...In the case of distillers, the Crown gave them leave to carry on their works; but the moment they made a gallon of proof spirits they were indebted to the Crown 30 cents...under license from the Government, they had no right to defraud the Crown of that...The case is as if a farm were rented in shares. Each was fully entitled to his share...we gave this defendant leave to distill at Maitland on the conditions stated in the statute. To protect our revenue in this as in other similar cases, we took the most ample precautions in looking after the works, watching them, and in fact using every safeguard. The Crown had an interest in every gallon of liquor manufactured there.¹⁰³

This statement illustrates the measures to which the federal government was willing to undertake to protect its revenue. It also shows the power the government had over the distilling industry as it states that permission was given to these men to distill spirits which they in turn abused by trying to rob the federal government of its rightful revenue. Distilleries had to pay the federal government for the right to distill spirits. Although no verdict was reached, the federal government managed to close down the distilling operations at Maitland for good by bankrupting Halladay and Borst. This was effectively done by closing down the distillery until the trial. Since the trial did not start until six months later lost huge amounts of revenue and business were lost. Until the trial everything in the distillery was frozen. All of the grain was destroyed along with the spirits and much of the machinery was rendered useless as it had remained idle. During this time Halladay fled to Ogdensburg fearing arrest and the suit by the federal government.¹⁰⁴ The public, however, wanted the distillery to be allowed to operate again. Using government

bureaucracy, influence, and persistent delays the distillery was effectively destroyed. Shanley, a representative for the Maitland public conducted correspondence with Sir John A. Macdonald¹⁰⁵ for six months in hopes of getting the distillery to operate again. The distillery had not been in operation for two years.¹⁰⁶ He tried to persuade Macdonald in October 5, 1867 by saying that "...to delay the acceptance so long that the distillery shall be effectually killed anyhow. It is the Distillery I want to save - not Halladay:" October 15, 1867 he stated that, "...John Crawford...wants to know if...you are willing to let the property be brought to sale, to withdraw the seizure on the machinery and so let the whole for to sale under the Bank of Montreal Mortgage." January 25, 1868 Shanley said, "Both Borst and Halladay made a great mistake in not closing with the terms offered in November. There is now no hope for the Distillery..." since they were unwilling to cooperate. It seems as though the federal government was relatively unconcerned with the matter. The property would remain in seizure until an effective conclusion could be resolved. The trial removed this distillery from competition.

The Borst, Halladay & Co. distillery was not the only seizure by the federal government during the 1860s. The distillery of McBride, Cockrane & O'Conner, one mile north of the Walker & Co. distillery was seized in May of 1868 by Canadian officers for failing to pay the excise tax of 80 cents per gallon on the true amount of whisky manufactured and for violating the law respecting the duty on grain imported into the distillery.¹⁰⁷ The excise officers were in control of the distillery until the matter was settled in Ottawa. This distillery was sold to Hiram Walker in September of 1868.¹⁰⁸ In the Fergus News Record December 11, 1868 there was an article titled "Who Stole the Whisky." It said,

It is no unusual circumstance for whisky to disappear, and that rapidly, but it seldom moves off at the rate of 98 barrels in one night, which was the case at Fergus recently. Some three weeks ago, the distillery of Mr. Anderson was seized by the custom authorities, who barreled off the alcohol and locked it up in the bonded warehouse. Whilst the watchman slept o'night, or worshipped on the Sabbath some thief picked the lock and carried off the liquor.¹⁰⁹

Wyllie's Distillery in Fergus was also seized by excise officers twice in 1869. The Fergus News Record claimed that Fergus might have the champion distillery for charges of revenue fraud and defied the world to beat it. Wyllie had attained notoriety when some liquor was stolen from his distillery and then the distillery was seized by officers.¹¹⁰ On June 1, 1868 the Canadian Inland inspectors completed a thorough examination of the distillery operations of Hiram Walker & Co. and the books and affairs were found to be in accordance.¹¹¹

The federal government was determined to gain absolute control of the distilling industry and was prepared to take the measures needed to do so. It was the federal government that permitted the manufacture of spirits and whisky and consequently permitted the distilleries to operate. Excise duty from distilleries was an important source of revenue for the federal government and to increase this revenue the federal government raised the duty throughout the 1860s. Despite the restrictions imposed, the distilling industry still flourished even though smaller producing distilleries were eliminated from the landscape.

G. Summary

There was a further concentration in the number of distilleries during this period; the distilleries operating in Ontario had been reduced to only 19, a decline of over 130 distilleries in just 20 years. Gooderham & Worts had maintained control of the landscape but a new competitor had emerged in Essex County. Hiram Walker's distilling operation now rivaled for the title of the leading producer of spirits in 1871. Both these distilleries were producing more than one million gallons of spirits and whisky per year. These were not the only two distilleries to continue in the technological advancement of the distilling operations. For the remaining "Big Five" distilleries the achievement in the mass production of spirits and whisky meant a new goal of achieving an increased efficiency to help satisfy the increasing demand. The railway network that had been established in the 1850s was being utilized to ship a huge quantity of spirits and whisky across Ontario, and into other Canadian provinces as well as south of the border. Rail had become an important part of the success and profit of the distilling operation helping to further concentrate

the industry. Unlike the previous decade, a closure of smaller distilleries occurred despite their proximity to trunk lines. Rail lines provided access to markets in the United States. The American Civil War opened trade channels and increased the sales of whisky and spirits; for those distilleries that took advantage of these conditions there was the potential for great profit and much of this profit was returned to the operation to help improve facilities and decrease production costs. Although factory production continued to improve and the "Big Five" distilleries were able to manufacture large quantities of whisky and spirits, the mass distribution network had not yet been established. Gooderham & Worts, in particular, was determined to squeeze out the competition of the smaller producing distilleries in Ontario by making their own products cheaper than the many other distillers. Competition within Ontario's market generated by rail transportation and mass production was intense. Gooderham & Worts suffered from a massive fire in 1869 which destroyed much of the mill and distillery, but this fire did not hinder the continued growth of this establishment. By 1871, the federal government becomes a more prominent locational factor and the "free reign" market had been destroyed. With the increasing excise taxes and compliance to regulations it was becoming more difficult for smaller producing distilleries to maintain low production costs to ensure profits. The illicit distillation of spirits was being eliminated across Canada and those distilleries that showed the signs of irregularities were quickly closed for further inspection. Borst and Halladay of Maitland was one such example. They were prosecuted by the federal government resulting in the subsequent closure of their distillery. For the federal government it was simple; control of the industry had to be maintained and the distilleries had to pay for the right to distill. Ontario's distillers were no longer in charge of the production of spirits and whisky in their distilleries as the excise officer monitored the entire process from the entering of the grain to the packaging of the final products. Canada's whisky region was emerging in this period and the year 1871 was only the beginning for the onset and domination of the industry by the "Big Five".

NOTES

- ¹ Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owram, A History of the Canadian Economy, 4th ed. (Toronto, Ontario: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc., 1991) 276.
- ² David F. Walker, Canada's Industrial Space Economy. (London, England: Bell and Hyman, 1980) 51.
- ³ Refer to Hugh G.J. Aitken's "Defensive Expansionism: The State and Economic Growth in Canada," The State and Economic Growth. Ed Hugh G.J. Aitken. (New York, New York: Social Science Research, 1959).
- ⁴ A.W. Currie, Canadian Economic Development. 4th ed. (Toronto, Ontario: Thomas, Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1963) 265.
- ⁵ Refer to Appendix B, Table II and III.
- ⁶ Canada. "Appendix A - Spirits." Sessional Papers. Vol. 3 - 6. (1869 - 1872).
- ⁷ In 1869 Walkerville was recognized by Ottawa as a locality of sufficient size to warrant a post office. Most of the residents of early Walkerville were employees of Walker and he built residences to accommodate them on Walker Road and Sandwich Street. In the 1866-67 County of Essex Gazetteer and General Business Directory (page 128) describes Walkerville by saying "...several tenements built by Walker & Co. for the convenience of their employees, which number from 80 to 100."
- ⁸ Refer to Appendix B, Table II and III.
- ⁹ Merrill Dension, The Barley and the Stream, The Molson Story, (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart) 1955.
- ¹⁰ John McCarthy came to Prescott in 1847 from Dundee, Quebec and became an employee of Charles A. Payne. In 1855 he became the manager of the Creighton distillery located at the foot of Sophia Street. In 1856 he moved to Maitland where he entered into a partnership with Charles Russell who was also in the distilling business. This Maitland distillery only operated for five years until 1861. McCarthy then moved and entered into a partnership with Payne. They converted an old brewery into a distillery and continued operations for 4 years until 1869 when the partnership dissolved. McCarthy purchased the property and focused the operations on brewing ("Grenville Brewery"). Refer to Thad W.H. Leavitt's History of Leeds and Grenville. 1879. (Brockville, Ontario: Mika Screening Ltd, 1972) 159.
- ¹¹ The Ontario Distillery was victim of a flood in May of 1864 that was caused by heavy spring rains and sustained considerable flood damage. It is likely that this flood hampered the prosperity of the distillery and contributed to its closure. Taken from: Edwin C. Guillet's Cobourg 1798 - 1948. (Oshawa, Ontario: Business of Professional Women's Club of Cobourg, 1948) 103.
- ¹² At the Morton Street Brewery distilling operations began around 1844. The business was prospering which can be through Morton's investing money into real estate and the diversification of the business. He became interested in rail and in 1857 took a contract to build a section of the Grand Trunk. However, by 1859 he was broke due to the sources of his credit drying up. This credit problem along with, the railway boom ending, the Crimean War ending,

the depression which hit Europe and the United States, all contributed to his demise. He had hundreds of drafts which he had assigned to the bank which were protested for non-payment and debited to his account. In 1859 the debt was in the extent of hundreds of thousands, most owed to the Bank of Upper Canada. The distillery was the only part of the business still turning a profit and Morton was forced to lease the distillery to the trustees for the bank. The bank did not know how to keep the distillery prosperous and consequently it continued to lose money well into the 1860's. Refer to M.L. Magill's "James Morton of Kingston - Brewer." Historic Kingston 21 (1973): 72-77.

¹³ In 1840 Charles and William Wadsworth erected a distillery that operated until 1861. It has been mentioned that this was not a profitable distillery due to nearby illicit distilling. They used the distillery waste to feed over 100 head of cattle and several hundred pigs. The Musson brothers (Edmund and Thomas) were well established distillers since the 1820's. Refer to Sidney Fisher's The Merchant-Millers of the Humber Valley: A Study of the Early Economy of Canada. (Toronto, Ontario: N.C. Press, 1985).

¹⁴ The Leith Distillery in Sydenham of Grey County that was erected by James Wilson and in 1857 was purchased by Adam Ainslie. A small wharf was built in 1860 but by the late 1860's the distillery ceased operations. E.L. Marsh, A History of the County of Grey. (Fleming Publishing Co. Ltd., 1931) 100-103.

¹⁵ Kitchener Public Library, "To Small Manufacturers and Others." Galt Reporter. [Galt] 17 October 1862. This advertisement describes the sale of a distillery in St. Jacob's in Waterloo County. It was a brick distillery, a store, frame tannery and a brick factory to be sold or rented. It was mentioned that the distillery could be applied to any manufacturing purpose.

¹⁶ According to the Lanman & Kemp Correspondence (July 3, 1864) Gooderham & Worts would ship only car-load lots. One car load could hold 21 puncheons. A puncheon is a large cask with a capacity of approximately 112 imperial gallons. Therefore, $(21 \times 112) = 2,352$.

¹⁷ Toronto Reference Library, "Description of the Distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." The Canadian Illustrated News. [Hamilton] 25 April 1863, p. 282-3 and Supplement.

¹⁸ Formula: (1 barrel = approximately 50 gallons) so $5,000(50)=250,000$. (Lanman & Kemp July 3, 1864 or Canadian Biographical Dictionary 1880)

(1 puncheon = approximately 112 gallons) so $2,000(112)=224,000$.

Therefore: $250,000 + 224,000 = 474,000$

¹⁹ David Lanman was a wholesale druggist who formed Lanman & Co. in 1854 with George Kemp to market Murray & Lanman's Florida water, Bristol's Sarsaparilla, Kemp's Worm Plasters and Lanman & Co.'s Pure Cod Liver Oil. The name was changed in 1858 to Lanman and Kemp and when Lanman died in 1864, Kemp carried on the name until 1880. Baldwin Room, Toronto Reference Library, S24. Lanman & Kemp Correspondence, New York City. January 3, 1864 to October 21, 1879. 470 pieces. Refer to the Introduction.

²⁰ Toronto Reference Library, S24, Lanman & Kemp Correspondence, New York City. January 3, 1864 to October 21, 1879. 470 pieces: July 3, 1864.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid. Jan 25, 1865.

²³ For the \$30,000 figure, it was determined by adding all car loads shipped and the values received for the car loads that were in the correspondence. It should also be noted that the value of each car varied according to gold price, and price to ship and price of whisky. This is purely an estimate since some correspondence may be missing.

\$33,000 - 1 car = 21 puncheons = (45 barrels = 53 gallons each = 2,385 gallons). The total determined was 32,829.6.

66,500 gallons - 28 cars at 2,385 gallons = 66,780 gallons.

\$35,000 - Adding all correspondence where a letter was received for a deposit of a car load for 1869 = 34,967.62...each car approximately 1,300 (28)=36,000.

²⁴ Toronto Reference Library, S24, Lanman & Kemp Correspondence, New York City. January 3, 1864 to October 21, 1879. 470 pieces: March 18, 1869.

²⁵ Toronto Reference Library, "Description of the Distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." The Canadian Illustrated News. [Hamilton] 25 April 1863, p. 282-3 and Supplement.

²⁶ Archives of Ontario, N11 R67. "Canadian Manufactures - No IV, One of the Largest Distilleries in the World." The Globe. [Toronto] 23 April 1872, p. 2.

²⁷ Patrick O'Brien, The Economic Effects of the American Civil War. (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press International, 1988) 12.

²⁸ O'Brien 52.

²⁹ Francis X. Chauvin, "Hiram Walker and The Development of the Walker Institutions in Walkerville, Ontario," 1926: Chapter 10, page 6.

³⁰ O'Brien 19.

³¹ William Teatero, Historical Research - Wiser's Distillery Limited. (Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University, 1977) 6, Lanman & Kemp Correspondence 1864, and Chauvin Chapter 10, page 6.

³² Chauvin Chapter 10, page 6.

³³ Teatero 14.

³⁴ He was appointed as a travelling salesman in 1859 to help bring the customers to him; a practice which was hardly done or conceived of in these times. An innovation which helps to establish Walker's credit as an entrepreneur. The target customers for his salesmen were hotels, wholesale establishments, merchants and grocers.

³⁵ Chauvin Chapter 10, page 2 & 3.

³⁶ "Magnolia" was the first brand of whisky that Walker produced and it shares the brand name with a whisky produced by a distiller in Cincinnati, Ohio by the name of S.M. Pike. It is not certain as to whether this was coincidental, but due to Walker's previous experience with selling liquor in the United States it could be assumed that he understood the connection of a good brand name and its relation to the consumer.

³⁷ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Scrapbook, "Earliest known bill of sale..." Mr. Sam Whitley. 24 December 1860.

³⁸ When referring to the edited copy of the manuscript, which was done by Walker's son, Chapter 10 pages 5 and 6, we can see that he deleted all mention of smuggling and instead claimed that the fortune was created by Walker buying as much United States money as possible so that when the money returned to par value when the war was over, he made large sums of money.

³⁹ Chauvin Chapter 11, page 1.

⁴⁰ Chauvin Chapter 11, page 4.

⁴¹ Refer to Chauvin Chapter 12, page 4 to see the said agreement.

⁴² Alfred D. Chandler Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977) 254.

⁴³ University of Waterloo, Archive, F17244 The Seagram Plant in Waterloo: exhibition Oct 25 1996 to November 2, 1997.

⁴⁴ Other distillers like Walker also began this process of a second distillation.

⁴⁵ Toronto Reference Library, "Description of the Distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." The Canadian Illustrated News. [Hamilton] 25 April 1863, p. 282-3 and Supplement.

⁴⁶ Archives of Ontario, N11 R36, "New Malt House, &c., for Messrs. Gooderham & Worts." The Globe [Toronto] 26 March 1863: p. 2.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Toronto Reference Library, "Description of the Distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." The Canadian Illustrated News. [Hamilton] 25 April 1863, p. 282-3 and Supplement.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Archives of Ontario, N11 R50, "Building in Toronto - Cattle Sheds." The Globe. [Toronto] 3 November 1866: 1.

⁵² Archives of Ontario, N11 R50, "Building in Toronto - More Cattle Sheds." The Globe. [Toronto] 23 July 1867: 1.

⁵³ Toronto Reference Library, S24, Lanman & Kemp Correspondence, New York City. January 3, 1864 to October 21, 1879. 470 pieces: October 4, 1869.

⁵⁴ Teatero 13.

⁵⁵ Teatero 13.

⁵⁶ Teatero 13.

⁵⁷ Teatero 14.

⁵⁸ Teatero 14.

⁵⁹ Teatero 14.

⁶⁰ Teatero 14.

⁶¹ Teatero 14.

⁶² Hiram Walker & Sons Archive. Advertiser & Tribune [Detroit] 2 December 1868.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Archives of Ontario, N11 R61, "The Great Fire." The Globe. [Toronto] 28 October 1869.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid, N38 R34, "Gooderham & Worts Distillery Destroyed." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 27 October 1869.

⁶⁹ Ibid, N11 R61, "Burning of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts Distillery last night." The Globe. [Toronto] 27 October 1869.

⁷⁰ Ibid, N38 R34, "The effect of the burning of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 28 October 1869.

⁷¹ Ibid, N11 R61, "The Great Fire." The Globe. [Toronto] 28 October 1869. Globe Oct 28 1869.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid, N38 R34, "The effect of the burning of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 28 October 1869.

⁷⁵ Ibid, N38 R34, "Gooderham & Worts Distillery Destroyed." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 27 October 1869.

⁷⁶ Ibid, N38 R34, "The effect of the burning of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 28 October 1869.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid, N11 R61, "The Great Fire." The Globe. [Toronto] 28 October 1869. Globe Oct 28 1869.

⁸⁰ Ibid, N38 R34, "Gooderham & Worts Distillery Destroyed." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 27 October 1869.

⁸¹ Ibid, N11 R67, "Canadian Manufactures - No IV, One of the Largest Distilleries in the World." The Globe. [Toronto] 23 April 1872: 2.

⁸² Toronto Reference Library, S24, Lanman & Kemp Correspondence, New York City. January 3, 1864 to October 21, 1879. 470 pieces: November 10, 1869.

⁸³ Ibid. November 13, 1869.

⁸⁴ Archives of Ontario, N11 R67, "Canadian Manufactures - No IV, One of the Largest Distilleries in the World." The Globe. [Toronto] 23 April 1872: 2.

⁸⁵ Toronto Reference Library, S24, Lanman & Kemp Correspondence, New York City. January 3, 1864 to October 21, 1879. 470 pieces: March 18, 1870.

⁸⁶ Ibid. March 30, 1870.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid. November 13, 1869. This statement proves to be interesting because it shows a connection between Gooderham & Worts and Hiram Walker. The extent of these their relationship is unknown at this point. It may have been that because these were the two leading distilleries that the proprietors had contact or it is possible Gooderham & Worts may have just been trying to satisfy the needs of the customer.

⁸⁹ Ibid. March 18, 1870.

⁹⁰ Refer to Chapter 4 and the discussion on the two distilleries operating in the Town of Perth.

⁹¹ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Scrapbook. Mill Diary, 1869.

The quality of the whisky produced depended on the quality of grain and yeast, the cleanliness of the mash tubs and equipment and the proper distillation formula. Refer to Canadian Illustrated News article. These principles were observed by Walker and Gooderham & Worts, it is possible that many other distillers learned this and followed suit. Through the examination of mill records between the years 1869 and 1883, it is possible to determine that there were two mash formulas used for many of the different whiskies produced at the Walker distillery. There were neutral spirits of which this was 95% of the production and consisted of 80% corn, 14% rye, 3% rye and 2% oats. One time a year (usually in July) flavouring whiskies were distilled from a mash formula of 94% rye and 6% malt. These neutral spirits and the flavouring whiskies would be blended to produce the various brands of Walker whisky. (Canadian whisky is known around the world for its blending, the use of the column still allowed for this.) One mash formula was commonly used but it was distilling techniques that helped to produce the final product with the manipulation of the still and the distillation at certain temperatures.

⁹² Toronto Reference Library, "Description of the Distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." The Canadian Illustrated News. [Hamilton] 25 April 1863, p. 282-3 and Supplement.

⁹³ Canada, "Appendix A - Spirits," Sessional Papers. Vol. 5 (1871): 6.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Refer to Table VIII.

⁹⁶ Canada, "Appendix A - Spirits," Sessional Papers. Vol. 5 (1871): 7.

⁹⁷ Currie 112.

⁹⁸ Currie 113.

⁹⁹ In 1867 H. Corby was elected mayor and so was present for Confederation. In July 1865 Corby and other leading businessmen of the community organized the Belleville Board of Trade which became the Belleville Chamber of Commerce. He also led the St. George's Society with Mackenzie Bowell at this time. Although Corby's milling and distilling operations were not to the scale of some of the other leading distilleries in Ontario in the 1860's, Corby was an influential man in the Belleville community and respected by many in the community. As stated in Gerald Boyce's Historic Hastings. (Belleville, Ontario: Hastings County Council, 1967) 118, 140, 182, & 222.

¹⁰⁰ William Coldwell, The Maitland Distillery Case: Report of the Trial of Mr. S.S. Halladay, at the York and Peel Assizes, Before the Hon. Justice John Wilson, January 8-12, 1866. (Toronto, Ontario: The Globe Steam Job Press, 1866) 2.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 16-17.

¹⁰² Ibid. 128.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 121-122.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., C1694, Walter Shanley Maitland distillery, 1867. Sir John A. MacDonald Papers. V 300 part 1 miscellaneous papers 1867-1871. August 28, 1867.

¹⁰⁵ Although Walker was not a Canadian citizen his business interests lay in Canada and consequently he was interested in Canadian politics and it has been said that he was a supporter of Sir John A. MacDonald.

¹⁰⁶ Archives of Ontario, C1694, Walter Shanley Maitland distillery, 1867. Sir John A. MacDonald Papers. V 300 part 1 miscellaneous papers 1867-1871. October 2, 1867.

¹⁰⁷ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Advertiser & Tribune [Detroit] 11 May 1868.

¹⁰⁸ Hiram Walker & Sons Archive. Advertiser & Tribune [Detroit] 14 September 1868.

¹⁰⁹ Byerly 193.

¹¹⁰ Byerly 236.

¹¹¹ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Advertiser & Tribune [Detroit] 1 June 1868.

Total Production, 1871
Distilleries in Ontario

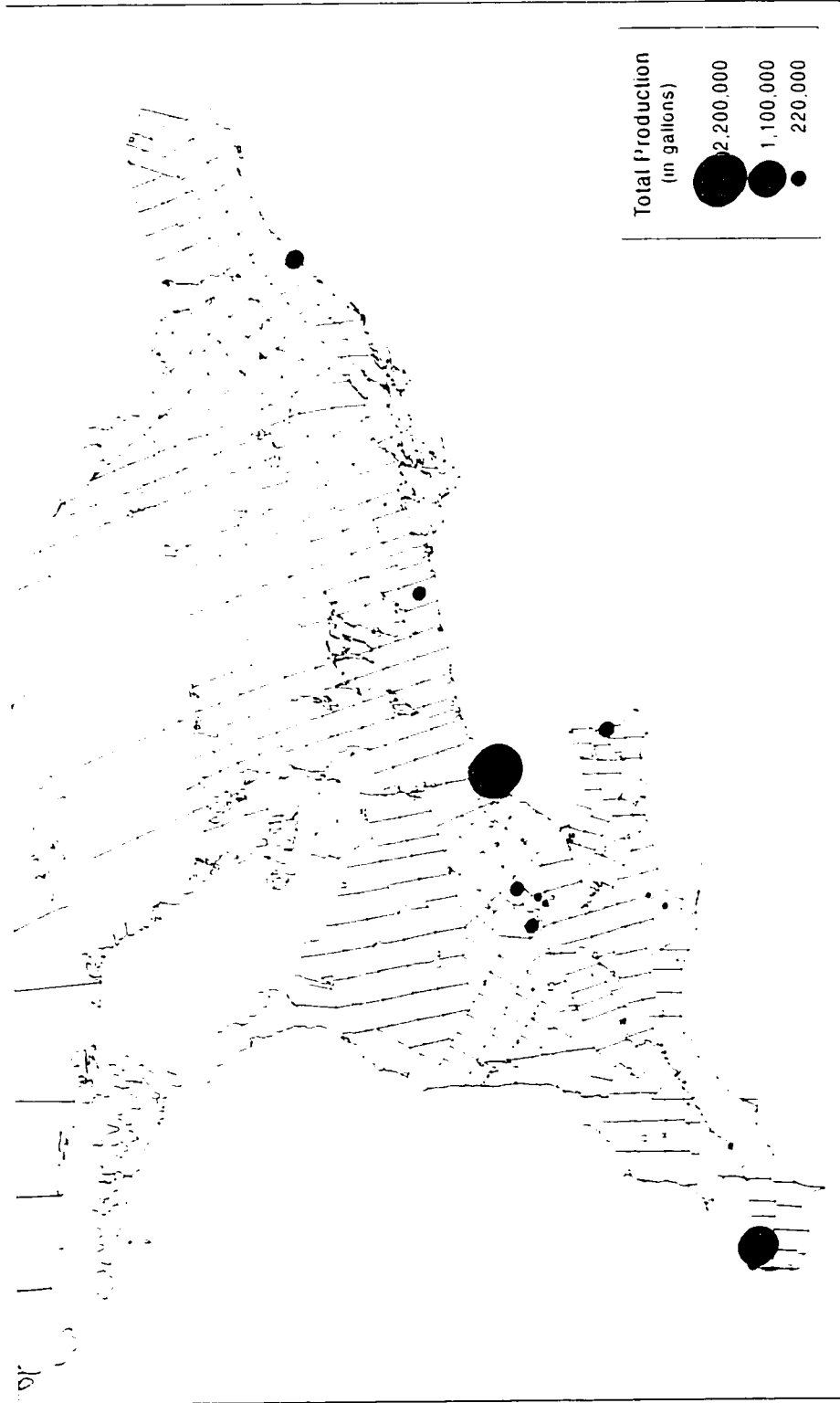
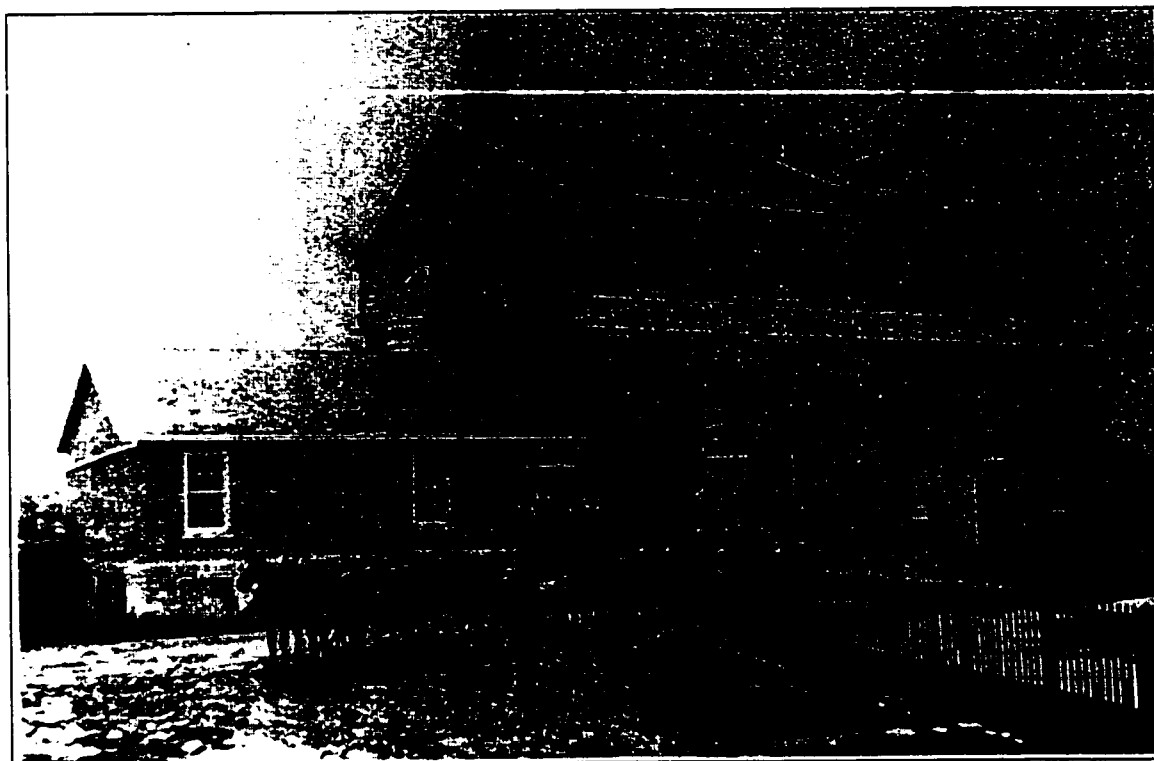


Figure 22.

Source: Canada Census, 1871.

Figure 23.

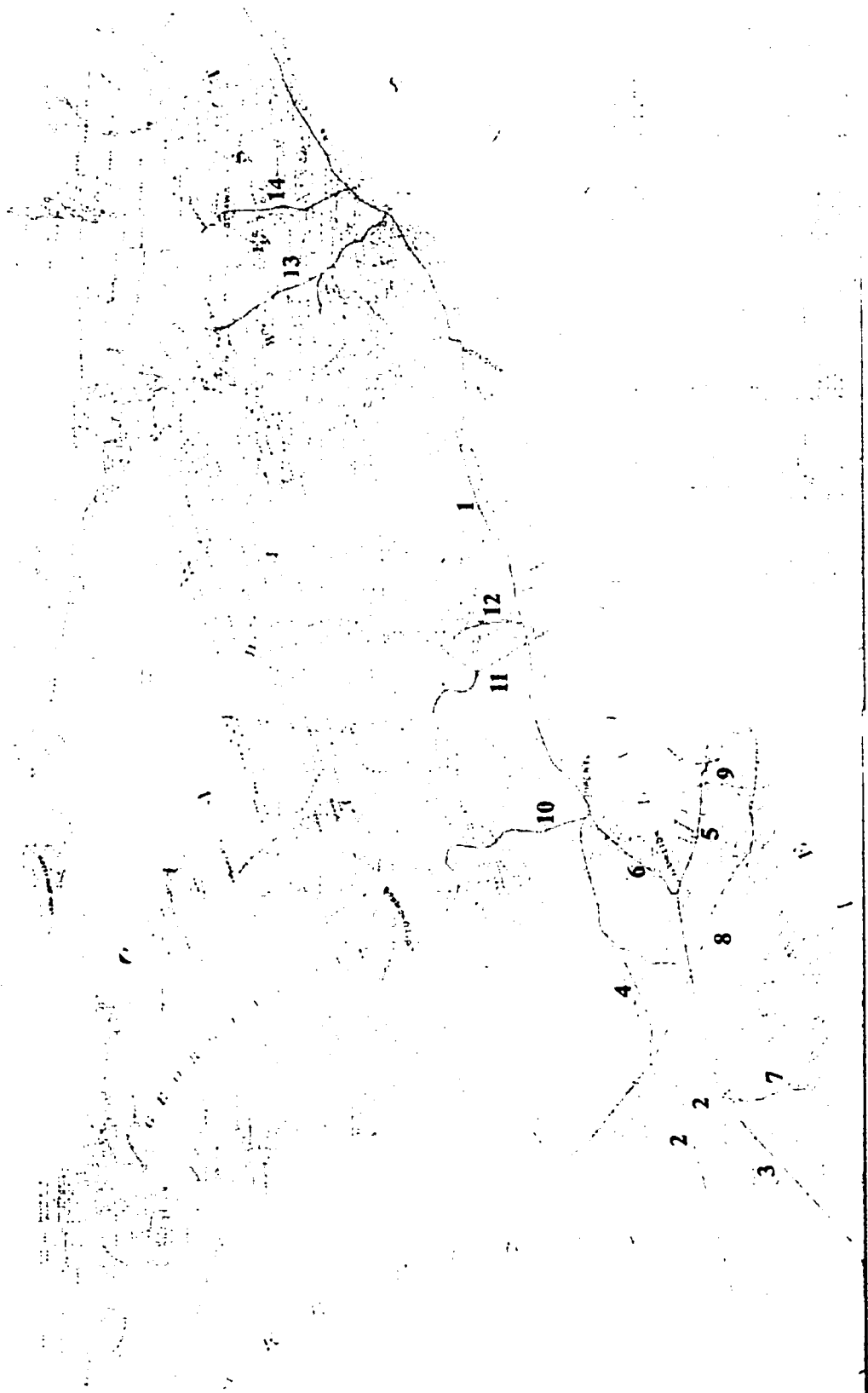
Corbyville Mills and Distillery, 1870



Source: Canadiana Room, Belleville Public Library, Vertical File. The History of Corbyville. Corbyville, Ontario: H. Corby Distillery, n.d.

Figure 24. Ontario Railway Lines and Stations, 1865

MAP OF CANADA WEST, Engraved & Published in the Canadian Almanac for 1865 by W.C. HEWETT & CO. TORONTO



Source: The Canadian Almanac and Directory. (Toronto: Maclear & Co.) 1865.

List of Various Railway Stations

1. Grand Trunk Railway (Montreal to Toronto Division)

Montreal, St. Annes, Cedars, Coteau Landing, Lancaster, Cornwall, Dickinson's Landing, Williamsburg, Matilda, Edwardsburg, Prescott Junction, Prescott, Maitland, Brockville, Landsdowne, Gananoque, Kingston, Earnestown, Napanee, Shannonville, Belleville, Trenton, Brighton, Colborne, Grafton, Cobourg, Port Hope, Nretonville, Newcastle, Bowmanville, Oshawa, Port Whitby, Duffins Creek, Port Union, Scarborough, Toronto.

2. Grand Trunk Railway (Toronto to Port Sarnia Division)

Weston, Malton, Brampton, Norval, Georgetown, Acton West, Rockwood, Guelph, Breslau, Berlin, Petersburg, Baden, Hamburg, Shakespeare, Stratford, St. Mary's ---St. Mary's & London Branch---Thorndale, London, Lucan, Craigs, Park Hill, Widder, Forrest, Sarnia, Port Huron, Ridgeway, New Baltimore, Mt. Clements, Detroit Junction, Detroit.

3. Great Western Railway (Main Line from Hamilton to Windsor)

Hamilton, Burlington Junction, Dundas, Falmboro, Capetown, Lynden, Harrisburg, Paris, Princeton, Arnolds, Eastwood, Woodstock, Beachville, Ingersoll, Edwardsburgh, Wanburn, London, Komoka, Mt. Brydges, Londwood, Glencoe, Newbury, Bothwell, Thamesville, Chatham, Baptiste Creek, Belle River, Tecumseth, Windsor.

4. (Galt and Guelph Branch)

Harrisburg, Branchton, Galt, Preston, Hespeler, Guelph.

5. (The Suze Bridge and Hamilton Branch)

Niagara Falls, Thorold, St. Catherines, Jordan, Beamsville, Grimsby, Ontario, Hamilton.

6. (Toronto to Hamilton)

Toronto, Mimico, Port Credit, Oakville, Bronte, Wellington Square, Waterdown, Burlington Junction, Hamilton.

7. The London & Port Stanley Railway

London, Point Mills, Westminster, Yarmouth, St. Thomas, Whites, Port Stanley.

8. The Buffalo & Lake Huron Railway (from Fort Erie to Goderich)

Fort Erie, Ridgeway, Sharks Crossing, Port Colborne, Wainsfleet, Feeder, Dunnville, Canfield, Cooks Station, Caledonia, Middleport, Onondago, Cainsville, Brantford, Paris, Richwood, Drumbo, Plattsville, Tavistock, Stratford, Mitchell, Carronbrook, Seaforth, Harperheg, Clinton, Goderich.

9. The Erie & Ontario Railway

Niagara, Queenslon, Stampford, Suspension Bridge, Clifton House, Chippewa.

10. The Northern Railway of Canada (from Toronto to Collingwood)

Toronto, Davenport Raod, Weston, York, Thornhill, Richmond Hill, King, Aurora, New Market, Holland Landing, Bradford, Scanlans, Guilford, Lefrog Bell Ewart, Craigville, Barrie, Harrisons, Essa, Angus, Sunnidale, Nottawasaga, Colligwood.

11. Port Hope, Lindsay & Beaverton Railway (and its branch to Peterborough)

Port Hope, Quaye, Perrytown, Campbells, Summit, Millbrook, Manvers, Brunswick, Lyttles, Ontabee, Kelly's, Lindsay.

12. The Cobourg and Peterborough Railway (extension to Chemong)

Cobourg, Baltimore, Bradins, Harwood, Indian Village, Ecene, Morgans, Peterboro.

13. Brockville & Ottawa Railway

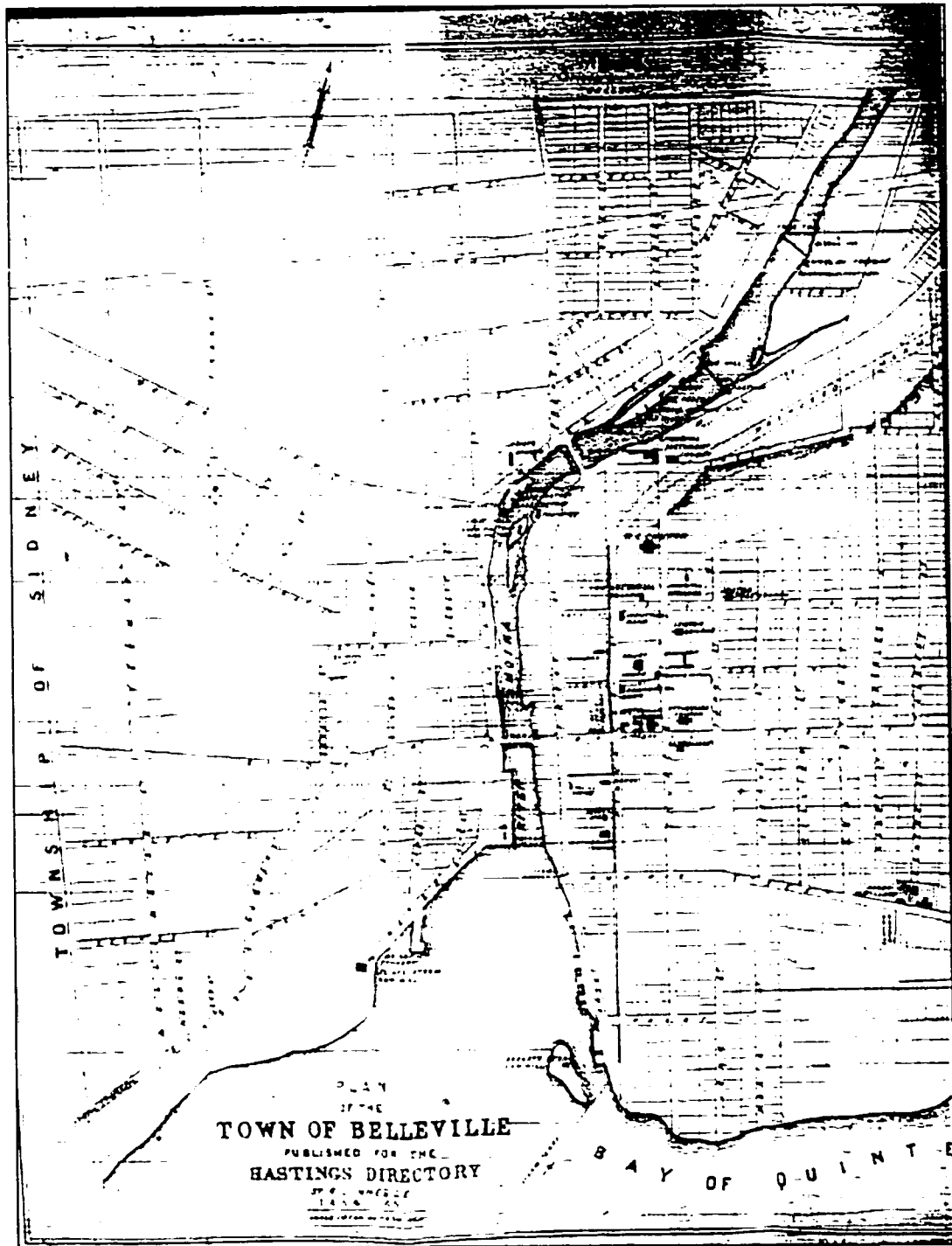
Broackville, Bellany, Irish Creek, Smiths Falls, Franktown, Carelton Place, Almonte.(branch to Perth)

14. Prescott & Ottawa Railway

Prescott, Prescott Junction, Spencerville, Dolyes, Oxford, Kemptville, Osgoode, Rids, Middleton, North Osgoode, Gloucester, Billings, Ottawa.

Note: the list of stations was taken directly from the map.

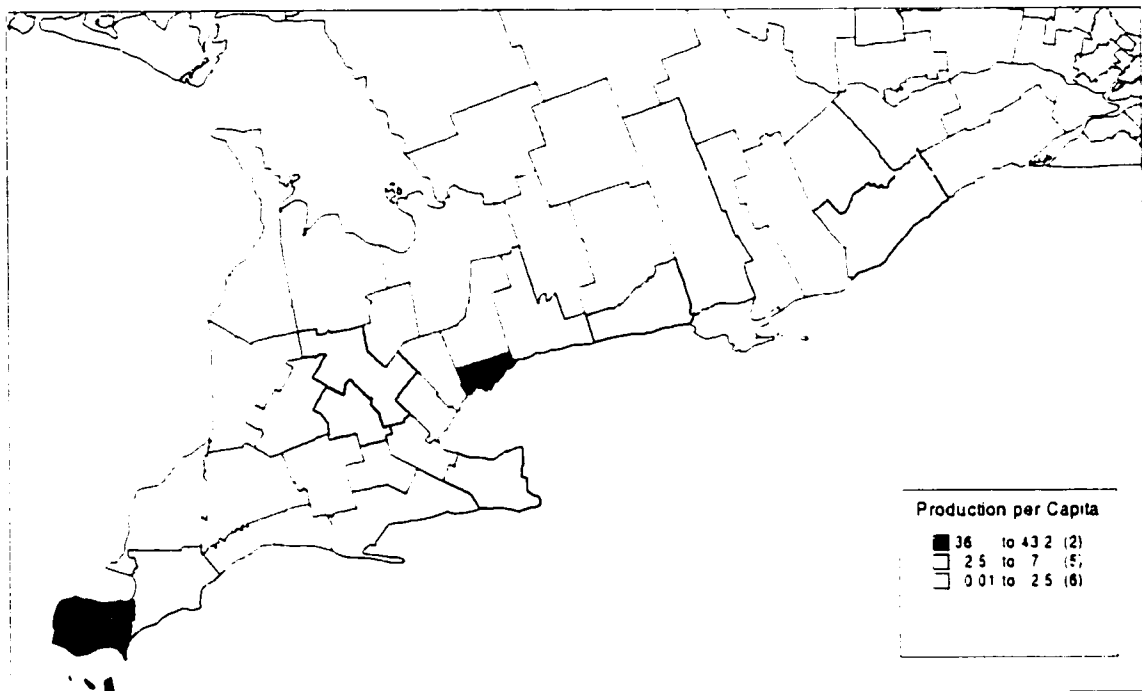
Figure 25. Town of Belleville, 1864



Note: the colour has been added; the yellow illustrates the Grand Trunk rail line and the pink in Read's distillery.

Source: Archives of Ontario, B 70 Series C R 14. Directory of the County of Hastings 1864-1865. (Belleville: Mackenzie Bowell, 1865.)

Figure 26. **Total Production compared to Total Population**
Distilleries in Ontario, 1871

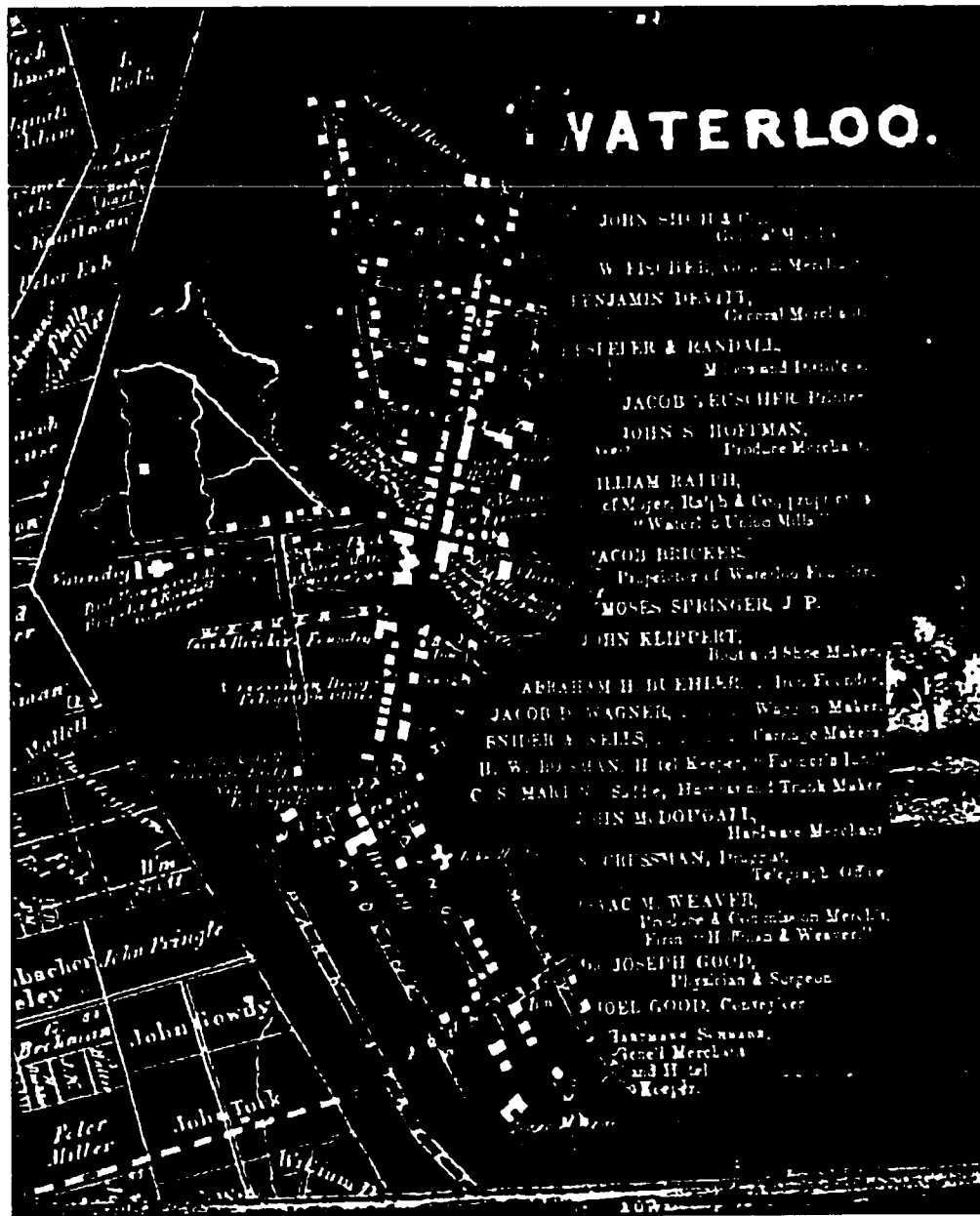


Note: data has been aggregated to the 1991 Census district boundaries.

Sources: Canada Census, 1871.
Census of Canada, 1871. Table I. - Areas, Dwellings, Families, Population... Pages 2-30.

Figure 27.

Village of Waterloo, 1861



Source: Archives of Ontario. George R. Tremaine and G.M. Tremaine. Tremaine's Map of Waterloo. Toronto, Ontario: Geo. C. Tremaine, 1861.

Figure 28. Various Advertisements for Ontario Distilleries in the 1860s

TORONTO CITY STEAM MILLS

DISTILLERY.

GOODERHAM & WORTS,

MANUFACTURE AND KEEP CONSTANTLY ON HAND, IN QUANTITIES TO SUIT THE TRADE.

Pure Spirits, 85 O. P. Do. do. 50 O. P. Do. do. at Proof.

WHISKEYS,


OLD RYE, TODDY, AND DOMESTIC—ALL OF THE PUREST QUALITY.

ALCOHOL AND FUSIL OIL.

OFFICE, 10 EXCHANGE BUILDINGS,

DISTILLERY, FOOT OF TRINITY STREET.

OLD RYE,



FAMILY FLOUR,

DAVID ALLAN.

MILLER, DISTILLER, RECTIFIER, &c.

GUELPH, C. W.

JOHN F. MENDALL'S

BREWERY & DISTILLERY,

WREXTON, C. W.

The Subscriber, in recognition thanks to his customers for their generous support, begs to announce that he has always on hand his well known and superior MALT and Whisky, which will be furnished to the Trade on liberal and reasonable terms. His Liquors are warranted pure and of the highest quality. A liberal discount made to Cash customers, and all orders promptly attended to. The highest cash price paid for Barley and Kye.

JOHN F. MENDALL.

MIL-TOWN FOUNDRY,

CABINET WARE AND CHAIR FACTORY!

MIL-TOWN, NEAR SHANNONVILLE.

MAITLAND DISTILLERY.

BORST, HALLADAY & Co.,

DISTILLERS AND RECTIFIERS,

MAITLAND, C. W.

STORE—14, 16 & 18, CHURCH STREET,

TORONTO, C. W.

Sources: Directory of the County of Hastings 1860-1861 36. Mitchell's Canada Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1864-65. (Toronto: W.C. Chewett & Co., 1864) 346 & 810. Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Wellington 1867. (Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867) 140.

Figure 29. Walkerville Distillery, Grain Log, 1869

118

bill of

71251

Inland Revenue Division of Walkerville
 Distillery of Hiram Walker, License No. 2 in Ontario's Canada
 Daily REGISTER of Grain or other Matter made or used, of Beer or Wash made, and of Spirits produced, with the Duty accruing thereon, during the

1869

Date of Delivery or Maturity	QUANTITY OF GRAIN, &c., WHICH					Wash or other Matter in Wine	Date of T- in	Quantity in Proof gallons	Quantity in Proof gallons	Every 9 lbs
	Wash	Wash	Wash	Wash	Wash					
Thursday 1	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	554	263	11195	
Friday 2	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	760	55	10426	
Saturday 3	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10624	
Sunday 4	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Monday 5	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Tuesday 6	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Wednesday 7	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Thursday 8	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Friday 9	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Saturday 10	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Sunday 11	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Monday 12	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Tuesday 13	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Wednesday 14	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Thursday 15	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
Friday 16	304	10880	1456	160	12000	2630	765	55	10604	
TOTALS	29	145720	2172	226	17400	10115	7912	11615	68056	

I do hereby declare that the several above entries are true and true statement of all payable or other matter used in the above named Distillery and of all Wash and Spirit manufactured therein during the period to which the said account relates.

Signed at Walkerville this 15th day of June 1869
C. Walker Collector of the Distillery

Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. Example of a Grain Log, 1869.

Table VII.

Top Ten Cities and Towns in the United States and Ontario, 1860

	United States Cities	Population 1860	Ontario Cities and Towns	Population 1861
1	New York	813,669	Toronto	44,821
2	Philadelphia	565,529	Hamilton	19,096
3	Brooklyn	266,661	Ottawa	14,669
4	Baltimore	212,418	Kingston	13,743
5	Boston	177,840	London	11,555
6	New Orleans	168,675	St. Catharines	6,284
7	Cincinnati	161,044	Belleville	6,277
8	St. Louis	160,773	Brantford	6,251
9	Chicago	109,260	Guelph	5,076
10	Buffalo	89,129	Cobourg	4,975
	Total	2,724,998	Total Population of Ontario	1,896,091

Sources: Raymond A. Mohl, *The New City*. (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson Inc.) 1985.
 Census of the Canadas, 1861. "Number 2. - Upper Canada Personal Census, by Origin, 1861".

Table VIII.

SUMMARY OF DUTIES OF EXCISE - FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SPIRITS

Year		Duty
1846	Per Imperial Proof Gallon	2d.
1859	" Wine Gallon Proof	\$.06
1862	" " " "	.09
1864	" " " "	.30
1867	" " " "	.60
1868	" " " "	.63
1870	" " " " (Molasses)	.65
1871	" " " "	.63
1874	" " " "	.75
1875	Per Imperial Proof Gallon	.90
1879	" " " "	1.00
1880	" " " "	1.00
1885	" " " "	1.30
1891	" " " "	1.50
1895	" " " "	1.70
1897	" " " "	1.90

Table Source: Department of National Revenue - Excise Division.

Source: J.R. Petrie, *A Handbook on the Beverage Distilling Industry in Canada*, (Association of Canadian Distillers, 1957) 25-26.

CHAPTER 4

1871-1883: SECURING AND STABILIZING THE MARKET

This period is characterized by the influences that the market had on the distilling industry and attempts to develop an international market. Canada's whisky region is further defined in this period and the "Big Five" distilleries gain control as many of the remaining distilleries in Ontario exit the industry. The industry was dominated by factory distilleries. This is a "take-off" period for the "Big Five" distilleries with the H. Corby distillery expanding to become a contender in the market, Joseph E. Seagram gaining control of the Waterloo Distillery, the incorporation of Gooderham & Worts in 1882, and Hiram Walker & Sons launching a new brand (Walker's "Club" Whisky) in the United States in 1882. These remaining distilleries had established principal markets within Canada and had rooted themselves within the home market with the hopes of protecting the new oligopolistic structured market. The year 1883 is a crucial year because it was the year after the launching of Walker's "Club" Whisky in the United States, which became an influencing factor for the remaining decades of the nineteenth century. The incentive to enter the distilling industry had been removed due to the tough competition instituted by the "Big Five" factory distilleries.

A. The Distilling Industry and the Stabilization of the Market

By 1871 it was possible to see the progress Ontario had made in industrialization. The factory system was emerging in numerous manufacturing industries. The 1871 Canada Census shows that Ontario had made significant progress in developing manufacturing industries that were producing a variety of consumer goods items, yet despite this increased diversity, products were still produced in the local market. The majority of Ontario's industrial establishments were still small scale manufacturers. For these small scale industries there was little indication of production for a provincial or national market. The distilling industry was very different from the

majority of Ontario's manufacturing industries in 1871 because this industry was producing spirits and whisky for a provincial, national, and international market.

In 1871 one in three Canadian firms reported to the Canada Census a production under \$500 and for Ontario it was one in every four firms.¹ Only 150 businesses in Canada ranked among the top one percent for the measures number of employees, value of fixed capital, gross value of production and value added.² Using these same 4 measures, 60 industrial firms qualified to be leading industrial firms of Ontario.³ On this list were two distilleries: Gooderham & Worts was the fourth largest industrial firm and Hiram Walker & Son was twenty-second.⁴ Large industrial manufacturers of Ontario were found amongst all major industry groups including the lumber trade (saw mills), the food and beverage sector (distilleries), the clothing sector (woolen mills), printing and publishing, metal fabrication and engineering (railway cars, rolling mills), the machinery sector (engines), and even in cabinet and furniture making. Only one-third of one percent of all industrial establishments had over 100 employees but these establishments accounted for nearly 15 percent of all industrial employees and approximately 13 percent of the total production.⁵ Nearly 85 percent of all establishments had 5 or fewer workers.⁶ Gooderham & Worts and Hiram Walker & Son were in the one-third of one percent. Although Gooderham & Worts was only the fourth largest industrial firm in Ontario, it should be noted that this distillery was outranked (on all four measures) by the Great Western Railway's establishment in Hamilton producing railway cars, R. Hay & Company's cabinet and upholstery factory of Toronto, and the Grand Trunk Railway's repair shops located in Brantford.⁷ The distilleries of Gooderham & Worts and Hiram Walker & Son as well as the Gooderham & Worts flour mill, however, were the only industrial firms on the list producing an edible product. Using the value of production as a criterion, seven distilleries were among Ontario's leading firms: Gooderham & Worts in Toronto, Hiram Walker & Son in Walkerville, J.P. Wiser & Son in Prescott, W.H. Thomas in Welland County, George Randall & Co.'s Waterloo Distillery, David Allan's Guelph Mills, and McFarlane & Co. in Haldimand of Northumberland West.⁸ These distilleries as well as the other

leading industrial firms in Ontario were spread across the landscape in the southern portion of the province, concentrated in urban areas, and connected by the railway network. It was in the urban areas that industries could find the reinforcing linkages in the forms of resources, transportation, employment, innovations, social institutions, and other manufacturing industries. Despite these reinforcing linkages most of the distilleries forming the spatial pattern in 1871 disappeared in the 1880s.

The spatial pattern in 1871 shows the distilling operations spread from east to west along the southern border with the United States. Figure 22 in Chapter 3 illustrates that the distilling industry consisted of under 20 operations. Across these remaining 20 distilleries from the 74 of 1861, there were still clear differences in the size of the operations (illustrating the dominance of large factory production). Canada's whisky region was clearly present by 1881. According to the Sessional Papers there were only seven distilleries: the "Big Five" distilleries and two distilleries operating in the Town of Perth (Refer to Figure 30).⁹

A closer analysis of the data in the Canada Census of 1871 provides a more detailed picture of the distilling industry, its factory production, and its varying sizes of operation. The Gooderham & Worts distillery and the Hiram Walker & Son distillery were the chief producers of spirits and whisky, but there were other distilling operations striving to compete against the two leading producers. The total production of Ontario's distilleries in 1871 was almost 5 million gallons¹⁰ and accounted for 93 percent of Canada's spirit production; by 1876, although there was spirit production outside of Ontario, it was not a significant proportion of the total production. This comparison of Ontario and Canada's total production of spirits can be seen in Table IX. The Gooderham & Worts distillery was producing approximately 2.1 million gallons of spirits and whisky a year, nearly half of Ontario's 5 million gallons of total spirit and whisky production and the Hiram Walker & Son distillery was producing approximately 1,225,256 gallons.¹¹ These chief producers of spirits were producing 67 percent of the total spirits and whisky produced in Ontario. The remaining distilleries producing the other 33 percent of the total production and

consisted of smaller factory operations and much smaller, more local operations. Specifically, there were 6 distilleries producing over 100,000 gallons of spirits and whisky per year and these operations totalled 25 percent of Ontario's total spirit and whisky production in 1871; that left 11 small distilling operations to produce the remaining 8 percent.¹² Clearly, in terms of output, large factory operations dominated the industry.

The amount of fixed and floating capital invested in distilling operations illustrates this factory production. The fixed capital invested into a distilling operation helps to show its permanence on the landscape because this capital represents investments in land, buildings, and machinery. The proportion of fixed capital to floating capital had changed by 1871; the floating capital (money available to be used) had increased significantly and had become as important as the fixed capital invested. This available money could be used to purchase raw materials (corn), for shipping, wages, and operating costs. Many of the distilleries operating in 1871, whether small operations or large scale factory producers, had floating capital that was the same or more than the fixed capital invested. For example Gooderham & Worts had a fixed capital of \$350,000 with a floating capital of \$200,000, J.P. Wiser & Son had a fixed capital of \$30,000 with a floating capital of \$100,000, George Randall & Co. had invested \$15,000 with an available floating capital of \$15,000, and John A. McLaren had a fixed capital of \$5,000 with a floating capital of \$10,000.¹³ One aspect of this fixed capital was the steam engine. It was the main motive of power for the distilleries operating in 1871; only four distilleries were using water as their exclusive motive of power. It is apparent that Ontario's distilling industry was dominated by large industrial establishments using a factory system of production with the result that more than half of the distilleries operating in 1871 were at a serious disadvantage when striving to compete against the large distillers.

Many distilleries exited this highly competitive market of the 1870s. It is uncertain why these majority of the distilleries ceased operations, but the precipitating factors for the closing of

five distilleries at this time are known. It is possible that many experienced a declining profit and were affected by the economic depression forcing their closures.

A.A. Erb Brothers of the Village of Preston is but one example. In 1871 this distilling operation was using over 14,000 bushels of grain to produce over 47,000 gallons of spirits.¹⁴ This was a rather small operation with only 3 hands employed for 12 months of the year; this distillery was competing with the Waterloo Distillery that produced 200,000 gallons in 1871. The proprietors experienced a large loss in their milling and distilling operations in the 1870's which forced them to cease operations and sell the property.

The Chippawa Distillery in Welland County also experienced decreasing prosperity in the 1870s with the operations being converted into a roller mill in the early 1880s. This distillery had been one of the more prosperous distilleries in 1871 with a total production at over 224,500 proof gallons which were marketed throughout Ontario. Despite the shipments of spirits, this distillery may have found it difficult to compete against other cheaply manufactured spirits and whisky from the larger markets (such as Toronto).

Oliver Bourke a distiller and maltster in the Town of Sandwich had a distilling operation that was competing in the local region of Essex County against Hiram Walker & Son. In 1871 this distillery produced over 134,000 gallons of spirits and was rather successful until it was destroyed by fire before the middle of the decade.¹⁵ This distillery had been valued by the Dun & Bradstreet Reference Books in 1871 as "strong" with a monetary value estimated at \$50,000 to \$100,000. Robert Rae's distillery, in the Town of Windsor, met a similar fate in the late 1870s.¹⁶ The Dun & Bradstreet Reference Books in 1871 had valued this distillery at a \$20,000 to \$40,000. Obviously, after such a loss these two distilleries were not about to enter the competitive market again and re-invest large amounts of capital (which they may not have had) to compete against a distillery only miles away that could produce more than a million gallons of spirits and whisky each year.

David Allan, the proprietor of Guelph Mills in the Town of Guelph was one of the largest distilling operations in Canada in 1871. He decided to liquidate this large industrial establishment in 1876 due to a stroke he suffered. Although part of his decision may have been as a result of the competition with the Gooderham & Worts distillery and the Waterloo Distillery. The Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Wellington for 1871-72 described the operations by stating that the premises were made of stone, five and a half stories high, using water and steam power at 40 horse power, employed 30 individuals, and produced about 60,000 barrels of spirits a year, in addition between 200 and 300 hundred head of cattle and 500 hogs were fattened each year.¹⁷ The Dun & Bradstreet Reference Books had valued this distilling operation at \$75,000 to \$150,000 in January of 1877. Although these are only a few examples of the distilleries that ceased operations in the 1870s it is probable that the smaller distilleries were finding it difficult to achieve profitability when facing the tough competition that existed within the provincial market.

Those distilling operations that thrived in the 1870s were the “Big Five” and by the early 1880s these operations had successfully created a oligopolistic structured market. These distilleries had expanded and continued to improve their operations. Even though there was a reduction in the amount of spirits and whisky produced by Ontario’s distilleries to a little more than three million gallons, this production was mainly by the “Big Five” distilleries (Appendix D). In the 1870s and the early 1880s the beginnings of a declining annual consumption per head can be seen in Table X; by 1886 the consumption had declined to 0.711 gallons and remained at a level of below 0.883 gallons per head for the rest of the century. From 1871 to 1875 the average total consumption of spirits for Canada was 5,070,346 gallons and for 1876 to 1880 the average was 3,997,620 gallons.¹⁸ This was not the same for the annual consumption of beer. The individual consumption of beer was more than double that of spirits and the consumption of beer continued to climb. In 1871 the annual consumption of spirits per head was 1.578 gallons whereas beer was 2.490 gallons per head and in 1883 this consumption was 1.090 gallons for spirits and 2.882 for beer. It may be possible that the increased immigration from Germany

immigrants, the increased acceptance of the taste of beer by the average population, the lower price for beer (mainly as a result of the high duty for spirits as illustrated in Table X), together with the improved production techniques, the improved quality of beer, and the stagnation of the economy that influenced the declining consumption of spirits and whisky. However, even with this decline in Canada's consumption of spirits the prices remained more than that of beer (mainly as a result of the duty).¹⁹

There was also increasing prohibition and temperance pressures that influenced both distilling and brewing. Many individuals continued to argue about the evils of intemperance: aspects such as pauperism, the physical effects of intemperance, idleness, crime, insanity, immorality, and physical disease. As a result of the increased voices for prohibition, legislation was passed with the hope of satisfying the complaints. The basis of the Crooks Act or the Ontario Licensing Law (1876) in Ontario was to remove the powers of licensing taverns, retail and wholesale shops from municipalities and place them in the hands of three commissioners who were appointed by the provincial government in each city or electoral district.²⁰ It was hoped that this would reduce the number of local licenses as well as provide a standard control over establishments selling liquor. In 1878 the Scott Act (The Canada Temperance Act) was passed. The basis of this act was that if a local referendum was held in a county or city and there was a majority vote for prohibition there would be immediate prohibition and no retail sale of intoxicating liquors within their municipal boundaries after the existing licenses expired. In Ontario, the Scott Act was not adopted until the mid 1880s; 25 counties and 2 cities adopted the act, at various times, but it was soon repealed by all of them and was no longer enforced.²¹ Soon after these repeals, the enabling act itself was eliminated due to unpopularity. The McCarthy Act was passed in Canada in 1883. This act provided a system for the issue of licenses and the regulated liquor traffic.²² It was applicable in all places not regulated by the Scott Act.

Despite the increased prohibition pressure, the distilling industry continued to be profitable and provided the federal government with an excellent source of revenue. The excise

tax was increased three times in the 1870s from \$0.75 in 1874 (wine gallons) to \$0.90 in 1875 for imperial gallon to \$1.00 per gallon in 1880 as indicated in (Table VIII in Chapter 3). Table XI shows the total excise duty collected on spirits manufactured in Ontario. Even though this excise duty fluctuated during the 1870s the government still accumulated over \$1.5 million in taxes from Ontario's distilleries each year. The firm of Gooderham & Worts for the period 1874 to 1875 (June to September) experienced a great season where no less than 2,096,970 gallons were manufactured with a revenue to the federal government of \$1,562,928.21 (approximately \$7,000 a day) which equalled \$1 per person for the population of Ontario.²³ Similarly, J.P. Wiser & Sons averaged a payment of \$2,000 a day or approximately \$1 million to the federal government in taxes, in 1879.²⁴ The products were subject to excise tax at the time of manufacture (not of sale), so as a concession to distillers there was the developed practice to permit storage (tax-free) in warehouses during the period of aging in a supervised or bonded warehouse. This increase of the tax rate, in some instances, was as much as double the cost of production, justifying the demand of distillers that the payment of the tax occur at a point as near to the date of consumption as possible.²⁵ In 1871 almost two-thirds of the spirits manufactured was put into bonded warehoused and likewise two-thirds was "ex-warehoused" for the removal to other revenue divisions.²⁶ The distilling industry was very profitable for the "Big Five" distilleries despite the taxes paid to the government. By 1881 few distilleries remained thereby allowing increased control over the provincial and national market.

The beginnings of an oligopolistic structured market can be seen by the mid 1870s. This structure strengthened through to 1900. This type of market was highly advantageous for the "Big Five" distilleries. What is interesting is that two small distilleries in the Town of Perth continued to exist throughout this period when one would have expected smaller distilleries to exit the industry due to increased temperance pressures, competition, taxation, and economic stagnation. These exceptions deserve further examination. The Perth distilleries managed to create a niche market. In their oligopolistic structured market each of the "Big Five" distilleries

were all closely affected by one another and there was an increased similarity between the distilling operations and the products; the marketing strategy was known by the competitors. The “Big Five” distilleries had huge purchasing power to keep down the cost of supplies and, most importantly, their oligopoly permitted the regulating of prices. Small distilleries could not compete against these factory operations. But, John A. McLaren’s distillery and Spalding & Stewart’s distillery had succeeded in the formation of a niche market and thus by producing a different product.

B. A Niche Market

Two small distilling operations managed to survive in the Town of Perth. They made a kind of whisky not made by any other distillery in Ontario, in which the main raw material was malt. It had its own market amongst Scottish and Irish immigrants since the product resembled the whisky made in their homeland. It was a whisky with a much different flavour; an “old smokey flavour so peculiar to the genuine small still whiskey....”²⁷ But the genuine old-country whisky was expensive since it was imported and there were custom duties to be paid and, according to McLaren (1878), did not taste the same because “...after a long voyage, that peculiar flavour...[was lost because it was]...obtained only when bought direct steaming from the still.”²⁸ To dry the malt that was used in the production process Perth’s distilleries used the abundant local supplies of wood, rather than the peat used in Scotland. But unlike the rest of Ontario’s distilleries that used the high yielding corn as the alcohol source, Perth used its local barley. The distilling process itself was also different. The whisky was usually only distilled in the winter and the process took 30 days. It was then barrelled and aged in tunnels. In 1871 McLaren’s distillery produced only 8,000 gallons of malt whisky and this production changed little in 10 years despite the addition of Spalding & Stewart’s distillery with a production of nearly 11,000 gallons in 1881.²⁹ In fact this production capacity had changed only slightly since 1871 (Appendix D). For these two distilleries it was not the production capacity that changed but instead the quality of the product.

These two small distilleries had a long history in Ontario since the 1840s. William Locke operated a brewery and to some extent a distillery since 1841 in Perth on the north-west corner of Gore and Harvey Streets by the Gore Street bridge. James Spalding bought the interests of the operations in the 1860s and went into partnership in 1879 with Robert Stewart beginning the company of Spalding & Stewart. In 1866 John McLaren assumed control of his father's distillery, the Perth Distillery. Both these distilleries were closely connected through the association of Stewart who had worked with McLaren since 1868.

In 1878 McLaren wrote an article for the Commercial Review describing The Perth Distillery³⁰, its history, and the unique product that was manufactured there in the hopes of attracting attention to his product from consumers and potential dealers. The distillery located on the Tay River was made of stone, had three floors, and had undergone renovations to equip the plant with improved machinery, a steam engine, and boiler thereby increasing the facilities to satisfy the increasing demand.³¹ McLaren wanted Canada to know that his brand of genuine "Usquebaugh" or small still whisky was available and was manufactured on the same principles as the Scotch and Irish whiskies for a much lower price. He suggested that retailers and wholesalers should sample and stock this different brand of whisky. The two popular brands available were "V.V.O.", a Canadian Scotch whisky and "Old Perth Malt Whisky". Figure 31 shows McLaren's distillery in Perth. Spalding and Stewart's distillery was very similar in nature to McLaren's distillery. The famous brands available at this distillery were "Old Perth" and "Mountain Dew". Much of the demand for this product was markets within Ontario and Quebec. Quebec was an ideal location to ship this unique product because of the proximity of the town to the City of Montreal, the good rail transportation linkage, and the fact that the Molson Distillery in Montreal had been closed for a few years creating a demand for whisky within the city. According to the Canada Census, Montreal had a population of approximately 133,000. McLaren was attempting to contact as many regions as possible in the hopes that he could increase the demand for this malt whisky that was not manufactured anywhere else in Canada.

C. Increasing National and International Market Emergence

By 1871 the market under which Ontario's distilleries operated was already established. The provincial and national barriers had been broken decades before and the international barriers had also been broached. The 1870s, for the "Big Five" distilleries, was a time of diversification, gaining market share, and developing scale economies. But the 1870s were not as prosperous a decade as the distilleries had experienced in the 1860s. In fact in 1873 a economic depression hit that was especially hard in the United States and in Great Britain. The affects were also felt in Canada and Ontario although not to the same extent. The decreasing consumption of spirits by Canadians as discussed above required the "Big Five" distilleries to focus on markets outside of Ontario.

The improving railway network in Ontario and Canada facilitated the shipment of products to distant markets. By 1871 the basic rail network had been established including main trunk lines, various branch lines that penetrated the interior, and portage lines that linked into waterway transportation routes. These portage lines increased in number throughout the province and included such established rail lines as the Welland Railway, the Northern Railway (from Toronto to Collingwood), the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway, and the Midland Railway. It was during this period that the second railway boom occurred and the mileage was increased greatly as exhibited in Table V (Chapter 1). Much of the new construction was in the form of branch lines that moved away from the main centres into the hinterland connecting many regions to the existing trunk lines. Rail was an extension of the manufacturing establishment as seen in 1860s and was a means of increasing trade in the hinterland markets which were important as the population grew in these regions. There was also the construction of independent railways out of Toronto like the Toronto Nipissing, and the Toronto, Grey, Bruce. The Toronto Nipissing was an independent railway backed by Gooderham and Worts. It was completed in 1872 running from Scarborough through farming country for 60 miles, and then 30 miles through forest to Coboconk where trade continued through connections to steamships. Shortly thereafter a branch was built

to the Town of Lindsay running for 110 miles to extend to Lake Nipissing. Gooderham, as one of the directors, expected a return on this large investment which he achieved through grain he obtained from the area which the railway served. There was competition between the Grand Trunk Railway and the Great Western Railway which caused a decrease in shipping rates which aided industrial establishments, especially distilleries, by reducing transportation costs. In August of 1882 these two railways merged to form the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada.

This construction of rail lines was not exclusive to Ontario. The Intercolonial Railway was completed in 1876 which began the economic integration of the Maritimes with the central Canadian economy. Figure 32 is a railway map of the eastern provinces of Canada in 1876 and shows the increase of rail lines in Ontario but also the railway connections into Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. These connections were important for the shipment of barrels of spirits and whisky across the nation. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway had begun (completed in 1885) which would allow for trade from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Gooderham & Worts was leading the way in shipping spirits to distant markets. The firm, known provincially and nationally, was also becoming notable on an international scale. An article in the Toronto Globe stated that in 1872, "...the distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts...is not only the largest in Canada, but one of the largest in the world."³² Interestingly, this article also explained to the reader that in making the above statement the impression was that one would think that the largest distillery would be in Cincinnati or Chicago (there was also a large distillery in Edinburgh, Scotland), but in terms of the production capacity and the actual total production the Gooderham & Worts distillery was "...beyond those of any similar establishment even in the 'Great West' where everything is done on so large a scale generally."³³ The Gooderham & Worts distillery, in 1872, used 2,400 bushels of grain to manufacture 8,000 gallons of spirits a day for 9 months of the year every day, except Sunday, making the annually over 2 million gallons of spirits and whisky.³⁴ With the consumption rate of spirits falling in

Canada together with increased prohibition pressures it is clear that production on such a large scale was destined for markets other than Ontario.

The principal markets for Gooderham & Worts throughout the 1870s were Montreal, Quebec, St. John, New Brunswick, and Halifax.³⁵ Large shipments were sent via New York to Rio De Janeiro, Buenos Aries, Montevideo, and other points in South America, also various shipments were made to Mediterranean ports, and occasional orders were sent to London and Liverpool.³⁶ The brands were as well known in these distant markets as in the city of Toronto.³⁷ To export these huge quantities of spirits and whisky, the trade was conducted by United States houses (notably the largest in New York) and these spirits and whisky, though sometimes sent by the Suspension Bridge across the Niagara Gorge, were mostly sent by the Grand Trunk Railway to Portland, Maine, because of cheaper transportation costs and reduced time in shipment.³⁸ “The proportion of the whole production exported rapidly increased in the late 1860s and by 1872 had reached nearly half [the total production].”³⁹ “For some years thousands of barrels [of industrial alcohol] were shipped annually to New York...in fact, for some years, one drug store [Lanman & Kemp] in that city took more of the product of the distillery than is consumed by the City of Toronto.”⁴⁰ Gooderham & Worts was shipping on average 2 car loads of spirits per week or an average of 5,600 to 5,800 gallons every week to Lanman & Kemp.⁴¹ Gooderham & Worts was not alone in the shipments of spirits to international markets. George Randall & Co. began to ship to United States and Europe by 1875. Hiram Walker & Sons, who had been avidly involved in shipping large quantities of spirits and whisky, began to focus more attention on markets in Great Britain. On January 26, 1882 Walker’s “Club” whisky was launched, in a great expansion campaign partly with the hope of satisfying the increasing demand from distant markets, particularly those in the United States.

Table XII displays the exports from warehouses in Ontario revenue divisions to locations outside of Canada. It can be assumed that much of the spirits exported from the revenue divisions to locations outside of Canada was done by the distilling operation with its onsite

warehouses. It is clear that throughout the period in question the Toronto revenue division (Gooderham & Worts) was exporting the most spirits outside of Canada or at least 68 percent of the total exports. This was then followed by the Windsor revenue division (Hiram Walker & Sons). Although there were other revenue divisions that did export spirits to locations outside of Canada they were not a significant proportion of the total exports. It is uncertain what caused the huge decline of more than 100,000 gallons of spirits from 1879 to 1880 (especially from Gooderham & Worts).

Although the “Big Five” distilleries were exporting large amounts of spirits to distant markets throughout the 1870s, the principal markets remained within Canada. Millions of gallons of spirits were stored in warehouses throughout the nation for later distribution. Figure 33 shows the total spirits warehoused in various revenue divisions in central and eastern Canada in 1871. The revenue division of Toronto was leading with 1,973,524.67 gallons stored in warehouses followed by the revenue divisions of Montreal with 1,234,097.97 gallons, Windsor with 997,878.93 gallons, Prescott with 380,692.98 gallons, and Quebec City with 33,615.50 gallons. There were over 100,000 gallons stored in the revenue divisions of Saint John, New Brunswick; Hamilton; Ottawa; Kingston; Belleville; and Halifax. There were several revenue divisions that contained warehouses but did not contain a distillery. Algoma, Collingwood and Ottawa can all be cited as examples. Table XIII illustrates the amount of spirits removed from revenue divisions and received by other revenue divisions in 1871 and illustrates further the principal markets within Canada and the shipments of spirits and whisky outside of Ontario. The revenue division of Toronto removed over one million gallons, almost half the total production. Montreal received over 780,000 gallons as well as Quebec, Halifax, Hamilton, and numerous others. It can be assumed that large quantities of spirits were removed from the City of Toronto by Gooderham & Worts to be warehoused in the principal markets mentioned above as well as numerous other markets. By 1874 Charlottetown, Manitoba, and British Columbia were also receiving spirits to be warehoused (Refer to Appendix F). The spirits shipped to these revenue

divisions increased steadily into the 1880s. For example, the revenue division of Manitoba was storing 6,374.96 gallons of spirits in 1874 and by 1883 (now Winnipeg) was storing 116,109.40 gallons. As the transportation network improved in Canada it is clear that this transportation by rail to distant Canadian markets facilitated the shipment of spirits and whisky.

With the increased emphasis on shipping large amounts of spirits and whisky to distant markets both nationally and internationally the “Big Five” distilleries were beginning to increase the recognition of different brands that could and would be associated with the individual distilleries by the consumers. Large scale production had been achieved by these distilleries and the national market had been essentially captured, but to compete internationally, especially the United States, there was need for brand-names. Strong brand-names, such as “Magnolia”, had been established for some United States distilleries since the 1850s. The type of whisky made in these foreign markets was also different with their own unique flavours. In the United States there was Kentucky and Tennessee bourbon (a straight whisky made mainly from corn), American whiskey (a blend of 20 percent bourbon and small grain straight whisky or light whisky or unaged spirits) and in Europe there was the strong competition from Scotch and Irish whiskies (made from malt). The “Big Five” were establishing a presence in the international market during the 1870s.

Competition within the market was also intensifying. By the end of the 1870s with a oligopolistic structured market in place, the “Big Five” distilleries had begun to increase competition between each other on the basis of quality and purity. The importance of purity can be illustrated by an example from the Lanman & Kemp correspondence. In April of 1878 Lanman & Kemp had complained of tinged spirits. Gooderham & Worts responded by enclosing full instructions on how to rectify the spirits so that they would come out clear and bright.⁴² Distant markets had been penetrated by numerous distilleries and large scale factory production could supply these markets so there was the need to increase the demand for a certain brand. Since mass production had been accomplished by the “Big Five” distilleries, it was now time for

mass distribution. Figure 34 illustrates a label for the Waterloo Distillery's "Celebrated White Wheat Whisky", which was registered in 1873. Seagram acquired all the shares of the Waterloo Distillery in 1883 and he marked the occasion with a new brand of whisky named "Seagram's '83". This whisky was manufactured by blending straight whiskies (as in Scotland and Ireland) and he was noted as the first to introduce this concept to Canada. Figure 35 shows the Seagram operations in 1883, which had clearly expanded from the four buildings of 1861. Corby's "Old Rye" was a favourite brand among consumers. Wiser retained his edge on local competition by keeping a consistent standard for "Wiser's Red Letter Rye" and "Wiser's Canada Whiskey".⁴³ A price list for Gooderham & Worts in December of 1876 shows that this establishment was selling the brands of "Family Proof", "Old Bourbon", "Old Rye", "Old Toddy", "Old Malt" and "Domestic" (32 U.P., 36 U.P and 40 U.P.) whiskies as well as 65 O.P. alcohol, and pure spirits at either 65 O.P., 50 O.P. or 25 U.P.⁴⁴ In 1878 Gooderham & Worts won the gold medal at the Paris Exposition for an excellent tasting whisky. In Table XIV all the sales of Hiram Walker & Sons brands from November 9, 1881 to September 30, 1882 are listed. There were 30,052 barrels sold involving 27 different kinds of spirits. Hiram Walker & Sons was also selling small quantities of aged whisky at either four, five, seven or eight years of age. Other whiskies were aged but generally for under two years. Although the aging of whisky was not required, the "Big Five" distilleries did age their spirits because aging in the barrel did improve the quality (taste) of the whisky. In the late 1870s the "Big Five" distilleries were aging whisky for longer periods. However, these premium brands would not be ready for sale until five to seven years later. Walker's "Club" is one such example.

By the early 1880s bottling was becoming increasingly significant so that the consumer no longer needed to purchase whisky by the barrel. The bottling of whisky reinforced the importance of a distillery's brand-names since they would be displayed on the labels. The "Big Five" distilleries proceeded to improve bottling facilities towards the end of the 1870s. The H. Corby distillery is one example. Henry (Harry) Corby Jr. took over the business in 1881 when

Henry died. He proceeded to modernize the distillery with a goal to expand the market beyond local clients. A warehouse in Belleville was built where the bottling and aging of the whisky took place. It was at this point that the distillery turned more towards bottles than the traditional barrel for shipment and sale. Despite the increased costs to ship these fragile bottles of whisky, bottling increased since it encouraged the individual sale to consumers. This individual sale did not have to occur at the distillery or wholesale but could be stocked by retail stores and peddled by agents. The bottling plant was in Belleville, barrels were transported by oxen or multi-horse teams until the late 1880s when Corbyville received a spur line from the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National thereby speeding transportation.

From the above discussion on the increasing expansion to international markets, new competition, and the increasing adoption of bottles, brands and aging, it is clear that this period was driven by the entrepreneurs behind the operations. The “Big Five” distilleries managed to thrive and survive through this period when many distilleries ceased operations. These distillery owners were entrepreneurs in their own right, their success achieved from previous decades allowed them to take fixed capital and use it for entrepreneurial ventures which resulted in a diversification of business interests as well as personal standing within the community. It is evident in 1871 that a new scale of production had consumed the distilling industry which impacted every facet of the operations. This meant more machinery and the latest inventions, the construction of buildings, and the branching out of the entrepreneurs into other businesses and social circles. As this decade continued the amount of financial capital needed to start a new business venture by an individual was too high to warrant the risk involved that helps to explain why the oligopolistic structured market continued thereby maintaining the spatial pattern of the “Big Five” into the 1890s.

D. Entrepreneurs - Innovating with the Times

Henry Corby had established himself within the Belleville community. Although the milling and distilling business remained an average factory operation until 1881, this man had

weathered difficult decades to develop a successful industrial establishment. His obituary in the Belleville Intelligencer read as follows, "With a resolution that brooked no unreasonable restraint, and faithful in observance of systematic rule of dealing, he not only accumulated a large property, but made himself useful in the service of the public...For many years Mr. Corby was a prominent figure in the social and business circles of Belleville."⁴⁵ He had contributed to the business of Belleville as well as to the community through politics, charity, clubs, and social institutions. His son, Harry, took over the business before his father's death in October of 1881 and the distillery had remained as a subsidiary operation to the business until this time. In January 1882 Hayden's Corners was granted a post office and renamed Corbyville. A small community had grown around the distillery but the operations of the plant were spread from there and into Belleville.

John Wiser, much like Henry Corby, began to broaden his interests into the surrounding community. He also became engaged in politics. A general election was held in 1878 and Wiser was chosen a candidate for the House of Commons for South Grenville. Wiser was a Conservative member from 1878 to 1882 but he found that the duties were an increasing burden with the distilling operations and so refused re-nomination. It can be assumed that as the distillery grew and expanded, the operations demanded more of his time and energy. Wiser also became well-known in prominent livestock circles as a horse breeder. The Wiser's Rysdyk Stock Farm contained 600 acres of land for prime cattle and horses and at completion the construction of the farm had cost \$10,000.⁴⁶ The farm, by 1879, was known for the "trotters" it produced. Beef cattle were fattened on the faen were exported to Great Britain. The first shipment of Wiser's cattle to England was in 1875 and four years later there were shipments into London, Glasgow and Liverpool.⁴⁷ Figure 36 shows the distillery and the main stock barn of the Rysdyk farm in approximately 1879.

Hiram Walker's sons, Edward and Franklin, entered the business in 1871 and 1873 respectively to help oversee the industrial operations. "Before the panic of 1873, Mr. Walker had, like most others, gone far beyond what his capital justified in the extension of his

business.”⁴⁸ The stagnation which followed destroyed many small industrial establishments and almost ruined the Hiram Walker & Sons operations; the hard times passed and the distilling operations as a result were stronger than ever due to Walker’s unique approach. The economic depression of the 1870s had reduced profits in the distillery. It was felt more strongly in the United States and Great Britain but in Canada production, trade, finance, exports and imports fell. There was not the widespread closures as experienced in the United States but there was still commercial stagnation. Walker chose to continue on the same path of expanding his business interests despite an economic depression and continued to purchase farm land, bought the steamer “Ontario of Hamilton” to carry lumber from Georgian Bay, contracted for another freighter, and doubled advertising in Canada and Great Britain.⁴⁹ Walker’s interests were becoming increasingly diversified. Walker was in a location that did not provide the linkages and benefits of an urban core. He was forced to build the community and business linkages around the distilling operations. Walker helped to erect churches, schools, public utilities; by the winter of 1875 to 1876 Walkerville was lit by lamps that he paid for, and a water system was developed; by 1877 there was a pumping station, and a fire department. Walker ran a ferry in 1878 (which became the Walkerville & Detroit Ferry Co. in 1888) because it took Walker an hour and a half to commute to work from his Detroit home. Walker had initiated this settlement and was forced to help determine and shape the future of the community. The vast majority of the community were employees of the distillery, and all its operations including the public utilities, the fire department and so on, as well as the families, were all dependent on this industrial establishment. Even though Walker continued to spend money on the distillery and the community throughout the economic depression he was forced to close the flour milling, then abandon these operations in 1878 so the mill remained only to serve the distillery. After this depression there was an influx of immigrants into Canada and the distilling operations once again experienced prosperity. Walker doubled the capacity of the distillery but was still unable to fill the incoming orders.

Gooderham & Worts, like the other “Big Five” distilleries, were improving the distilling operations. In 1873 a pure spirits building was constructed to manufacture neutral spirits (tasteless and odourless) which are used as the base for gin, vodka, and blended whisky. This addition was made of Kingston stone and brick, was 4 stories high (88 feet x 208 feet) with the one storey front portion measured at 32 feet deep and was estimated to cost around \$20,000.⁵⁰ (It was these neutral spirits that help this distillery lead in the huge sales of raw spirits whereas Hiram Walker & Sons lead in the sale of brand-named whisky; Gooderham & Worts raw spirits were shipped to other distilleries that would continue to manufacture the spirits but Hiram Walker & Sons focused on the final product to sell to the consumer, the wholesale establishments, and retail establishments; this became a major difference between the two distilleries in the years to come.) Large amounts of water were needed for various purposes and it was estimated that at least one-third of Toronto’s water consumption was by Gooderham & Worts.⁵¹ The cattle were moved to the east side of the Don River where new stables, sheds, and lofts were constructed (estimated at \$40,000); this included a copper pipe built to run from the distillery to the cattle sheds, ventilation, and a water flushing system.⁵² A new invention called a fuel economizer was installed around 1872 and it was estimated to save at least one-eighth or 1,000 tons of coal per year.⁵³

Gooderham and Worts was one of the largest industrial firms in Ontario and one of the largest distilleries in the world. They were industrial leaders. These two men employed over 120 families, 400 horse teams a day (as many as 650 on Saturday) to distribute manure, and were the largest taxpayers in the city (composed of more than 500 industries) at \$9,000 to \$10,000 a year.⁵⁴ It is clear that there were numerous economic “spin-offs” from the distilling operations and these men created a presence within Toronto, Ontario, Canada and even the world. During the 1870s Gooderham was not only a prominent businessman, but also the President of the Bank of Toronto. The Canadian Biographical Dictionary of 1880 described Gooderham and Worts by stating that “Few men have been so intimately connected with, and interested in the development

of Ontario, and more especially that part of it embraced in the City of Toronto, than Mr. Wm. Gooderham and Mr. J.G. Worts.”⁵⁵ The dictionary was a publication that described influential and prominent businessmen of Canada and concluded its sketch of Gooderham and Worts in stating that “The foregoing sketch is of 2 men who have done much for Toronto, and it will be many years after they are dead, before they will be forgotten or cease to be greatly respected. As an example of successful businessmen, they are pre-eminently worthy of a place in this record of leading men in Ontario.”⁵⁶

This dictionary was written only a year before William Gooderham died in 1881 and James Worts passed away within a year of this, leaving George Gooderham as the sole proprietor of this huge industrial enterprise. Consequently, no time was wasted in concluding an agreement with the Worts’ executors and heirs to incorporate the company (August 1, 1882). This well known distillery was simply too complex to be run by one man. At probate in 1881 approximately 90 percent or \$1.4 million of the W. Gooderham estate was invested into the distillery and its lands. Gooderham & Worts Ltd. was capitalized at \$2 million in 1882. In 1886 George bought the Worts heirs’ shares for \$1 million. Appendix G is a summary of the agreement detailing the real estate, buildings, plant and machinery and the agreed upon asset for each including a listing of the stock in the trade as of July 31, 1882. This agreement shows the complexity of these operations and the amount of machinery that had been erected. The distillery itself was valued at \$121,175 and the distillery stock totalled \$362,639.40.

E. Summary

To briefly summarize this time period, the entrepreneurs who had created the “Big Five” distilleries in Ontario continued to pursue personal goals for their business, successfully managing to move the industry forward through expansion and the diversification of interests, and succeeded in becoming influential men within their communities. During this time period three entrepreneurial masters died leaving a legacy for their families to continue. In particular the two men who had established Canada’s leading distillery and one of Ontario’s largest industrial

firms, men who had established themselves and their business interests within the City of Toronto for almost half a century, died to leave a large industrial enterprise in the hands of George Gooderham who felt it was wise to incorporate the company. George would continue to manage the operations but the reign of Gooderham & Worts over Canada's distilling industry was coming to an end and the vision of greatness seen by Hiram Walker for his distilling operations became a turning point creating a new and different industry leader.

Canada's whisky region was further defined during this period as many of the smaller producing distilleries of 1871 exited the industry. The distilling industry at this point was dominated by the large factory distilleries, two of which had operations that were so large and expansive they ranked among the top Ontario industrial firms. By the 1880s the distilling industry was far more complex than that of earlier decades and the competitive market place removed the incentive for new distilling ventures. The "Big Five" distilleries had established a provincial and national market as well as exports into various international markets. The improved railway network and the strategic placement of warehouses in Ontario and Canada helped to facilitate distribution. Exports into international markets were led by Gooderham & Worts Ltd. and Hiram Walker & Sons. There were also difficulties with the increased prohibition pressures, and the increases in the excise duty on spirits which helped to influence the spatial pattern of the industry. During this period the emergence of bottling and brands helped to increase competition between the "Big Five" distilleries with the promotion of quality and purity. From 1871 to 1883 the market was the most influential factor maintaining concentration within the distilling industry. Stabilization and an oligopolistic structured market cemented the "Big Five" distilleries to their geographical positions on Ontario's landscape.

NOTES

- ¹ Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield, Patterns of Canadian Industry in 1871: An Overview Based on the First Census of Canada, Research Report 12. (Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph Department of Geography, 1990) 46.
- ² Bloomfield, 1990 46.
- ³ Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield, Industrial Leaders: The Largest Manufacturing Firms of Ontario in 1871, Research Report 8. (Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph Press, 1989) 11. Refer to page 11 to see how this listing was constructed.
- ⁴ J.P. Wiser was in the top 100 industrial firms in Ontario for two measures.
- ⁵ Bloomfield, 1989 13.
- ⁶ Bloomfield, 1989 13.
- ⁷ Bloomfield, 1989 12.
- ⁸ Bloomfield, 1989. See Appendix A-1.
- ⁹ This is a conflicting figure when compared to the Canada Census of 1881 which indicates 12 distilleries in operation, Lovell's Business and Professional Directory of the Province of Ontario for 1882 indicated there are 8 distilleries and the Sessional Papers as of June 30, 1882 state that there are 7 distilleries and 2 rectifiers.
- ¹⁰ The Canada Census of 1871 shows a total of 4,996,613 gallons and the Sessional Papers of 1881 shows a total of 4,958,055.03 gallons.
- ¹¹ Canada Census 1871.
- ¹² These 11 distilleries had 8 or fewer hands each.
- ¹³ Refer to Appendix B, Table III.
- ¹⁴ Canada Census 1871.
- ¹⁵ Neil Morrison, Garden Gateway to Canada: One Hundred Years of Windsor & Essex, 1854-1954. (Toronto, Ontario: Ryerson Press, 1954).
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Wellington for 1871-72. (Hamilton: A.O. Loomis & Co., 1871) 19.
- ¹⁸ F.C. Spence, The Facts of the Case: A Summary of the Most Important Evidence and Argument Presented in the Report of the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic, (Toronto, Ontario: Newton & Treloar, 1896) 19.

- ¹⁹ Michael Bliss, Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business, (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland & Stewart, 1987) 226.
- ²⁰ J.R. Petrie, A Handbook on the Beverage Distilling Industry in Canada, (The Association of Canadian Distillers, 1957) 5.
- ²¹ Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, (Ottawa, Ontario: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 63.
- ²² Petrie 6.
- ²³ The Canadian Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men. Ontario Volume. (Toronto, Ontario: American Biography Publishing Company, 1880) 65.
- ²⁴ Thad W.H. Leavitt, History of Leeds and Grenville, 1879. (Brockville, Ontario: Mika Screening Ltd, 1972) 174.
- ²⁵ Canada, "Appendix A - Spirits," Sessional Papers, Vol. 6. (1872). Summary by Thos. Worthington.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ J.A. McLaren, "Perth Distillery manufacturer of the celebrated usquebaugh or small still whiskey." The Commercial Review. [Montreal] 3 Aug 1878. Taken from: Gerald McCarthy, "Breweries and Distilleries," Prescott 1810 - 1967. Ed. J.A. Morris. (Prescott, Ontario: The Prescott Journal, 1967) 81-82.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Canada, "Appendix A - Spirits," Sessional Papers, Vol. 6 - 16. (1872 - 1882).
- ³⁰ A distillery was founded there in 1841 by Robert McLaren with a 40 gallon copper still. He died in 1848 and the distilling license was passed onto his wife Janet and then to David McLaren in 1851.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Archives of Ontario, N11 R67, "Canadian Manufactures - No IV, One of the Largest Distilleries in the World." The Globe. [Toronto] 23 April 1872: 2.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Canadian Biographical Dictionary 65.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Archives of Ontario, N11 R67, "Canadian Manufactures - No IV, One of the Largest Distilleries in the World." The Globe. [Toronto] 23 April 1872: 2.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Canadian Biographical Dictionary 65.

⁴¹ Refer to the Toronto Reference Library. S24, Lanman & Kemp Correspondence, New York City. January 3, 1864 to October 21, 1879. 470 pieces.

⁴² Toronto Reference Library. S24, Lanman & Kemp Correspondence, New York City. Lanman & Kemp Correspondence. April 15, 1878.

⁴³ William Teatero, Historical Research - Wiser's Distillery Limited, (Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University, 1977) 21.

⁴⁴ Toronto Reference Library. S24, Lanman & Kemp Correspondence, New York City. December 28, 1876.

⁴⁵ Belleville Public Library, The Corby Story, 1951: 7.

⁴⁶ Leavitt 174.

⁴⁷ Leavitt 174.

⁴⁸ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Evening News [Detroit] 13 January 1899: 2.

⁴⁹ Francis X. Chauvin, "Hiram Walker and The Development of the Walker Institutions in Walkerville, Ontario," 1926, Chapter 16 page 3.

⁵⁰ Archives of Ontario, N11 R68 , "Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." The Globe. [Toronto] 5 June 1873: 4

⁵¹ Archives of Ontario, N11 R67, "Canadian Manufactures - No IV, One of the Largest Distilleries in the World." The Globe. [Toronto] 23 April 1872: 2.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

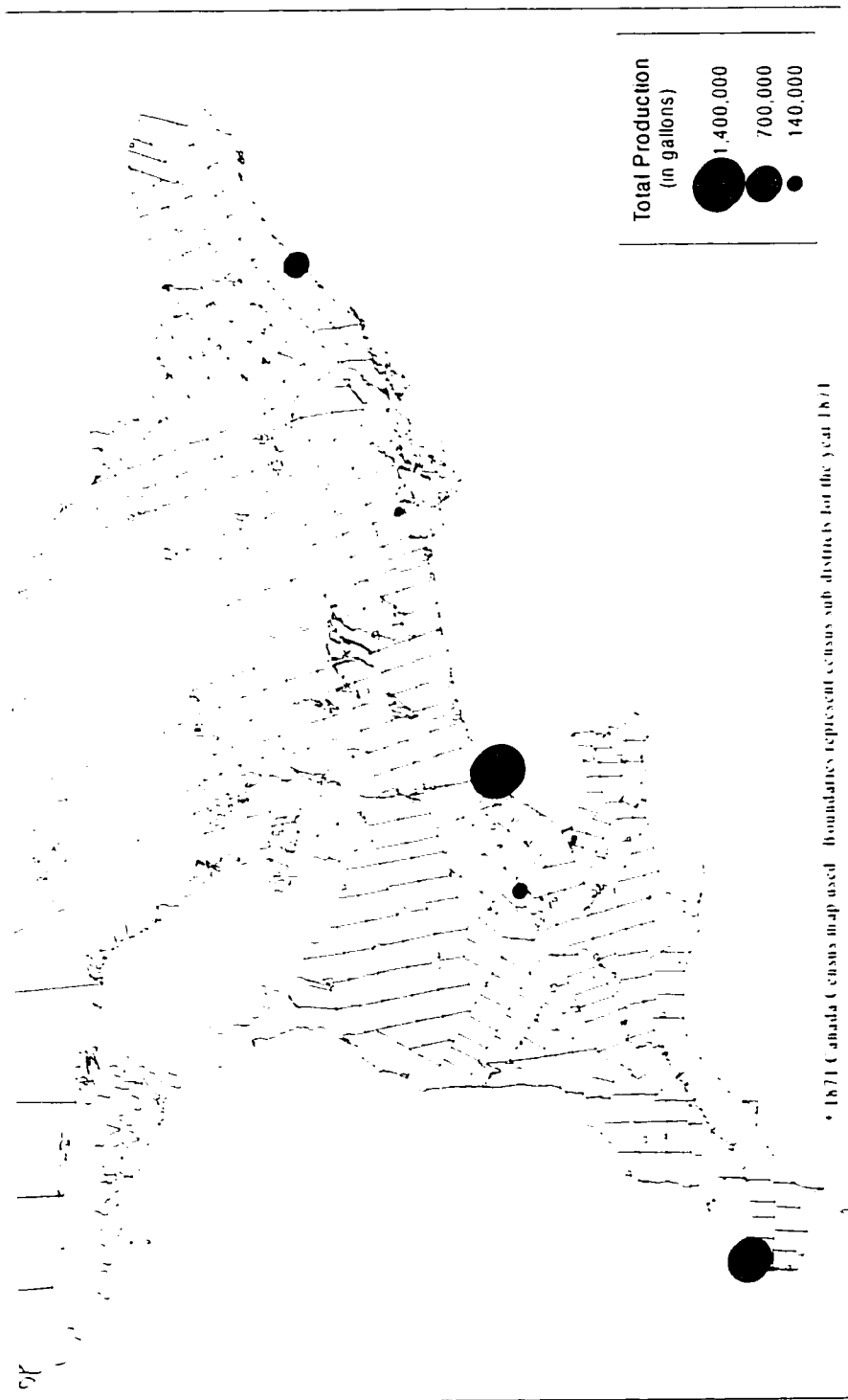
⁵⁴ Canadian Biographical Dictionary 66.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 62.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 70.

Figure 30.

Total Spirit Production, 1881 Distilleries in Ontario



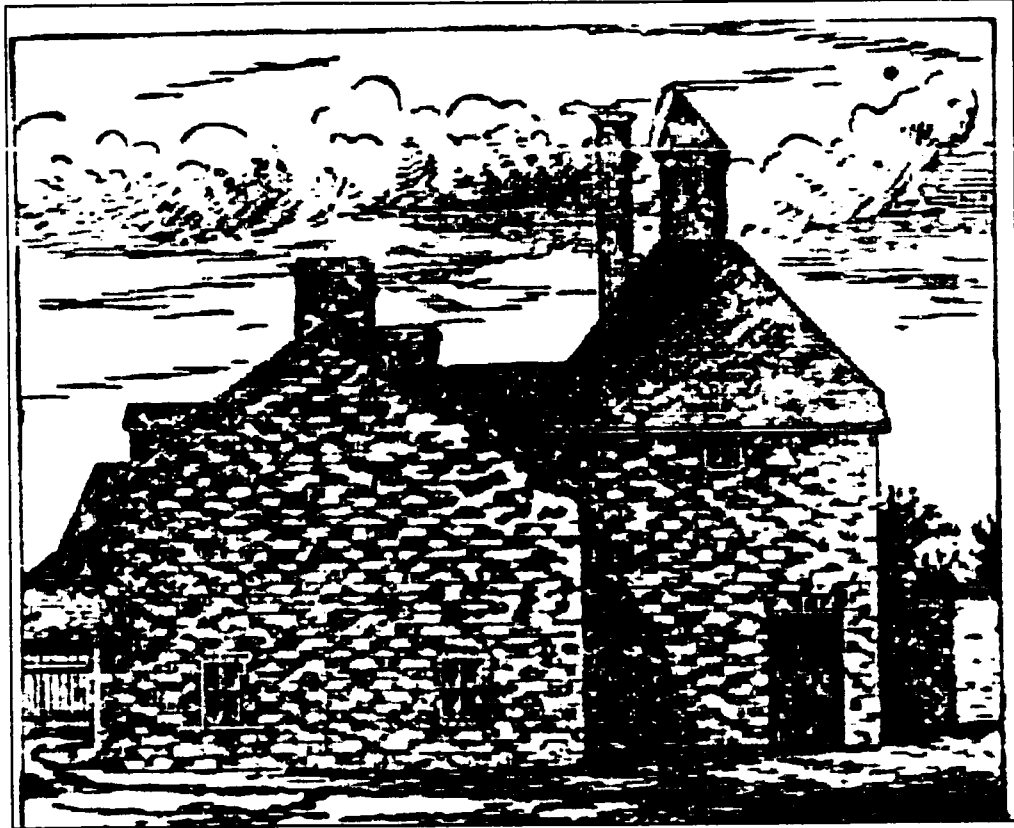
* 1871 Canada Census map used. Boundaries represent census sub-districts for the year 1871

Note: Data reported in the *Sessional Papers* are by revenue divisions not census sub-districts. Data is centered on the city given within each revenue division that falls within the census sub-district. Boundaries of revenue divisions unknown.

Source: *Appendix A - Spirits, Sessional Papers, Vol. 15, 1882.*

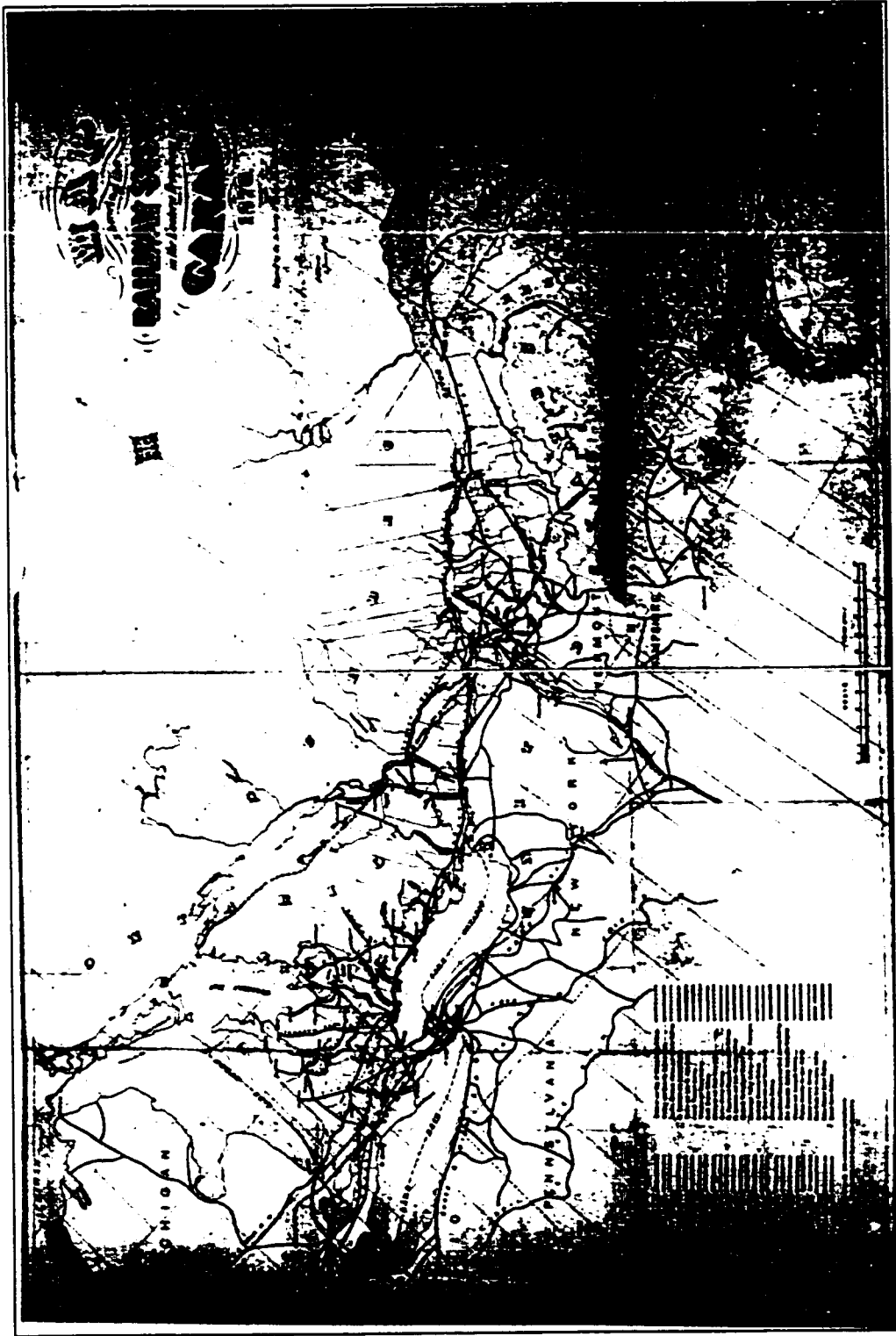
Figure 31.

Perth Distillery - proprietor John A. McLaren, 1878



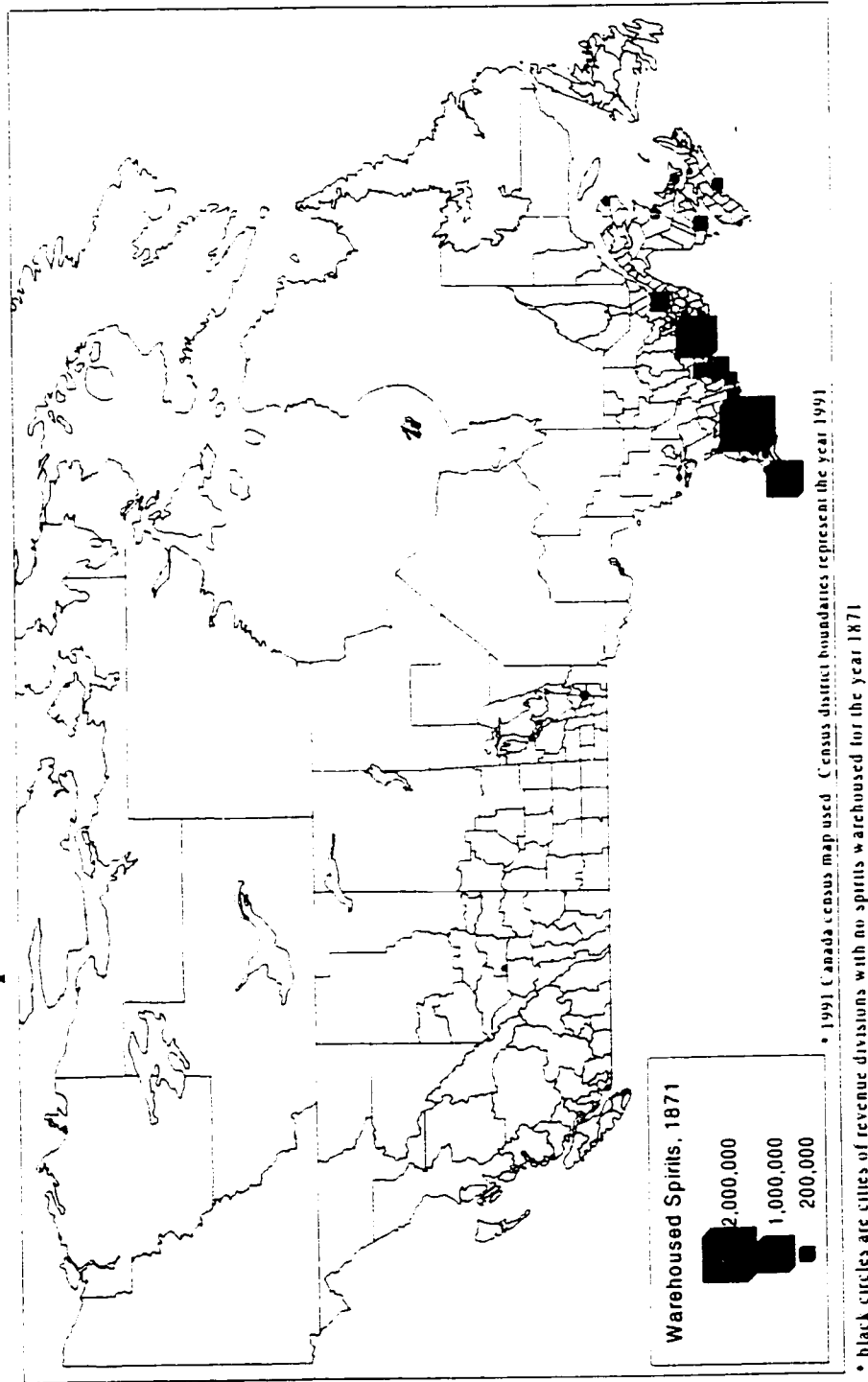
Source: J.A. McLaren, "Perth Distillery manufacturer of the celebrated usquebaugh or small still whiskey," *The Commercial Review*. [Montreal] 3 Aug 1878. Taken from: Gerald McCarthy's "Breweries and Distilleries," *Prescott 1810 - 1967*. Ed. J.A. Morris. (Prescott, Ontario: The Prescott Journal, 1967) 81-82.

Figure 32. Map Showing the Railway Systems in the Eastern Provinces of Canada, 1876



Taken from: Gentilcore, R. Louis and C. Grant Head. *Ontario's History in Maps*. Ontario Historical Studies Series. (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1984) 146-147.

Figure 33.
Total Spirits Warehoused in Canada, 1871



- 1991 Canada census map used. Census district boundaries represent the year 1991.
- black circles are cities of revenue divisions with no spirits warehoused for the year 1871.

Note: Data reported in *Sessional Papers* are by revenue divisions not census districts. Data is centred on the city given within each division. Boundaries of revenue divisions unknown.

Sources: Appendix A - *Spirits, Sessional Papers, Vol. 5, 1872.*

Figure 34.

Labels for the Waterloo Distillery's White Wheat Whisky, 1873

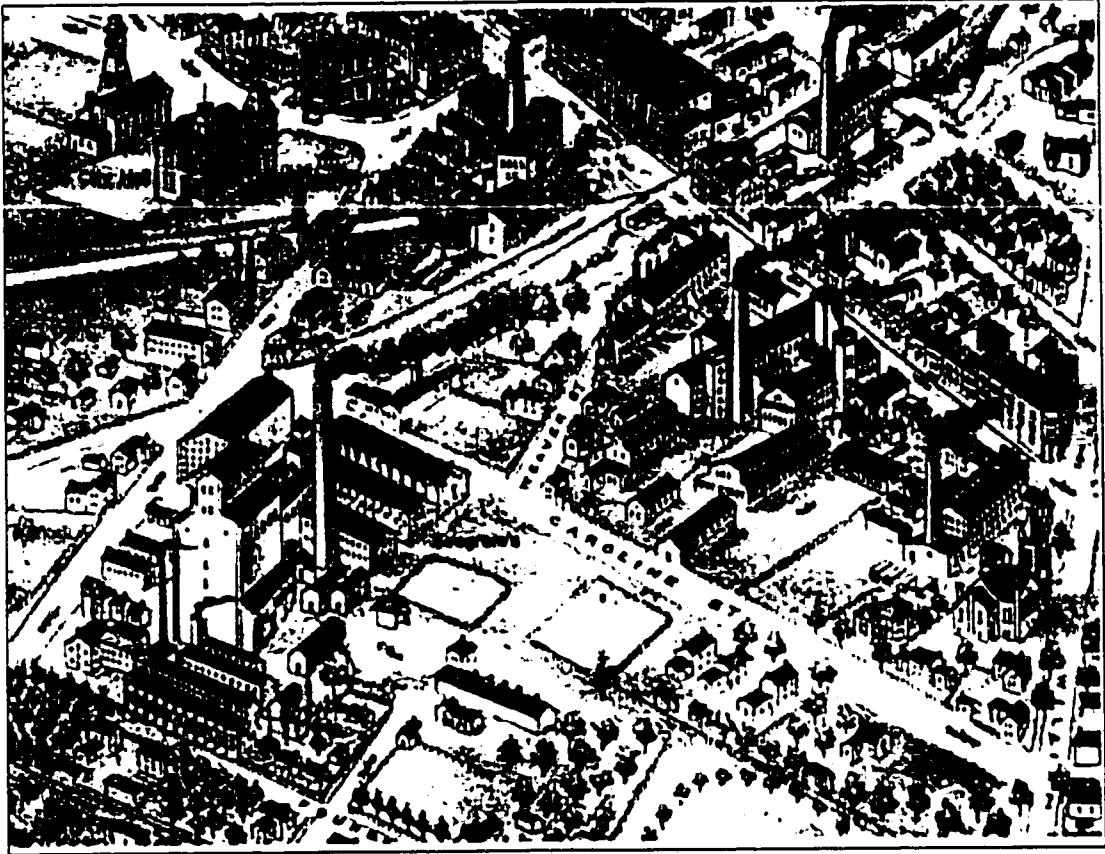


Source: Doris Lewis Rare Book Room. University of Waterloo. Series 2.6: Ephemera.

No. 175. Labels: Old Times Whiskey 18—. No. 181. Labels: White Wheat Whiskey 18—.

Figure 35.

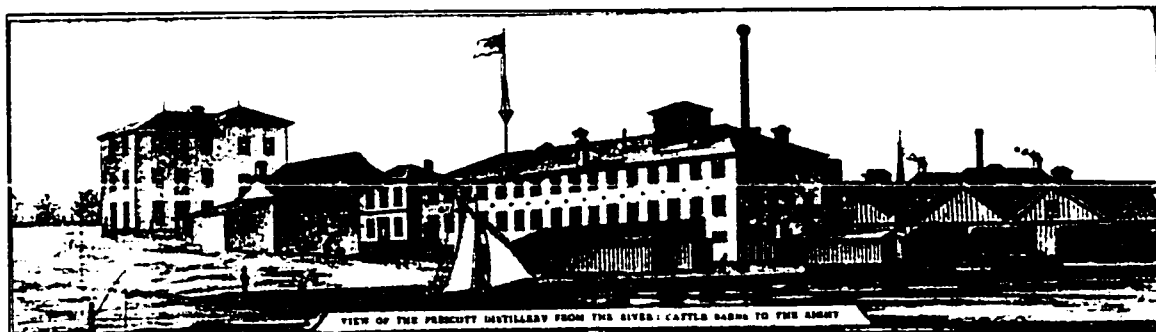
Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, 1883



Source: Waterloo Historical Society.

Figure 36.

J.P. Wiser's Distillery and Stock Farm, 1879



Taken from: Thad W.H. Leavitt, History of Leeds and Grenville. 1879. (Brockville, Ontario: Mika Screening Ltd, 1972).

Table IX.

Ontario compared with the Rest of Canada in terms of Gallons of Spirits Manufactured, 1871-1900

	1871*	1876	1881	1886	1891	1896	1900
Ontario	4,958,055.03	3,111,119.04	3,032,153.59	4,355,689.32	4,213,020.64	4,382,209.85	2,550,367.13
Canada (excluding Ontario)	345,116.26	226.55	8055.24	46.91	184,573.76	-	108,189.92
TOTAL	5,303,171.29	3,111,345.59	3,040,208.83	4,355,736.23	4,397,594.40	4,382,209.85	2,658,557.05
Ontario % of the Total	93%	100%	100%	100%	96%	100%	96%

* This year is measured in wine gallons not imperial gallons.

Source: Sessional Papers. Appendix A - Spirits. Vol. 6 - 35. (1872-1901).

Table X.
Annual Consumption and Revenue Collected
per head of Spirits and Beer
(1869-1900)

Year	CANADA			
	Spirits		Beer	
	Gallons	Duty (\$)	Gallons	Duty (\$)
1869	1.124	0.761	2.290	0.092
1870	1.434	0.962	2.163	0.085
1871	1.578	1.059	2.490	0.095
1872	1.723	1.160	2.774	0.108
1873	1.682	1.135	3.188	0.120
1874	1.994	1.363	3.012	0.119
1875	1.394	1.127	3.091	0.114
1876	1.204	1.182	2.454	0.098
1877	0.975	0.949	2.322	0.109
1878	0.960	0.927	2.169	0.147
1879	1.131	1.005	2.209	0.125
1880	0.715	0.772	2.248	0.081
1881	0.922	0.990	2.293	0.081
1882	1.009	1.084	2.747	0.098
1883	1.090	1.186	2.882	0.103
1884	0.998	1.074	2.924	0.104
1885	1.126	1.198	2.639	0.111
1886	0.711	1.007	2.839	0.091
1887	0.746	1.045	3.084	0.100
1888	0.645	0.944	3.247	0.110
1889	0.776	1.107	3.263	0.114
1890	0.883	1.257	3.360	0.121
1891	0.745	1.094	3.790	0.137
1892	0.701	1.156	3.156	0.211
1893	0.740	1.235	3.485	0.218
1894	0.742	1.235	3.722	0.205
1895	0.666	1.124	3.471	0.161
1896	0.623	1.159	3.528	0.164
1897	0.723	1.341	3.469	0.213
1898	0.536	1.306	3.808	0.126
1899	0.661	1.367	3.995	0.174
1900	0.701	1.455	4.364	0.185

Source: Canada. Appendix A - Spirits. Sessional Papers. (1901).

Table XI.
Excise Duty Collected on Spirits Manufactured in Ontario from 1871-1900

Year*	License Fee		Total Excise Duty Collected on Spirits		TOTAL
	Number	Amount Collected	Ex-Manufactory	Ex-Warehouse**	
1871	19	\$ 4,750.00	\$ 1,131,248.02	\$ 601,539.67	\$ 1,737,537.69
1872	16	\$ 4,000.00	\$ 1,100,177.17	\$ 680,433.11	\$ 1,784,610.28
1873	18	\$ 4,250.00	\$ 1,002,980.65	\$ 697,129.61	\$ 1,704,360.26
1874	15	\$ 3,750.00	\$ 900,352.61	\$ 1,437,387.02	\$ 2,341,489.63
1875	12	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 987,312.52	\$ 866,902.42	\$ 1,857,214.94
1876	10	\$ 2,375.00	\$ 728,811.53	\$ 1,295,177.78	\$ 2,026,364.31
1877	10	\$ 2,500.00	\$ 650,000.90	\$ 897,880.15	\$ 1,550,381.05
1878	6	\$ 1,500.00	\$ 493,959.75	\$ 1,076,369.94	\$ 1,571,829.69
1879	5	\$ 1,250.00	\$ 586,053.08	\$ 1,653,978.42	\$ 2,241,281.50
1880	8	\$ 1,875.00	\$ 317,650.65	\$ 933,904.06	\$ 1,253,429.71
1881	10	\$ 2,500.00	\$ 540,559.96	\$ 1,189,671.83	\$ 1,732,731.79
1882	9	\$ 2,250.00	\$ 700,563.08	\$ 1,185,560.13	\$ 1,888,373.21
1883	9	\$ 2,250.00	\$ 755,711.99	\$ 1,316,664.01	\$ 2,074,626.00
1884	8	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 606,333.36	\$ 1,286,031.48	\$ 1,894,364.84
1885	9	\$ 2,250.00	\$ 386,711.60	\$ 2,248,215.05	\$ 2,637,176.65
1886	8	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 84,828.40	\$ 1,584,384.11	\$ 1,671,212.51
1887***	8	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 2,475.68	\$ 1,792,809.93	\$ 1,797,285.61
1888	10	\$ 2,375.00		\$ 1,514,609.86	\$ 1,516,984.86
1889	11	\$ 2,625.00		\$ 1,944,503.09	\$ 1,947,128.09
1890	10	\$ 2,500.00		\$ 2,438,873.32	\$ 2,441,373.32
1891	9	\$ 2,250.00		\$ 1,795,802.84	\$ 1,798,052.84
1892	9	\$ 2,125.00		\$ 1,860,030.02	\$ 1,862,155.02
1893	9	\$ 2,250.00		\$ 2,023,801.56	\$ 2,026,051.56
1894	8	\$ 2,000.00		\$ 2,023,923.28	\$ 2,025,923.28
1895	8	\$ 2,000.00		\$ 1,828,560.53	\$ 1,830,560.53
1896	9	\$ 2,250.00		\$ 1,838,974.46	\$ 1,841,224.46
1897	8	\$ 2,000.00		\$ 2,669,240.03	\$ 2,671,240.03
1898	8	\$ 2,000.00		\$ 1,553,198.67	\$ 1,555,198.67
1899	8	\$ 2,000.00		\$ 2,155,129.14	\$ 2,157,129.14
1900	9	\$ 2,125.00		\$ 2,264,290.26	\$ 2,266,415.26

* Return for the Year ended June 30th. (For example: July 1st, 1870 to June 30th, 1871.) From 1871 to 1874 the measure is in wine gallons and from 1875 to 1900 the measure is imperial gallons.

** Spirits entered for consumption but spirits entered for consumption at chief importing centres may be consumed beyond the limits of the Province in which the duties have been paid.

*** Note: all spirits warehoused, 49 Vic., Cap. 34, S148.

includes duty at 45 & 30 cents per gallon on 32884.22 gallons imported spirits used in bonded factories

Source: Sessional Papers. Appendix A - Spirits. Vol. 6 - 35. (1872-1901).

Table XII.
Exports from Warehouses to Locations Outside of Canada, 1871-1883

Year	Inland Revenue Division	Ex-Warehouse for Exportation & c. Spirits at 60 & 63 cts. per gallon	Total for Export, &c.	Percentage of Export
1871		Spirits at 63 & 65 cts. per gallon		
	Hamilton	77.25		0.03%
	Prescott	38.63		0.01%
	Toronto	175,991.60		68.08%
	Windsor	82,388.79		31.87%
	Ontario	258,496.27	258,496.27	
1872		Spirits at 63 cents per gallon		
	Guelph	1,971.39		0.47%
	Hamilton	271.13		0.06%
	London	195.84		0.05%
	Prescott	768.63		0.18%
	St. Catherines	111.37		0.03%
	Toronto	343,560.28		81.68%
	Windsor	73,717.51		17.53%
		420,596.15	420,596.15	
1873		Spirits at 63 cents per gallon		
	Hamilton	187.13		0.06%
	Prescott	275		0.09%
	Samia	37.5		0.01%
	St. Catherines	78.75		0.02%
	Toronto	260,207.20		82.01%
	Windsor	56,493.17		17.81%
	Ontario	317,278.75	317,278.75	
1874		Spirits at 63 & 75 cents per gallon		
	Hamilton	76.12		0.04%
	Prescott	764		0.38%
	Samia	152.88		0.08%
	St. Catherines	37.13		0.02%
	Toronto	173,506.90		86.56%
	Windsor	25,917.37		12.93%
	Ontario	200,454.40		
1875		Spirits Exported**		
	Prescott	39.38		0.02%
	St. Catherines	75.04		0.04%
	Toronto	159,345.92		78.94%
	Windsor	42,405.44		21.01%
		201,865.78	201,865.78	
1876	St. Catherines	31.28		0.04%
	Toronto	56,378.37		69.44%
	Windsor	24,806.19		30.56%
		81,184.56	81,184.56	
1877	Paris	71.19		0.04%
	Prescott	27.15		0.02%
	Samia	107.55		0.06%
	St. Catherines	124.88		0.07%
	Toronto	127,322.70		74.31%
	Windsor	43,677.79		25.49%
		171,331.26	171,331.26	
1878	Guelph	30.98		0.02%
	Hamilton	121.58		0.07%
	Prescott	104.19		0.06%
	Samia	118.51		0.07%
	St. Catherines	54		0.03%
	Toronto	134,712.11		82.24%
	Windsor	28,655.93		17.49%
		163,797.30	163,797.30	
1879	Hamilton	31.79		0.02%
	Toronto	110,519.57		83.28%
	Windsor	22,164.51		16.70%
		132,715.87	132,715.87	

Table XII.
Exports from Warehouses to Locations Outside of Canada, 1871-1883

Year*	Inland Revenue Division	Ex-Warehouse for Exportation & c. Spirits at 60 & 63 cts. per gallon	Total for Export, &c.	Percentage of Export
1880	Hamilton	32.01		0.21%
	Samia	30.23		0.20%
	Toronto	9,408.02		61.80%
	Windsor	5,752.66		37.79%
		15,222.92	15,222.92	
1881	Toronto	4,611.75		81.42%
	Windsor	1,052.32		18.58%
		5,664.07	5,664.07	
1882	Toronto	9,099.22		89.17%
	Windsor	1,105.03		10.83%
		10,204.25	10,204.25	
1883	Belleville	612.9		5.84%
	London	31.12		0.30%
	Prescott	56.89		0.54%
	Stratford	59.55		0.57%
	Toronto	8,816.21		83.94%
	Windsor	926.38		8.82%
		10,503.05	10,503.05	

* The manufacturing year is from July 1st to June 30th. (1868-1874 is wine not imperial gallons.)

** The value of duty allocated to the spirits exported increase progressively after this year.

Note: These values are not the total exports for the years.

Source: Canada. Appendix A - Spirits. Sessional Papers. (1872-1901).

Table XIII.
Spirits Removed and Received from Warehouses in Canada, 1871

Revenue Divisions	Removed to other Divisions	Received from other Divisions
Algoma	605.07	2,829.63
Belleville	19,043.25	7,337.40
Cobourg	68,496.00	225.38
Collingwood	-	21,895.29
Cornwall	-	6,726.50
Goderich	-	22,427.17
Guelph	44,255.42	18,713.38
Hamilton	-	157,977.19
Kingston	-	108,061.69
London	-	14,338.89
Ottawa	-	149,038.05
Paris	-	37,071.21
Perth	-	10,174.66
Peterborough	-	24,846.17
Prescott	241,579.01	22,078.35
Samia	-	10,912.13
St. Catherine's	14,697.92	25,319.44
Toronto	1,099,209.03	100,173.15
Windsor	531,047.37	373.50
Montreal	55,615.88	780,043.32
Quebec	9,437.15	314,328.48
St. Hyacinthe	-	8,851.00
Three Rivers	-	20,126.90
St. John's	-	6,980.25
St. John, N.B.	1,174.80	159,726.98
Miramichi	-	1,187.69
Cape Breton, N.S.	-	432.42
Halifax, N.S.	6,211.88	55,405.44
Pictou, N.S.	-	3,556.65
Yarmouth	-	214.47
Total	2,091,372.78	2,091,372.78

Source: Canada. Appendix A - Spirits. Sessional Papers. (1872).

Table XIV.
WHISKY SALES BETWEEN NOVEMBER 9, 1881
AND SEPTEMBER 30, 1882

ALL SALES IN BARRELS

Old Rye Whisky	15,268
Spirit @ 25 U.P.	5,693
Spirit @ 50 O.P.	4,659
Malt Whisky	1,718
Spirit @ 65 O.P.	688
Toddy Whiskey	550
Spirit @ Proof	175
Family Proof Whisky	167
Excelsior Whisky ¹	162
Superior Whisky	158
Magnolia Whisky (clear) ²	155
Magnolia Whisky	147
4 Year old Whisky	95
Spirits @ 20 O.P.	81
Extra Old Rye	78
C.T.T. Rye ³	76
5 Year Old Whisky	36
7 Year Old Whisky	20
Cologne Spirits ⁴	18
Spirits @ 12 O.P.	10
Bourbon	10
Spirits @ 32 O.P.	10
8 Year Old Whisky	8
Spirits @ 36 U.P.	5
3 Star Whisky	20
Club 3 Star ⁵	2
Club Whisky ⁶	43
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
TOTAL	30,052

¹ Not certain of the correct spelling.

² Walker's original brand. Clear indicates no caramel colouring added.

³ Meaning of C.T.T. is unknown.

⁴ A common term for pure neutral spirits that was used before 1900. Cologne was named after a city in Germany with the same name. It was a very good, high class alcohol that was originally intended to be used in making "eau de cologne" or cologne water. The term became synonymous with the highest quality neutral whiskey.

⁵ The first appearance of the word "Club" relative to a whiskey brand. December 1881 "Club" was probably used as a designation of age for the brand "3 Star".

⁶ The first export to the United States was January 26, 1882. Hiram Walker Sales Book, page 205. Hiram Walker Archives.

Taken from: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. "Whisky Sales between November 9, 1881 and September 30, 1882."

CHAPTER 5

1883-1900: HIRAM WALKER & SONS LTD. VERSUS THE UNITED STATES AND FOREIGN MARKETS

By the 1880s, a “Big Five” oligopolistic structured market existed in the domestic market and both the government and the distilling industry made it almost impossible for small distilleries to function within this market. The federal government of Canada had virtually complete control over the distilling industry and received from the Ontario distillers large amounts of revenue. Ontario’s distillers were simply given the privilege to continue operations. The possibility for mass distribution was available and changed the “Big Five” distilleries. It was the distillery of Hiram Walker & Son Ltd. that seized the opportunity to develop a Canadian brand of whisky that would capture the large United States market. It was through the increasing exports of whisky to the United States that the popularity and demand for Canadian whisky grew. During the 1890s, Canadian whisky became recognized across the world for quality and its unique light flavour. This was due to the efforts of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. and the promotion of the brand “Canadian Club”. With this success, however, came difficulties in the United States market especially from fraudulent whisky makers. It was only through an aggressive crusade that Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. managed to quell this adulteration.

A. Canada’s Whisky Region

The expansion of the “Big Five” in the 1870s resulted in a large production capacity. There were no longer small distilleries that were connected with milling operations but instead the distilleries were modern industrial operations that required large amounts of capital, machinery, organized facilities, and planned building layouts. The small distilleries had been eliminated (with the exception of the distilleries in the Town of Perth) and various factors like taxes, large capital investments, and huge expenditures kept small producing distilleries from returning to the market. Figure 37 displays the total spirit production for 1891 and illustrates the

spatial pattern of Ontario distilleries. Canada's whisky region is clearly more pronounced than 10 years before (Figure 30 in Chapter 4), but there are a few differences which should be mentioned. Production increased for all the distilleries; however, there was a noticeable expansion of production for Joseph E. Seagram's distillery, H. Corby's distillery and J.P. Wiser & Sons distillery. A significant development had emerged, altering the spatial pattern. It was the new operation of the Royal Distillery in Hamilton. This distillery began operations around 1883 and in the period from 1883 to 1891 was producing enough spirits and whisky to rival the "Big Five" distilleries of Joseph E. Seagram and H. Corby. In 1891 Gooderham & Worts Ltd. had the largest production in Ontario with more than 1.5 million gallons of spirits and whisky. This was followed by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. with more than 1.32 million gallons, then J.P. Wiser & Sons with approximately 462,000 gallons, then the Royal Distillery (that had surpassed the other "Big Five" distilleries in this census year) producing over 270,000 gallons, then Joseph E. Seagram producing more than 254,000 gallons, followed by H. Corby producing more than 240,000 gallons, and finally the Perth distilleries (J.A. McLaren and Spalding & Stewart) that were producing a minimal amount of malt spirits totalling 17,420 gallons.¹ Despite these levels of production, Ontario's spirit production was on a fluctuating decline to lower production levels than the industry had experienced in the 1870's (Appendix D).

According to the Canada Census of 1891, in the summary table for Ontario's distilleries, there were 150 employees at Gooderham & Worts Ltd., Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had 112 employees including 9 women, Joseph E. Seagram had 50 employees, J.P. Wiser & Sons had 40 employees, H. Corby had 23 employees, Spalding & Stewart and J.A. McLaren's distilleries had a combined total of 12 employees; the Royal Distillery was not recorded in this census so their number of employees is unknown.² The number of employees are important because the figures help to indicate the sizes of these distilleries. Gooderham & Worts Ltd. and Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were large industrial operations and it seems that the remaining "Big Five" distilleries were about half the size of Canada's leading distillers. A reduction in labour did occur

throughout many areas of the production but, there was still need for labour in other areas like bottling and/or warehousing (and in the case of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. the need for selling agents). The Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery can be used as an example for illustrating that labour was still a large portion of the total expenditures. Throughout the 1890s labour was one of the top five expenses next to other expenses such as grain, coal, and insurance at this distillery; for example in 1892 over \$24,000 was spent on the distillery's labour.³ Testimony given by George Gooderham to the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic in 1895 revealed that the "Big Five" distilleries had thoroughly embraced technology and had used inventions to improve operations. George Gooderham was asked if there was "...any other business, involving so large a capital and such an enormous output that employs so few men?" and in response he answered that he believed there was no other ordinary business (except possibly mining) of such a nature and stated that "...years ago distillers used a very great number more men than we do now; but of course we are continually improving our machinery, so as to do everything possible by machinery."⁴ The use of machinery made the distilling operations more efficient helped to reduce costs while at the same time the distilleries produced a better quality, pure whisky.

From the Canada Census it is also possible to examine the capital that was invested in these large operations. Table XV shows the division of the fixed and floating capital invested in the distilleries in 1891 as well as a ranking of the distilleries by the pecuniary strength as assigned by Dun & Bradstreet in 1895. The unusual figure recorded for Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. shows a floating capital of \$5,000,000 but there was no fixed capital recorded. Assuming that this figure was a combination of the fixed and floating capital invested, Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. was unlike the other "Big Five" distilleries. The combined figure of fixed and floating capital of Gooderham & Worts Ltd. was only \$824,000. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had a capital invested in their distilling operations over five times that of Canada's leading producer of spirits. This was very important because it was during the 1890s that there was a change in the spatial pattern with Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. becoming the leading Canadian distillery in terms of the popularity of

brands. It seems that this figure of \$5,000,000 invested into working capital illustrates that this corporation had produced sizable profits and was planning for the future; (even under the assumption that this was an error with only \$500,000 invested, it was still more than Gooderham & Worts Ltd.) According to the Dun & Bradstreet Reference Books, Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. also had \$5.5 million invested into products in 1891.⁵ Gooderham & Worts Ltd. in 1891 had recorded only \$155,000 invested into land, \$344,000 invested into buildings, \$55,000 invested into machinery and tools, and \$270,000 allotted for floating capital, however it is likely that there was also a large investment in stock at this distillery.⁶ Examining all the distilleries it seems clear that the majority of the capital invested was distributed in buildings, then machinery and tools. There were also large sums of floating capital available. In fact, J.P. Wiser, H. Corby, Spalding & Stewart and J.A. McLaren's distillery, and Joseph E. Seagram's distillery had more floating capital than the fixed capital.

Large amounts of floating capital were needed for the enormous expenses incurred to produce spirits and whisky. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. can serve as an example. Table XVI shows the general ledger entry for the fiscal year September 1, 1891 to August 31, 1892. There are numerous expenses such as fuel, labour, repairs, bottling, barrels, grain, taxes, and insurance which would be expected when examining the operations of a distillery but there are also numerous small expenses such as advertising, office expenses, suspense, donations, and telephone service. For this sample year Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were facing around \$350,000 in expenses. This does not include the excise tax for distilling that amounted to \$725,508.⁷ These expenses also allude to the profits generated from producing spirits and whisky. Distilling produced large sums of money and this distillery made a tidy net profit. Although the profits seem to be on a decline according to the data recorded in the personal ledger Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. was still making a profit of over \$250,000 a year.⁸

The "Big Five" distilleries as well as the Royal Distillery were notable features on the landscape. Photographs allow a comparison of distillery sizes. Figure 38 shows a view of H.

Corby distillery in the late 1890s from the stationary of H. Corby. Figure 39 is a copy of an old watercolour of the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery in 1884. Figures 40 and 41 are views of the Joseph E. Seagram distillery, the distillery in the late 1880s and around 1900 with the addition of a large storage warehouse to age spirits. Figure 42 is a photograph of Gooderham & Worts Ltd. in 1896. Comparing this figure with Figure 43, which shows an insurance plan of the distillery in 1889, it is possible to appreciate the extent of the operations. Simply stated, this was a large industrial enterprise. The grain elevator, grain warehouses, Grand Trunk Railway (that ran through the property), the grist mill and distillery, the tank houses (numbering seven), and the spirit warehouses are clearly visible in this photograph. The plan was completed before the additional warehouses were added to the property. The Gooderham & Worts Ltd. property was planned and very ordered. The property is often referred to as a “little city” complete with a grid of streets.⁹ It also seems that the buildings were organized around the mill and distillery and the series of buildings that can be seen were constructed over decades. A comparison of Figure 44, an aerial view of the distillery in 1884, and Figure 45, an aerial view of the distillery in 1890, shows the construction of buildings and the additions made within this six year period.

To provide an understanding of the scale and complexity of the machinery used to produce spirits and whisky the British Acetones¹⁰ photographs can be used. These photographs help one grasp how technologically advanced the distilleries were. For example, Figure 46 shows the fermenting floor. The words that best describe the Gooderham & Worts Ltd. distillery in the 1890s are a well built, carefully planned layout of buildings; enormous; efficient; immense; scientific; thousands of feet of piping; and large amounts of machinery. The “Big Five” distilleries had grown to become important features of the Ontario landscape demonstrated the impact of the industrial revolution.

The Royal Distillery in Hamilton proves to be an interesting change in the spatial pattern of Ontario’s distilling industry and deserves further discussion. As observed from the Sessional Papers (Appendix D) it seems that this distillery had begun production around 1887 and for the

manufacturing year of July 1, 1887 to June 30, 1888 the distillery manufactured over 89,000 gallons of spirits. This date may be significant because this distilling operation began production around two years before distillers had to comply with the aging law. If the Royal Distillery began operations in 1890 it would have been very difficult to make the distillery a success because the product would not have been available for two years later. By the following manufacturing year in 1889 the production of this distillery had nearly doubled and for the manufacturing years 1890 to 1896 the production was over 200,000 gallons.¹¹ This distillery had moved swiftly to emerge as a competitor in the oligopolistic structured market, with the “Big Five” distilleries. At this time, it was almost impossible to enter this market but the Hamilton distillery managed to succeed.

Little is known about this distillery but it can be assumed that an old distilling or brewing property was probably used to start operations at the Royal Distillery. For this distillery to suddenly appear in the Sessional Papers it suggests that this distillery had an advantage which aided in the initial financial expense of starting operations. This expense would have undoubtedly been enormous to start a distillery that would have been the size of either Joseph E. Seagram or H. Corby. It would have been almost impossible to construct all the buildings needed including the machinery for a distilling operation of this size in such a short amount of time. Therefore it seems logical that the Royal Distillery was developed on an existing property with previously constructed buildings. Rectifying did occur in Hamilton over the years and it is possible that this operation may have been an extension of this type of operation or simply an old distillery (like W.H. Thomas’ rectifying establishment in 1861).

It is uncertain, due to the lack of sufficient primary data, why this distillery suddenly emerged in the City of Hamilton. Distilleries in Hamilton disappeared in the 1860s. This decade was a difficult time for the city since the city was declared bankrupt in 1862. As a result, population growth slowed as many individuals left for more prosperous cities and towns in Ontario. According to the Canada Census the population of Hamilton in 1861 was 19,096,

26,716 in 1871, 35,961 in 1881 and 47,245 in 1891.¹² The city experienced a stunted industrial growth. Items such as land values, transportation, and consumer goods were more expensive. By 1875 Hamilton was determined to become a railway terminus even though Toronto and Montreal had the advantages of Grand Trunk Railway which bypassed Hamilton. It was not until the 1890s that industrial development improved as Hamilton became known for iron and steel. American firms by this time were searching Canada for places with dock and rail facilities, where branch plants could flourish with the help of cheap power. Speculation suggests that with the growth of a large distillery could prosper. This distillery was known for two popular brands: “Royal Reserve” and “Royal Canadian” Whisky which were both considered to be first class whiskies aged to perfection. A view of the Royal Distillery can be seen in Figure 47. Although this is a view of the distillery in 1913 it is possible to appreciate the size of the operations; this distillery which had been producing spirits and whisky for only 25 years.

B. A Business Alliance in the Oligopolistic Structured Market

The “Big Five” distilleries as well as the Royal Distillery were large industrial producers of spirits and whisky. As discussed previously, the two distilleries in Perth were still operating in this market but had continued to produce the unique product of malt whisky, which no other Canadian distillery produced. These distilleries had achieved a profitable oligopolistic structured market and it seems that they were determined to keep it that way. Evidence from various primary sources suggests that there was a friendship between the large distilleries as well as attempts to control the market. In the Detroit Free Press in 1888 an article appeared which stated that,

About as large a monopoly as exists is the whisky distilleries of Canada. The government a short time ago passed a law making it unlawful to sell and buy liquor that has not been manufactured two years, thus making the trust complete. A few weeks ago they decided to raise the price of whisky ten cents a gallon. This went into effect Thursday and by it Hiram Walker & Sons make \$400,000, they having 4,000,000 in their warehouses.¹³

This article was not well received by the Walkerville public due to the anti-Walker sentiments clearly expressed by the author of the article. Despite these opinions there was truth to the statement. Although monopoly is an incorrect term used to describe the structure of the market (one firm controlling the market), it was that of an oligopoly because there were a few distilleries in control. The "Big Five" did not have total control of the market due to the federal government's intervention but underneath the control of the government it was these distilleries that were helping to dictate this market.

In fact the distilling operations were becoming so large it was not feasible to run the operations using the same organizational structure. The operations were complex and the business was no longer operated by one individual. In some cases the control of management had been divided between family members, mainly when sons joined the business. Incorporation of the company created an association of individuals under the law. The operations were still controlled by the family but a hierarchy of management was officially created. Organization, power, and control were distributed among more individuals, each with their own distinct roles. George Gooderham had decided to incorporate the firm in 1882, after the death of the two major partners. In the early 1890s two of the "Big Five" distilleries joined Gooderham & Worts Ltd. in incorporation. The Walkerville Distillery interests were divided in 1890 to create three companies, one of which was the incorporated distillery. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. was capitalized at \$5 million, the Walkerville Land & Building Co. was capitalized at \$1 million, and the Walkerville Gas & Water Co. was capitalized at \$100,000.¹⁴ With the distillery financed at \$5 million it is clear that the Walker family had a very large and profitable operation with a financed capital that exceeded the other "Big Five" distilleries. Before incorporation H. Walker, F. Walker, E.C. Walker and J.H. Walker divided the net profits equally and, in 1888 each received \$100,875.37.¹⁵ On December 7, 1893 the J.P. Wiser & Sons distillery was incorporated and capitalized at \$500,000; a tenth of the Walkerville Distillery.¹⁶ The incorporated distilling companies in association with the other large distilling operations illustrates the power and the

extent of these industrial operations suggesting the influence and control which likely stemmed from these companies.

The management style of the “Big Five” distilleries was familiar to each other and there appears to have been business relationships (or friendships) between some of the principals. In the Detroit Free Press in February of 1889 there was an article mentioning that Hiram Walker had left for a trip to Europe in the company of his son Franklin and John Wiser.¹⁷ In an 1892 mill diary for the distillery of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. there appears to be an openness between Walker and Gooderham. It states that, “On returning found Mr. A. Gooderham and Mr. Reid [head distiller for Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.] in the mill looking at samples of meal from the stones and rolls. Mr. G. said they made very fine meal at their mill and would lend a sample up.”¹⁸ This entry shows that when Walker had returned to find Gooderham and his head distiller examining samples of meal, he did not find this to be unusual. Furthermore, in A. E. Gooderham’s private journal there are recipes on different types of yeast, how to make the yeast, measurements, and what to distill that had been provided by Mr. Reid. These personal entries suggest that these businessmen were friends and willing to share trade secrets. This is unusual because large distilleries were in competition.

During the 1890s the Distillers Association was formed in which dues were paid. The “Big Five” distilleries formed an association that would benefit Ontario’s distilleries. It is uncertain what the role of this association was and what it provided to the members because there is a lack of primary data.¹⁹ It may be possible that financial benefits were provided or there were discussions about the industry and ways of increasing profits, or about the federal government situation in terms of taxes, or ways to maintain a consistent competitive price list, or even discussions about brands and foreign exports. This Distillers Association was presumably beneficial to Ontario’s distilleries because the dues increased over the 1890s and Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. was paying approximately \$24,000 in 1900.²⁰ This association only lasted until around 1905 because of a disagreement between Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. and H. Corby.²¹

In the Amherstburg Echo on July 31, 1896 a statement was made which said that, "...the distillery would be closed down for twelve months."²² This statement was elaborated on a week later with a brief statement. It stated that there was a rumour that the closing of the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery was being carried out as part "...of a mutual understanding come to a year or two ago among the five great distilleries."²³ In 1895 Gooderham & Worts Ltd. had taken a long recess and the following year it was the Walker's turn.²⁴ The closing of distilleries in Ontario (or no distillation) can be verified by examining the pounds of corn used in distillation for the year from the Sessional Papers because with little or no corn used (the main raw material) it can be assumed little or no distillation occurred. Table XVII illustrates that in the Prescott revenue division (the J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd. distillery) there was no corn used for distillation in the manufacturing years from July 1, 1893 to June 30, 1894 and from July 1, 1896 to June 30, 1897. For the Toronto revenue division (the Gooderham & Worts Ltd. distillery) there was no corn used in distillation for the manufacturing years from July 1, 1893 to June 30, 1894 and from July 1, 1897 to June 30, 1898 and for the year July 1, 1894 to June 30, 1895 there was a significant reduction in the pounds of corn used in distillation. The Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery (Windsor revenue division) shows a significant reduction in the amount of corn used in distillation for the manufacturing year July 1, 1896 to June 30, 1897 at only 216,000 pounds.

These data from the Sessional Papers further illustrates the possibility that there was a mutual understanding between the distilleries. This seems unusual when the distilleries were operating in a competitive market but it is possible that these were attempts to control supply and prices. To reach this kind of understanding shows strong business contacts among the "Big Five" distilleries. It is not known for certain why this arrangement was made but it can be speculated that the age law instituted in 1890 affected the production of the distilleries because total spirit production for Ontario declined and all spirits and whisky were required by law to be stored for a minimum of two years. Although production would be stopped, there was still the stored spirits

and whisky which had been aging that could be released for sale. It is plausible that it was cheaper to increase production for one year and have no production in another year.

This idea of reduced production for a year can also be demonstrated by examining the proof spirits manufactured for the year (Appendix D). During the manufacturing year July 1, 1893 to June 30, 1894 no spirits were produced in the Perth revenue division by J.A. McLaren's distillery and the Spalding & Stewart distillery (Figure 48), the J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd. distillery in the Prescott revenue division, or the Gooderham & Worts Ltd. distillery in the Toronto revenue division. For the manufacturing year July 1, 1896 to June 30, 1897 there was a minimal amount of proof spirits manufactured at J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd. The following year there was no spirits produced at Gooderham & Worts Ltd. Although there were no years in which there was no production of spirits at the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery, during the manufacturing year July 1, 1896 to June 30, 1897 there was a significant reduction.

Although the evidence is scarce and does not provide a clear interpretation of the relationship between the "Big Five" distilleries it does suggest that there was (on varying levels between the distilleries) business and personal relationships: The Distillers Association, business trips, discussions, and the alternate year production cycle. Although they did compete amongst each other it seems clear that there were business relationships held with a higher goal of advancing the entire distilling industry in Canada.

C. Outstanding Community Men

Given the size and scale of these distilling enterprises it is reasonable to assume that there was a large impact by the operations and the proprietors on the surrounding community. These men had a vision for the future. For example, many became involved in politics: Henry Corby in the 1860s and Wiser in the 1870s. Becoming involved in politics was a way to gain control in the community and help their businesses. Seagram and Harry Corby also became involved in politics during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Interestingly, these men held elected positions. They were representatives of the people which illustrates the esteem and trust that they

had. Politics was one avenue to becoming an active member of the community. To illustrate the entrepreneurial characteristics of the owners of the “Big Five” distilleries, Seagram, Harry Corby, Wiser, and Walker will be discussed.

Seagram became avidly involved in politics and began his career as a member of the Waterloo Town Council from 1879 to 1886. In three general elections he was elected Conservative Member of Parliament for North Waterloo constituency from 1896 to 1906. During the first election in 1896 it was a surprise that Seagram beat the popular St. Jacob’s miller E.W.B. Snider. Seagram polled 2,706 votes to Snider’s 2,397.²⁵ To win this election Seagram had gained the majority vote in Wellesley Township, the Town of Berlin, the Village of Waterloo, and the Elmira ridings. In the Waterloo County Chronicle, it stated that Snider was “...defeat[ed] by a new and untried man...”.²⁶ The key to Seagram winning this 1896 election was gaining the city ridings through his beliefs in the campaign on the Remedial Policy. “In Berlin and Waterloo the cry was raised that if a revenue tariff were adopted, factories would be closed...”.²⁷ The opinions of a fellow factory owner obviously rang true. By beating the favourite in this election it illustrates the increase of Seagram’s prominence and influence in the community during the 1890s.

Seagram also gave of himself to the community by holding positions on the boards of many companies and in 1893 he donated a large piece of land for the Berlin-Waterloo Hospital.²⁸ He also found the time to pursue his personal goals and in 1888 established the Seagram stables on 225 acres with space for 100 thoroughbreds. Part of these plans included a pipeline²⁹ to the stables to transport distillery waste to the cattle. (The cattle were moved when Seagram found it necessary to increase the property area around the distillery for warehouses to store and age whisky.) The Town Council of Waterloo in December of 1885 gave Seagram and his heirs permission to lay pipes beneath the surface of Erb Street.³⁰ The burying of this pipeline was the most economical way to transport the distillery waste to the farm that was located a mile away.

According to Little (1997), the construction of the wooden pipeline was likely done in the Seagram cooper shop where the 20 feet long logs were cut, hollowed, and bound together.³¹

Harry Corby had an eye for business and through this period he improved the distilling operations to such an extent that by the late 1890's production had increased greatly, excellent profits were being made, and two excise officers were needed. He had spent \$1 million on improvements and continued to spend. For example, the tank houses with 35 copper tanks and 44 wooden tanks had a total storage capacity of approximately 800,000 gallons.³² The distillery in Corbyville was described as "...in every respect a model of neatness, of approved machinery...a model of its kind."³³ He also improved the distilling operations with his invention of the cantilever principle which eliminated the defect in the covers of the tank. By the late 1890s this distillery was doing little or no retail trade because the manufacturing operations had grown to be so large in scale that it necessitated selling only car lots to wholesalers or jobbers.³⁴ Like his father, Harry (known as Senator Corby in the community) also became involved in politics and was elected to Parliament in 1888 and continued in that role for 12 years until he retired. He also gave back to the community being a captain in the volunteer fire department like his father, contributing to the St. Thomas Anglican Church, donating the building for the Belleville Public Library, giving donations to the Belleville hospital, and creating Corby park.

John Wiser also focused much of his attention on improving the distilling operations. The Prescott Town Council, in 1881, gave its permission to occupy Mary Street for the construction of a shed and repairs to the distillery.³⁵ Four years later 10 copper tanks (a total capacity of 100,000 gallons) were added to the new tank house, the office was enlarged, and the excise office was improved.³⁶ At this time (1885), the J.P. Wiser & Sons' distillery reached the peak of its success.³⁷ In October of 1887 a fire struck the distillery again. It was with the help of the town as well as the Prescott and Ogdensburg firemen that this fire was confined only to the main building of the distillery; the storehouses and cattle sheds were saved and no spirits or whisky were destroyed.³⁸ J.P. Wiser & Sons had insurance which aided this financial loss. It

took approximately two months to make the necessary repairs to the distillery and return it to previous production levels.³⁹ In 1896 this distillery, as viewed from the St. Lawrence River, displayed operations containing a mixture of new wooden sheds and older, larger brick buildings. There was a new three and a half story brick building with a wooden shed attached to house the cooper shop. At the north end of the property, beside the distillery's main building there was the bottling works where the bottles were filled by hand and placed on a conveyor running several feet to the labeler. East of the distillery's main building there were the barns which housed numerous cattle (the manure was moved to the Rysdyck farm).⁴⁰ There was a large dock to receive Pennsylvanian coal, United States corn, Canadian rye, and other grains but these orders would also be received by the Canadian Pacific Railway and picked up at the station.⁴¹ The notable feature of this distilling operation was that all of the waterfront buildings were sprawling along the property due to the numerous additions made as the operations grew to satisfy the increasing demand. This was a sizable industrial operation in 1891 for a town of only 2,919 people, as quoted in the Canada Census.

Hiram Walker was well respected throughout the communities of Walkerville, Windsor, Essex County and in Detroit for his distilling operations, other business interests, his charity, and for his creation and development of the Town of Walkerville. Statements made in area newspapers about this man clearly show how much he was held in esteem. The words said upon his death help to define this entrepreneur and the large role he played. In the Detroit Free Press on January 13, 1899 a section of the newspaper's obituary read,

The silence of mortality has fallen upon Hiram Walker in his 83rd year, and with the termination of his life the story made up of prose of thrift, frugality, and diligence, and the romance of astonishing commercial triumphs is completed. A strong factor has been eliminated from the business circles of this section, but his towering success has fixed his name lastingly upon the shores of the straits. He grasped great business opportunity and won; and through various philanthropies enabled others less fortunate to share in the fruits of his success.

The Detroit News (January 13, 1899) also ran a lengthy obituary and part of this obituary stated that Walker "...was a conspicuous example of the American who knows how to seize an

opportunity when it presents itself, and hang on to it with the tenacity which assures success.” Condolences and remembrance were not limited to local newspapers. The Mayor and the Council of the Town of Walkerville assembled for a special session, the day after Hiram Walker’s death, where the town fathers drew up the following declaration of condolences to be recorded in the Walkerville Council Minutes: “...having received the mournful news of the death of Mr. Hiram Walker the founders of the Town of Walkerville desire to place on the record their appreciation of the great energy, enterprise, intelligence and beneficence displayed by Mr. Walker during his long and useful life...”.⁴² From these statements it is clear that people thought highly of Hiram Walker.

Hiram Walker was a town founder (like Henry Corby). Since the town was not incorporated until 1890, Walker took it upon himself to provide the people with what was needed. Some may argue that this was not done for the community but for the distilling operations and his business interests. However, it was a mutual need because the people in the community relied on Walker as their employer and Walker relied on their labour. Walker did control much of the town. He had created it, provided the vast majority of the jobs, built their housing, provided for their comforts and he was “footing the bills” for the community needs. It can be assumed that Walker did feel the need to improve the surrounding facilities for his business operations to flourish and compete. This distillery was not located in an established urban centre so in many instances Walker was forced to improve the area. It was easier and a more viable solution for Walker to bring various business operations (such as a brick factory, transportation interests, and an iron manufacturing plant) underneath the “Walker umbrella” to establish and maintain an efficient distilling operation.

The Hiram Walker & Sons distilling operations by 1884 included numerous buildings on Sandwich Street, such as a feed mill and drying elevator, malt house, grain elevators, waterworks and engine house, fermenting rooms, bonded warehouses, a rectifying and still house, a boiler house, and the mill and distillery. This was a large distilling operation and in 1884 this distillery

was the second largest in terms of capacity of production, next to Gooderham & Worts Ltd.. In 1890 changes to the property had been made by removing the oil house, expanding and refurbishing the office, and constructing three bonded warehouses.⁴³

Improvements had been made on the distilling operations but Walker also created and developed the town around his distillery, for the betterment of his industrial operation. The expanding distilling operations soon made the transportation facilities inadequate and as a result (by 1888) Walker became more involved in the transportation industry by becoming a railway builder. In 1882 Walker moved the livestock barns 1.5 miles away from the distillery which necessitated the construction of a short line in 1883 to connect his stockyards to the distillery and the Grand Trunk Railway. This was only one of the reasons for better transportation facilities. In this railway venture Walker paired up with fellow business associates taking advantage of government grants (a subsidy of \$3,200 per mile on inter-provincial lines).⁴⁴ By May 1, 1885 Walker had built a short line. In 1887 the Lake Erie, Essex & Detroit Railway Co. was formed; Walker was the president after investing \$20,000 into the company for 1,530 of the 2,000 shares.⁴⁵ In 1889 a rail line was constructed to Leamington from Walkerville by the company, then to Ridgetown in 1892 and finally to St. Thomas.

In January 1885, 7 of the first 56 telephone connections in the area, which numbered 56, served the Hiram Walker & Sons distillery, cattle sheds, general store, and watchman's office.⁴⁶ Walker also built a street railway to Windsor, a ferry to Detroit, created a water supply for the distillery and the town, and started a police force. In 1888 Walker had interests in the distillery, a cooperage, malt houses, a coppershop, a planning mill, a lumber yard, a brick yard, in addition to the ferry and railway. The Globe Furniture Company, capitalized at \$50,000, was formed in 1889 specializing in church furniture, hall and school seating, and office furniture.⁴⁷ In the same year the Ontario Basket Company and the Walkerville Malleable Iron Works were also built capitalized at \$12,000 and \$50,000 respectively.⁴⁸ In the 1890's Walker was one of the largest single land owners of Canada (farm holdings in 1893 were 8,511 acres, not including some lots in

Windsor, Amherstburg, Kingsville and Walkerville).⁴⁹ The plan to acquire and own this land was for the future because Walker knew that the real estate value would only increase over time.

The incorporation of the company in 1890 released the family from obligations and maintaining the town. When the distillery originally began operations there were only two houses in the vicinity, all the institutions in Walkerville in the 1890's were products of the distillery.⁵⁰ In the petition to incorporate Walkerville as a town it stated,

The sewers in said village have all been constructed by Hiram Walker & Sons, the fire brigade of 52 men, the fire application licenses, the police force of 2 men, one for day and one for night duty, the repair of the sidewalks, other than the sidewalks on the main street, the night watch service, and the electric lighting of the streets have been provided at the expense of the said firm.⁵¹

This small town was experiencing, "...the enjoyment of better water and lighting service, fire and police protection than the inhabitants of the majority of small towns...".⁵² At the time of incorporation the population was 798. The nucleus of the town was the Walker institutions. At the time Walkerville was incorporated it did not have the population required by law to be a town but instead had the promise of a town so permission was granted.⁵³ Walker owned nine-tenths of the property within the town limits, and 90 percent of the homes which were occupied by his employees (all of which he paid taxes for).⁵⁴

After incorporation, Dr. A.S. King of Kingsville, a life long friend of Walker who read the address of presentation at festivities to celebrate Hiram Walker's birthday on July 4, 1890 as well as the American holiday said,

Now that is consequence of the incorporation of Walkerville, your personal direction of its affairs will necessarily be less manifest, it appears particularly appropriate that the past should be remembered and recorded. The people of Walkerville, therefore, point with pride to the fact that they have been for years in the enjoyment, through the thoughtfulness of your firm, of advantages and comforts which are rare under similar conditions of private control, and it is doubtful whether there could be found anywhere a more happy relationship between capital and labour, or a greater average of comfort among all classes that has existed here.⁵⁵

During these festivities many other important members of the surrounding community made comments and references to Walker's work. This was a man that many people considered a

friend. It was the distilling operations and the heart of Walker which allowed him to create this small community that obviously relied on one another.

In the City of Detroit, Walker, as of 1890, was a shareholder of numerous companies such as The Detroit Transit Railway, The Detroit National Bank, The Detroit Chamber of Commerce, the Detroit Medical College, the St. Clair Mining Company, the American Express Company, and a vast array of many more companies.⁵⁶ His interests were spread between Walkerville and Detroit in numerous business, and industrial ventures. According to Chauvin (1926), his private correspondence showed Walker's increasing reputation as an entrepreneur.⁵⁷ Walker definitely portrayed himself as a humanitarian. For example the Children's Free Hospital Association was organized in 1887 by a group of women with the objective to care for sick and suffering children under the age of 14. Walker decided to erect a suitable building for this hospital and promised \$125,000 for the purpose.⁵⁸ Construction was completed in 1896. In his will (1899) there was a grant of \$238,000 to the Children's Free Hospital as well as the Harper Hospital.⁵⁹ There were numerous different charities that Walker helped through the Walkerville Distillery. For the manufacturing year of September 1, 1891 to August 31, 1892 Walker donated \$993.98 to charities such as the Citizens Yacht Club, the Walpole Museum, and the Telephone Girls of Windsor; and for the year September 1, 1893 to August 31, 1894 donations amounted to approximately \$746.45 to charities such as the News Boys Association of Detroit, Provincial Royal Hospital in Victoria, British Columbia, the Diocese of Huron Missions, the Assumption Church of Sandwich, the Workings Women's Home of Chicago as well for repairs to the B.M.E. Church of Windsor.⁶⁰ Although the amounts of the donations varied over the years from approximately \$500 to \$4000 the average from September 1, 1890 to August 31, 1900 was approximately \$1368.53.⁶¹

By the mid 1880s the "Big Five" distillers were in control of large industrial operations. Each proprietor continued to make improvements to its distilleries. In attempts to gain control over their community Seagram, and (Harry) Corby became involved in politics. Seagram, Corby,

and Walker displayed humanitarianism by giving back to their communities in various ways. In particular, Walker was well-known throughout Essex County and in Detroit for his numerous business interests, charity, and his creation of the Town of Walkerville. These men held entrepreneurial characteristics that helped them to advance themselves and their distilling operations.

D. Federal Government Control over Ontario's Distilling Industry

By this period the federal government had control of Canada's distilling industry. The distilleries were forced to work to a strict set of government rules that were constantly changing. The best understanding of the relationship between the federal government and the "Big Five" distilleries can be generated from personal testimony taken from the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic which demonstrates their points of view, opinions, and anxiety as they struggle to retain their business in the face of possible federal prohibition.

The federal government continued to increase the excise duty; the duty rose from \$1.00 in 1880 to \$1.30 in 1885 to \$1.50 in 1891 and finally to \$1.70 in 1895. Since spirits and whisky are not necessities of life, the product is considered to be a luxury resulting in its taxability. According to George Gooderham, in 1895 the estimated output was 1.3 million gallons per year with a duty of nearly \$2 million, but this figure was larger in recent years.⁶² George Gooderham stated that this decline in output by all the older distilleries was a result of the establishment of new distilleries [in Canada] within the past few years (such as the Royal Distillery in Hamilton) and by smuggling, which had been stimulated by the high duty of \$1.50 per gallon in 1891.⁶³ The majority of the smuggling was along the St. Lawrence. The federal government was collecting large amounts of excise duty from license fees, ex-manufacture spirits, and ex-warehouse spirits (Table XI in Chapter 4). From 1883 to 1900 the total excise duty collected amounted to \$36,014,102.67. The "Big Five" distilleries were providing the federal government with large amounts of revenue and a considerable portion of their profits; Gooderham & Worts Ltd. gave the government over \$6.2 million in excise duty (from license fees, ex-manufacture spirits, and ex-

warehouse spirits) during the 1890s, Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. totalled over \$3.5 million, Joseph E. Seagram totalled more than \$3.1 million, H. Corby totalled more than \$1 million, and J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd. provided over \$995,000 (the Royal Distillery totalled more than \$1.5 million). Ontario distilleries remained an excellent source of revenue for the government. By raising the excise duty this ensured increased federal government revenue even if production levels declined.

The (Canada) Aging Law

In 1890 the aging law was passed which stated that spirits must be held in a cask for two years before distribution. When whisky is aged in a barrel the flavour changes because the spirit interacts with the oak. This aging of a whisky is often described as “breathing in the barrel”. This aging law created a standard regulation to be followed by all Canadian distillers. Canada was the first country to institute such a law at a time when no other country was interested. In fact, England did not agree with the compulsory aging law (compulsory bonding) believing that it would harass commerce and trade and be an unfair burden on some classes of spirits.⁶⁴ But, the aging law had the opposite affect for Canadian distillers because this law made Canadian distillers unique in the foreign market place and with clever advertising it permitted Canadian distillers to become internationally known. According to George Gooderham in 1895, “There is probably no place in the world where purer or more wholesome liquors can be obtained than in Canada.”⁶⁵

It was claimed that the federal government wanted to ensure that a quality product was being sold and not the foul spirits that could be easily purchased by unsuspecting consumers. In Quebec, there was opposition to the aging law. Much of the poor spirits and whisky were not provided by the Canadian distillers but came from those that were imported, mainly from the United States. The law set Canada apart. According to Franklin Walker, raw and crude spirits were exported from New York or Boston to avoid the bonding provision that the Canadian distillers were subject to and he believed that these spirits were similar to the spirits transported to

Ottawa to make methylated spirits and raw alcohol.⁶⁶ This bond scam was providing a spirit that should not be consumed.⁶⁷ This smuggling was reduced the profits of the “Big Five” distilleries, especially Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.

The testimony given to the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic in 1895 by Franklin Walker can illustrate the problem of poor quality spirits and whisky.⁶⁸ Ingredients such as beef, tobacco, and tea were found in barrels returned to the distillery. These articles tainted the whisky. By adding articles like beef to the whisky, the article acted as a flavour as well as giving it body. Walker said the common theory was that country tavern-keepers would dilute the spirit or whisky with water and then add tobacco to give the drink a fiery taste. By purchasing a weaker spirit which was cheaper and adding these type of ingredients the owner could gain a handsome profit. This was a problem in the markets of Quebec and the eastern provinces (and even in the United States). In Quebec and the eastern provinces the whisky sold in Ontario was not popular because individuals preferred a ‘whisky blanc’ or a strong spirit of 50 O.P. to 60 O.P. (which could be coloured) that was pure spirits or raw alcohol. These Canadian provinces wanted a harsh spirit to satisfy their palate. Walker stated in testimony that,

These men like something that will scratch all the way down. I had experience in Montreal a few years ago. I had not been down there for some time, and our agent wanted me to call upon a man in the trade who was not buying our whisky. I went to him and found him a nice fellow, thoroughly French. I asked him why he did not use our whisky? ‘Well, he said, your whisky is not so good as So and So’s.’ I knew this other man’s whisky, he was a man who was not at all particular with the spirit he made, and was turning out some rank stuff. This French gentleman said that our whisky was not so good as that, although there was really no comparison between the two. I asked him then to explain why it was not so good, what he thought was wrong with ours. ‘Well,’ he said, ‘I will tell you: A man comes in here and I give him your whisky, or whisky like yours, and he takes it out to a little place in the country, and he comes back next day and says he don’t want the stuff.’ Why? I ask him. ‘Because,’ he says, ‘they don’t feel it when it goes down.’ And this Montreal trader actually thought that that was the test of quality. They have got an American spirit now that suits that class of men, they are drinking that smuggled stuff.

It was not just Walker that had experience with this sort of adulteration. At the Gooderham & Worts Ltd. distillery workers found in the returned barrels from other provinces sausage or small packages with drugs of some sort that had been fashioned in such a way that the item would fit

through the hole in the barrel.⁶⁹ Consequently each returned barrel would be examined carefully and cleaned thoroughly.⁷⁰ This adulteration was a serious problem but as seen in subsequent examination this was not the only type of adulteration that was being performed on Canadian distillers, especially within the United States.

The compulsory aging law had a huge impact on Canadian distillers. One would not expect that the aging law would be a huge hassle and costly to the "Big Five" distilleries since these operations had already begun to age spirits and whisky decades earlier and did have brands that were aged for more than two years. It must be remembered that not all spirits and whisky were aged with some brands maturing for only 2 to 12 months. The problem the distillers had with the new law was that now all spirits and whisky manufactured would have to be aged at least two years with no immediate return on their investment. Huge amounts of floating and fixed capital were needed to be in compliance with the law. It was the federal government that induced the enormous expense incurred by the distillers. The capital of Gooderham & Worts Ltd. in 1895 had risen to \$1.6 million because all of the production for the year had to be stored that resulted in the need for additional warehouses. The total storage capacity of Ontario distilleries doubled in only 4 years to more than 16 million gallons in 1891.⁷¹ For example, Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were required to build 5 additional warehouses, bringing the storage capacity to 5 million gallons⁷² and Gooderham & Worts Ltd. built new warehouses, enough to double the size of the operations by 1890. The Gooderham & Worts Ltd. distillery would store at least 2.6 million gallons to age which was worth about a million dollars with a government duty of \$1.50 per gallon.⁷³ Wisser's statement on the need for additional warehouses was that, "Before the law passed our stock was down to 150,000 or 160,000 gallons. Now we carry 1,300,000 gallons. That is the difference."⁷⁴ Due to expenses incurred by the distilleries (the increase in production costs) there was the need to nearly double the cost of spirits.⁷⁵ In 1889 there was an increase in Ontario's total production to 5,700,656.74 gallons in view of the need to store spirits and whisky for maturing but this production soon declined. As an example, it was not until 1895 that J.P.

Wiser & Sons Ltd. was manufacturing what was needed year to year namely 450,000 to 500,000 proof gallons.⁷⁶ There was also an increase in the spirits stored across Canada. Appendix F shows that for the spirits stored in Ontario revenue divisions there was a increase in the amount stored from the manufacturing years 1887 to 1890, especially in Windsor (Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.), Toronto (Gooderham & Worts Ltd.), Belleville (H. Corby), Guelph (Joseph E. Seagram), and Prescott (J.P. Wiser & Sons).

Ontario's distilleries (especially the "Big Five") did not support the aging law. In fact the law was met with strenuous opposition from distillers, due to the heavy expenses for storage accommodation, insurance, interest, and the loss of spirits from evaporation and handling.⁷⁷ Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. illustrates these costly expenses. Of the top five expenses for the fiscal year from September 1894 to August 31, 1896 totalling over \$399,000; \$93,000 was insurance, interest and deficiencies; grain lead with more than over \$279,000; and more than \$26,000 was distillery labour.⁷⁸ There were petitions and personal interviews by Canadian distillers to object to the law. George Gooderham claimed that the federal government gained \$30,000 in duty on spirits lost during manufacture.⁷⁹ A change occurred in whisky during the first two years of aging through evaporation, absorption, and chemical changes but the change lessens each year thereafter.⁸⁰ The evaporation and absorption in the first year was approximately four percent and during the second as high as three percent.⁸¹ Even though the "Big Five" distilleries did not support the new law, it did aid in the oligopolistic position of these large distilleries. It was now very difficult for a new distillery to enter the market due to the large amount of capital needed to construct the required buildings and the fact that a return on the investment would not be seen for two years after operations began. It was even more difficult for small distilleries to compete in the market due to the large sums of money required to build warehouses, to make barrels as well as the lock up of capital for various aspects of the operations. It is clear that the federal government was in control of this industry. The federal government gave distillers no choice but to follow and comply with the new law or leave the trade and loose

everything. Given this ultimatum Canada's distilleries invested large sums of money and built additional warehouses.

The Scott Act

The application of the Scott Act in various cities and counties across Ontario in the mid 1880's created strong reactions by the "Big Five" distilleries. Prohibition would destroy these distilling operations and the distillers were concerned that the industry, which had flourished for decades would be lost. Temperance agitation had always been present but the possibility that prohibition could become a reality disturbed the "Big Five" distillers. Since large sums of capital had been invested into these distilleries at the request of the federal government to comply with various regulations, the distilleries wanted compensation if their operations were forced to close down and felt that the federal government had an obligation to them due to the partnership which had existed for years. The federal government had power and control over the distilling industry and the proprietors were afraid that they would lose their fortunes and be ruined if a federal prohibitory law was to be passed.

From 1886 to 1889 many areas instituted the Scott Act and the distilleries of Ontario saw a rise in the "ten gallon keg trade". The Gooderham & Worts Ltd. distillery did not suffer from the Scott Act.⁸² The Scott Act created a demand for ten gallon kegs of whisky because the farmer now wanted to take a barrel or keg of whisky home because whisky could not be purchased readily and as a result it would purchase a keg of whisky instead was a rise in consumption by the farmers and their family members.⁸³ Wisner found the situation to be similar. In Prescott the majority was against the Scott Act so the trade was hardly altered, which was contrary to expectations.⁸⁴ Wisner found that in anticipation of the Scott Act sales actually increased; for the year 1884 to 1885 it was determined that the increase was a result of dealers and customers who had never kept liquor in their houses, purchasing an advanced stock of whisky.⁸⁵ The ten gallon keg became popular because it was a size which could be easily handled in a wagon and concealed.⁸⁶ John Wisner's statement about the Scott Act was,

...we never ere in the habit of selling liquors in small quantities until that Act came into force. We were allowed to sell in ten gallon packages, and the result was that people who had never before bought liquor to take to their houses did so then, and that increased so much that I had to put three coopers on to make kegs to supply the ten gallon trade.⁸⁷

The Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery also saw an increase in the “ten gallon trade” for areas like Woodstock which had instituted the Scott Act.⁸⁸ The “ten gallon trade” was a side-effect of the Scott Act due to the new demand that was created for whisky in smaller packages for farmers to buy to bring home for consumption.

Increasing agitation for prohibition was present through the latter 1880s. In 1892 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the liquor industry and prohibitory legislation. The Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic in 1895 examined the would be effects of prohibition on distilleries among other issues. George Gooderham claimed that there would be a huge loss in “...revenue from excise and customs amounting to around 8 million, a sum equal to the interest upon the national debt of Canada, which amounts to nearly \$250,000,000.”⁹⁰ He explained that the increase in duty to \$1.50 a gallon had reduced revenue as a result of smuggling.⁹¹ Prohibition would only increase smuggling and it would be very difficult to control. The huge border between the United States, the facilities offered by the coast line of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Atlantic and Pacific coast lines would need a large number of officials and informers to prevent the smuggling of spirits into Canada.⁹² There would also be the problem of illicit distillation which because of their size would be very hard to find and control. George Gooderham stated that:

For thirty to forty dollars a still may be constructed with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons a day, which could be readily concealed in any house or barn. To manufacture spirit from such a still requires no special technical knowledge. The product, of course, would be high wines of the most objectionable kind. From the demand there would be for spirits of some kind, we may readily infer that illicit distillation would be rife everywhere.⁹³

To help control the loss of revenue the federal government would need to spend large sums of money in the attempts to enforce and control the problem of illicit distillation and smuggling

created from prohibition. Would these problems, the huge decline in revenue from duties, and the need to spend more money to enforce prohibition be worth instituting such a law? (The Commission after thorough examination recommended no changes to the status quo.)

The distilleries wanted compensation if federal prohibition was to come into effect. The federal government had the control to institute prohibition and there was nothing that the distillers could do if that occurrence happened. Prohibition would destroy the distilling business and their livelihoods. The "Big Five" distillers were upset. They considered themselves to be at the mercy of the government, an agency with the power to destroy them and their industry. According to Franklin Walker prohibition would render the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery useless. The result would be a huge loss incurred on the value of the property and so a loss in the fortune that had been invested into the buildings and machinery. More importantly, the distillers were upset that the large investments of money spent to comply with the aging law that was imposed by the government would be lost, a fortune that totalled in the millions.⁹³ The aging law had forced a huge change in the industry's production process as well as tying up large sums of capital. The Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery at one time had stock of 300,000 to 400,000 gallons but in 1895 were storing over 4 million gallons that could not yet be used.⁹⁴ Franklin Walker expressed his need for compensation for a loss of capital as a result of government actions and stated to The Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic:

I think they should in a case like the distilling business where we have had the protection of Government, and where we pay a large amount of the duty. We have gone on here in the past thirty odd years, increasing this business, paying the Government for the privilege of doing the business; and if they passed any legislation which was going to wipe us out, we should certainly expect to be reimbursed.⁹⁵

The federal government had offered inducements for Walker to come to Canada in the 1850s and Walker was upset at the prospect of losing the family business. The government had absolute control over the industry and how it was to function in Canada.⁹⁶

Walker revealed interesting testimony to The Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic about the existing oligopolistic structured market and the stiff competition that the federal government

was helping to ensure. A question was put forth to Walker: "Has the effect been to shut up some small distilleries, and prevent others from beginning?"⁹⁷ His response was: "I do not think it has shut up any, but it may have prevented others from going into it. If we were out of this business now, under present regulations, we would never go into the distilling business again, never in the world. It requires such an enormous outlay."⁹⁸ Walker was then asked if, "The Government have imposed certain conditions upon you since you began, and if you had to commence business again you would not think of going into it under these conditions?" and he replied a simple "no".⁹⁹

According to Walker, it was not possible to sell an operation of that size (the "Big Five" distilleries) because of the huge loss that would be suffered and he believed that there would be no buyer for an investment of that size. The property and buildings had been adapted for a specific purpose, supplied with costly machinery and this diminished the price of the sale.¹⁰⁰ "It is simply a matter of self-preservation."¹⁰¹ Walker could not or would not leave the distilling business and consequently had no choice but to continue with the aging law. Walker wanted compensation for the investment that was made into his operations which was a forced condition imposed by the government. In September of 1894 there were 4.2 million gallons of proof spirits stored in the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. warehouses.¹⁰² The distilleries that had been making money from year to year had to re-invest this profit back into the operations and stock in addition to enlarge their capacity as a result of the new regulation. If the government was to shut down distilleries by passing a prohibitory law Walker stated that he wanted compensation due to the conditions imposed on his distillery by the aging law.¹⁰³

Walker also testified to the power and control that the federal government had over the distilling industry. In 1895 Walker had 11 to 12 excise officers in charge of the entire premises. "Every gallon we have is in their charge and under their lock and key (until it is matured and shipped)."¹⁰⁴ These officers were in charge of the process and the product within the distillery. Walker explained that the federal government was not a partner in the distilling business but

instead handled the entire business and received a huge portion of the profits.¹⁰⁵ To illustrate the revenue that the federal government gained from the profit of the Hiram Walker & Son Ltd. distillery, Walker explained that the sales of spirits were roughly a million gallons a year (although at one time they were more) with the federal government collecting from that million gallons nearly \$1.5 million but the distillery which produced the spirits did not receive anything close to that amount.¹⁰⁶

George Gooderham agreed with Walker about the federal government's role in the distilling business and stated that,

..the Government are partners in the business, and have gradually assumed control, especially of distilleries; so that the whole business is in their custody and carried on under their supervision, so much so that the distiller is compelled to equip his distillery and carry on his operations in compliance with regulations and instructions received from the Government and plans approved by them.¹⁰⁷

Gooderham provided an example in his testimony to the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic as to the influence the federal government had on the industry. He explained that before the year 1895 the federal government had decided to weigh spirits after the first distillation process (not gauge them) and the change in measurement cost the Gooderham & Worts Ltd. distillery \$25,000.¹⁰⁸ Much the same as the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery, Gooderham & Worts Ltd. were forced to add buildings and real estate to comply with the aging law, an investment which was nearly equal to the value of the rest of the distillery.¹⁰⁹ George Gooderham wanted compensation and believed that the federal government could not end such a partnership after such an expenditure was forced upon them.

The Bottling in Bond Law

In 1883 the Canadian government revised the excise act pertaining to whisky and on August 25, 1883 the Bottling in Bond law was allowed. It may not have been realized by the "Big Five" distilleries but this law would open the door to large sales in the United States and around the world. The "Big Five" distilleries were already familiar with bottling and did have the facilities to bottle brands of whisky but this law would, in the next few years, help the distilleries

increase the production in bottles to be sold to consumers. This Bottling in Bond law required a federal government stamp to be placed on the top of each bottle. It can be assumed that the federal government saw another possibility for control and revenue by making a stamp mandatory as bottling began to increase in the distilleries. The capsule that was to be placed over the bottle with the Excise Certificate testified to the age of the contents.

Hiram Walker was one entrepreneur to see the advantage of the federal government stamp on the top of each bottle and soon advertisements appeared stating phrases like “Contents Guaranteed by the Canadian Government”, “Bottled in Bond”, “Bottled & Sealed in Bond”, and “Bottled Under Government Supervision” (Figure 50) to reassure the consumers of the product. This law did not ensure quality because it was only a guarantee that the product was manufactured under the government’s supervision. However, consumers soon began to recognize and associate quality with the Government Seal “of approval”. It was not until 1896 that the Bottle in Bond law became effective in the United States and by this time Canadian whisky, more importantly “Canadian Club” had gained a secure foothold within the United States market in the 13 years that had expired since the pursuing of the Bill in 1883.

In 1885 Walker began an advertising campaign and used the Bottle in Bond law. In 1885, Walker began to advertise in Canadian newspapers and advertisements were placed through the Canada Advertising Agency of Toronto.¹¹⁰ These advertisement could be seen in Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, Saint John New Brunswick, Halifax, London, Ottawa, Winnipeg and in Victoria (the major Canadian city centres).¹¹¹ To advertise daily in the Toronto Globe for a six month run, for example, the Hiram Walker & Sons distillery paid \$202.80 which gave them 40 lines of space and the advertisement appeared in every other issue.¹¹² Advertisements for Canadian whisky could soon be seen bareing a statement that the whisky was produced with government supervision. An advertisement in the Philadelphia Evening Telegraph December 15, 1896 was placed by Hiram Walker & Son Ltd. clearly using the law to advertise and appeal to the consumer. It stated that,

Every bottle of 'Canadian Club' Whisky is bottled in bond under the supervision of the Canadian Government Stamp certifying to the age and purity of its contents. From the moment of manufacture until this stamp is affixed the whisky never leaves the custody of the Canadian Authorities. No other government in the world provides for the public this absolute guarantee of purity and ripeness.¹¹³

The Canadian government guarantee was used to illustrate the advantage that the Canadian whisky had over United States brands. These articles claimed that because Canadian distillers were subject to strict laws whiskies like "Canadian Club" were better because the production was supervised, a stamp was placed over the capsule of every bottle to prevent tampering attesting to the purity of the bottle's contents and by giving the exact age of its manufacture it made deception virtually impossible. Each bottle was stamped by the Canadian Government giving the public the satisfaction of knowing that they were getting an article absolutely pure and precisely as represented. Walker fully utilized the Bottling in Bond law to market his brand "Canadian Club" in the United States. The government guarantee along with the good quality of the whisky helped to increase the popularity and demand of the whisky. At Hiram Walker & Sons an excise officer was in charge of the bottling department and the whisky would remain in the custody of the government until bottled, corked, capsuled, and labelled where an excise certificate stating the contents and the year were applied.¹¹⁴ Since 1883 the bottling department at Hiram Walker & Sons was enlarged to a capacity in 1893 of 300 to 400 cases per day with plans to increase the capacity to 1,200 cases per day.¹¹⁵ The exports of "Canadian Club" were 87 cases in 1884 and the exports steadily increased as the bottle gained popularity.¹¹⁶

This law and the change in the production process to bottling was another factor (much like the aging law) that helped to keep smaller distilleries from entering or operating within the market. The capital needed, the cost to bottle whisky, the cost to ship, and labour required for labelling was a large investment that only added to the costs of producing whisky. The main problem for small distilleries was obtaining the glass for the bottles because it was expensive and not readily available. To illustrate the glass problem Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. can be used.

The distillery imported bottles from Germany because of the unavailability of suitable bottles in Canada; Germany could manufacture and ship the bottles cheaper than bottles made in Canada.”¹¹⁷ In a memorandum in support of a refund of custom duties in connection with the bottled whiskies exported by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. the corporation stated that in August 1891 they had offered the Diamond Glass Company of Hamilton all of their business at \$6.25 per gross even though bottles from Germany were available at \$5.13 per gross delivered. The Diamond Glass Company could not manufacture the proper colour (which was essential because Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. whisky was identified by consumers with a peculiar shade of ruby red), the finish was very inferior, and the glass was brittle; finally the glass company admitted that they could not produce the required bottles. Corks were a similar situation because Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. wanted hand cut corks instead of the cut corks (which were only ones available in Canada) due to the superior quality, these were only available in Spain.¹¹⁸

The Bottling in Bond law, the application of the Scott Act, and the Aging law all had a huge impact on the distilleries operating in Ontario. These were federal government regulations that the industry had no control over. Each law affected the “Big Five” distilleries but more importantly enforced the oligopolistic structured market by making it extremely difficult for small distilleries to survive or start a distilling operation. The reactions from distillers like Franklin Walker, John Wiser, and George Gooderham illustrate the power, influence and control the government had over this industry. It was not a partnership but instead the federal government was the overseer involved in the industry to gain revenue.

E. International Recognition of Canadian Whisky and the Foreign Market

Canadian whisky was becoming known around the world, especially during the 1890's. Gooderham & Worts Ltd. won the gold medal at the Antwerp Expo in 1885 for one of their whiskies and Seagram whiskies received an honourable mention.¹¹⁹ In 1893 Wiser's Canadian Whisky evoked favourable comment at the Chicago World's Fair. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. “Canadian Club” won a Medal and Diploma at the World's Colombian Exposition.

According to the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic, the magnitude of whisky shipments from 1889 to 1893 was approximately 4,538,000 gallons, most of which was exported.¹²⁰ “A large proportion of the goods entered for consumption at the chief importing centres, are consumed beyond the limits of the Province in which the duties are paid.”¹²¹ Canada’s total spirit consumption, for these 5 years, was 21,676,749 gallons.¹²² The Canadian mean annual consumption of spirits, for these years, was 3.812.383 gallons.¹²³ From 1886 to 1890 the average number of gallons of spirits consumed per head in Ontario was 0.747 and from 1891 to 1893 it was 0.665.¹²⁴ This figure corresponds with Table X (in Chapter 4) because there was also a decline in the average number of gallons of spirits consumed per head in Canada; from 1883 to 1890 the average was 0.871 and from 1891 to 1900 the average was 0.684. The consumption of spirits in Canada was declining but the consumption of beer increased slowly from 1883 to 1900 (the large scale manufacture of beer did not occur until 1876).¹²⁵ In Canada for the years 1891 to 1900 the average annual consumption of beer was 3.72 gallons per head. It is not certain what caused this decline in the consumption of spirits or why beer became more popular but it is clear that there was a marked difference between these two alcoholic beverages. With the consumption of spirits on a decline in Canada it is not difficult to see why some distillers focused their attention on the market in the United States. Capturing the market in the United States was one way to continue profits at the previous level.

Table XVIII illustrates the population difference of United States cities and Ontario cities. The population of the top ten cities in the United States was 3.15 times larger than all of Ontario’s top 10 cities. New York’s population was 1,515,301 in 1890 and in Chicago the population was 1,099,850, whereas Ontario’s leading city (Toronto) only had a population of 144,023. Simply stated, cities in the United States could provide larger markets, and better distribution possibilities increased profits. The transportation network was well established in the United States by this period and many of Canada’s major rail lines connected into this network.

During this period large amounts of spirits and whisky were travelling across Ontario, Canada, and the United States. Table XIX shows that the Toronto revenue division (Gooderham & Worts Ltd.) removed 1,013,308.05 gallons of spirits to be stored in other revenue divisions across Canada. Montreal received 722,256.11 gallons of spirits from other Canadian revenue divisions. In this year, 1891, we can see that 2,353,747 gallons of spirits travelled to different revenue divisions. The population was growing in the western provinces and more spirits and whisky were shipped to be stored in warehouses in Winnipeg, Calgary, Victoria, and Vancouver throughout the 1890's (Appendix E); however Figure 51 also illustrates that even in 1891 the majority of spirits were still stored within the province of Ontario. Figure 52 shows the transportation network in Ontario in 1888. The rail lines reach into the interior of the province away from Lake Ontario. Warehouses located throughout Ontario helped to distribute goods into the smaller communities. These rail lines also connected and moved out of the province, both west and east, to distribute the goods across Canada and for storage in secondary warehouses. The Canadian Pacific is one example of a rail line which helped distribute goods into western Canada.

The exports of whisky and spirits into the United States must be examined more closely. Data suggest at first glance that the exports of Canadian spirits increased in the 1890s but there is more behind this initial picture. By 1883 the exports of spirits had dropped off which was mainly a result of a huge decline in the amount of spirits exported from warehouses in Toronto (the majority was Gooderham & Worts Ltd.) to locations outside of Canada.¹²⁶ In Table XX we can see that in 1887 the Windsor revenue division (Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.) began to steadily increase their exports of spirits outside of Canada. By the 1890s H. Corby, Joseph E. Seagram, the Royal Distillery, and J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd. also increased exports of spirits to locations outside of Canada but despite this increase it was not a significant proportion of the total. This means that even though the smaller "Big Five" distilleries and the Royal Distillery were increasing their exports into the United States the gallons shipped were not enough to make a

significant impact on the United States market. For example in the manufacturing year of July 1, 1894 to June 30, 1895 the revenue divisions of Belleville, Guelph, Hamilton, Kingston, London, Prescott, and St. Catharines exported 5,931.63 gallons of spirits or 5.17 percent of the total spirits exported to locations outside of Canada. For the same manufacturing year the Windsor revenue division or Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had shipped 100,477.35 gallons or 87.56 percent of the total spirits exported to locations outside of Canada. In view of these facts, spirits exported to locations outside of Canada did increase among the distilleries of Ontario but the majority of the spirits exported was from the distillery of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. This can be further illustrated by a statement made by Albert Whitney (of J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd.) to the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic in 1895 when he stated that practically all spirits and whisky were used in Canada and only some were exported to the United States and Europe.¹²⁷ Similarly, the increased exports of Joseph E. Seagram were mainly a result of the large quantities of "Seagram's 83" shipped to New York, Chicago, and Detroit as this brand gained popularity in the United States market.¹²⁸ This whisky entered the United States through ports of entry like Port Huron, Detroit, Sault Ste. Marie, Buffalo, and Niagara Falls but the value and gallons was still small when compared to Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.¹²⁹

In view of the fact that it was the distillery of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. that was steadily increasing the exports of whisky to locations outside of Canada (mainly the United States) it becomes necessary to focus on what was happening as this distillery began to become unique amongst the other "Big Five" distilleries (and the Royal Distillery). Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. may not have been the largest producer of spirits and whisky in Canada when compared to Gooderham & Worts Ltd. for the 1880s and 1890s but this distillery was certainly distinguishing itself. The distillery in Walkerville was moving in the direction of capturing status and recognition in the United States; this strategy was an important part of the changing spatial pattern that occurs in the first two decades of the twentieth century that is characterized by the consolidation of the "Big Five" distilleries. In the period leading up to the consolidation of the

“Big Five” distilleries Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. was still capturing market share in the United States with its brand of “Canadian Club” whisky. This distilling operation becomes very different from its Canadian competitors as the focus of attention increasingly moves to the potential market in the United States and other foreign countries. Exports of whisky that had always been important to the success of this distillery became more significant. It was during the 1890s that Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. became stronger in the international market which helped the corporation progress successfully in the decades to come. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. focused on brands of whiskies that any consumer could purchase. The strength of the Gooderham & Worts Ltd. distillery had always been in industrial alcohol despite some brands of whisky that were available to the public. By the time Gooderham & Worts Ltd. created a successful brand of whisky it was too late to prosper in the United States due to the success and recognition of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. “Canadian Club” whisky and the emerging American brands of whisky which had improved in quality and so in popularity. With numerous agencies and an aggressive promotional campaign Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. tried to create a relationship between the product and the consumer. Gooderham & Worts Ltd. and Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had always dominated other distilleries in terms of exported spirits (Table XX). The important year to recognize is 1887 when the exports from the Windsor revenue division surpassed the Toronto division at 57 percent of the total exports from warehouses. The percentage of exports steadily increased for the Windsor revenue division after 1887 until the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery was dominating the exports from warehouses to locations outside of Canada with over 80 percent. Gooderham & Worts Ltd. experienced a progressive decline to less than 10 percent of these exports whereas in the 1870s this distillery had controlled over 80 percent. It seems evident that a critical change occurred. These exports to foreign markets were crucial to the future of Canadian distilleries because this was where the new markets were that could support the amount of production in spirits that these large industrial distilleries could produce. As a

result of this significant change, it is necessary to further examine what was occurring at the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery during this period.

F. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., “Canadian Club” in the United States, and the Fraudulent Whisky Makers

It was the sales of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. brands of whisky that helped to make this distillery different. During this period there was a growth in the middle class within the United States and whisky was no longer a luxury item. By the 1890's many individuals could purchase a bottle of whisky. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. promoted a brand of whisky that would appeal to a variety of consumers.

According to Robbins, the bookkeeper for Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., the export business to many different countries was a growing feature at this distillery.¹³⁰ Whisky had found a market in every country from England to France to Singapore to Hong Kong to the interior of South Africa and to the United States. This diversity was successfully achieved by establishing numerous agents thereby allowing the distillery to penetrate into foreign markets. The Walkerville Distillery was sending many shipments in bond because whenever whisky was taken out of bond the duty had to be paid to the inland revenue officers.¹³¹ In 1884 “Club” Whisky became the leader in branded lines of whisky in the United States.¹³² The Walker’s “Club” whisky was marketed to men’s clubs and so became popular very quickly. The brand was constantly increasing in popularity, was universally respected by all classes of consumers, and was sold to the finest hotels.¹³³ Walker pushed to have the word Canadian added to his brands in the United States and by 1888 the word Canadian could be seen on the label (Figure 50).¹³⁴ The name “Canadian Club” became known across the United States. Sales of “Canadian Club” whisky to the United States in 1889 totalled 3,156 cases but with the United States production at tens of millions of gallons per year, it is difficult to believe that this small amount of imported whisky had a large effect on the United States market at this time to force the use of the word Canadian on the labels of imported Canadian whisky.¹³⁵ Mida’s Criterion (volume 7, number 23)

December 16, 1891 stated, "Recently Canadian whisky has made its advent into the American market, and its popularity is spreading at a rate perfectly unprecedented. We allude to the "Canada Club" and "Imperial", made by Hiram Walker & Sons, Walkerville, Ontario..."¹³⁶ At this time, other Canadian distillers used the word Canadian of their labels including Joseph E. Seagram and Gooderham & Worts Ltd. but it is uncertain how long the practice continued.¹³⁷ The exports of cases of "Canadian Club" to the United States increased steadily from 1883 to the sale of 43,265 cases in 1900 (Table XXI). The cases of "Canadian Club" sold in 1895 across the world amounted to 57,995. According to Walker's personal journal from 1895 to 1900 the sales of whisky increased both in the United States and in various foreign markets.¹³⁸ These figures are represented in Table XXII. Foreign sales increased from \$26,852.57 in 1895 to \$81,641.06 in 1900 and United States sales fluctuated but remained steady (the average sales from 1895 to 1900 was \$146,687.85).¹³⁹ By the end of the 1890's Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had many agents to distribute their brands of whisky. Figure 53 shows a compilation of these agents around the world in May 13, 1893 and May 11, 1899. "Canadian Club" whisky was popular and the agents were expected to move the product. Agents were an excellent way to distribute whisky in the United States and advertise the product because there was: control of the product, a decrease in transportation costs, men that would travel to sell the whisky throughout specific territories, the maintainability of trust, access to the country without opening a branch office, reliability, together with the fact that dealers were the only ones in the area permitted to sell Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. brands thereby helping to control fraud and adulteration. A letter that was sent to the agents of the new dealer The Weideman Co. in Cleveland, Ohio on January 2, 1897 regarding the sale of "Canadian Club" helps illustrate the role of the agent and the selling expectations. The letter stated that, "We expect everyone of our 20 traveling men to average at least 3 cases each and every day...our sales should never be less than 300 cases per week for the territory we cover." To maintain this number of agencies was an expense but a necessary outlay to successfully cover and distribute in such a vast area. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. was responsible for the offices and

resulting expenses, the agents expense accounts, advertising, and salaries. From September 1, 1897 to August 31, 1898 the corporation spent a total of more than \$100,000 on their foreign affiliates.¹⁴⁰

“Canadian Club” whisky had been designed for the United States market and a different brand was also created to compete in Europe against the powerful brands of Scotch whisky which owned most of the market share in England, as they had for decades. The brand was “Canadian Type” Whisky and it was a different type of whisky from Canadian whisky that is known for its light flavour. The difference was in the blending because the varied mixture of corn and rye created a flavour more suitable to the palates of European consumers who were accustomed to the taste of Scotch whisky. The creation of this different type of whisky shows that Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. was attempting to remain within this foreign market for an extended period of time with a goal of penetrating the strong market share that Scotch whisky had developed over centuries.

Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. was at a disadvantage in this European market. The corporation stated that “In almost all the foreign markets, excepting the United States, our competition comes principally from British products”.¹⁴¹ British whiskies could be sold at a cheaper price because materials for bottling were cheaper (\$0.73 a case versus \$1.12 ½ a case) and the freight rates were lower because there was less distance for goods to travel.¹⁴² These price differences created a large disadvantage for Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. as the corporation was entering this new market. The “Canadian Type” whisky was one way of competing by appealing to the consumers. “The present cost of bottling makes it almost impossible to export the cheaper grades of whisky, although there are indications that under favorable conditions a considerable business could be built up in many countries.”¹⁴³ Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. wanted to penetrate foreign markets and were determined to achieve this through the establishment of brands and consumer preference.

The whisky produced by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. needed to become known as a Canadian product (a different product available in the market) and this would require time within a strong European market. This distillery developed agencies in many foreign markets where the sales remained minimal for years.¹⁴⁴ Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were willing to remain in these markets, promote their brand, and wait for the growth of their whisky.¹⁴⁵ Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. wanted their brands to penetrate the world and Figure 54 which is an advertisement from What we Eat March 1897 shows the areas where "Canadian Club" was available.

Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were after foreign market share using very aggressive tactics and these tactics were recommended to those seeking to institute their business in foreign trade. The Wine & Spirit Gazette of London, England on June 13, 1896 commended Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. approach to entering the foreign markets. This article asked the question, "Why should a Canadian firm lead all others, not only in America, but in all the world, in the manufacture of whisky?" The success was attributed to the way the corporation entered foreign markets by using highly trained representatives to create high class connections in all the civilized countries thus attracting many consumers who had faith in the company.¹⁴⁶ It was an aggressive home policy that produced the beneficial results and the article stated that, "The success of the Walkers in foreign markets should be a lesson to other Canadian manufacturers who have reached their limit in the domestic field."¹⁴⁷

Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were in competition with numerous companies in the foreign markets but there was still competition between Canadian distilleries despite the business associations between them. Gooderham & Worts Ltd. was also trying to enter into the United States market with various brands. As part of Gooderham & Worts Ltd. advertising, the corporation had sent a circular which provided figures showing that Gooderham & Worts Ltd. was the largest producer in Canada. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. claimed that this circular led to the impression size meant superiority and this was a misrepresentation.¹⁴⁸ Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. combated this circular by publishing their own. In their circular the corporation stated that it

was fine to make the statement that they were “The Largest Distillery in the World” when compared to other Canadian producers but just because they were the largest did not mean they were also the best in terms of customer satisfaction.¹⁴⁹ The corporation provided figures to illustrate the satisfaction of the product to the consumers thereby showing the success of the “Canadian Club” brand in the United States and numerous foreign countries. Since the comparison had been made by Gooderham & Worts Ltd. there was justification in finishing the comparison that they had started. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. claimed that for the 1892 fiscal year, “exports of bottled whisky were nearly 18 times as great as those of the Toronto house, while for the 10 months of the current year (1893) they are nearly 29 times as great.”¹⁵⁰ Gooderham & Worts Ltd. exports had not increased whereas Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had increased over 77 percent which clearly showed the popularity of “Canadian Club”.¹⁵¹ In the Gooderham & Worts Ltd. circular, a claim was made that their brands were “The Best of Canadian Rye Whiskies” and “Undoubtedly the Purest and Best in the Market” but Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. disputed these statements by claiming that they had no need to make “extravagant pretension” or “praise our goods at the expense of other genuine brands.”¹⁵² The corporation recognized that there were other good brands of whisky that were absolutely pure and matured, sharing these characteristics with their own brands. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. was not afraid of competition in the United States because there was room for all and stated that “We hope to cultivate our business by making known the merits of our own goods, not the demerits, if they have any, of our legitimate competitors. This, we venture to think, is the only method which will permanently succeed.”¹⁵³ Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. did not mind the competition from other Canadian distillers but what concerned them was the “...counterfeits and adulterated abominations which prey on the legitimate trade, cheat the consumer, and produce bad effects which would almost entirely disappear with the use of only wholesome liquor.”¹⁵⁴ This became a serious problem in the United States market and helped to spur Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.

advertising campaign. It was this aggressive campaign that helped this Canadian distillery develop a successful trade in the United States.

Frauds and Advertisements

The success of Canadian whisky in the United States created a problem which threatened the profits and market that these distilleries had established, especially for Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. and their brands of whisky. They had diligently created a market for Canadian whisky by creating a reputation with the consumers. Fraudulent whisky makers were out to profit from this success and in the process destroy the trade of Canadian whisky in the United States. To combat these fraudulent makers that were imitating Canadian whisky Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. took a unique and hard approach. The corporation used the media to reach the consumer. It was through numerous advertising techniques that Walker educated the consumer on the fraud that was being perpetuated, the quality of whisky, and how to recognize a true Canadian whisky. Numerous advertisements were placed all over the world. This aggressive advertising campaign was a clever way to combat decreasing sales. The advertising campaign included: advertisements in newspapers and magazines throughout the world; signs; show cards; free cases and samples of whisky; club cards; booths at fairs; running brands in various world exhibitions; free passes; souvenirs including album knives, toothpicks, and other gimmicks; pictures; circulars; pamphlets; and Christmas cards. Fraudulent whisky makers became a huge problem for this Canadian distillery by the late 1880s and 1890s. It took years for the campaign to succeed but in this time consumers came to firmly recognize the Hiram Walker & Sons name and their popular brands. It has been estimated that Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. lost between 20 percent to 30 percent of their business in the United States market due to the fraudulent whisky sales.¹⁵⁵ Despite the loss in business Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. continued to spend money on advertising. Table XXIV helps to illustrate the sums of money spent on advertising in the 1890s: a total of more than \$400,000. The fraudulent whisky makers were using a number of different

schemes such as using the original bottles from the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery, copying labels, copying capsules, using the Canadian name, and using the “Club” name.

The seriousness and the extent of this problem that Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. faced can be seen below in a statement taken from an advertisement in a Chicago newspaper¹⁵⁶ in 1894. “We do not claim to sell Walkers Canadian Club Whisky nor did we ever advertise such but we do sell W.G. Smith & Bros’ Canadian Rye Whisky, which we claim to be the best in the market, and we are selling it at about ½ the price of all other Canadian Rye Whiskies.”¹⁵⁷ This was not a Canadian distiller yet W.G. Smith & Bros’ were using the “Canadian” name and it is likely that this whisky was cheaper because, according to the agents of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., it was an imitation of poor quality. A fraud was being portrayed to consumers in Chicago. At E. Pardridge’s main store he was selling this fraudulent whisky for 69 cents a bottle and because this seems like such a bargain one can see how a consumer would be tempted to purchase the fraudulent whisky. This was why a major part of the advertising campaign was focused on educating the consumer. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were forced to combat this deception with the truth about what makes a quality whisky explaining why the price for fraud whiskies was cheaper. The consumer needed to recognize that not all whiskies were the same. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had to create the push to drive the fraudulent makers out of the market which meant eliminating the demand by reaching the consumer. The Canadian name and Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. brands of whiskies, namely “Canadian Club” (which had been designed for the United States market) were being destroyed. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. wanted the word Canadian to be associated with a superior and good quality whisky.

Through advertisements the consumer was educated about quality and purity. This was very important because as explained previously there were numerous poor quality whiskies available. On a Canadian bottle of whisky the consumer was advised to look for the Revenue Commissioner stamp which stated the age of the whisky as well as the stamp that covered the capsule of the bottle which was placed there in the warehouse, so if the seal was broken the

whisky might have been tampered with.¹⁵⁸ Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. wanted the public to be aware that there were numerous imitations and remember that they had the only right to use “Club” in connection with whisky.¹⁵⁹ There were many different advertisements about the purity and quality. Some of these advertisements would take the form of an original letter which was then published for the benefit of the consumer. Joseph R. Peebles’ Sons Co. in Cincinnati, Ohio an agent to Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. is one such example. In November 11, 1891 the agent wrote a letter to Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. inquiring about the purity of “Canadian Club”. The response was then published by the agents in the local newspapers. In the responding letter Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. replied that, “Canadian Club Whisky is not a compound liquor,¹⁶⁰ but entirely of our own distillation from the grain, to which alone it owes its flavor. We do not use a drop or particle of flavoring matter, nor any artificial process for giving the spirit the semblance of age.”¹⁶¹ Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. invited anyone questioning this statement to analyze the whisky since they were well aware of the “disparagement in the United States from a certain class of dealers, but at the same time it is our most appreciative market...”.¹⁶² Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. maintained that “Canadian Club” could speak for itself. Tests were run on the purity of “Canadian Club” and the findings were also used for advertisements. In an advertisement, December 26, 1891, the findings from Dr. Niel Dahl Pharmacist and Manufacturing Druggist of Denver, Colorado were published informing the public of the purity results. The test found only 0.13 grams of dry residue in 100 c.c. which was about half of what was allowed by the Pharmacopeia and “...it proved to be an absolutely pure whisky.”¹⁶³ The quality and purity of the whisky was very important to Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. because this was on what they prided themselves. These brands were excellent whiskies that were not a combination of various ingredients, nor diluted. “Canadian Club” whisky was awarded a Medal and Diploma at the World’s Colombian Exposition gaining the maximum number of marks for chemical analysis (absolute purity).¹⁶⁴ It was declared by the judges to possess “fine aroma, very pleasant taste, and the principal required of a high-class whisky showing through maturity...”.¹⁶⁵

Advertisements were only one part of the campaign to destroy fraudulent whisky makers in the United States. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. also confronted these fraudulent whisky makers and the dealers who were selling the products. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had all their agents look for fraudulent brands of whisky and the dealers who were selling them. Any information found was reported to the corporation and the agents sent back all advertising that was done by the corporation as well as the purchased bottles of fraudulent whisky.

Using the information that was gathered by the agents of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., letters were sent to dealers who were selling fraudulent whisky in the United States. The agents acted like detectives who patrolled retail outlets in search of counterfeit bottles. A general letter was composed where the specific name and address of the seller, and the name of the fraudulent whisky were added. Figure 55 is an example of a general letter sent to Mr. Pete Kerola of Ishpeming, Michigan on November 26, 1898.¹⁶⁶

Fraud pamphlets were made to distribute to the public informing individuals in a particular area in the United States about questionable dealers, how to recognize a Canadian whisky, the distilleries that were operating in Canada, what fraud products looked like, and explained why the fraud that was being perpetuated was wrong. In 1898 there was a "Fraudulent Whiskies" pamphlet that was distributed. It explained that the deception was trying to be controlled by targeting the retailers and the public. The consumer needed to become aware of this swindling, refuse to buy the products, and the retailers needed to stop stocking fraudulent whiskies; it was only then that this illegal business could be stopped. "Hereafter We shall Strike, and Strike Hard" stated Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.¹⁶⁷ This pamphlet listed 42 examples of fraudulent bottled brands that had been found but also provided examples of genuine "Canadian Club" packages. A listing of fraudulent whiskies that were found was also distributed including the names of seven distilleries operating in Canada (Figure 56). It was hoped that the consumer would come to recognize the true Canadian brands. There were also posters placed around cities in the United States that would inform the public about a fraudulent whisky that was found sold

in the area, the name of the whisky, the name of the fraudulent distiller, and who had been selling the fraudulent whisky. Figure 57 shows a poster from Chicago, Illinois informing the public of fraud whisky and Figure 58 also shows an example of a poster displayed in Elgin, Illinois.

Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were prepared to take action. The corporation used advertising to reach the public, sent letters to retailers, used agents as detectives, constructed and distributed numerous pamphlets, and placed posters on walls throughout the United States but there were other measures that were used to try and reduce the possibility of fraud. In the United States there was a problem with imitation labels that lithographers printed and sold to anyone. These labels could be placed on the bottle of any type of whisky. "There is a great deal of stuff sold in the country under the name of Canadian whisky made at Walkerville that has never seen Walkerville at all."¹⁶⁸ This may have been a compliment because only good whisky was copied. Franklin Walker testified to the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic that there were men in Chicago and Cincinnati who had made a business of selling imitation liquors. A law suit was brought against a man in 1893 who had a bottle and label that was almost identical to Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. "Canadian Club" but the product was hardly the same.¹⁶⁹ "This man was putting it out as our whisky and we had to get an injunction to stop him. He had it scattered all over the Western States."¹⁷⁰ In 1897, to try and protect against the fraudulent refilling of bottles, Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. adopted a special lead capsule that was made in France.¹⁷¹ This capsule was of high quality with bright blue detailing on a gold background.¹⁷² This capsule went around the top of the bottle over the top of the cork. It would be applied to all whisky bottled in Walkerville. It was hoped that this would make a difference because the foreign bottled whisky had a less sophisticated white capsule.¹⁷³ Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were granted the Warrant of Queen Victoria on September 17, 1898. This Royal Warrant gave the holder the privilege of using a representative of the Royal Arms in connection with his or her trade or business. To receive the warrant a firm had to apply to the Royal Household Departments for a minimum of three years. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were the only North American distillery to be granted the

Royal Warrant.¹⁷⁴ This warrant was not only beneficial in promoting the whisky but also helped to make the labels more difficult to copy.

The fraudulent whisky makers were a nuisance and were costing the corporation money. Despite this trouble in the United States market Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were committed to developing their brands. In a response letter to Walter R. Wonham & Son agents for Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. in Montreal, dated January 5, 1897, the corporation responded to questions about prices in bond for exports to the United States. This letter was published as an advertisement and it is important because the position of Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. with regards to the market in the United States and the market in Canada is stated clearly. The main points of the letter have been taken from the advertisement and it reads as follows:

Dear Sirs,

We have, after many years of persistent effort and by the expenditure of enormous sums of money, created a considerable trade in the United States, which might be seriously jeopardized by interference from Canada.

We find it necessary to follow our neighbour market...[due to] certain peculiarities which are unknown in this country and on account of the serious and extensive counterfeiting of our capsules and labels and the Excise Certificate Stamp, which necessitate our being continually on the alert in the Republic and constantly spending large sums of money to prevent the total destruction of our reputation.

We consider it absolutely necessary that the trade in our goods in the United States should be entirely controlled by ourselves..."

Our Canadian friends cannot reasonably take any exception to this requirement. We are not depriving them of the business which they have done anything to establish, and we cannot afford to have our important interests in the United States imperiled in order that our Canadian customers under such circumstances may make a little money.

Should it become necessary we will decline to sell our old whiskies in Canada in bond to anyone. We trust however, that such a course will not be forced upon us...

Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.

It is clear in this letter that the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had a lot invested into establishing the brand "Canadian Club" and considered the United States to be the main market. It was the effort that this corporation spent that allowed them to continue into the next century. The other "Big Five" distilleries and the Royal Distillery did not spend as much time, money, or effort to combat the adulteration that was occurring in the United States against Canadian whiskies. It was in Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. advertising that we see the other Canadian

distilleries included. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were exporting large quantities of whisky at this time and it seems clear that to compete successfully and gain market share the corporation had no choice but to deal with the fraud or be destroyed. To combat the types of deceptions and fraud that was being committed by many whisky makers and dealers across the United States it is clear why an aggressive and bold crusade was taken. Other measures had failed and it was difficult to control and patrol the entire country. The best way was to destroy the demand which meant reaching and educating the consumer to understand and choose the better quality whisky. If there was no demand then the trade of fraudulent whiskies would be nullified. This did cost a lot of money and took years. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were forced to deal with this complication and so the fight against fraudulent whiskies became a part of the campaign to establish Canadian whiskies, more importantly the brand "Canadian Club". Hiram Walker & Sons was developing a good reputation and establishing trust with the consumer. The ingenuity, strength, patience all show that Walker was a successful entrepreneur with a keen business sense. At one time Gooderham & Worts Ltd. had been renowned around the world for its production of spirits and whisky, but in the last two decades of the nineteenth century Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had become known as Canada's leading whisky producer with excellent brands of Canadian whisky.

G. Summary

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the distilling industry was dominated by the large, modern, industrial operations of the "Big Five" distilleries and, additionally, the Royal Distillery in Hamilton. Large amounts of fixed capital had been invested into the buildings, machinery and the land of these complex operations. Ontario's distilleries were a monumental feature on the landscape that represented the impacts of major technological advances. The "Big Five" distilleries had formed a business alliance in the attempt to protect and dictate the oligopolistic structured market. In doing so, the spatial pattern of the industry changed very little and the concentration continued. The men and their operations were important assets to their communities. From the perspective of the distillers, the federal government had become an

unwanted partner in the industry to whom they were forced to pay large amounts of their revenue merely for the privilege of running the operation. Legislation like the Aging Law, Bottling in Bond Law, and the Scott Act did assist them, however, by making it difficult for small distilling operations to enter the market, thereby reinforcing the oligopolistic structured market. In this period, the smaller producing distilleries were a remnant of the past and it was almost impossible to begin a distilling venture due to the large investments of fixed capital. Federal government influence was the most influential location factor in this period, continuing the spatial pattern of an industry concentrated into a few large distilling enterprises. Canadian whisky was becoming known around the world as a unique quality whisky that offered consumers a different flavour. In this period a change had occurred whereby Gooderham Worts Ltd. no longer dominated the export trade. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had risen to the top and was recognized around the world, especially in the United States, for their brand of "Canadian Club". Unlike their Canadian competitors, this distillery focused more attention on its foreign markets by thinking of their future in the industry and destroying the geographical barrier of distance. However, with the success of this brand also came fraudulent whisky makers and adulteration. This problem in the United States market threatened Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. profits and market share. It was through an intensive crusade, consisting of a forceful advertising campaign, that this distillery was able to retain its position in this distillery's most profitable market. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were determined to become known around the world for its premium brand of Canadian whisky. The entrepreneurial characteristic represented by Hiram Walker illustrates that this Canadian distillery wanted to capitalize on the opportunity of an international market. The provincial and national market contained too many competitors and to move into the United States with a brand designed for this market shows the determination of this distillery to continue its advancement of profits, even in the face of difficulties.

NOTES

- ¹ Canada. "Appendix A - Spirits." Sessional Papers. Vol. 26. (1892).
- ² Canada Census 1891.
- ³ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Private Journal, September 1, 1890 - August 31, 1909.
- ⁴ Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Minutes of Evidence Ontario, Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 966.
- ⁵ Archives of Ontario, MS-489 Reel 16, Dun & Bradstreet Reference Books for Canadian Business, 1864-1983. (microfilm). March 1891.
- ⁶ Canada Census 1891.
- ⁷ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series XVI, Ledger Book No. 2 September 1 1891 - August 31, 1892.
- ⁸ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Private Journal, August 31, 1888 - August 31, 1890 and Private Journal, September 1, 1890 - August 31, 1909.
- ⁹ Red Brick and Pure Spirits Toronto's Gooderham and Worts Distillery 1832-1990, Video-tape, Prod. Polymath and Thaumaturge Inc. and YYZ Pictures Inc. (Toronto, Ontario: Lynx Image Releasing, 1991).
- ¹⁰ During World War I Gooderham & Worts Ltd. changed its name to the British Acetones Toronto Ltd. Gooderham & Worts Ltd. placed its plant operations at the disposal of the British government free of charge until the war was over. At this time no whisky was made but instead acetone and cordite ketone (important components in making explosives) were produced for use in the war effort. The majority of the acetone used during World War I was produced in Canada and of this Canadian production of acetone most was produced by the British Acetone Toronto Ltd. Since the production process is very similar to making whisky and spirits much of the machinery was the same which was why Gooderham & Worts Ltd. could be used effectively. Consequently the interior views which were photographed during the war are related to the machinery that would have been used during the 1880s and 1890s.
- ¹¹ Canada, "Appendix A - Spirits," Sessional Papers. Vol. 24-31. (1890-1897).
- ¹² Canada Census 1861 "No. 2 - Upper Canada Personal Census by Origin",
Canada Census 1871 "Table I - Areas, Dwellings, Families, Population...",
Canada Census 1881 "Table I - Areas, Dwellings, Families, Population...",
Canada Census 1891 "Table II - Population, Families and Dwellings".
- ¹³ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Scrapbook, "About a large a monopoly..." Free Press. [Detroit] 1888.
- ¹⁴ Wendy Carol Fraser, Hiram Walker Remembered. (Windsor, Ontario: Forest Press, 1992) 27.
- ¹⁵ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Private Journal, August 31, 1888 - August 31, 1890.

- ¹⁶ William Teatero, Historical Research - Wiser's Distillery Limited, (Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University, 1977) 9.
- ¹⁷ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Free Press. [Detroit] February 1889.
- ¹⁸ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Mill Diary 1892.
- ¹⁹ There are no records at the National Archive of Canada, the Ontario Archives or the Hiram Walker Archives.
- ²⁰ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Private Journal, August 31, 1888 - August 31, 1890 and Private Journal, September 1, 1890 - August 31, 1909.
- ²¹ According to Art Jahns, of the Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Harry Corby was using the Club name for one of his brands and Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. felt that this smaller Canadian distillery was trying to capitalize from the name. This was the same problem he had been battling in the United States for years.
- ²² Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Echo. [Amherstburg] 31 July 1896, p 6.
- ²³ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Echo. [Amherstburg] 7 August 1896, p 5.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ "Seagram Victory!" County Chronicle. [Waterloo] 25 June 1896: 4.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Seagram had originally planned to build his home on the property.
- ²⁹ Gooderham & Worts Ltd. had a similar pipeline to transport distillery waste to cattle barns on the Don River.
- ³⁰ Ellis A. Little, "The Seagram Pipeline," Waterloo Historical Society 85 (1997): 94.
- ³¹ Ellis 4. Much of this pipeline is still buried underneath Erb Street.
- ³² Ellis 4.
- ³³ Ellis 4.
- ³⁴ "Harry Corby, M.P." Sun [Belleville] 31 May 1895: 23.
- ³⁵ Teatero 16.
- ³⁶ Teatero 16.
- ³⁷ Teatero 22.

³⁸ Teatero 22.

³⁹ Teatero 22.

⁴⁰ Teatero 19.

⁴¹ Teatero 19.

⁴² Walkerville Council Minutes, January 13, 1899. Taken from Ronald G. Hoskins "A Historical Survey of the Town of Walkerville Ontario, 1858-1922, Including an Evaluation of the Influence of Hiram Walker & Sons on the Growth and Development of the town until 1922." M.A. Thesis University of Windsor, 1964, 132-133.

⁴³ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Fire Insurance Plan of Walkerville Ontario, 1890. Revision 1893. Chas E Goad. 4 sheets.

⁴⁴ Francis X. Chauvin, "Hiram Walker and The Development of the Walker Institutions in Walkerville, Ontario," 1926, Chapter 22, page 2.

⁴⁵ Chauvin Chapter 22, page 5.

⁴⁶ Neil Morrison, Garden Gateway to Canada: One Hundred Years of Windsor & Essex, 1854-1954, (Toronto, Ontario: Ryerson Press, 1954).

⁴⁷ Chauvin Chapter 25 page 2 and 3.

⁴⁸ Chauvin Chapter 26, page 5.

⁴⁹ Chauvin Chapter 24, page 3.

⁵⁰ Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Minutes of Evidence Ontario, Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 311.

⁵¹ Archives of Ontario, M.S. Petition of E.C. Walker et al. Praying for the Incorporation of Walkerville as a Town January 29, 1890. 3-4. Taken from Ronald G. Hoskins "A Historical Survey of the Town of Walkerville Ontario, 1858-1922, Including an Evaluation of the Influence of Hiram Walker & Sons on the Growth and Development of the town until 1922." M.A. Thesis University of Windsor, 1964.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Chauvin Chapter 26, page 6.

⁵⁴ Chauvin Chapter 26, page 6.

⁵⁵ Chauvin Chapter 14 page 9-10.

⁵⁶ Chauvin Chapter 28, page 5.

⁵⁷ Chauvin Chapter 28, page 5.

⁵⁸ Chauvin Chapter 27, page 5.

⁵⁹ Chauvin Chapter 27, page 7.

⁶⁰ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series XVI, Ledger Book No. 2 September 1 1891 - August 31, 1892 and Ledger Book No. 4 September 1, 1893 - August 31, 1894.

Hiram Walker Archives, Private Journal, August 31, 1888 - August 31, 1890 and Private Journal, September 1, 1890 - August 31, 1909.

⁶¹ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Private Journal. August 31. 1888 - August 31, 1890 and Private Journal, September 1, 1890 - August 31, 1909.

⁶² Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Minutes of Evidence Ontario, Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 958.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ James Ross, Whiskey. (London, England: Routledge, and Kegan Paul, 1970) 5.

⁶⁵ Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Minutes of Evidence Ontario, Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 960.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 316.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 319.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Canada, "Appendix A - Spirits," Sessional Papers. Vol. 22-26. (1888-1892).

⁷² Fraser 28.

⁷³ Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Minutes of Evidence Ontario, Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 958.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 11.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 958.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 9.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 958.

⁷⁸ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Private Journal, August 31, 1888 - August 31, 1890 and Private Journal, September 1, 1890 - August 31, 1909.

⁷⁹ Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Minutes of Evidence Ontario, Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 958.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid. 964.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 9.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 10.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 10.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 11

⁸⁹ Ibid. 310.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid. 959.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 315.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 314.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 315.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 316.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 316.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 959.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook.

¹¹¹ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook.

¹¹² Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Memorandum of Agreement for Advertising in The Toronto Globe. March 13, 1885.

¹¹³ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Philadelphia Evening Telegraph [Philadelphia] 15 December 1896.

¹¹⁴ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series XIII Various Scrapbooks made by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. 189? - 19??. Pacific Wine & Spirit Review. 26 April 1893.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook, "Export Sales Data for Bottled Canadian Club".

¹¹⁷ Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Minutes of Evidence Ontario, Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 9.

¹¹⁸ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook, "1902".

¹¹⁹ Doris Lewis Rare Book Room, University of Waterloo, GA 104 Sousfonds 1: J.E. Seagram and Sons Ltd. Series 3: Photographs. No. 240. Integrity, Craftsmanship, Tradition: The Seagram Plant in Waterloo. The City of Waterloo - Seagram Collection, Exhibition October 25, 1996 - November 2, 1997.

¹²⁰ F.C. Spence, The Facts of the Case: A Summary of the Most Important Evidence and Argument Presented in the Report of the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic. (Toronto, Ontario: Newton & Treloar, 1896) 18.

¹²¹ Canada, "Appendix A - Spirits," Sessional Papers. Vol. 20. (1886).

¹²² Spence 18. This figure does not include native wines or ciders.

¹²³ Spence 19.

¹²⁴ Spence 20.

¹²⁵ Spence 21.

¹²⁶ This decline occurs around the time that the two major proprietors of Gooderham & Worts passed away and George Gooderham took over with the incorporation of the distillery in 1882. It is not certain if this was a business decision or part of this occurrence.

¹²⁷ Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Minutes of Evidence Ontario, Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 9.

¹²⁸ Doris Lewis Rare Book Room, University of Waterloo. GA 104 Sousfonds 1: J.E. Seagram and Sons Ltd. Series 3: Photographs. No. 240. Integrity, Craftsmanship, Tradition: The Seagram Plant in Waterloo. The City of Waterloo - Seagram Collection, Exhibition October 25, 1996 - November 2, 1997.

¹²⁹ Doris Lewis Rare Book Room, University of Waterloo, GA 104 Sousfonds 1: J.E. Seagram and Sons Ltd. Series 2.3: Operations: Waterloo Plant. No. 39. Exports 1887-1907. Certified photocopy of pages from Invoice Book V1 U.S. Consular Agency at Galt, Ontario, Canada for 1887 with an entry relating to J.E. Seagram.

¹³⁰ Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Minutes of Evidence Ontario, Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 319.

¹³¹ Ibid 310.

¹³² It was at this time that Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. became the target for American imitations.

¹³³ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series XIII Various Scrapbooks made by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. 189? - 19??. Daily National Hotel Reporter. [Chicago] 30 June 1896.

¹³⁴ There has been a myth that American distillers forced Hiram Walker & Sons to add the word "Canadian" to their "Club" Whisky. This myth has been perpetuated through the use of secondary sources in research. No data was found during the research process to suggest that American distillers forced the word "Canadian" onto whisky labels from Canadian distillers. Instead research suggests that it was Hiram Walker who chose to add the word Canadian to his whisky for marketability, to increase the popularity of the whisky, and to distinguish the product from American brands of whisky.

¹³⁵ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. "Export Sales Data for Bottled Canadian Club". It was not until the 1890s that the popularity and increase in exports had an effect on American distillers. The result was through fraudulent whisky makers who adopted the word Canadian to make their own products more appealing to the consumer.

¹³⁶ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. Mida's Criterion vol. 7 no 23 December 16, 1891.

¹³⁷ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Corning & Company vs. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. 1919, 789.

¹³⁸ The fiscal year is September 1st to August 31st.

¹³⁹ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Private Journal, August 31, 1888 - August 31, 1890 and Private Journal, September 1, 1890 - August 31, 1909.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook, "memoranda in support of a refund of custom duties in connection with the bottled whiskies exported", 1893.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook, "Analysis of Sales in Central and South America."

¹⁴⁵ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook, "Analysis of Sales in Central and South America".

¹⁴⁶ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series XIII Various Scrapbooks made by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. 189? - 19??. Wine & Spirit Gazette. [London, England] 13 June 1896.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. Circular May 13, 1893.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook.

¹⁵⁶ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series VI, Newspapers 1894-1986. Chicago Newspaper Advertisement 1894.

¹⁵⁷ Numerous scrapbooks were made by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. from the late 1880's and into the next century. These scrapbooks contain articles from advertisements placed by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. throughout the world illustrating the amount of advertising done by this corporation. One problem with the scrapbooks is that they are now decomposing. The other problem is that the articles are poorly referenced.

¹⁵⁸ Grommes & Ullrich agents in Chicago for Hiram Walker & Sons December 5, 1891 Grommes & Ullrich agents in Chicago for Hiram Walker & Sons. 5 December 1891. Series I Box 10, Fraud Letters 1891-1899.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Many whiskies in the United States were mixed from several different batches of spirits and whisky. Those individuals mixing the whisky may not have distilled the whisky originally or even own a distillery. Lanman & Kemp is a example of a company making compound liquor. Gooderham & Worts sold this American company raw spirits which they mixed and then sold the product under their own brand name. No consumer would ever know that part of the liquor was made by Gooderham & Worts.

¹⁶¹ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series VI, Newspapers 1894-1986. Joseph R. Peebles' Sons Co. in Cincinnati, Ohio an agent to Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. is one such example. November 11, 1891.

¹⁶² Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series VI, Newspapers 1894-1986. Joseph R. Peebles' Sons Co. in Cincinnati, Ohio an agent to Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. is one such example. November 11, 1891.

¹⁶³ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series VI, Newspapers 1894-1986. December 26, 1891, the findings from Mr. Niel Dahl PhG Pharmacist and Manufacturing Druggist of Denver, Colorado.

¹⁶⁴ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series XIII Various Scrapbooks made by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. 189? - 19??. The Hawaiian Star. [Hawaii] 1 January 1894.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series I Box 10 Fraud Letters 1891-1899. Letter sent Mr. Pete Kerola of Ishpeming, Michigan, November 26, 1898.

¹⁶⁷ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Pamphlet, "Fraudulent Whiskies", September 26, 1898.

¹⁶⁸ Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Minutes of Evidence Ontario, Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895) 318.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. "1902".

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. "The Royal Warrant".

Total Spirit Production, 1891 Distilleries in Ontario

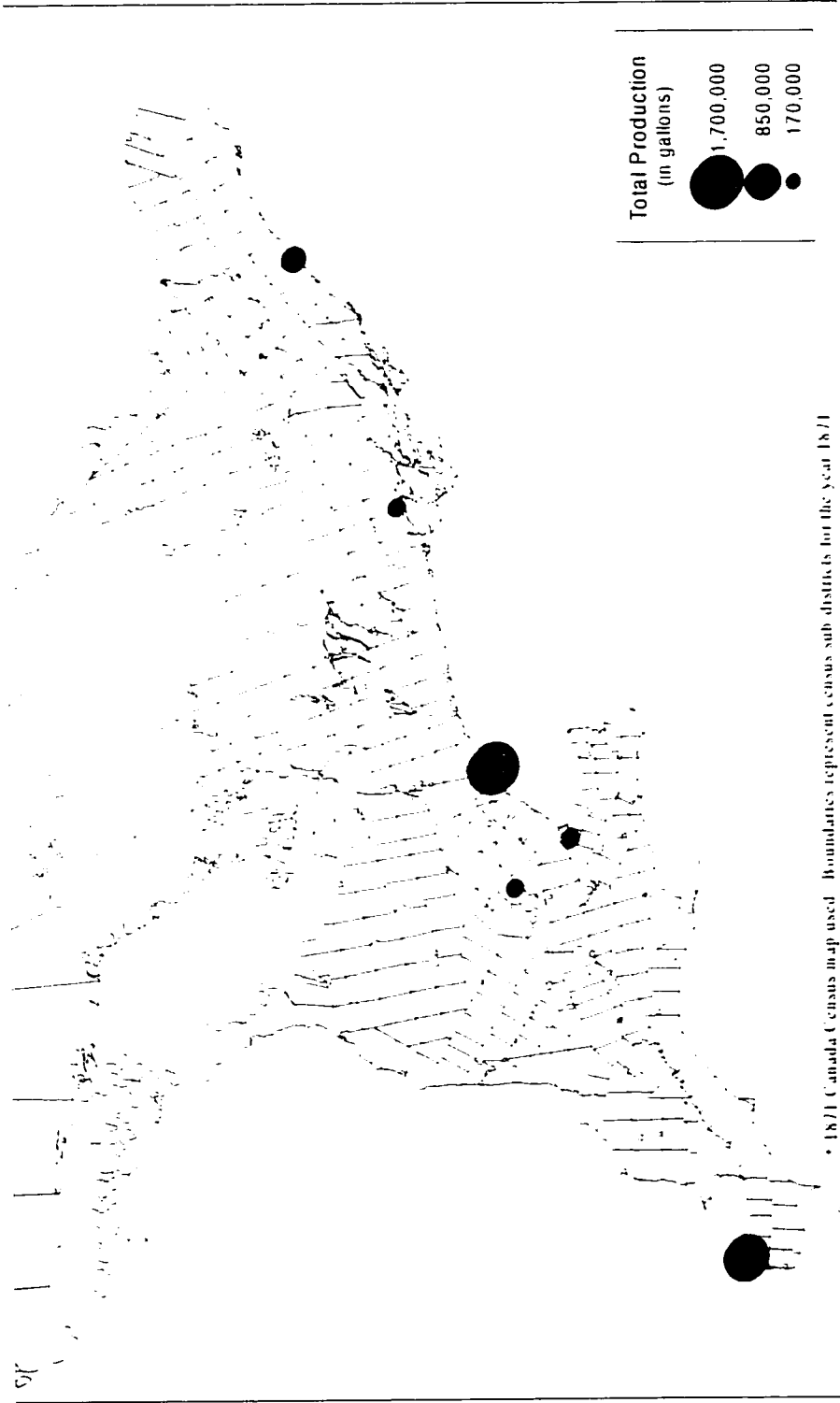


Figure 37

• 1871 Canada Census map used. Boundaries represent census sub-districts for the year 1871

Note: Data reported in the Session Papers are by revenue divisions not census sub-districts. Data is centered on the city given within each revenue division that falls with the census sub-district. Boundaries of revenue divisions unknown.

Source: Appendix A - Spirits Sessional Papers Vol 25 1892

Figure 38.

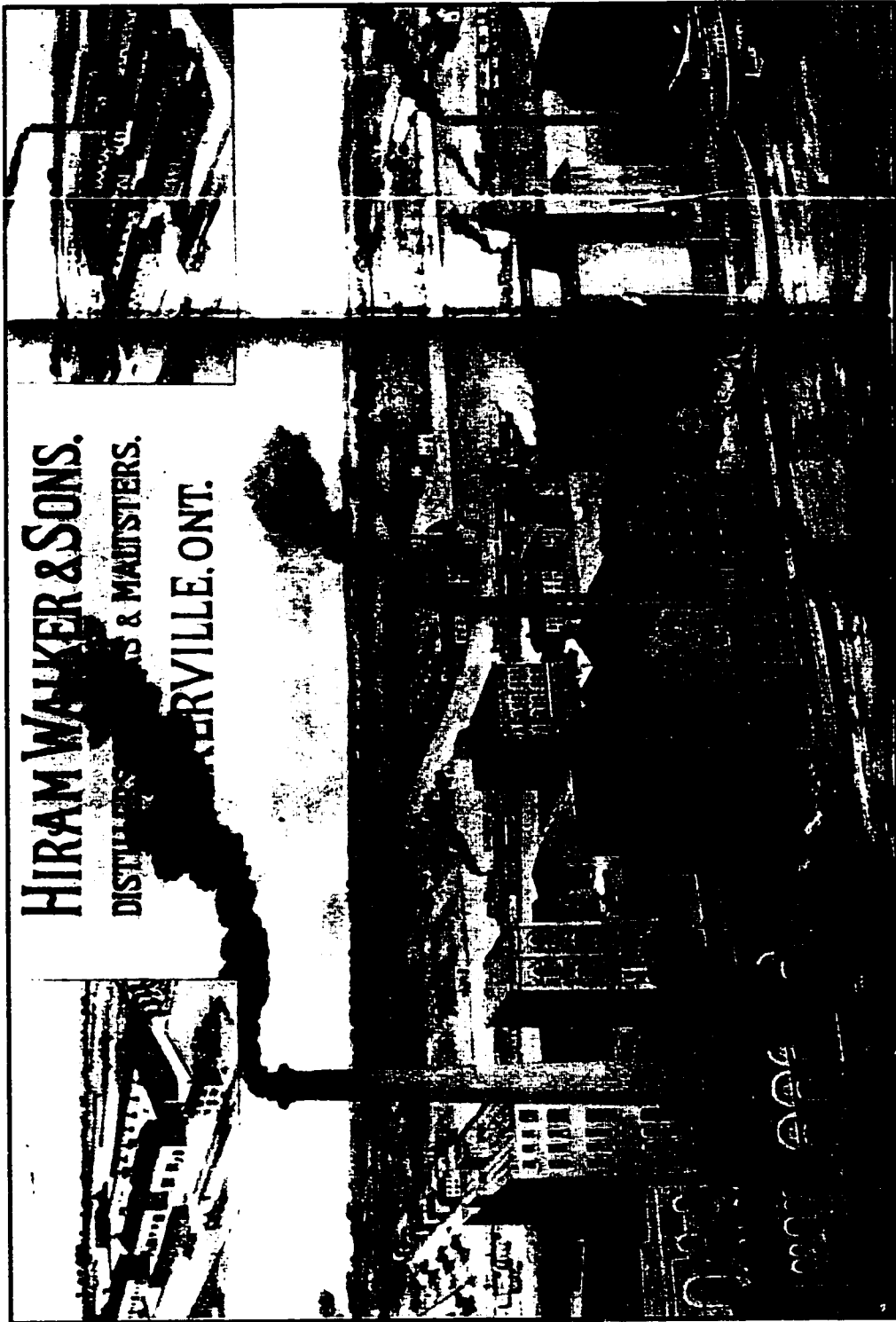
H. Corby Distillery, late 1890's



Source: Hastings County Historical Society Collection. Belleville. File # 919 Corby Henry Sr. Letterhead, 1898.

Figure 39.

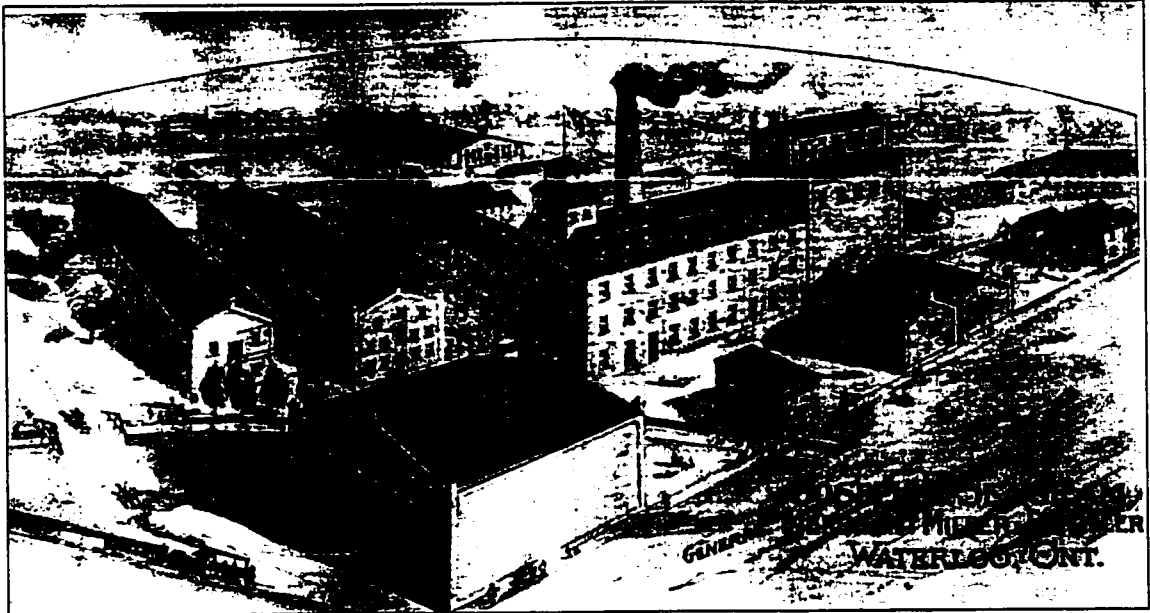
Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., 1884



Taken from: Lorraine Brown, 200 Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whiskey, (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1994) 32-33. Original Watercolour at Hiram Walker Archives 1884.

Figure 40.

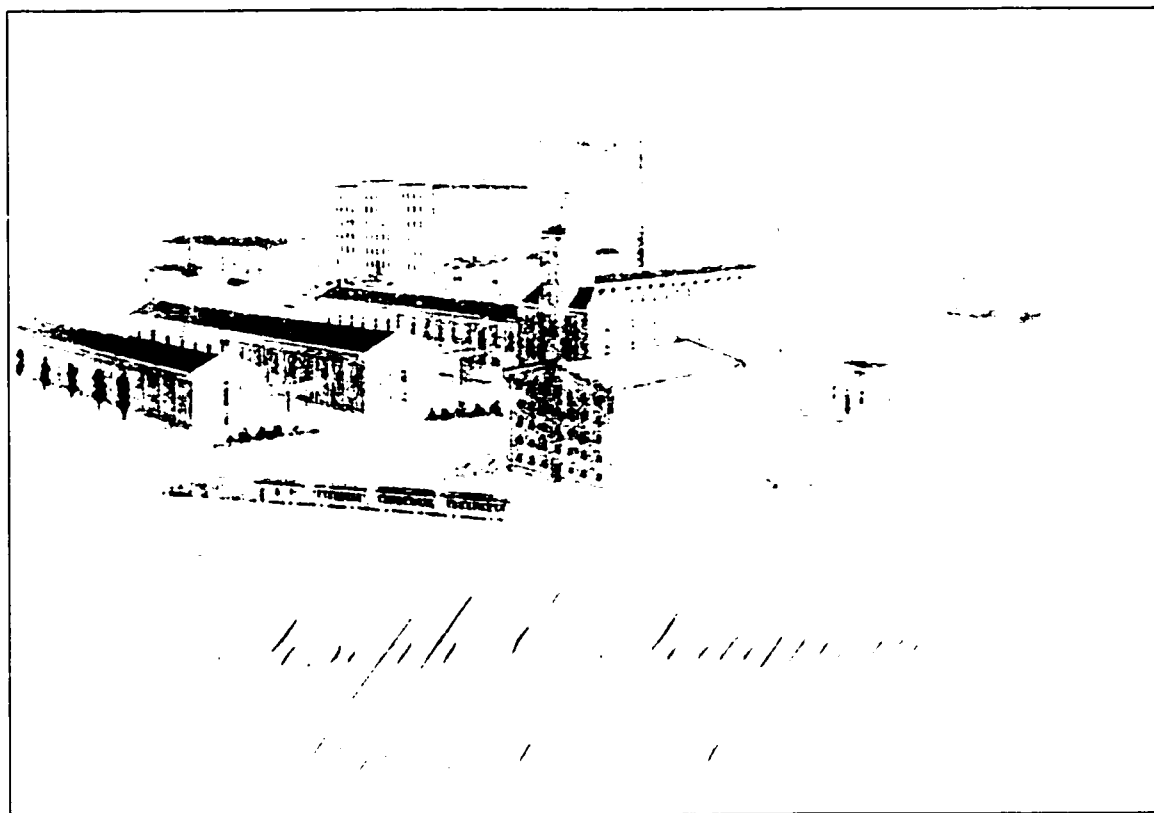
Joseph E. Seagram Distillery, 1890



Source: Doris Lewis Rare Book Room. University of Waterloo. GA 104 Sousfonds 1: J.E. Seagram and Sons Ltd. Series 3: Photographs. No. 217. Joseph E. Seagram. Aerial 1890-1900.

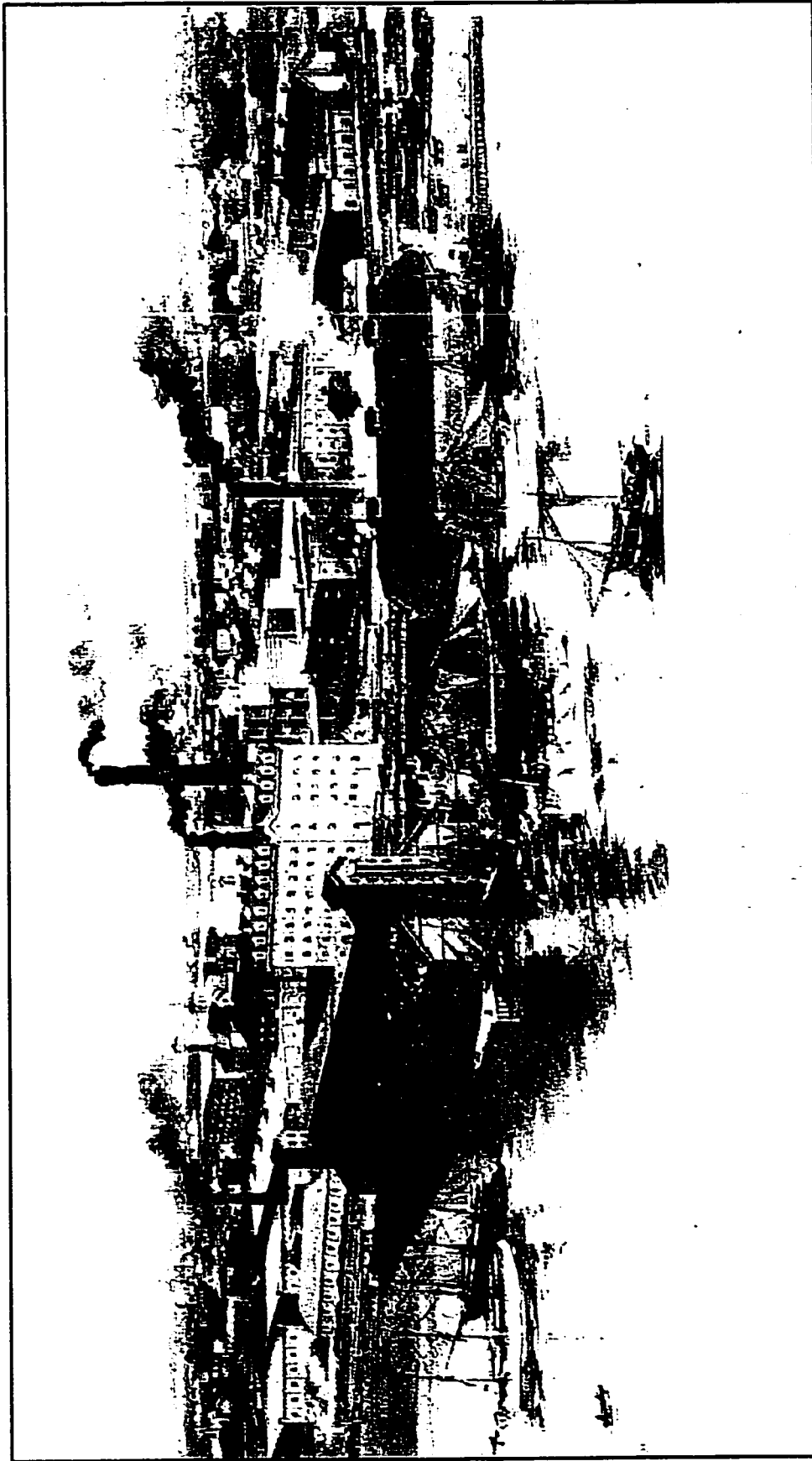
Figure 41.

Joseph E. Seagram Distillery, 1903



Source: Doris Lewis Rare Book Room. University of Waterloo. GA 104 Sousfonds 1: J.E. Seagram and Sons Ltd. Series 3: Photographs. No. 217. Joseph E. Seagram Distillery 1903.

Figure 42. Gooderham & Worts Ltd., 1896



Source: Arthur Henry Hider, Gooderham & Worts Ltd., Toronto, 1896. Toronto Reference Library. Photograph Collection. Acc. no. 981-25 Cab III.
Repro: T30536.

Figure 43. Gooderham & Worts Ltd. Fire Insurance Plan, 1889

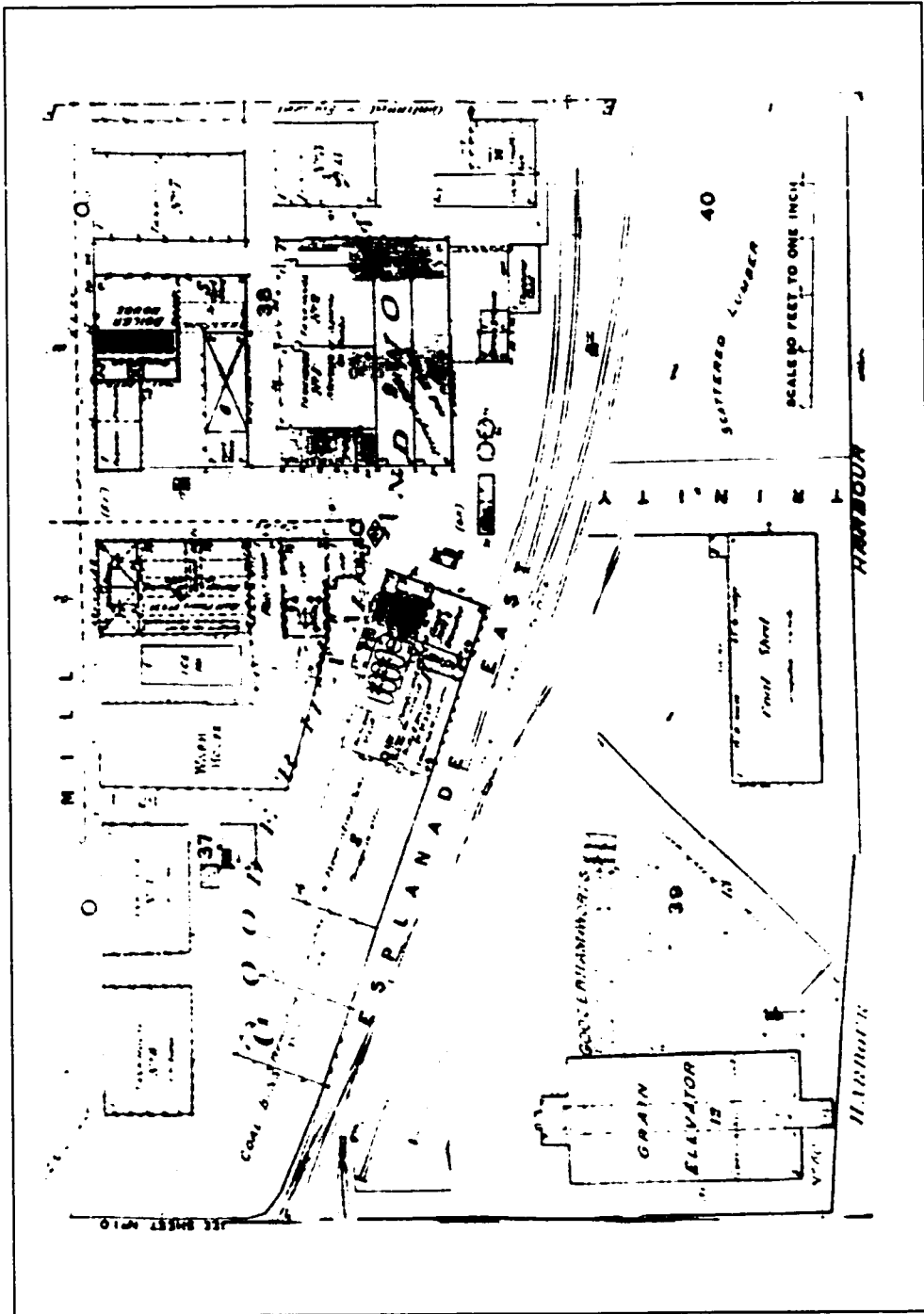
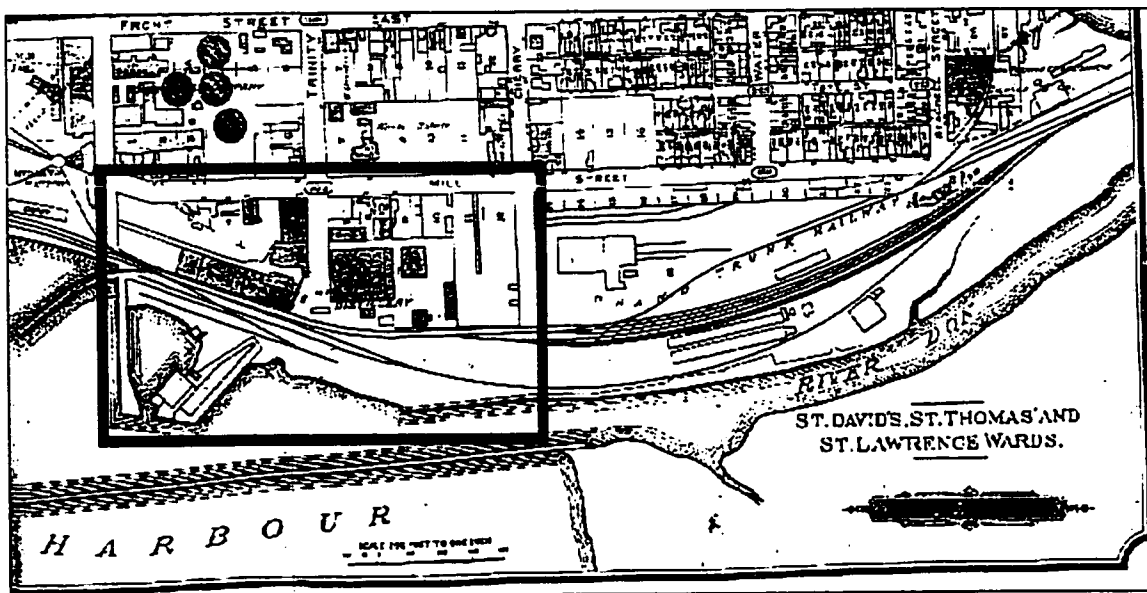


Figure 44.

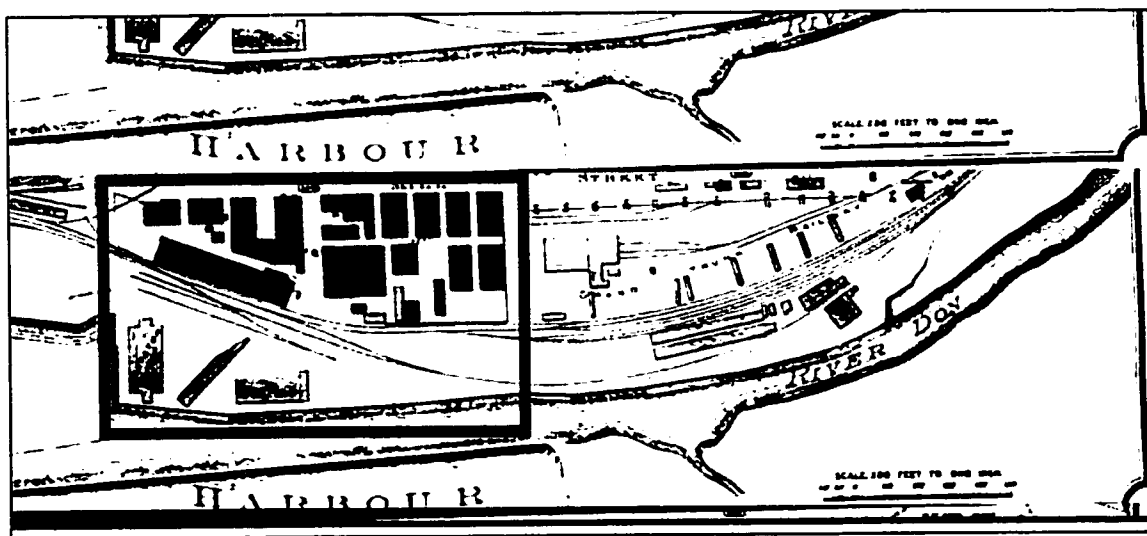
Aerial View of Gooderham & Worts Ltd., 1884



Taken from: Charles Edward Goad, The Mapping of Victorian Toronto: The 1884 and 1890 Atlases of Toronto in Comparative Rendition, (Sutton West, Ontario: Paget Press, 1984) plate 29 (page 78).

Figure 45.

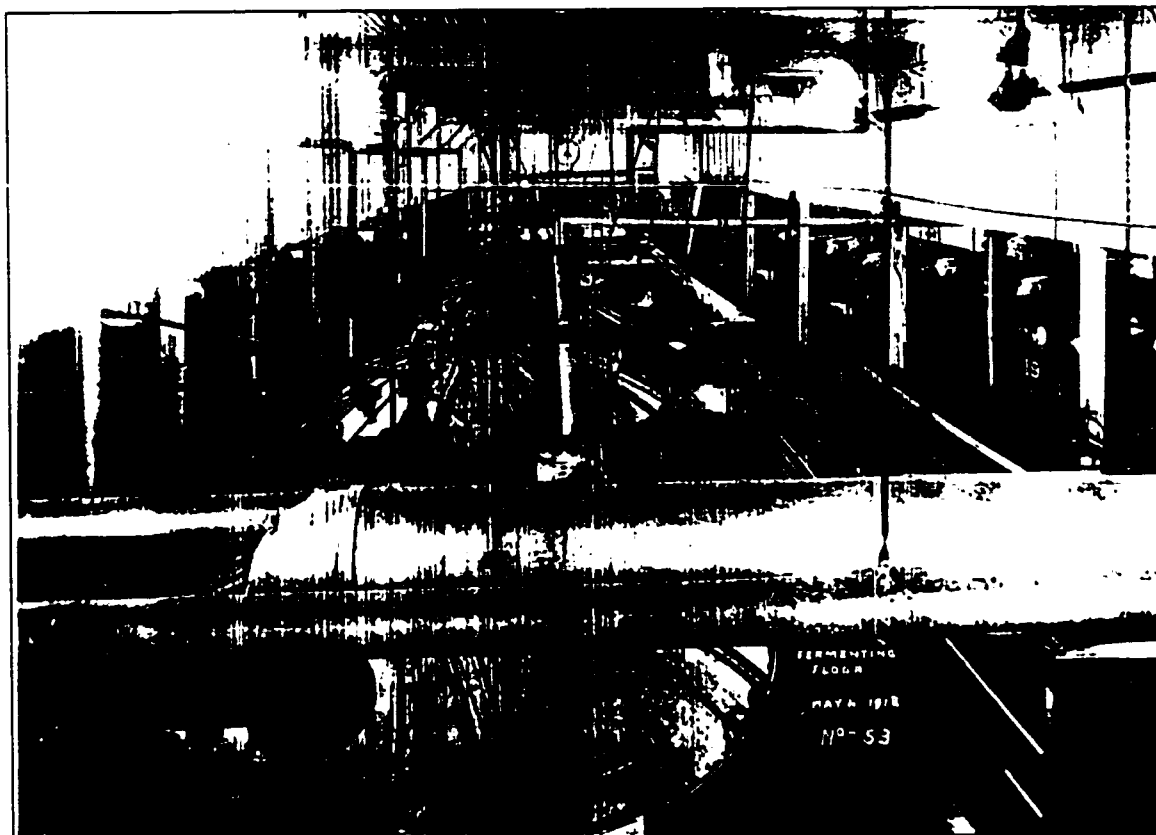
Aerial View of Gooderham & Worts Ltd., 1890



Taken from: Charles Edward Goad, The Mapping of Victorian Toronto: The 1884 and 1890 Atlases of Toronto in Comparative Rendition, (Sutton West, Ontario: Paget Press, 1984) plate 29 (page 79).

Figure 46.

Fermenting Floor, Gooderham & Worts Ltd. (British Acetones), 1918



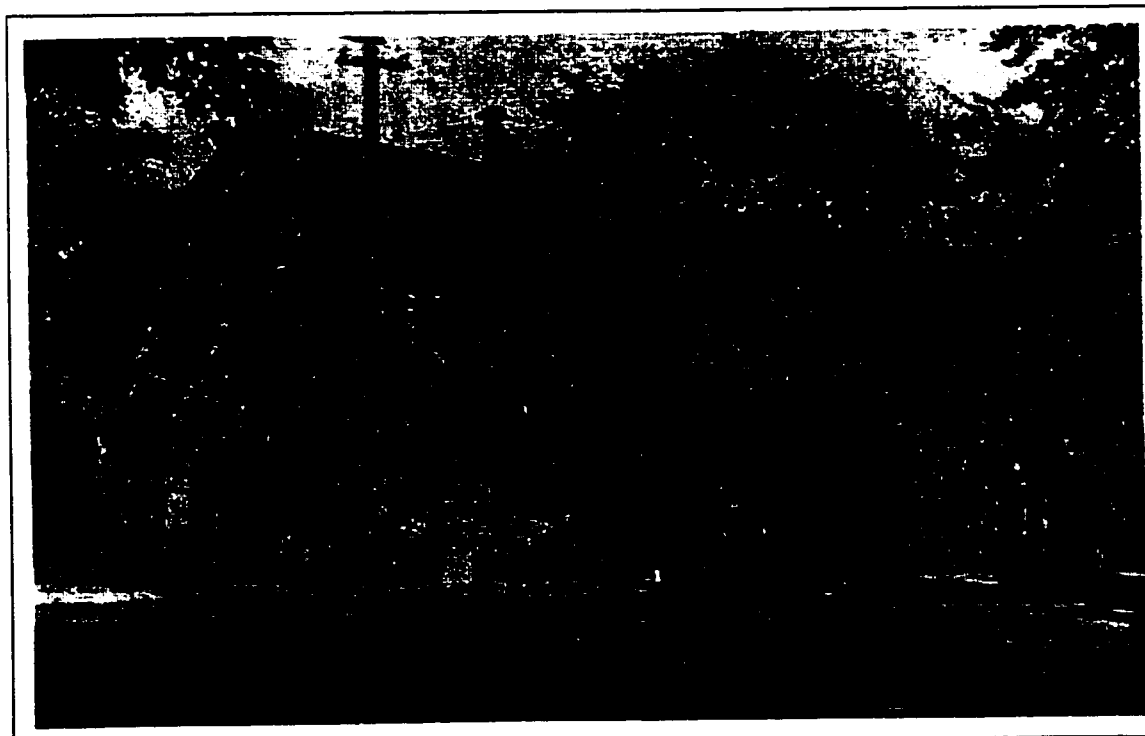
Source: City of Toronto Archives, SC-583. Photographs of the Distillery of Gooderham & Worts Limited, Toronto, Canada, operated by the British Acetones Toronto Limited (Imperial Munitions Board), 1916-1918. Photographer unknown.

Figure 47. The Royal Distillery, Hamilton (1913)



Taken from: Hamilton, Canada: Its History, Commerce, Industry, Resources. (Hamilton, Ontario: Spectator Printing, 1913).

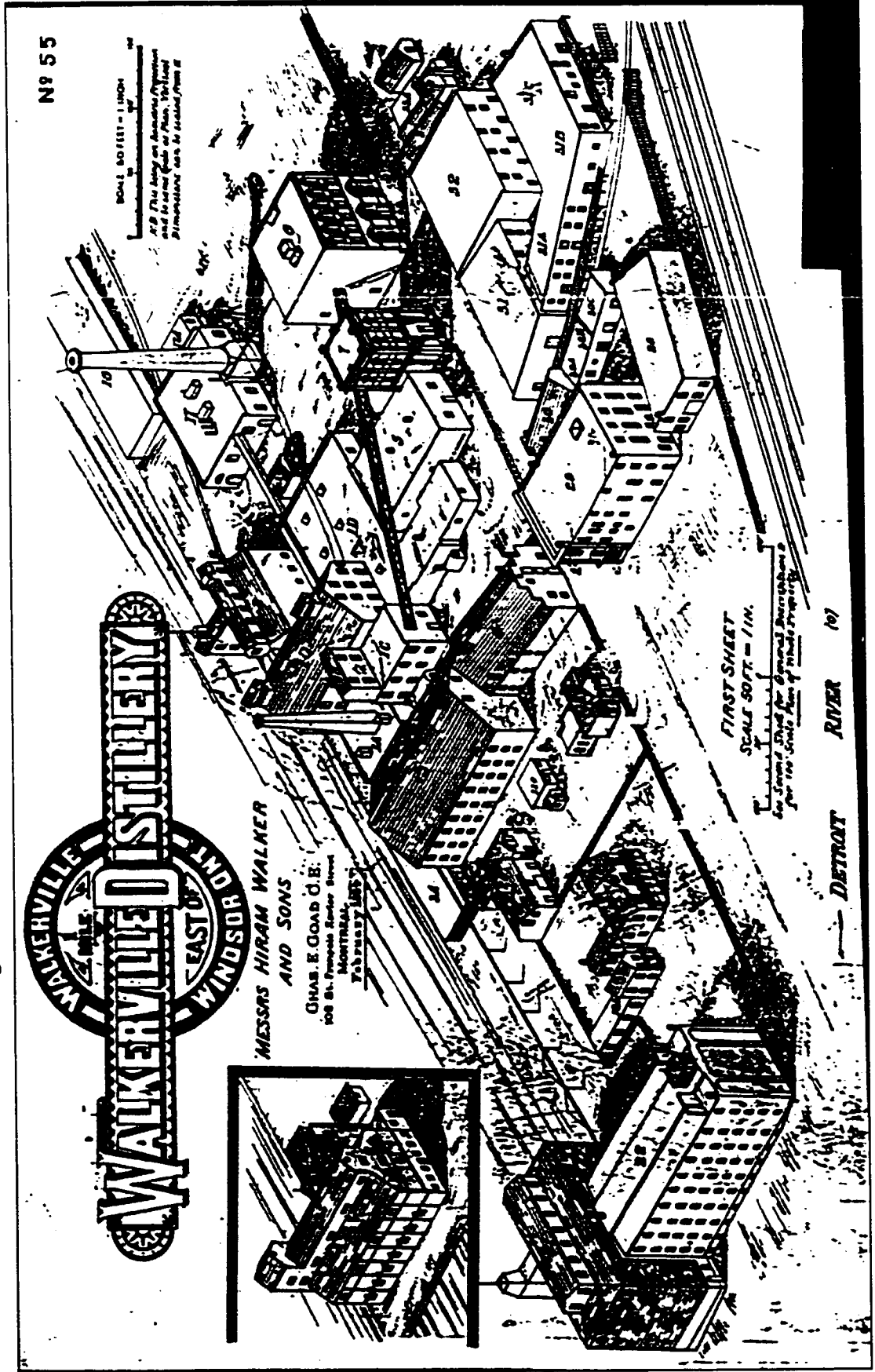
Figure 48. Spalding & Stewart Distillery, 189?.

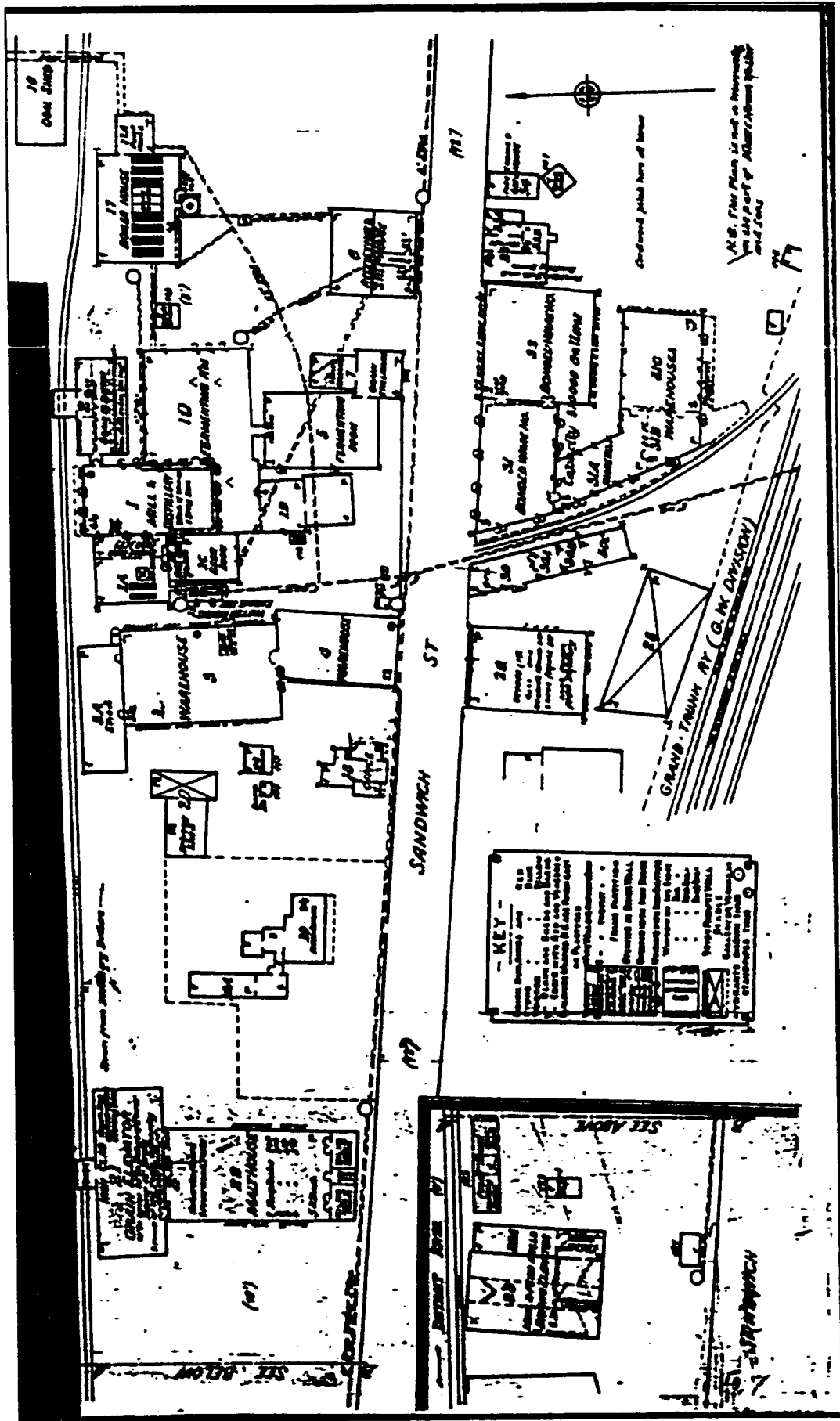


Note: the exact date when this photograph was taken is unknown.

Source: Archives of Ontario. Acc. 4197S2995 Spalding & Stewart. 189?.

Figure 49. Goad Insurance Plan of the Walkerville Distillery, 1884

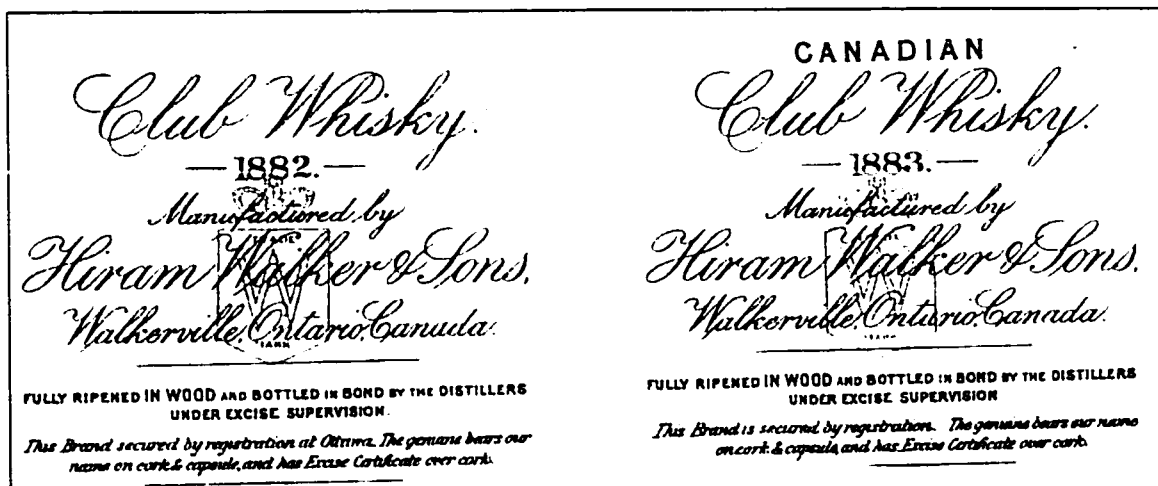




Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Chas E. Goad, Fire Insurance Plan of Walkerville Ontario. 1884. Chas E Goad. 4 sheets.

Figure 50.

Hiram Walker & Sons Whisky Labels, 1887 and 1888



Note: the use of the word “Canadian”. This label was placed on the whisky bottled in 1888, the whisky was manufactured in 1883.

Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. Labels, Corks, Capsules, Bottles.

Total Spirits Warehoused in Canada, 1891

Figure 51.

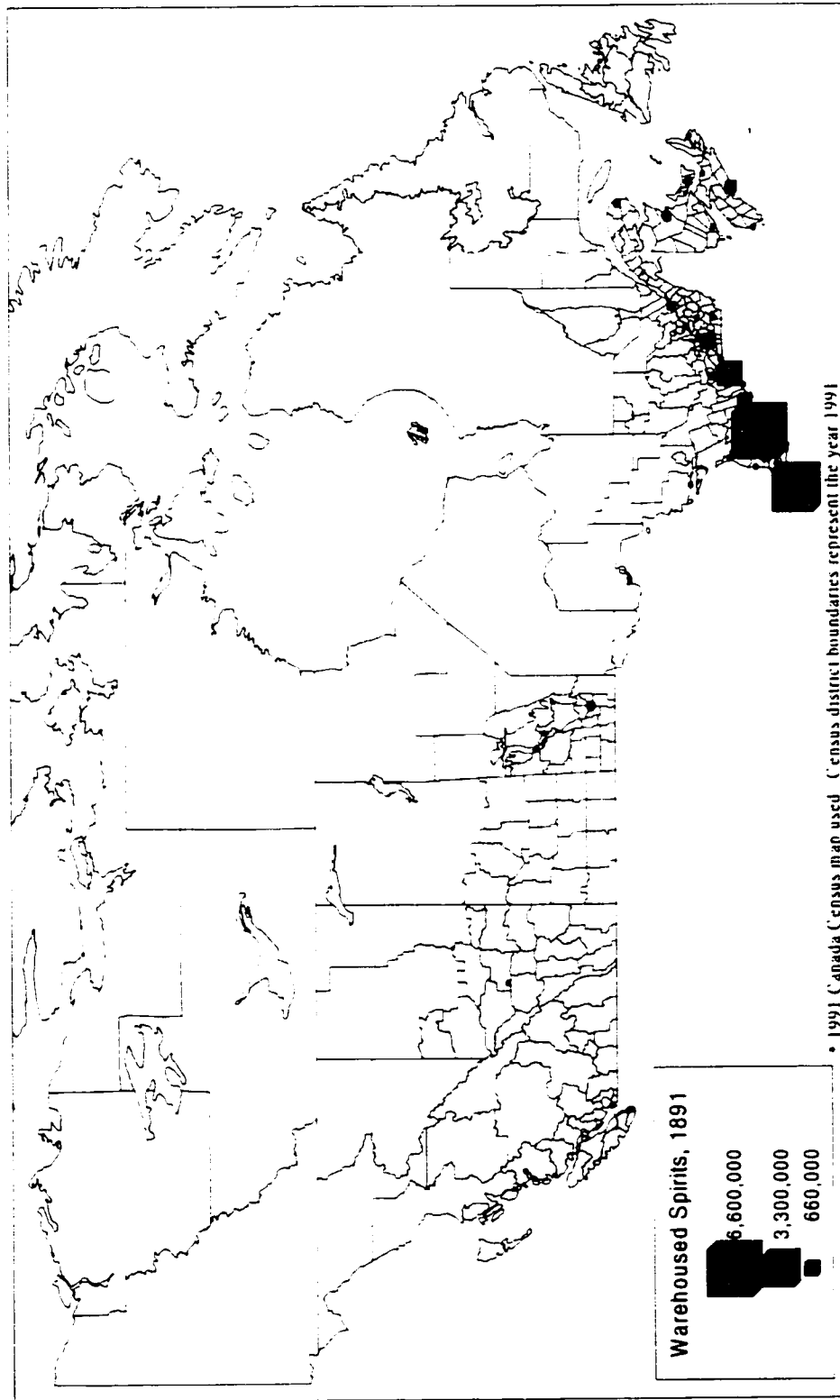
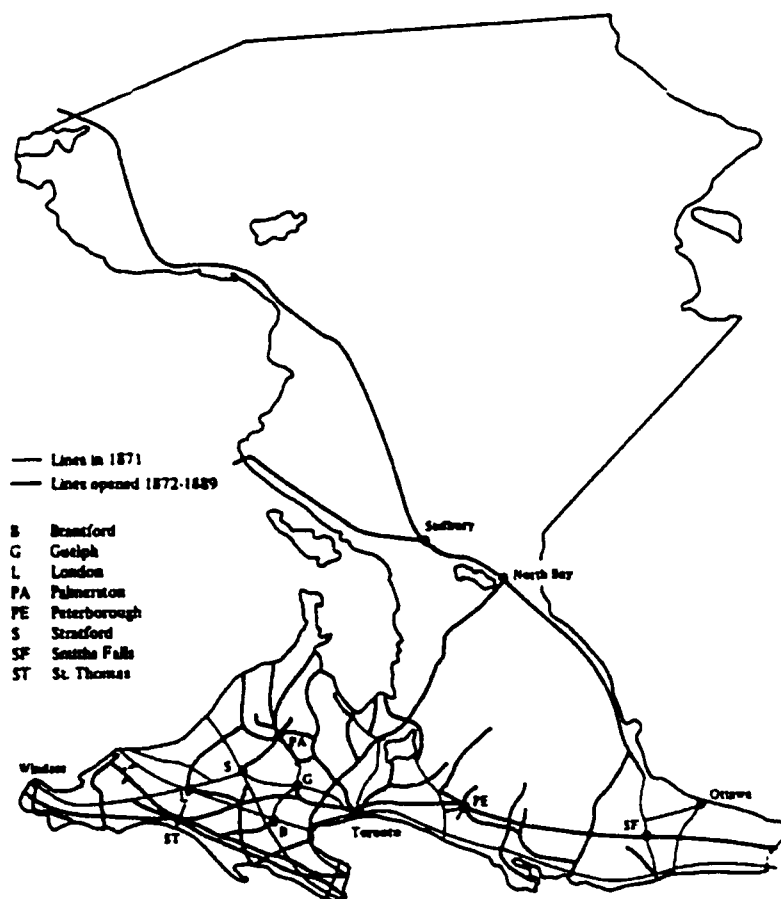


Figure 52.
Rail Lines in Ontario, 1889



Taken from: G.T. Bloomfield, The Railway Life-Cycle in Ontario. (Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph, 1992) 19.

Figure 53.

Agents of Hiram Walker & Sons, Ltd. (May 13, 1893 and May 11, 1899)**May 13, 1893**

Head Office: Walkerville, Canada

Branch Offices: London, England
New York, New York
Chicago

Agencies in the United States:	Atlanta, Georgia	Hartford, Connecticut
	Birmingham, Alaska	Los Angeles, California
	Boston, Massachusetts	Portland, Oregon
	Charleston, South Carolina	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
	Chicago, Illinois	San Francisco, California
	Cincinnati, Ohio	Savannah, Georgia
	Cleveland, Ohio	St. Louis, Missouri
	El Paso, Texas	Toledo, Ohio

Agencies in Foreign Countries:	Argentine Republic	Dominica, W. Indies	Nevis, W. Indies
	Australia	Ecuador	New Zealand
	Antigua	France	Norway
	Barbados	Grenada, W. Indies	Nicaragua
	Bermuda	Guatemala	Peru
	Brazil	Hawaiian Islands	Philippine Islands
	British Guiana	Honduras	St. Thomas, W.I.
	Bolivia	Japan	Sweden
	Cape Colony	Jamaica	St. Lucia, W.I.
	China	Martinique	St. Vincent, W.I.
	Ceylon	Malta	Trinidad
	Cuba	Mexico	Uruguay
	Chile	Montserrat, W.I.	U.S. of Colombia
	Denmark	Natal	Venezuela

May 11, 1899

Head Office: Walkerville, Canada

Branch Offices: London, England
New York, New York
Chicago, Illinois

Agencies in Foreign Countries:	Aden	Kurrachee, India
	Buenos Aries, Argentine Republic	Lucknow, India
	Adelaide, Australia	Madras, India
	Sydney & Melbourne, Australia	Dublin, Ireland
	Brisbane, Australia	Yokohama, Japan
	Antigua	Kingston, Jamaica
	Barbados	London (for Europe)

Hamilton, Bermuda	Mauritius
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	City of Mexico, Mexico
Para, Brazil	San Francisco, Mexico
Porto Alegre, Brazil	Montserrat, West Indies
Pernambuco, Brazil	Durban, Natal
Bahia, Brazil	Auckland, New Zealand
Georgetown, British Guinea	Dunedin, New Zealand
Belize, British Honduras	Nelson, New Zealand
Chili, Bolivia	Greytown, Nicaragua
Rangoon, Burma	Manila, Philippine Islands
Cape Town, Cape Colony	Lima & Callao, Peru
Hong Kong, China	Ponce, Porto Prince
Shanghai, China	San Juan, Porto Rico
Havana, Cuba	St. Helena
Valparaiso, Chile	St. Thomas, West Indies
Limon, Costa Rica	St. Kitts, West Indies
Delagoa Bay	St. Lucia, West Indies
Roseau, Dominica, West Indies	St. Vincent, West Indies
Dutch East Indies	Apia, Samoa & Tongo
Hamburg, Germany	San Salvador, San Salvador
Macassar, Celebes	Santa Ana, San Salvador
Caracas, Curacao	Seychelles Islands
Peru, Ecuador	Leith, Scotland
St. George's, Grenada	Bangkok, Siam
Belize, Guatemala (Atlantic Ports)	Singapore
San Francisco, (Pacific & Interior)	Hobart, Tasmania
New York, Hayti	Johannesburg, Transvaal
Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands	Caracas, Venezuela
Belize, Honduras	Colon, U.S. of Colombia
Calcutta, India	Bogota, U.S. of Colombia
Bombay, India	Zanzibar

Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives, Series I, Box 10, Fraud Letters 1891-1899. "Hiram Walker & Sons Circular. May 13, 1893." and "Sandy Patten Ithaca New York 11 March 1899."

Figure 54.

"Canadian Club Whisky" around the World in March 1897

CANADIAN CLUB WHISKY

Hiram Walker & Sons

The white disc in above map shows the place of manufacture of "CANADIAN CLUB" Whisky.
 The countries colored red are those in which "CANADIAN CLUB" is used.
 Beware of counterfeit, and colorable imitations, which are exceedingly numerous.

Walkerville, Ontario, Canada.

Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Art Jahns Scrapbook. "Canadian Club Whisky." What we Eat. March 1897.

Figure 55. Letter to a Fraudulent Whisky Dealer from Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.

Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.
Distillers
 15-16 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-17 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-18 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-19 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-20 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-21 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-22 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-23 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-24 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-25 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-26 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-27 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-28 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-29 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-30 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-31 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-32 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-33 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-34 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-35 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-36 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-37 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-38 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-39 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-40 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-41 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-42 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-43 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-44 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-45 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-46 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-47 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-48 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-49 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada
 15-50 Third St. S.W., Toronto, Ont., Canada

REGISTERED

Hitherville NOV 26 1898

Mr. Pete Kerola,
 217 East Pearl Street, Ishpeming, Mich.

DEAR SIR,

We are informed that you are selling a spurious Canadian Whisky described hereunder.

As the proprietors of "Canadian Club," the brand of Canadian Whisky undoubtedly best known and most extensively used in the United States, we regard all such fraudulent goods as detrimental to our interests, to say nothing of the fact that they are an imposition upon the public. We are therefore determined to do everything in our power to suppress their sale.

We are advised by eminent lawyers that we are not called upon to inquire whether dealers handling these fraudulent goods are aware of their true character or not; but that we ought legally at once take steps to protect the public and ourselves. We should, however, be sorry to injure any innocent person even in self-defence, and therefore we thus notify you.

If you have any doubt as to the accuracy of what we say we will gladly furnish the proofs upon request.

We hope to hear from you promptly that you will sell no more of the goods above referred to. Should you not reply we shall be compelled to assume that it is not your intention to take any notice of this warning.

At the same time we caution you against numerous other spurious Canadian Whiskies described in the circular and list enclosed herewith. We must ask you to consider this full notice with respect to all of them.

We do not wish this letter to be taken as a threat if you are unaware of the true character of the goods referred to, in which case you will of course be grateful to us for putting you upon your guard; but inasmuch as we are almost daily sending out many of these notices, and hardly one in a hundred is replied to, we are forced to the conclusion that the vast majority of those who sell the fraudulent whiskies know what they are doing. Under such circumstances it is best that we should speak plainly at once.

Awaiting your reply.

We are, yours very truly,

(2 Enclosures)

H. Walker

The spurious whisky which you are reported to be handling is labeled "Canadian Rye Whisky, Distilled and Bottled by W.G. Smith & Bros.,

Figure 56.

"Fraudulent Whiskies", July 25, 1898

FRAUDULENT WHISKIES

The following are some of the pretended Canadian whiskies which have come under our observation.

Montreal Club,	Montreal Distilling Co.
Montreal Club,	Montreal Club Distilling Co.
Montreal Club,	Baker, Mason & Co.
Montreal Club,	Frank G. Tinsidge & Co., San U. S. Ag.
Windsor Club,	Windsor Club Distilling Co.
Castel's Toronto Club,	Castel Distillery Co.
Toronto Club,	Toronto Distilling Co.
Toronto Club,	Toronto Club Distilling Co.
Toronto Club,	Silas Clark & Co.
Toronto Club,	Toronto Club Co.
Ontario Club,	Ontario Club Distilling Co.
Canadian Imperial Club,	Imperial Distilling Co.
Canadian Rye,	W. G. Smith & Bros. (Script lettering)
Canadian Rye,	W. G. Smith & Bros. (Black lettering)
Canadian Rye,	Jas. Williams & Co.
Canadian Rye,	James McIntyre Co., Limited.
Canadian Rye,	W. B. Thompson & Co., Limited.
Canadian Rye,	R. Mackenzie & Co.
Canadian Rye,	H. S. Ramsay & Sons, London.
Canadian Rye,	H. S. Ramsay & Sons, Toronto.
Canadian Rye,	E. H. Johnson & Co.
Canadian Rye,	H. G. Watson & Co.
Canadian Rye,	James McIntosh Co., Limited.
Canadian Rye,	James McIntosh Co., Limited.
Canadian Rye,	R. W. McMurry & Co.
Canadian Rye,	Andrew J. Stewart & Bros.
Canadian Rye,	Joe. Wilson & Co.
Watson's Canadian Rye,	H. B. Watson & Co.
Walton's Canadian Rye,	C. H. Walton & Co.
Walker's Canadian Rye Whisky,	C. H. Walker & Co., Limited.
Canadian Rye Malt,	Windsor Distillery.
Canadian Malt Whiskey,	Carthew & Bulyea.
Canadian Malt Whiskey,	James Duffy.
Windsor Cabinet,	Imperial Distillery Co. (Black Label)
Windsor Cabinet,	Imperial Distillery Co. (White Label)
Bells of Ontario,	Crown Distilling Co.
Ottawa Club,	Silas Walcott & Co.
Nonpareil Canadian Rye Whiskey,	Wallace, Ross & Co.
Nonpareil Canadian Rye Whiskey,	Gilpin & Thorne.
Old Crystal Rye,	Wm. Wight Son's & Co.

Not one of these pretended manufacturers has any existence in Canada, so can be readily corroborated by addressing Mr. F. Mead, Commissioner of Inland Revenue, Ottawa.

Besides ourselves the only distillers in Canada are

Gooderham & Worts, Limited.	Toronto, Ontario.
J. P. Wiser & Sons, Limited.	Prescott, Ontario.
Joseph E. Seagram,	Waterloo, Ontario.
H. Corby,	Belleville, Ontario.
Royal Distillery,	Hamilton, Ontario.
The Hamilton Distillery Co., Limited, Prop.	
J. A. McLaren,	Perth, Ontario.
Spalding & Stewart,	Perth, Ontario.

We are the only distillers who have the right to use the word "Club" for Canadian whisky, and our registered trade mark is "Canadian Club."

We are determined to stamp out the brands above mentioned, and all others of a similar character. Any information with regard to parties handling such goods will be gratefully received.

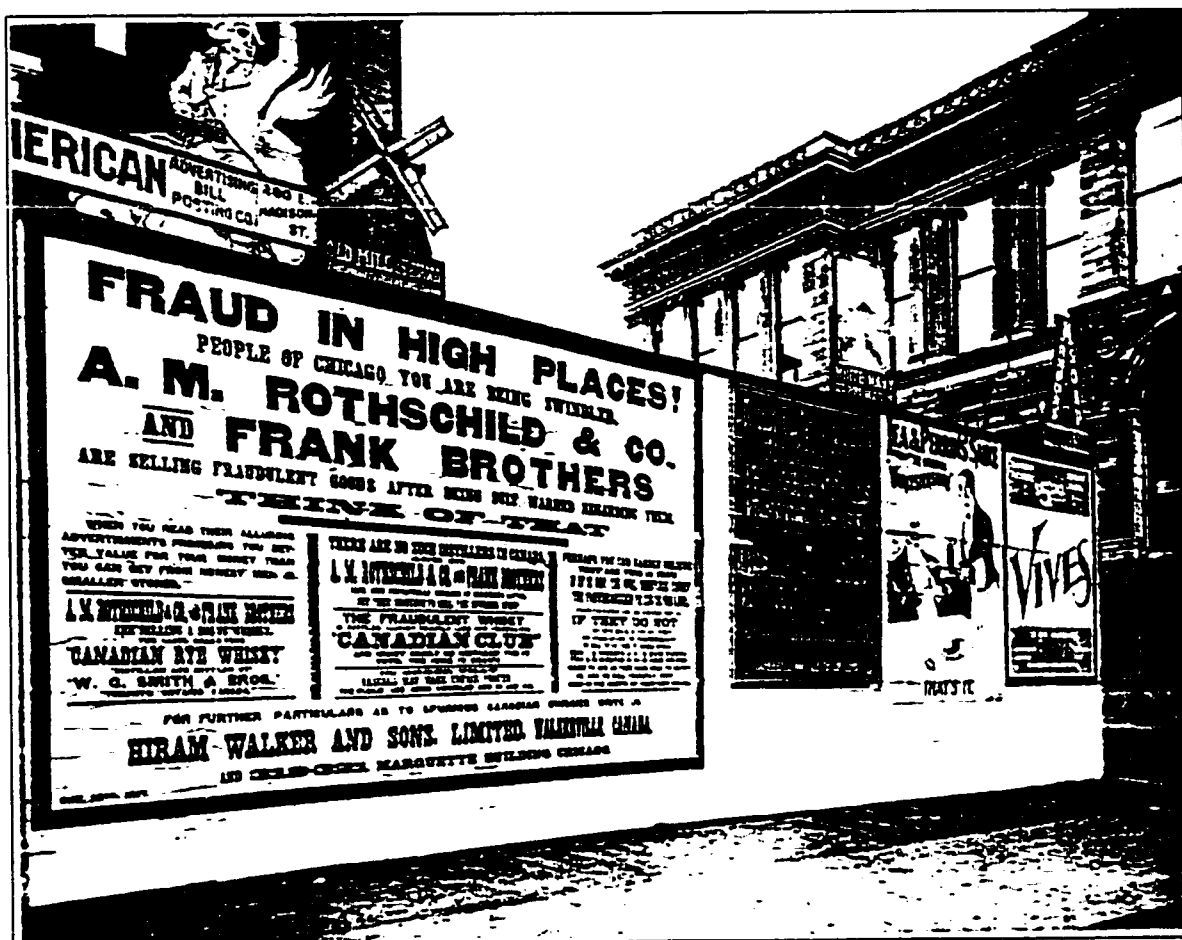
HIRAM WALKER & SONS, Limited,
Distillers and Bottlers of "Canadian Club" Whisky
WALKERVILLE, CANADA.

July 25th 1898

Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Series I Box 10. "Fraudulent Whiskies" Advertisement by Hiram Walker & Sons. 25 July 1898.

Figure 57.

Fraud Poster at Chicago, Illinois, October 1897



Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Bogus Liquors & How to Suppress them. Walkerville: Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., n.d.

Figure 58.

Fraud Poster at Elgin, Illinois, October 1898

THREE RASCALLY SALOON-KEEPERS!

SOLD FRAUDULENT GOODS
AFTER BEING INFORMED THAT THEY WERE FRAUDULENT.

THE SWINDLING GOODS
are whiskies (labeled called Canadian, labelled thus:-

FRAUD 1	CANADIAN RYE WHISKY	THIS FAKE \$1.50 per bottle.
FRAUD 2	CANADIAN RYE WHISKY	THIS FAKE \$1.50 per bottle.

There are no such distillers in Canada as these, as the saloon-keepers mentioned were emphatically informed over two months ago by registered letters. NEVERTHELESS EACH of SAID SALOON-KEEPERS SOLD ONE OR OTHER OF THESE FRAUDS AS GENUINE CANADIAN WHISKY ON THE 22nd DAY OF THE PRESENT MONTH.

THIS IS VERY PLAIN LANGUAGE.

if the amount of the above is not paid to the undersigned by the 1st day of the next month, the undersigned will be obliged to sue for the same, and will not be responsible for the consequences of any delay.

Our attorney in Elgin, Mr. Ezra Rice, will promptly accommodate them. The accused must accept our challenge or admit our charges.

—bogus whiskies are put up in striking outward resemblance to our celebrated

"CANADIAN CLUB" WHISKY.

IT IS ONLY THE GOOD THINGS WHICH ARE IMITATED.

HIRAM WALKER & SONS Limited.
LONDON NEW YORK CHICAGO ATLANTA

Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Bogus Liquors & How to Suppress them. Walkerville: Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., n.d.

Table XV.

FIXED AND FLOATING CAPITAL INVESTED VERSUS MONETARY STRENGTH, 1890'S

Fixed & Floating Capital Invested into Distilleries, 1891

Distillers	Fixed Capital			Floating Capital
	Land	Buildings	Machinery & Tools	
Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.	-	-	-	\$5,000,000
J.P. Wiser & Sons	\$ 8,000	\$ 40,000	\$ 25,000	\$ 100,000
H. Corby	\$ 7,000	\$ 63,000	\$ 70,000	\$ 200,000
Spalding & Stewart / J.A. McLaren	\$ 5,000	\$ 7,500	\$ 4,500	\$ 55,000
Gooderham & Worts Ltd.	\$155,000	\$344,000	\$ 55,000	\$ 270,000
J.E. Seagram	\$ 15,000	\$ 65,000	\$ 75,000	\$ 300,000
The Royal Distillery	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown

Source: Canada Census, 1891.

Ontario Distilleries Monetary Strength, 1900

Distillers	Monetary Strength
Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.	\$1,000,000+ (& \$5,500,000 in stock)
Gooderham & Worts Ltd.	\$1,000,000+
J.P. Wiser & Sons Ltd.	\$500,000 to \$750,000
Joseph E. Seagram	\$200,000 to \$300,000
H. Corby	\$125,000 to \$200,000
John A. McLaren	\$75,000 to \$125,000
Spalding & Stewart	\$20,000 to \$35,000
Royal Distillery	unknown

Source: Dun & Bradstreet Reference Books. 1890-1900.

Table XVI.
Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. General Ledger Entry
for the year September 1, 1891 to August 31, 1892

Revenue from					
Cattle	\$	15,430.65			
Cooperage	\$	10,849.76			
Distilling (with duty)	\$	717,318.21			
Excise	\$	359.46			
Electric Lighting	\$	180.99			
Maiting	\$	1,324.39			
Rents	\$	2,464.95			
Water Rates	\$	2,152.20			
	\$	750,080.61			
Expenses from					
Land & Buildings - Grading Rack	\$	22.28	Newspapers & c.	\$	237.70
Machinery & Plant	\$	4,429.04	Office Expense	\$	9,614.16
Goodwill & Trademarks	\$	25.00	Office Furniture & Fixtures	\$	469.91
Deficiency	\$	28,548.85	Repairs - Malthouse Buildings	\$	159.05
Advertising	\$	6,952.52	Repairs - Malthouse Machinery	\$	9.50
Barrels	\$	15,074.81	Repairs - Cooperage Buildings	\$	586.71
Bottling	\$	7,942.94	Repairs - Cooperage Machinery	\$	93.83
Cattle Barns Repairs	\$	2,717.62	Repairs - Distillery Buildings	\$	5,895.03
Fuel	\$	9,780.46	Repairs - Distillery Machinery & Plant	\$	10,637.22
Complimentary Cases	\$	1,715.84	Repairs - Warehouse	\$	362.47
Cottage Expense	\$	1,203.81	Suspense	\$	25.99
Distillery Expense	\$	3,266.90	Telephone Service	\$	701.73
Distillery Labour	\$	24,640.84	Tools & Utensils	\$	747.83
Dock Repairs	\$	248.43	Travelling Expense	\$	787.02
Donations	\$	993.98	Travelling Representations	\$	3,241.16
Expense	\$	4,665.62	Water Works Expense	\$	116.36
Fire Department	\$	4,753.57	Water Works Repairs	\$	189.86
Ferriage	\$	18.39	Shorts & Breakages - Canada	\$	9.58
Grain	\$	157,649.63	Taxes	\$	8,561.41
Protecting Trademarks	\$	3,156.69	Market Reports	\$	2.50
Hop Account	\$	449.90	Profit & Loss	\$	6,593.97
Insurance	\$	16,564.23	Profit & Loss for 1890-1891	\$	115.17
Interest	\$	48,145.25			
				\$	342,966.60

Note: This is for the fiscal year from September 1, 1891 to August 31, 1892. These values were taken from the general ledger section of the personal ledger and only some values correspond. It is assumed that since these values are correct and may have been modified before entered into the personal ledger because this was a collection of data to formulate a history for the year used for reference in later years. It must also be noted that these figures are not the modified profit & loss figures as the profit for the year was approximately \$238,621.17.

Source: Hiram Walker Archives. Private Journal. August 31, 1888 to August 31, 1890.
Private Journal. September 1, 1890 to August 31, 1909.

Table XVII.
Indian Corn Used for Distillation
 (in pounds)

Date	Belleville	Guelph	Hamilton	Perth**	Prescott	Toronto	Windsor	Total Corn
1890	2,196,100	3,805,200	3,562,440	-	8,329,398	26,606,690	20,144,893	64,644,721
1891	2,979,758	3,598,200	3,758,560	-	6,115,005	21,341,350	16,632,000	54,424,873
1892	2,801,282	3,939,500	3,608,570	-	4,692,800	21,044,455	9,120,000	45,206,607
1893	3,424,048	3,651,500	3,378,400	-	4,969,346	14,765,430	18,091,160	48,279,884
1894	2,831,580	3,805,100	2,916,480	-	-	-	9,043,160	18,596,320
1895	2,941,600	3,518,600	2,683,800	-	3,504,140	9,671,020	10,442,500	32,761,660
1896	3,101,000	4,253,900	2,952,320	-	4,509,590	20,327,335	22,787,986	57,932,131
1897	3,160,520	2,733,600	2,259,998	-	-	20,467,530	216,000	28,837,648
1898	3,381,780	2,606,300	2,485,398	-	2,875,600	-	11,967,132	23,316,210
1899	3,154,440	2,619,700	2,389,980	-	3,599,400	19,731,840	12,402,500	43,897,860
1900	3,046,760	3,108,800	2,426,734	-	3,390,280	10,618,240	10,522,000	33,112,814

* The return is for the year ending on the 30th of June of that year.

** Note: Perth does not have any corn used for distillation because they are making a unique product here using malt as the main ingredient for the whiskey.

Source: Canada. Appendix A - Spirits. Sessional Papers. Vol. 25 - 35.

Table XVIII.

TOP TEN CITIES AND TOWNS IN THE UNITED STATES AND ONTARIO, 1890				
	United States Cities	Population, 1890	Ontario Cities and Towns	Population, 1891
1	New York	1,515,301	Toronto	144,023
2	Chicago	1,099,850	Hamilton	47,245
3	Philadelphia	1,046,964	Ottawa	37,269
4	Brooklyn	806,343	London	22,281
5	St. Louis	451,770	Kingston	19,263
6	Boston	448,477	Brantford	12,753
7	Baltimore	434,439	St. Thomas	10,366
8	San Francisco	298,997	Windsor	10,322
9	Cincinnati	296,908	Belleville	9,916
10	Cleveland	261,353	St. Catharines	9,170
	Total	6,660,402	Total Population of Ontario	2,114,321

Sources: Raymond A. Mohl. The New City. Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson Inc., 1985.
 Canada Census, 1891. Table II. - Population, Families and Dwellings.

Table XIX.
Spirits Removed and Received from Warehouses in Canada, 1891

Revenue Divisions	Removed to other Divisions	Received from other Divisions
Belleville	72,805.56	52,227.11
Brantford	-	21,943.21
Cornwall	-	7,014.72
Guelph	78,563.82	36,000.92
Hamilton	52,062.53	67,481.32
Kingston	1,998.67	65,316.31
London	-	63,178.64
Ottawa	265.15	129,858.65
..Govt. warehouse	-	93,356.79
..Dept. Lab	-	58.27
Owen Sound	-	10,959.88
Perth	108.26	33,259.32
Peterborough	-	28,039.10
Port Arthur	-	7,449.54
Prescott	343,201.21	54,076.33
St. Catherines	1,295.19	19,649.43
Stratford	1,461.68	21,342.95
Toronto	1,013,308.05	105,425.88
Windsor	720,197.38	89,717.70
Joliette	849.26	10,306.04
Montreal	17,388.83	722,256.11
Quebec	393.06	209,931.96
St. Hyacinthe	316.28	36,391.94
St. John's	-	21,291.44
Sherbrooke	-	57,079.73
Sorel	-	13,640.71
Terrebonne	-	12,746.49
Three Rivers	-	26,134.94
St. John, N.B.	-	100,963.58
Halifax, N.S.	46,517.51	42,595.09
Charlottetown, P.E.I.	-	2,807.31
Winnipeg, Man	-	111,591.37
Vancouver, B.C.	466.17	29,020.51
Victoria, B.C.	2,548.39	50,633.71
Suspense	-	-
Total	2,353,747.00	2,353,747.00

Source: Canada. Appendix A - Spirits. Sessional Papers. (1892).

Table XX.
Exports from Warehouses to Locations Outside of Canada, 1887-1900

Year	Inland Revenue Division	Ex-Warehouse for Exportation & Spirits**	Total for Export, &c.	Percentage of Export
1887	Guelph	56.64		1.57%
	Perth	44.06		1.22%
	Prescott	179.42		4.96%
	Toronto	1,273.72		35.24%
	Windsor	2,060.19		57.01%
		3,614.03	3,614.03	
1888	Guelph	60.34		0.90%
	London	64.62		0.96%
	Prescott	135.86		2.02%
	Toronto	2,306.38		34.34%
	Windsor	4,149.66		61.78%
		6,716.86	6,716.86	
1889	Guelph	34.49		0.45%
	London	58.42		0.76%
	Prescott	185.88		2.42%
	Toronto	2,574.39		33.56%
	Windsor	4,818.26		62.81%
		7,671.44	7,671.44	
1890	Guelph	36.6		0.39%
	London	31.89		0.34%
	Prescott	374.97		3.99%
	Toronto	946.6		10.08%
	Windsor	8,002.56		85.20%
		9,392.62	9,392.62	
1891	Belleville	487.33		2.78%
	Guelph	31.65		0.18%
	London	215.46		1.23%
	Prescott	589.54		3.37%
	Toronto	2,105.44		12.03%
	Windsor	14,070.01		80.40%
		17,499.43	17,499.43	
1892	Belleville	397.99		1.37%
	Guelph	262.35		0.90%
	Prescott	424.38		1.46%
	Toronto	3,130.79		10.76%
	Windsor	24,869.21		85.51%
		29,084.72	29,084.72	
1893	Guelph	217.92		0.45%
	Hamilton	422.31		0.88%
	Kingston	16.24		0.03%
	London	3.29		0.01%
	Perth	56.6		0.12%
	Prescott	992.81		2.07%
	Toronto	4,179.39		8.70%
	Windsor	42,167.57		87.75%
		48,056.13	48,056.13	
1894	Belleville	199.74		0.27%
	Guelph	240.54		0.33%
	Hamilton	388.42		0.53%
	London	41.17		0.06%
	Prescott	1,957.09		2.66%
	Toronto	6,214.46		8.43%
	Windsor	64,667.52		87.73%
		73,708.94	73,708.94	
1895	Belleville	318.08		0.28%
	Guelph	1,373.30		1.20%
	Hamilton	387.47		0.34%
	Kingston	17.84		0.02%
	London	990.02		0.86%
	Prescott	2,682.96		2.34%
	St. Catherines	162.06		0.14%
	Toronto	8,346.57		7.27%
	Windsor	100,477.35		87.56%
		114,755.85	114,755.85	

Table XX.
Exports from Warehouses to Locations Outside of Canada, 1887-1900

Year	Inland Revenue Division	Ex-Warehouse for Exportation & c. Spirits **	Total for Export, &c.	Percentage of Export
1896	Guelph	3,848.31		2.84%
	Hamilton	1,094.24		0.81%
	Kingston	11.55		0.01%
	London	1,601.59		1.18%
	Prescott	1,850.40		1.36%
	St. Catherines	194.5		0.14%
	Toronto	14,010.82		10.33%
	Windsor	113,017.90		83.33%
		135,829.31	135,829.31	
1897	Belleville	428.14		0.29%
	Guelph	5,846.82		3.90%
	Hamilton	941.85		0.63%
	Kingston	92.51		0.06%
	London	721.27		0.48%
	Perth	58.42		0.04%
	Prescott	1,989.09		1.33%
	Toronto	16,207.00		10.80%
	Windsor	123,771.01		82.48%
		150,056.11	150,056.11	
1898	Belleville	100.81		0.12%
	Guelph	4,421.15		5.23%
	Hamilton	921.02		1.09%
	Kingston	4.9		0.01%
	London	145.43		0.17%
	Perth	4.99		0.01%
	Prescott	1,283.79		1.52%
	St. Catherines	15		0.02%
	Toronto	6,458.41		7.64%
	Windsor	71,163.97		84.20%
		84,519.47	84,519.47	
1899	Belleville	1,108.08		0.94%
	Guelph	4,535.13		3.83%
	Hamilton	350.76		0.30%
	Kingston	6.53		0.01%
	London	119.37		0.10%
	Perth	1.6		0.00%
	Prescott	1,261.66		1.07%
	St. Catherines	123.81		0.10%
	Toronto	5,995.16		5.07%
	Windsor	104,791.59		88.59%
		118,293.69	118,293.69	
1900	Belleville	2,040.79		1.51%
	Guelph	6,486.65		4.78%
	Hamilton	415.37		0.31%
	Kingston	19.33		0.01%
	London	140.05		0.10%
	Perth	1.6		0.00%
	Prescott	1,826.43		1.35%
	St. Catherines	55.58		0.04%
	Toronto	7,408.77		5.46%
Windsor	117,175.22		86.43%	
		135,569.79	135,569.79	

* The manufacturing year is from July 1st to June 30th.

** The value of duty allocated to the spirits exported increase progressively after this year.

Note: These values are not the total exports for the years.

Source: Canada. Appendix A - Spirits. Sessional Papers. (1869-1901).

Table XXI.

**EXPORT SALES TO THE UNITED STATES
FOR
BOTTLED CANADIAN CLUB IN CASES**

1883	Case Volumes not Available	
1884	87	
1885	496	
1886	616	
1887	1,286	
1888	1,713	
1889	3,156	
1890	4,817	
1891	10,141	(1)
1895	57,995 Worldwide Sales Including the U.S.	(2)
1899	39,409	(3)
1900	43,265	

(1) Detroit Free Press, March 11, 1893.

(2) Hiram Walker & Sons, Foreign Sales Journal, Number 4 [57,875 Canadian Club, 53 Imperial, 65 Niagara to British Honduras, 8 "Special" all sold to Hiram Walker.

(3) Court Transcript, Corning vs. Hiram Walker, Number 2754, page 278.

Source: Hiram Walker Archives. Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook.

Table XXII.

**Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. Sales (\$) in the United States and
Foreign Markets, 1895-1900**

Year	U.S. Sales	Foreign Sales
1895	\$145,340.09	\$26,852.57
1896	\$190,223.11	\$32,993.70
1897	\$153,342.22	\$39,195.38
1898	\$117,786.35	\$56,041.34
1899	\$134,786.35	\$67,198.41
1900	\$139,116.93	\$81,641.06

Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Private Journal. September 1, 1890 - August 31, 1909.

Table XXIII.

**Money Spent on Various Forms of Advertising (Foreign and Domestic)
by Hiram Walker & Sons, Ltd., 1888-1900**

	1888*			1897
Newspaper, Advertisements & c.	\$ 160.55		London Office Advertising	\$ 9,733.33
	1889		Goodwill & Trademarks	\$ 878.99
Advertising	\$ 3,682.19		Chicago Exposition	\$ 250.00
Newspaper Advertisements	\$ 265.97		Protecting Trademarks (U.S.)	\$10,371.17
	<u>\$ 3,948.16</u>		Advertising in the U.S.	\$36,444.89
	1890		Foreign Advertising	\$ 3,774.06
Advertising	\$ 6,114.05		Newspapers	\$ 136.63
Newspaper Advertisements	\$ 254.58		Complimentary Cases (Canada)	\$ 605.59
Christmas Cases	\$ 1,258.05		Market Reports	\$ 34.92
	<u>\$ 7,626.68</u>		Protecting Trademarks (Canada)	\$ 974.07
	1891		Advertising in Canada	\$11,624.80
Goodwill & Trademarks	\$ 100.00		Trophies in Canada	\$ 2,235.48
Protection of Trademarks	\$ 56.95		Other (Entertaining)	\$ 396.54
Complimentary Cases	\$ 1,399.97			<u>\$77,460.47</u>
Newspapers & c.	\$ 245.01			1898
Advertising	\$ 5,925.41		New York Advertising	\$ 2,500.00
	<u>\$ 7,727.34</u>		Newspapers	\$ 99.38
	1892		Complimentary Cases (Canada)	\$ 627.65
Goodwill & Trademarks	\$ 25.00		Market Reports	\$ 17.25
Advertising	\$ 6,952.52		Trophies in Canada	\$ 2,054.93
Complimentary Cases	\$ 1,715.84		Goodwill & Trademarks	\$ 201.17
Protection of Trademarks	\$ 3,156.69		Protecting Trademarks (Canada)	\$ 209.39
Newspapers & c.	\$ 237.70		Advertising in Canada	\$ 8,500.94
Market Reports	\$ 2.50		Protecting Trademarks (U.S.)	\$14,206.08
	<u>\$12,090.25</u>		Advertising in the U.S.	\$28,418.54
	1893		Foreign Advertising	\$ 4,761.28
Advertising in Canada	\$ 4,174.64		London Office Advertising	\$ 9,733.33
Complimentary Cases	\$ 1,909.27			<u>\$71,329.94</u>
Protection of Trademarks	\$ 903.07			1899
Market Reports	\$ 13.83		New York Advertising	\$ 2,500.00
Newspapers	\$ 123.54		Protecting Trademarks (U.S.)	\$10,669.41
	<u>\$ 7,124.35</u>		Advertising in the U.S.	\$22,744.10
	1894		Foreign Advertising	\$ 5,549.93
Advertising in Canada	\$ 5,651.33		Goodwill & Trademarks	\$ 246.34
Complimentary Cases	\$ 2,170.57		Newspapers & c.	\$ 113.11
Market Reports	\$ 15.85		Market Reports	\$ 12.50
Newspapers	\$ 142.51		Complimentary Cases (Canada)	\$ 728.29
Protection of Trademarks	\$ 2,106.18		Trophies in Canada	\$ 1,533.89
Advertising in the U.S.	\$14,560.34			
Goodwill & Trademarks	\$ 162.66		Advertising in Canada	\$13,467.28
	<u>\$24,809.44</u>		London Office Advertising	\$ 9,733.33
				<u>\$67,298.18</u>

Table XXIII. continued

	1895		1900
Advertising in Canada	\$ 8,964.65	New York Advertising	\$ 2,500.00
Market Reports	\$ 13.00	Newspapers	\$ 118.20
Newspapers	\$ 112.50	Market Reports	\$ 11.00
Goodwill & Trademarks	\$ 5.10	Complimentary Cases (Canada)	\$ 733.34
Complimentary Cases (Canada)	\$ 1,962.55	Advertising in Canada	\$14,582.63
Complimentary Cases (U.S.)	\$ 883.97	Trophies in Canada	\$ 2,370.12
Protection of Trademarks (U.S.)	\$ 3,416.49	Foreign Advertising	\$ 9,309.42
Office Opening (Chicago)	\$ 4,343.89	Advertising in the U.S.	\$15,126.39
General Advertising (U.S.)	\$ 404.37	Protecting Trademarks (U.S.)	\$ 2,590.89
Fixed Signs (U.S.)	\$ 324.28	Protecting Trademarks (Foreign)	\$ 4.81
California Midwinter Exposition	\$ 28.75	Goodwill & Trademarks	\$ 23.40
Advertising in the U.S.	\$32,400.95		<u>\$47,370.20</u>
Foreign Advertising	\$ 2,120.66		
Fixed Signs (Foreign)	294.28		
	<u>\$55,275.44</u>		
	1896		
Advertising in the U.S.	\$18,376.46		
Foreign Advertising	\$ 5,597.68		
Newspapers & c.	\$ 118.38		
Advertising in Canada	\$12,451.83		
Trophies in Canada	\$ 1,742.85		
General Advertising (Canada)	\$ 9.98		
Market Reports	\$ 18.58		
Complimentary Cases	\$ 598.75		
Protecting Trademarks (Canada)	\$ 678.36		
Goodwill & Trademarks	\$ 83.04		
Protecting Trademarks	\$ 5,889.98		
	<u>\$45,565.89</u>		

* The fiscal year is from September 1 to August 31.

Note: The figures were taken from the general ledger section of a personal ledger. It should be noted that these are approximate values and some do vary when comparing to the surviving general ledgers of 1892 and 1894. These values are for advertising only not agents' expenses or forms of entertaining.

Source: Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Private Journal. August 31, 1888 - August 31, 1890.

Private Journal. September 1, 1890 - August 31, 1909.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The distilling industry in Ontario underwent a remarkable change in spatial distribution and had major landscape impacts. In 1851 there were 150 distilling establishments well dispersed throughout the province but in just two decades, there were only 73, some of them having increased productions greatly, and creating a more concentrated pattern. Figures 2 and 3 illustrate this trend. The major concentration to emerge was in the City of Toronto. The decade of the 1860s saw a further reduction in numbers, leaving only 19 establishments, and further concentration (Figure 22). From 1871 there was a continued decline in the number of distilleries, leaving just seven distilleries and two rectifying establishments in 1881 (Figure 30). This resulted in an industry characterized by large scale industrial distilling enterprises. Thus by 1881 Canada's "whisky region" was clearly defined in Southern Ontario in the centres of Waterloo, Toronto, Prescott and the villages of Walkerville and Corbyville. This concentration in the distilling industry remained for the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Although slight changes occurred, like the addition of the Royal Distillery in Hamilton in 1883, the "Big Five" distilleries maintained control of the industry and the number of distilleries remained at less than 10 operations during the 1890s (Figure 37).

Five factors that were believed to be the most influential on the changing spatial pattern of Ontario's distilling industry were proposed and have been examined. These factors were markets, transportation, technology, government influence, and entrepreneurialism. It has been shown that each of these factors played an important role in the changing spatial pattern of Ontario's distilling industry. No single factor dominated; instead the factors were interrelated. An attempt has been made, however, to rate these factors in terms of their relative importance for each of the time periods treated in this thesis. This rating is presented in the chart below.

Importance of the Five Locational Factors Examined, by Period

FACTORS	1850-1861	1861-1871	1871-1883	1883-1900
Markets	***	**	*****	***
Transportation	****	*****	****	*
Technology	*****	****	**	**
Government Influence	*	***	*	*****
Entrepreneurialism	**	*	***	****

While the chart above focuses attention on the changing relative importance of each factor over time, it does not offer details nor explanations. For these, we treat the time periods in turn.

1850-1861

The distilleries operating in Ontario around 1850 were generally small in scale, ubiquitous, and low in terms of output. Many of these small distilleries were a response to the growing agricultural sector and the numerous fertile regions located across Ontario's landscape. A distillery could locate almost anywhere if there were farms surrounding the establishment that could provide the raw materials needed in the production process. Many entrepreneurs with a small sum of capital saw the potential of starting a business in distilling. Oftentimes there would be a surplus of grain at a grist mill gained as a service fee for milling or there was simply an abundance of grains within the region. A miller was already making meal in the grist mill so the addition of a small still would add to the profits of the operation. A distiller could appeal to the local area to purchase grain from the farmers. It was relatively easy to distill spirits at this time and a variety of local grains such as barley, rye, wheat (or anything else that contained starch and sugar) were used. This variety in grain also created a variety in the quality of the final product (usually spirits). Although many of these grains provided a low yielding final product the profits to be gained were still handsome. Overland transportation was difficult and expensive for barrels of spirits and whisky. Those distilleries located on good water transportation routes had the

opportunity to ship the final product beyond the local region. Gooderham & Worts was one such example. In 1851 there was a concentration of distilleries located on good water transportation routes such as Lake Ontario and inland rivers. Water too, was a major raw material to produce the spirits and whisky, it provided a source of power for many distilleries and mills and provided the possibility to communicate with and transport goods to other regions. The market for Ontario's small producing distilleries at this time was secure and protected due to the high costs of transportation. There was little exporting done and as a result there was little competition. A distillery that was located within a village, town or city could simply supply a local market and local consumers could purchase whisky or spirits for a reduced price when compared to the imported whisky that was subject to high duties. The distilling industry was about to change drastically and many small producing distilleries were about to lose the security that had provided prosperity. The year 1850 can be considered the "eve of competition". The newly created competitive market helped to increase concentration within the industry by eliminating many smaller producing distilleries.

Technological advances in the production process greatly affected the distilling industry during this first trend to concentration. Continuous distillation achieved through the adoption of the column still provided speed, efficiency, comparative cheapness, a reduction in the required labour, and a better quality final product. The continuous process of distillation symbolized the transition of the distillery to factory production, bringing with it an industrial change that occurred here before it did in many other secondary manufacturing industries. In 1850 many distilleries used a pot still to make spirits, which was perfect to supply the local demand. Almost anyone could purchase a pot still, it was easy to use, and required little knowledge about the art of distillation. Some distillers chose to adopt new technology, others did not; some distillers chose to undertake large scale improvements and other distillers only chose to implement some technology. Ontario's distilleries, during the 1850s, were now operating at different production levels. Distilleries that adopted the column still were on a new level of the competition hierarchy.

The implementation of the column still along with the necessary machinery and buildings required the investments of large sums of fixed capital. Many smaller producing distilleries were unprepared to pay these sums of money or accept the increased business risk, instead choosing to exit the industry. Those distillers that chose to accept the risk (like Gooderham & Worts) were responding to a demand and the possibility of supplying a newly expanded market. Gooderham & Worts in Toronto embraced technology strongly. By 1861 this establishment was unlike any other distillery in Ontario and their factory had little resemblance to the small distilleries that dominated the landscape in 1850; the production capacity was enormous and the competition imposed by this distillery was very stiff. Many distilleries in local counties, villages, towns and cities found it difficult to compete with the larger distilleries that could produce a better quality and cheaper whisky that resulted from the implementation of factory production techniques.

Technological advancements decreased the production costs per unit and this was important when transportation costs were high. The advent of railways helped to reduce these high overland transportation costs so that the final product could be distributed throughout Ontario and into small local communities. The prospect of a railway network and the potential for access to new markets helped to spur technological development within the distilling industry. It was technology and the potential for mass production that forced many distilleries to use the newly implemented rail lines, but the impact of Ontario's railway network on the distilling industry was not fully realized until the 1860s. Despite this, geographical barriers of distance were broken down. By using existing water routes and the new railway network, products could be shipped to locations that were far from the original place of manufacture. Rail created the newly expanded market, the smaller distilleries were no longer protected by high transportation costs and the local markets were flooded with new competition. The region surrounding the City of Toronto was one example because this region was impacted first by the increased production capacity of Gooderham & Worts and this firm's use of the lower transportation costs. The Gooderham & Worts distillery was already familiar with the exporting of goods by water

transportation; this exporting could be increased and extended by the use of rail lines. The use of this new railway network, which was connected with the United States, also provided access to the higher yielding raw material of corn that was not available in Canada. This higher yield outweighed the costs of long distance rail travel. Not all distilleries benefited from the increasing construction of rail lines because there was not equal access to them. Distilling operations located on the main lines had more advantages for cost savings when compared to distilleries located on branch lines and by the late 1850s spirits and whisky were transported across Ontario by those distilling operations that had the access to the new transportation. Transportation by rail contributed to the new hierarchical level of the distilleries brought on by the technological advancement in the industry.

Though less important than those of technology and transportation in this period, the factors of government influence and entrepreneurialism were none-the-less significant. Entrepreneurialism was a significant factor in the emergence of the "Big Five" distilleries. During this period there was a freedom to locate, and strong personalities in particular locations brought those locations to dominance. Although each proprietor had different skills, abilities, and knowledge it is clear that each also had his own personal goals and aspirations which influenced his decisions and in turn influenced the continued success of his establishment. These men saw particular advantages and the opportunities for profit therefrom. The changes occurring in the distilling industry at this time no longer offered as many possibilities for the regional capitalists that were so prevalent in 1850 and many small producing distilleries ceased operations. The federal government became aware of the need for control within this flourishing industry and in 1859 instituted legislation, rules, duties, record-keeping and penalties. The affects of increased federal government involvement on the changing spatial pattern of this industry did not fully surface until the 1860s.

1861-1871

The distilling industry in the 1860s was marked with a further trend towards concentration. Those distilleries that remained were scattered throughout villages, towns, and cities and the majority of the distilleries that had ceased operations were small producers of spirits and whisky that had been mainly serving the local population. But what now clearly emerged was the dominance of several very large operations, that controlled the industry in Canada., of which Gooderham & Worts in Toronto was dominant. There was still a large range in the production capabilities of the remaining distilleries, but by 1871 four of Ontario's "Big Five" distilleries had claimed their position on the landscape.

During this period the influence of the factors of technology and transportation switch in importance as the full affects of rail transportation were felt within the industry. Ontario's distilling industry embraced rail transportation, both for shipping to markets and for bringing in raw material. Although there was widespread utilization of the railway networks the competition hierarchy intensified. Spirits and whisky could be moved throughout Ontario from the cities and towns and into the hinterlands. Railways fostered growth in many distilleries. Access to rail lines affected the size of the "Big Five" distilleries. Gooderham & Worts was shipping more than a million gallons of spirits and whisky a year and both this distillery and the Hiram Walker distillery had brought in a spur line to facilitate shipments of corn, grain, spirits and whisky. The Waterloo Distillery and the H. Corby Distillery, on the other hand, did not such direct rail connections; these two distilleries would have been forced to move their products to the rail stations by either land or water. Thus, these smaller "Big Five" distilleries were forced to focus their attentions on supplying the local regions. For them, transportation costs were still high.

The implementation of technological advancements continued to decrease the price of spirits and whisky. This decrease in price combined with the utilization of rail transportation and the declining transportation costs created a change in the market. It was now more difficult for small distilleries to compete against the large factory distilling operations, as they could

manufacture and ship spirits and whisky for a lower price than the local distiller could produce it for. Many smaller producing distilleries were simply unable to manufacture the quantities of spirits and whisky needed to effectively ship in bulk. Large factory distilling operations like Hiram Walker & Sons and Gooderham & Worts improved upon their operations with the goal of efficiency. The ability to produce more for less meant the ability to ship more to markets resulting in profits that could be put back into the distilling operations in the form of technological improvements. Gooderham & Worts was so successful that even a fire that destroyed the distillery in 1869 caused only a four month delay in production.

The market also had an important impact on the changing spatial pattern of the industry. Economies of scale were created by rail transportation and large factory distilling operations benefited from the advantages of a steady production process, access to new technologies, and cost savings for the major expense of grain. This enlarged market was not just provincial but also extended into the United States. Not all distilleries took advantage of the potential market created by the American Civil War, but those that did gained not only handsome profits but business contacts as well. This was important because it helped create a United States market that would grow in the next century. During the 1860s, Gooderham & Worts and to some extent the Hiram Walker distillery were exporting large quantities of spirits into international markets but the principal markets remained on the provincial and national level. Gooderham & Worts described the industry perfectly in 1868 by stating that there was a lot of competition between distilleries but they believed that it could not last long because they were attempting to keep prices so low that new competition would not be tempted to enter the industry.

The federal government played an important role during the 1860s helping to further concentrate the industry by making it unprofitable for smaller producing distilling operations to continue business. Legislation, licenses, comprehensive records and the excise officer controlling the inputs and outputs of the distillery only increased the motivation for distilleries to exit the industry. To afford the excise taxes a distillery needed to significantly lower production costs.

The federal government wanted total control of this industry, which would result in total control of its revenue. Distilleries had to pay for the right to distill spirits. The federal government was determined to remove the deceitful and illicit distillers from the industry and was unwilling to tolerate haphazard operating conditions. At this point the federal government was not concerned with the loss of distilleries because this meant it would be easier to manage industry. Entrepreneurialism during the 1860s helped to maintain the trend towards concentration. There was a development of certain distilleries as their operations grew and the proprietors attempted to maintain their investments in the industry. There were various opportunities for profits such as new markets accessed by new rail lines and the new market created by the American Civil War. The "Big Five" distilleries dealt with constant changes in the industry, particularly those due to government intervention.

1871-1883

In the 1870s large industrial distilling enterprises were controlling Ontario's production of spirits; in fact, two distilleries (Gooderham & Worts and Hiram Walker & Sons) were amongst the top industrial firms in Canada. Huge amounts of capital were invested into the operations of the "Big Five" distilleries. Minor concentration continued to occur in the industry but the more significant trend in the changing spatial pattern was the *maintenance* of the "Big Five" in Canada's whisky region. By 1883 this whisky region in Southern Ontario was clearly defined. In particular the distilleries of Gooderham & Worts Ltd. and Hiram Walker & Sons were controlling more than half of the total distilling production. These large distilling operations were capital intensive making it difficult for a new distillery to enter into the market. The control of the market by these five distilling operations allowed for further prosperity, but competition also increased between these distilleries on the basis of quality and brand-name recognition. This competition between Ontario's large distilling enterprises helped to perpetuate the spatial pattern. To gain market share on the provincial and national level meant that a distillery would need to take part of another distillery's market which was more difficult than simply acquiring market

share in the newly created national and provincial markets of earlier decades. Due to the limitations of acquiring provincial and national market shares the possibility of a new international market was enticing, especially for the distillery of Hiram Walker & Sons. At this time, the only distillery with a significant proportion of exports of spirits to an international market was Gooderham & Worts Ltd.. The potential of this market was barely realized and the possibility of a new international market would help to influence the pattern of Ontario's distilleries during the 1880s and 1890s. The mass production of spirits and whisky by the factory distilling enterprises created tough competition within the main provincial and national markets. This removed the incentive to begin a new distilling operation in Ontario and this helped to maintain the concentration within the industry. Although distilleries continued to exit the industry during this decade, two small producers of whisky continued to survive within this highly competitive market by creating a niche market, producing Canada's only malt whisky. The oligopolistic structured market (that had been created by the end of this period and the highly competitive atmosphere of the industry which made it almost impossible for another distillery to enter the market) was the dominating factor of influence for the 1870s.

Rail transportation was also a strong factor of influence at this time because the number of rail lines increased dramatically. This helped Ontario's "Big Five" distilleries access hinterland markets while reducing the transportation costs to ship spirits, whisky, and raw materials. The number of rail lines were also increasing throughout Canada which helped Ontario's distilleries to supply the national market. For instance, warehouses were placed strategically on rail lines throughout Canada to help distribute spirits and whisky. Technological advancements continued to play an importance role in maintaining the progression of distilleries throughout this period but the full affects of this factor had been minimized by the more influencing factors of the oligopolistic market and transportation which helped to maintain the "Big Five" distilleries position on Ontario's landscape. These distilleries continued to grow, expand, diversify, and implement new technologies during the 1870s. The importance of the

bottling of whisky, for example, became an entrepreneurial tool for the “Big Five” distilleries as competition between them increased in Canada. By the early 1880s bottling became more lucrative and started to compete with barrel sales. Bottled whisky enabled the “Big Five” distilleries to reach end consumers. This increased the importance of brand-names and customer recognition of the product beginning the history of marketing whisky; the focus of sales would no longer be wholesale establishments or taverns. [something funny here-doesn't make sense] Entrepreneurialism in this period, therefore, was influencing the spatial pattern more than the continual adoption of technology. The proprietors of the “Big Five” distilleries were also pursuing personal goals and were becoming more recognized within their communities. As various technologies were added to the distilling industry it became extremely difficult for a new distilling operations to enter into competition against the large factory operations of the “Big Five” distilleries. This perpetuated the spatial pattern helping to keep small distilleries from entering the industry.

By the early 1870s there was an elimination of the “free reign” market, as the federal government’s control over distilling operations intensified, the industry looked less and less appealing to distillers that were not making handsome profits. Federal government control became a burden for many small distilleries. This was especially true as the excise taxes continued to increase. The large factory distilling operations were forced to see their production costs rise as a result of increased taxes and this also played a significant role in maintaining the pattern of concentration within the industry.

1883-1900

For the last two decades of the nineteenth century Ontario’s distilling industry remained concentrated. A further concentration in the industry would not occur until the next century. Since 1861 Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had been Canada’s second largest producer of spirits and whisky, but now in the last decades of the century were fighting for first place. This corporation had different business strategies and by the early 1890s was becoming known internationally,

particularly in the United States, for its premium brand-name "Canadian Club". This possibility of an international market helped to forward Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. This fact was important because during this period entrepreneurialism was an influencing factor on the spatial pattern, second in importance only to government influence. The location of this distillery had become more advantageous than that of Gooderham & Worts in Toronto. This distillery was located in Walkerville, close to Detroit, Michigan, and could ship "Canadian Club" directly into the United States market. Perhaps even more importantly, with corn now the primary raw material (and probably the largest single cost in production) for all large distilleries, this establishment was the closest of all major Canadian distilleries to the mid-western United States corn producers. This distillery could thus enjoy significant savings in transportation costs. By the 1890s Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. had established a brand that competed successfully in the United States and the world. The other "Big Five" distilleries had not achieved this. To maintain this success Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. were forced to use aggressive tactics to control fraudulent whisky makers and began an advertising campaign and the promotion of their brands. It was these aggressive tactics and persistence that helped Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. maintain international market share.

The oligopolistic market had been achieved and the "Big Five" distilleries were determined to keep this advantageous market environment. The extent of the friendships between the distilleries are unknown; however, it is clear that there was a business alliance as well as the formation of a Distillers Association. A mutual understanding was developed between these businessmen to alternate production after the onset of The Aging Law imposed by the federal government. The "Big Five" distillers in the 1890s wanted to advance the entire industry maintaining oligopolistic control. With these types of alliances it would have been nearly impossible for a new distilling operation to enter the industry.

The affects of government influence were strong in this period and helped to maintain the spatial pattern of the industry. By the 1890s the federal government was setting the conditions

that the distilling industry was to operate within and those distilleries that remained were a privileged few. The lack of control, uncertainty, and powerlessness of the distillers was clearly presented during the inquest from the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic in 1895. As a result of federal government control it was difficult to operate a distillery or begin a new distilling operation. Excise taxes continued to increase maintaining the need for a decrease in production costs. The Aging Law ensured good quality pure whisky but this law also forced Ontario's distillers to invest large sums of capital to build warehouses to store the whisky and spirits for a period of two years, which meant that profits would not be seen until two years later. This only added to the already large fixed capital needed to operate a distillery helping to prevent new distilleries from entering into the industry. The Bottling in Bond Law instituted by the federal government also helped to keep distilleries from entering the industry because large sums of capital were needed for facilities, labour, bottles, labels, corks and capsules. The federal government was not a partner in investment in the industry but it was the overseer and a partner in profits.

Technological advancements continued to play a minor role during these last two decades because it was the cost to implement and operate factory production that helped to keep the industry concentrated. By the early 1880s the railway system provided mass distribution of gallons of spirits and whisky across the landscape helping to ensure the dominance of the "Big Five" distilleries in Ontario. The distilling industry was no longer advantageous for small producing distilleries which was why the introduction of the Royal Distillery to the landscape in 1883 was such an anomaly. The Royal Distillery was an industrial operation producing enough spirits and whisky to rival J.E. Seagram or H. Corby from the onset competing against the "Big Five" distilleries for market shares in Canada. The market during the final two decades of the nineteenth century was driven by an oligopoly and a federal government that made it almost impossible for a distilling operation to begin and succeed.

Maintaining concentration in Ontario's distilling industry continued briefly in the new century and further concentration did occur. William Gooderham, James Worts, Henry Corby, John Wiser, Joseph Seagram, and Hiram Walker were entrepreneurial giants of the nineteenth century who established a reign over Canada's distilling industry that lasted for more than half a century. In the first two decades of the new century the distilling operations were sold. The year 1900 marks the turning point for a new era in the distilling industry as well as a resultant change in the spatial pattern. The latter half of the nineteenth century was the precursor for the future of Canada's distilling industry as we recognize it today. It was during this period that the legacy was imprinted on the landscape. Ontario's "Big Five" distilleries not only impacted the lives of many individuals, the communities that surrounded them, and the province and country this industry provided for, but the distilling industry was also important to the growth of Canada's secondary manufacturing sector. The distilling industry was one of the few industries which led the way during the industrial revolution as well as in the exporting of goods to the United States. Ontario's distilling industry created *Canadian whisky*, a unique product known around the world. Canada's "whisky region" was defined during the second half of the nineteenth century and this spatial pattern remained for more than a century. Today, only Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. is in operation at the original location. Its major competitor, Gooderham and Worts, no longer produces but leaves a highly significant heritage site. Canada's once powerful whisky region has dissolved into a single location.

APPENDIX A

WHAT IS UNDERPROOF, PROOF, AND OVERPROOF?

- **Proof** - is an adopted standard used in determining the alcoholic strength of a liquid. In Canada the mixture must be approximately 57 percent alcohol and 43 per cent water. In the United States this differs with a mixture of 50-50.
- **Underproof (U.P.)** - means below the standard of proof (assuming this is 100%). For example, 30 U.P. or 30 degrees underproof is equal to 70 percent proof spirit.
- **Overproof (O.P.)** - means over 100 percent of proof. For example, 20 O.P. or 20 degrees overproof is 120 percent of proof spirit.
- **Proof Gallon** - this is an imperial gallon in Canada. For tax purposes the gallonage of an alcoholic liquid is measured using the number of proof gallons the alcohol would produce. This standard is primarily used by Customs and Excise to compute duties. This "proof" strength was determined using an instrument called a Sykes Hydrometer which indicated the degree of alcohol strength that is maintained by a liquid.
- **Wine Gallon** - is a measurement mostly used in the United States. Although colloquial measures were raised in Canada, this a widely used liquid measure in Canada. Canada adopted this unit of measure from 1859 to 1874 when the standard measure was changed to the imperial gallon in 1875. A wine gallon is equal to a standard United States gallon of 3.785411784 litres (the Queen Anne's wine gallon until 1824).

- **Imperial Gallon** - is the term of measurement used by Great Britain and Canada. An Imperial gallon is equal to 1.201 United States gallons or 4.54609 litres. A United States gallons is only fourth-fifths of an imperial gallons.
- **Sykes Hydrometer** - was adopted universally in the early nineteenth century as a way of accurately measuring the strength of a spirit.

Refer to the Proof Table for easy conversion of overproof and underproof.

PROOF TABLE

Percentage Alcohol by Volume	Canadian Proof	Degrees Sykes Scale	U.S. Proof
100	75 O.P.	175 Absolute Alcohol	200
97	70	170	194
91	60	160	182
86	50	150	172
80	40	140	160
74	30	130	148
69	20	120	138
63	10	110	126
57.06	Proof	100	114.2
51	10 U.P.	90	102
50	12.3	87.6	100
46	20	80	92
40	30	70	80
34	40	60	68
29	50	50	58
23	60	40	46
0	100	0 Pure Distilled Water	0

* Data is accurate to the nearest whole number.

Source of Table: Hastings County Public Library. Canadiana Room, vertical file. Corbyville. 19??, 68.

APPENDIX B

Data Set of Distilleries Operating in Ontario

According to Genevieve Allard, Reference Archivist for the National Archive of Canada, and Mary Bond, Reference Service Provider for the National Library of Canada, records no longer exist from the Inland Revenue of Canada pertaining to the names of distillers or a list of the licensed distilleries in Canada from the period 1850 to 1900. Consequently, this data set was generated in an attempt to ascertain the distilleries in operation during the stated time period, by using the most reliable sources of data available which would contain the data in question. The main data source used was the Canada Census, specifically, the manuscript census for the personal census of 1851-52, 1861 and the industrial census of 1871 as well as the printed census for the years 1881 and 1891. By using the Canada Census the time period in question can be divided into decades. Numerous other primary data sources were used to aid in the accuracy of the data obtained from the census. Although the census was used for consistency across the data set, discrepancies did occur. Specifically these discrepancies were: the names of distillers and distilleries when compared to the other primary data sources used for the same period; figures recorded as the annual produce (either the output or the capacity of the establishment); the lack of standardization between barrels, pounds and gallons when recorded by the enumerator in the 1851-52 census; and the lack of data for the census year 1851-52, not only in the missing township censuses but also the fact that much of the information which had been requested especially in terms of the business property owned by an individual, was not recorded by the enumerator. It should be noted that for the census year 1851-2 the precise number of distilleries in operation in Upper Canada can not be determined, due to missing township censuses. In this case, the attempt was made to determine the most probable distilleries in operation as close as possible to the census year 1851. To handle the various inconsistencies and discrepancies certain assumptions were made. These problems and assumptions are listed in detail so that one may understand how this data set was generated.

AROUND 1851

A. Determining the Number of Distilleries

1. The Census Report of the Canadas for 1851-52, "Summary No. 8 - Upper Canada - Mills, Manufactories & c.", for 1851-52 was used as the approximation for the number of distilleries within a county and its subsequent townships. The data provided within this summary is in the form of counties but the corresponding townships are not listed. Using the county listing of the townships found at the beginning of each county enumeration within the manuscript census of the personal census it was possible to match the corresponding number for a township in the manuscript census with the number listed in the summary. For example, in number 33 of Carleton County there is one distillery which corresponds to number 33 or the Village of Richmond in the personal census, therefore, there is one distillery in the Village of Richmond, Carleton.

It must be noted that assumptions were made for nine counties listed in this summary of mills and manufactories in terms of the number of distilleries, the number of distilleries giving returns and the number of distilleries not giving returns due to various errors made throughout the summary. Errors included an incorrectly placed value or a missing value which meant the addition of the number of distilleries giving returns and the number not giving returns did not add to the number of distilleries. The assumptions made for the nine counties are as follows:

Brant County

- 3 distilleries
- Town of Brantford = 1 distillery and it is giving a return

- Town of Paris = 1 distillery and it is giving a return

Elgin County

- 9 distilleries
- Malahide Township = 1 distillery and it is giving a return
- Southwold Township = 3 distilleries, 2 are giving returns and 1 is not giving a return

Grenville County

- 4 distilleries
- Town of Prescott = 2 distilleries, both are giving returns

Middlesex County

- 9 distilleries
- Missouri Township = 1 distillery and it is giving a return
- Delaware Township = 1 distillery and it is not giving a return

Lanark County

- 1 distillery
- Montague Township = 1 distillery and it is not giving a return

Ontario County

- 4 distilleries
- Pickering Township = 2 distilleries, 1 is giving a return of 100 gallons per day and 1 is not giving a return
- Uxbridge Township = 1 distillery and it is not giving a return
- Oshawa Township = 1 distillery and it is giving a return

Oxford County

- 3 distilleries
- East Zorra Township = 1 distillery and it is not giving a return
- West Zorra Township = 1 distillery and it is not giving a return
- Village of Ingersol = 1 distillery and it is not giving a return

Victoria County

- 3 distilleries
- Mariposa Township = 1 distillery and it is not giving a return
- Ops Township = 1 distillery and it is not giving a return
- Emily Township = 1 distillery and it is not giving a return

Waterloo County

- 7 distilleries
- North Dumfries Township = 1 distillery and it is giving a return
- Wellesley Township = 2 distilleries and both are giving returns
- Village of Galt = 2 distilleries and both are not giving returns
- Village of Preston = 2 distilleries and both are giving returns

York County

- 6 distilleries
- Markham Township = 2 distilleries and both are not giving returns
- Scarborough Township = 2 distilleries, 1 is giving a return and 1 is not
- King Township = 2 distilleries and both are giving returns

2. The manuscript census was considered to be the most reliable source of information in terms of the data gathered. The entire manuscript census was viewed on microfilm. Each page was examined for the mention of either a distiller or distillery. These words could be found in four different columns of the census: "profession, trade or occupation"; "shop, stores, inns, taverns, & c."; "information as to mills, factories & c."; and "general remarks". In the cases where a distillery was found but the profession of the proprietor was not classified as a distiller,

but as a merchant, a clerk, or a brewer, for the purposes of this data set the individual was considered to be a distiller.

3. There are numerous personal censuses of townships missing for various counties. For each county in Upper Canada the number of distillers found in the Appendix to the Census of the Canadas “No. 7, Upper Canada Professions, Trades & Occupations” was compared to the number of distillers found in the manuscript census for general accuracy.

Assumptions were made for the purpose of determining the distillers most likely to be in operation around the census year of 1851. Due to various discrepancies the following assumptions were made.

- If a distiller was found in a township that was not indicated by the summary of mills and manufactories, it was assumed that there must be a distillery located within that township. For example, Goulborne Township in Carleton County, James Boyle was added to the database. Any distillery added to the data set is represented by an asterisk (“*”), to highlight this fact.
- If there are more than one distiller working within a township, village or town it is possible that there may be more than one distiller working at the same establishment. In this case, the summary of mills and manufactories was used for the number of distilleries operating in that township, village or town and it was assumed that the number of distilleries recorded in the summary was correct. For example, 6 distillers were found within the manuscript census in the Town of Peterborough in Peterborough County. The summary indicated 3 distilleries, therefore, using the manuscript census it was determined that William Lundy and Clark Spalding own distilleries and through the process of elimination the other proprietor must be either Robert Atchinson or Robert Wilson or a merchant in which case the name is unknown. An unknown proprietor was represented by a question mark in the data set.
- If there was no distillery mentioned by the summary of mills and manufactories, but distillers were found within the manuscript census, the Canada Directory of 1851 and W.H. Smith's Business Directory of 1852 (located in Canada Past, Present & Future) were used to determine the number of distilleries operating in 1851. Unless otherwise indicated by the directories it was assumed that there was one distillery and the distillers found in the manuscript census were all working at the same distillery.
- There are many personal censuses missing or incomplete for townships in Upper Canada. Refer below for the list of these townships. In this case it was assumed that the number of distilleries indicated by the summary of mills and manufactories was correct and therefore used as the number of distilleries for that township. It was assumed by the researcher that this discrepancy could have been caused by either missing townships from the census or that the proprietor of a distillery was classified by the enumerator under a different profession, trade or occupation and no comments were made by the enumerator as to the business owned by that individual. Therefore, the name of the distiller or the owner would not be found in the manuscript census by searching for the words distiller or distillery. It should be noted here that one exception was made in Grey County because the summary of mills and manufactories indicated that there was one distillery in Derby Township however in the manuscript census Thomas Scott was found in Sydenham Township with the same data as the census summary. It was concluded in this instance that the data was incorrectly placed in the census summary.

Township Personal Censuses Missing or Incomplete for Upper Canada in 1851-52

Addington County	
• Camden	Part 3 - incomplete and Part 4 - missing
Brant County	
• Brantford	Part 4 - incomplete
Elgin County	
• Dunwich	missing
• Yarmouth	township missing except for the town of St. Thomas
Essex County	
• Anderson	missing
• Gosfield	missing
• Maidstone	missing
• Town of Amherstburg	missing
Frontenac County	
• Kingston	Part 1 - 3 sheets only and Part 5 - missing
• Bedford	missing
• Portland	Part 1 - 1 sheet only
• Wolfe Island	Part 2 - missing
Grey County	
• Indian Territory	missing
Grenville County	
• Augusta	Part 1 - most illegible
• Oxford	Part 2- missing
Haldimand County	
• Seneca	missing
Halton County	
• Esquesing	missing
• Trafalgar	Part 1 and Part 2 - incomplete
• Nassagaweya	missing
Hastings County	
• Town of Belleville	Part 2 - missing
• Hungerford	one sheet only
• Marmora	missing
• Rawdon	missing
Huron County	
• Hawich	missing
• Turnbury	missing
• Tuckersmith	missing
• Stanley	missing
• Goderich	missing
• Town of Goderich	missing
Kent County	
• Camden	missing
• Chatham Gore	one sheet only
• Harwick	missing
• Raleigh	missing

• Romney	missing
• East Tilbury	missing
• Zone Tilbury	missing
Lanark County	
• Montague	Part 1 and Part 2 - missing
• Ramsay	missing
• Town of Perth	Part 3 and Part 4 - incomplete
Lennox County	
• Richmond	Part 1 - missing
Lincoln County	
• Grantham	missing
• St. Catharines	missing
Middlesex County	
• London	Part 1 - missing
Northumberland County	
• Haldimand	Part 1 - missing
• Alnwick	missing
• Town of Cobourg	missing
Norfolk County	
• Long Point	missing
• Ryerson's Island	missing
Ontario County	
• Reach	one sheet only
• Brock	Part 1 - missing
• Mara	incomplete
• Rama	incomplete
• Scott	incomplete
• Georgina	missing
• Oshawa	missing
Oxford County	
• North Oxford	missing
Peel County	
• Toronto	Part 2 - missing and Part 4 - 1 sheet only
Perth County	
• Easthope South	missing
• Elma	missing
• Wallace	missing
Prince Edward County	
• Ameliasburg	Part 2 - missing
• Atholl	missing
• Marysburg	missing
• Sophiasburg	missing
• Town of Picton	missing
Simcoe County	
• missing	
Stormont County	
• Osnabruck	Part 2 - incomplete

Victoria County

- Mariposa missing
- Ops missing

Waterloo County

- North Dumfries Part 2 - missing
- Woolwich Part 2 - missing

Wellington County

- Erin missing
- Puslinch 1 sheet missing
- Guelph missing
- Town of Guelph missing
- Nichol ½ sheet missing

Welland County

- Stamford Part 1 - missing
- Crowland missing
- Wainfleet missing
- Humberstone missing

Wentworth County

- Beverly Part 1 - missing and Part 2 - incomplete
- Binbrooke missing
- Town of Dundas missing
- Glandford missing
- Flamborough East missing

York County

- Scarborough missing
- Vaughan Part 1 - ½ sheet missing
- Whitechurch missing

City of Toronto

- missing

City of Kingston

- missing

City of London

- missing

4. This researcher would like to make note of 17 questionable entries into this data set. Due to the standard assumptions made for the data set, these distilleries will remain since no disputing evidence can be found to state whether or not there was a distillery in the township in 1851. Although other data sources were examined this researcher found no positive mention of a distillery in the particular townships for the year 1851. However, in stating this it is still possible that a small establishment was located in the township or still working from previous years, not recorded in directories or worthy of notation and so these distilleries have been left in the data set. These questionable entries are:

- 3 distilleries in Sherbrooke, Haldimand
- 2 distilleries in Tudor, Hastings
- 3 distilleries in London, Middlesex
- 2 distilleries in Wellesley, Waterloo
- 3 distilleries in Beverly, Wentworth
- 2 distilleries in King, York
- 2 distilleries in Scarborough, York

B. Proprietor Names

Assumptions were also made when determining the most probable name of the distiller found in the various townships.

1. If a personal census for a township was missing and the summary of mills and manufactories indicated a distillery or distilleries existed within that township then in this case the proprietor or distiller's name was added using the Canada Directory for 1851 or marked with a question mark as to the uncertainty of the proprietor name because there was no name within the directory for that township. For example, the name Lockhart & Wilson was added to the data set as distillers located in the Village of Oshawa in Ontario county. A name from the Canada Directory of 1851 is represented by italic print in the data set.
2. The name of the distiller found in the manuscript census was used as the name of the proprietor. The exception was made when on examination of the Canada Directory of 1851 and W.H. Smith's Business Directory of 1852 and the distiller's name varied within a particular township. In this case the name found in the Canada Directory of 1851 was used instead of the name found in the manuscript census because it was assumed that the proprietor name given in the Canada Directory of 1851 was more accurate. Due to the fact that these distiller names did not coincide it was assumed that the name was either missed in the manuscript census search due to lack of enumerator information or that the name found was a distiller working within the establishment that is owned by a different individual. Since there is a distiller or proprietor name given in the Canada Directory of 1851 the distillery must be in operation within that particular township. It was assumed that many distillers did enlist in the Directory. Many millers, merchants, brewers, clerks and gentlemen owned or rented out a distillery so as a result that name might appear within a directory which means that it is possible that the distiller found in the manuscript census merely works for that individual. For example, in Camden Township the distiller Alexander Allen was found in the manuscript census but there is no mention of this distiller in the various directories. Consequently, Hayden & Sproule from the Canada Directory of 1851 was used. In this case the name in brackets is the name that was found in the manuscript census.
3. If a township, village, or town personal census was missing or incomplete and the summary of mills and manufactories indicated that there was a distillery located there, then the Canada Directory of 1851 and W.H. Smith's Business Directory for 1852 were used to determine the likely name of the proprietor. When a discrepancy occurred between the directories as to the proprietor's name, the name in the Canada Directory was used. In the data set this name is represented in italic print.
4. Distilleries were added to the database from business directories when 1) the Canada Directory of 1851 said that distillery existed and the name of the proprietor was not found in the manuscript census, 2) the distiller name matched between the Canada Directory of 1851 and W.H. Smith's Business Directory for 1852, and 3) the distiller's name matched between the Canada Directory of 1851 and the Canada Directory of 1857. The following additions were made to the data set and are also represented with an asterisk. (The list of additions will help to distinguish these ten distillers from any distiller added to the database from the examination of townships in the Canada Census.)
 - Charles Watts of the Town of Brantford in Brant County
 - Ambrose Clothier of Kemptville in Oxford Township in Oxford County

- John Simpson & Co. of the Town of Bowmanville in Durham County
- Anson Wright of Rawdon in Rawdon Township in Hastings County
- Alexander and James Boles of St. Catherines in Lincoln County
- George Elliott in the Town of Port Hope in Durham County
- Richard Church of Sydenham Village in Toronto Gore
- Donald McPherson of Napanee in Richmond Township of Lennox County
- W.F. McCulloch of the Town of Stratford in Perth County
- Jacob C. Snider of the Village of Waterloo in Waterloo County

C. Determining the Annual Produce of Each Distillery

Assumptions were made in the attempt to determine a distillery's annual production which could be used for mapping purposes. Unfortunately much of this data is missing and with the lack of sufficient data many values could not be determined successfully. In these cases where there is a lack of data a dash represents the unknown value.

1. When determining the annual production of a distillery the manuscript census was considered to be the most reliable in terms of the data relayed to the enumerator and consequently if a discrepancy occurred between the data recorded in the manuscript census and the data in the census summary then the data in the manuscript census was used. These values found in the manuscript census are represented by bold print.
2. If there were no values given in the manuscript census for a distillery but there was data given in the census summary, this data was used. However, if there was more than one distillery giving returns for a township and the data could not be divided between the two distilleries (by using data for one distillery found in the manuscript census) then the data was divided evenly between the distilleries. Although this may not be the accurate annual production or capital invested for the distilleries it will suffice for mapping purposes as to the amount of production generated within a township but must also be noted.
3. There was no standard measure used by the enumerators when recording the data for the annual produce. Consequently, values occur in the census such as £3,000 per year or 180 gallons per week or 500 barrels a year or 60 barrels per day which need to be standardized so that the data may be mapped as well as compared to subsequent census years. Number of gallons of produce per year was used as the standard. In an attempt to standardize the data the following conversions were used.
 - **1 barrel = 40 gallons.** This conversion was determined by using various data found in the manuscript census and the summary of mills and manufactories.
 1. Patton & Currey in the Village of Paris, Brant (1851-52)
manuscript census 1,800 barrels = census summary 72,000 gallons (annual produce)
Thus, 1 barrel = 40 gallons
 2. Campbell & Co. in the Village of Grafton, Northumberland (1851-52)
manuscript census 200 barrels = census summary 8,900 gallons (annual produce)
Thus, 1 barrel = 44.2 gallons
 3. Pelham, Welland (1851-52)
manuscript census 500 barrels = census summary 20,000 gallons (annual produce)
Thus, 1 barrel = 40 gallons
 4. Peter Kastner in Ellice, Perth (1861)
manuscript census 137 barrels = census summary 5,480 gallons (annual produce)
Thus, 1 barrel = 40 gallons

5. Lanman & Kemp Correspondence

Letter 1864 1 barrel = 50 gallons

Lanman & Kemp are based in New York and this figure that Gooderham & Worts quoted to the firm was in U.S. gallons. Five U.S. gallons equals four imperial gallons. Consequently, we will assume that if 1 barrel = 50 U.S. gallons then 1 barrel = 40 Canadian gallons.

6. Maitland Distillery Case 1866

It was mentioned in the Maitland Distillery Case that 1 cask = 50 imperial gallons (Canadian) and since a cask is larger than a barrel, a barrel would need to be smaller than 50 gallons. It should be noted that each distillery used a different sized barrel, however they were all approximately close to 40 gallons.

7. Canadian Biographical Dictionary, 1880 (page 65)

It was stated here that, Gooderham & Worts 40,000 barrels = 50 gallons each.

- **£1 = 40 gallons.** The only data found to allude to a conversion from pounds to gallons was found using a comparison between the manuscript census and the census summary.

Lobo, Middlesex (1851-52)

manuscript census £50 a year = census summary 2,000 gallons of (annual produce)
£1 = 40 gallons

- **Distillery works 6 days a week.** It was assumed that the establishment worked a 6 day work week because no manufacturing operations worked on Sunday.
- **Distillery is in the production of spirits for 8 months.**

Determining the number of months a distillery works in a year is very difficult to do due to a number of factors such as the power being used (either water, steam or a combination of the two), individual choice by the owner and the fact that some establishments used equipment like stones for milling and distilling which means only one product could be produced at a time. Despite these factors a standard production run for the year needed to be determined. No data was found to allude to the production run of smaller distilleries, but it was likely shorter than 8 months, especially if driven by water power (freezing in winter). Data were found to indicate that distilleries did not produce gallons of whisky in summer months due to the heat and annoyance of flies. This was usually from June to September.

1. in 1877 Gooderham & Worts active season was from September to June, as stated in The Canadian Biographical Dictionary (1880) on page 62.
 2. 1871 Canada Census many of the distilleries did not work 12 months of the year.
 3. in 1895 the distillery season for J.P. Wiser & Sons was from September or October to around the 30th of June (as stated in the Minutes of Evidence for the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic, 1895 by Albert Whitney, distiller).
4. **£1 = \$4.00¹** (Halifax Currency) The returning capital invested was measured in pounds and this conversion was used to standardize the data for comparison with the subsequent census years that use dollars as the measure.
5. Assessment rolls were to be used to determine capital invested by those distilleries with no capital indicated or those distilleries that were added to the data set. Unfortunately most of the assessment rolls that were required for certain towns or townships are missing for the year

¹ Douglas McCalla, Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada 1784-1870, Ontario Historical Studies Series for the Government of Ontario (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1993) 246.

1851, as well as the time period 1849 to 1853. Only in a few instances was capital investment data obtained from the assessment rolls. They are:

- Robert Howeson distiller in Augusta County 1853 with £227 of real property and personal property so $227(4) = \$908$ capital.
 - William Allan miller in the Town of Guelph 1852 with £910 of taxable personal property so $910(4) = \$3,600$.
 - James Philip distiller in Elora 1850 with £103 of real property and personal property so $103(4) = \$412$.
 - The other two distilleries operating in Toronto with Gooderham & Worts in 1851 were located in the Toronto assessment rolls for 1851 to 1853. To determine the gallons produced by the distilleries of Samuel Platt and William Crocker a ratio was used. It was determined that according to the Toronto assessment roll for 1851 Gooderham & Worts had a value of average stock at £1,500, Crocker was £1,000 and Platt was £500. So $£1,500 = 80,000$ gallons (as stated in "Messrs. Gooderham & Worts, City Steam Mills and Distillery." British Colonist [Toronto] 16 April 1850) a ratio of 1:53. Using this ratio, Crocker produced approximately 53,000 gallons and Platt produced 26,500 gallons of produce.
6. An article in The British Colonist [Toronto] 16 April 1850 titled "Messrs. Gooderham & Worts, City Steam Mills and Distillery" was used for the annual produce of Gooderham and Worts in Toronto, **80,000 gallons**.
 7. A correlation graph was created using the data available in the data set for capital invested and annual produce. Capital invested in dollars was graphed on the X-axis and annual produce in gallons was graphed on the Y-axis. Using the diagonal line out from zero, the distilleries with only a value of capital invested, as returned in the Canada Census, were assumed to have an annual produce in gallons as to that represented on the diagonal line, the capital invested multiplied by 2.5.
 8. **1 bushel = 2.85 gallons**. This estimate was generated using figures from 6 distilleries and then the average was taken. They are:
 - Village of Richmond, Carelton...25 bushels a day = 65 gallons or 1:2.6.
 - Town of Brantford, Brant...115 bushels a day = 600 gallons or 1:3.45
 - Sydenham, Grey...30 bushels a day = 30 gallons or 1:1
 - City of Toronto...60 bushels per day = 266 gallons or 1:4.4
 - Southwold, Elgin...1 bushel of corn = 2.6 gallons
 - Town of Prescott, Grenville...15,000 bushels = 45,000 gallons or 1:3

The following distilleries in which this figure was used are:

C&W Wadsworth of Weston, York = 18 bushels a day

Thomas & Edward Musson of Etobicoke, York = 7 bushels a day

James Crooks of West Flamborough, Wentworth = 20 bushels a day

Frederick Creine of Pickering, Ontario = 12 bushels a day

James Shanley of Missouri, Middlesex = 20 bushels a day

William Mechler of Nichol, Wellington = 25 bushels a day

9. Any distilleries where data could not be determined were simply left blank and it was assumed that although these distilleries existed at this time the gallons produced could not be determined due to lack of sufficient data.

Note:

1. Clarke Spalding of the town of Peterborough gave a return of £1,000 of produce a year for beer and whisky. This figure was divided in half and £500 was used for the whiskey production.
2. Robert Johnston of Stampford, Welland gave a return of 100 to 150 barrels of produce so 125 barrels was used.
3. Charles Campbell & Co. of Haldimand in Northumberland County gave a return of 200 barrels a day capacity in the manuscript census but the census summary of mills and manufactories recorded 8,900 gallons. This 200 barrels was assumed to be a capacity only and not the actual produce because:
 1. McFarlane & Co. in 1861 produced 17,000 gallons.
 2. From the Sessional Papers No. 41 in 1860 the produce for Northumberland County in 1857 was 81,047 gallons.
 3. 200 barrels a day or 16,000 gallons a day at 6 day a week for 32 weeks = 3,072,000 gallons for the year which is more that the total gallons of Upper Canada in 1851
 4. If assumed that the produce is 200 barrels a year = 8,000 gallons which is approximately what was in the summary of mills and manufactories.

In this case the value in the summary of mills and manufactories was used.
4. John Boswell of Hamilton, Northumberland gave a return of 40 barrels a day in the manuscript census. This was assumed to be an error as well because:
 1. in 1861 the distillery produced 17,000 gallons
 2. in 1857 Northumberland County total gallons = 81,047 gallons
 3. 40 barrels a day = 307,200 gallons for the year

In this case the capital invested was used to determine the annual production of the distillery so $2,800(2.5) = 7,000$.
5. For Elgin County (Southwold), the "Summary of Mills, Manufactories & c," claimed 367,000 gallons of total production for 2 distilleries that gave census returns. It was assumed that a typographical error occurred here and the total for these 2 distilleries was 36,700. This assumption was made because the capital invested for both distilleries was only 800 pounds and is not consistent with data available at this time for fixed capital or annual produce, this figure just seems out of place. There is no mention of a notable distillery in Southwold, Elgin at this time, and if a distillery could produce this quantity of gallons one would expect the operation to survive into 1861.

Clearly many assumptions were needed throughout the data set due to lack of data and various discrepancies, however this is the closest and most complete data set of distilleries in operation around 1851. There are many small distilleries in operation at this time and the personal census was the first real attempt made to indicate the number of distilleries in operation across Upper Canada. By 1861, a more detailed census of manufacturing establishments and more thorough collection on the part of the enumerators allowed for a more accurate representation of the distilleries in operation.

AROUND 1861

A. Determining the Number of Distilleries

1. The Census Report of the Canadas, "Summary No. 13 - Upper Canada - Return of Mills, Manufactories, &c.", for 1860-61 was used as the approximation for the number of distilleries with a county.
2. Similar to the procedure taken for the year 1851, the manuscript census was examined. Specifically, the counties specified by the summary of mills and manufactories to contain distilleries were examined. The counties that were indicated in "Summary No. 8 - Upper

Canada - Professions, Trades and Occupations" to have distillers, but were not recorded in Summary No. 13 as containing a distillery were also examined, for example Bruce County. The manuscript census was considered to be the most reliable source for detailed data on the distilleries operating in Upper Canada. Each county was examined thoroughly and it should be noted that there were no missing townships or incomplete data for this census in terms of counties.

3. It was assumed that in the category type of business if the word "distiller" or "distilling" or "distillery" was found, there was a distillery owned by that distiller in that township. Some exception to this assumption did occur and they are as follows:
 - James Wilson of Hope, Durham was assumed to work for John Murtey.
 - John & Patrick McCarthy of Augusta, Grenville work together and were considered as one.
 - Andrew Rochester of Sullivan, Grey was assumed to work for Adam Ainslie.
 - Wm Barker of Chatam, Kent was assumed as only an owner of the distillery.
 - Robert Brown and Amos Byard of Simcoe, Norfolk were assumed to be a part of Richie, Ford & Co.
 - Thomas Marshall of Townsend, Norfolk was assumed to work for George Pack.
 - Robert Taylor of Whitby East, Ontario worked with Peter Taylor.
 - C. Spelsman, Wm Henry and Wm Ryan were assumed to work for one of the 3 distilleries in operation in Toronto.

For the above exceptions there was either no confirmation in other data sources of the existence of a distillery or no capital was included with the mention of the type of business.

4. Various primary sources were used to aid in the determination of the distilleries operating within the counties of Upper Canada. These primary data sources were 1) the Canada Directory of 1857, 2) Mitchell's Gazetteer & Business Directory for 1864, 3) various Tremaine maps for the counties of Ontario, 4) the Dun & Bradstreet Reference Books (1864 to 1871), and 5) various secondary sources on the counties, townships and cites of Ontario. However before these names were entered into the data set other data sources were used to confirm the existence. (Refer to Work Consulted on page 337 for a more detailed description of the specific data sources.)
5. Any distiller with data recorded by the enumerator, for example raw materials, capital invested, and value of product, and confirmation was achieved in other data sources used, then they were considered to be have a distillery in operation and were included in the database.

B. Determining the Data for the Distilleries

1. Data obtained from the manuscript census was used.
2. 1 barrel = 40 gallons.
3. A correlation graph was generated to help determine an estimated annual production for those distilleries in which only capital invested was provided. Once again the capital invested was plotted on the X-axis and gallons produced on the Y-axis for all those distilleries in which both values were given. It was determined the capital invested multiplied by 6 would achieve an estimated value of gallons produced. This was done for 10 distilleries in the data set. Two

exceptions occurred in Norfolk county with J.B. Woolenough and Richie Ford & Jones because the capital invested also included other businesses like milling. The capital used for J.B. Woolenough was 14,500 and for Richie, Ford & Jones 10,000.

4. In the cases where data was provided for the value of the annual produce this value was used. The annual produce was determined by multiplying the value of the produce by 3.317. This figure was determined by using 44 of the distilleries that returned a value in the census for the annual produce and the value of the produce and then the average was taken or 3.317.
5. Assessment rolls were used for those distilleries with no returns given. Only two township records were available from the year 1861. Richard Fallis in Cavan, Durham was found with 1150 dollars invested and George Elliot of Clarke, Durham was found with 8,740 dollars invested.
6. It should be noted that for 10 distilleries a value could not be determined for the annual production. Any values that are unknown are represented with a dash.

1871

A. Determining the Distilleries in Operation

1. The "Summary of Table XLVI - Industries - 4th Series" of the Census of Canada was used to locate the census districts in which there were distilleries. It should be noted that this table is in error because Hastings county is not included. Using the Sessional Papers "Appendix-Spirits" (1872) it is clear the Henry Corby's distillery was missed. These 14 districts, as well as Hastings, were examined for the 19 distilleries in operation. Specifically, not the personal census as was the case for the 1851-52 and 1861 census but Series 4 of the manuscript census.

B. Determining the Data

1. It was assumed that the data recorded in the manuscript census was correct, however the values were checked with Summary Table XLVI.
2. It must be noted that the values of produce and the duty included versus the duty not included could not be determined successfully. (Consequently, the data for the gallons of produce was mapped but one must also look at those values represented in the Appendix-Spirits 1872 as mapped since the representation is similar.)
3. Note that it is believed that the size of the barrel became somewhat standard by this point at approximately 50 gallons.

1881 and 1891

1. There is no manuscript census to view for these census years because the industrial census because it has been lost. The values recorded for 1881 in Table XLVII - Industries - Series 4 were used and Table I - Industrial Establishment for the year 1891 was used. It should be noted that Hastings was missing for the summary table of 1881.

Sources: (Refer to the Works Consulted for specifics.)

Distilleries in Ontario around the 1850's

Census of the Canadas 1851-52, Smiths Directory 1846, Smith's Business Directory of 1852, Canada Directory 1851, and the Canada Directory 1857.

Distilleries in Ontario around the 1860's

Canada Census, 1861, Mitchell's Gazetteer & Business Directory of Canada, 1864, Various Tremaine Maps, and the Dun & Brastreet Reference Books.

Distilleries in Ontario, 1871

Canada Census 1871.

Distilleries in Ontario, 1881

Canada Census Table XLVII. - Industries - 4th Series.

Distilleries in Ontario, 1891

Canada Census Table I. - Industrial Establishments

Legend for Table I. Distilleries in Ontario around the 1850's

(round brackets) - distiller's name as in the manuscript census.

Italic type - distiller's name as in the Canada Directory of 1851.

Bold type - distiller found in the manuscript census and matches the census summary for the distillery and directories.

Regular type - not positive of the name of the proprietor

asterix (*) - the distiller was added, and was not indicated in the census summary

“-“ means no value was given or could be determined successfully

Region	Location	Name	Value	Quantity	Power	Industry
Northumberland	Grafton, Halimand	Charles Campbell & Co.	8,900	12	steam	milling
	Hamilton	John B. Boswell	7,000	6	steam	milling
	Village of River Trent, Murray	Cynis Weaver	52,000	10	steam 4hp	milling and general merchant
	Village of Chatham	G. J. Jarvis	27,000	1	water	milling
	Village of Chatham	Harry Anderson	12,000	1	water	milling
	Village of Chatham	Thomas Mackay	10,000	1	water	milling
	Village of Chatham	David Jones	9,000	1	water	milling
	Village of Chatham	Richard Ford & Jones	15,000	1	water	milling
	Village of Chatham	James G. Wilson	40,000	2	water	milling
	Village of Chatham	Lockhart & Wilson	15,000	2	water	milling
Ontario	Oshawa	Frederick Creline	6,566	1	water	grist mill and merchant
	Pickering	Nicholas Howell	12,000	2	water	grist mill and merchant
	Pickering	*Donald Reifs	-	-	-	saw mill
	Thora	John Hicks	-	-	-	saw mill and general merchant
	Uxbridge	G. J. Jarvis	-	-	-	post master and merchant
	Village of Innes, West Ontario	Arthur Clarke	-	-	-	post master and merchant
	Village of Innes, West Ontario	Daniel McNeil	-	-	-	post master and merchant
	Village of Innes, West Ontario	Thomas Wallace (Post Office, Northampton)	-	-	-	post master and merchant
	Village of Innes, West Ontario	Robert McLeod	-	-	-	post master and merchant
	Village of Innes, West Ontario	Robert Denton	-	-	-	post master and merchant
Peel	Toronto Gore	Thomas Burrell	30,000	3	steam 12hp	brewing
	Sydenham Village, Toronto	*Richard Church	-	-	-	farmer
	Elgin	Peter Keating	-	-	-	grist mill and saw mill
	Elgin	W. F. McCulloch	-	-	-	brewing
	Elgin	Clarke Spalding	20,000	4	steam 10hp	grocers
	Town of Stratford	Wm Lundy	80,000	3	water	grocers
	Town of Peterborough	Robert Alchinson or Robert Wilson or ?	-	-	-	grocers
	Town of Peterborough	Wm Lundy	-	-	-	grocers
	Town of Peterborough	Robert Alchinson or Robert Wilson or ?	-	-	-	grocers
	Town of Peterborough	Wm Lundy	-	-	-	grocers
Peterborough	Village of Bradford	Avin Keay	20,000	7	steam	grocery, wine & spirits merchant, rectifier merchant
	Village of Bradford	John Bell	5,200	4	steam	merchant, grist mill, distillery & vinegar works, post master, magistrate
	Village of Bradford	John Bell	-	-	-	store keepers
	Village of Bradford	Miles Calbraith	-	-	-	general merchant
	Village of Bradford	John Smith	-	-	-	general merchant
	Village of Bradford	Alphart Elliot & Co. (G. Mickle, Wm Hall, A Menden)	-	-	-	general merchant
	Village of Bradford	Robert Wallace	2,000	4	steam	grist mill and vinegar factory
	Village of Bradford	Adam Krausman	2,000	7 for all	steam	merchant, grist mill, distillery & vinegar works, post master, magistrate
	Village of Bradford	Jacob Hooper	-	-	-	store keepers
	Village of Bradford	John Bell	-	-	-	store keepers
Simcoe	Village of Bradford	Robert Wallace	8,040	3	water	grist mill and vinegar factory
	Village of Bradford	Adam Krausman	8,040	2	water	merchant, grist mill, distillery & vinegar works, post master, magistrate
	Village of Bradford	Jacob Hooper	-	-	-	store keepers
	Village of Bradford	John Bell	-	-	-	store keepers
	Village of Bradford	Robert Wallace	-	-	-	store keepers
	Village of Bradford	Adam Krausman	-	-	-	store keepers
	Village of Bradford	Jacob Hooper	-	-	-	store keepers
	Village of Bradford	John Bell	-	-	-	store keepers
	Village of Bradford	Robert Wallace	-	-	-	store keepers
	Village of Bradford	Adam Krausman	-	-	-	store keepers
Welland	Village of Bradford	George Goldsmith	20,000	2	water	grist mill and brewery
	Village of Bradford	George Goldsmith	2,000	1	water	grist mill and brewery
	Village of Bradford	Robert Johnson	1,500	2	water	grist mill and brewery
	Village of Bradford	*George White	4,000	1	water	grist mill and brewery
	Village of Bradford	Robert Johnson	-	-	-	grist mill and brewery
	Village of Bradford	*George White	-	-	-	grist mill and brewery
	Village of Bradford	Robert Johnson	-	-	-	grist mill and brewery
	Village of Bradford	*George White	-	-	-	grist mill and brewery
	Village of Bradford	Robert Johnson	-	-	-	grist mill and brewery
	Village of Bradford	*George White	-	-	-	grist mill and brewery

Wentworth	called Crook's Mills
York	West Branch of the Humber River meets / joins with both the Humber River
Toronto	located on Trinity St. located on Palace St. located on Berkeley St. near Palace St.
London	Pottingham Rd / Kingston Brewery and Distillery located on Pottingham Rd located on Wellington St.
Bytown	located on Ridout St. located on North St.

These distilleries w

- Haslings distillery is unoccupied
- Middlesex owns grist mill, water power, the distillery & tannery just opened
- Norfolk 1 storey distillery, 2 storey frame brewery not finished yet / a gentleman
- Peel has not finished yet but will produce this, 30hp, water power, mill & distillery
- Waterloo 30 x 50 made of brick not in operation

County	Town/Village	Name	Value	Product	Quantity	Unit	Value	Unit		
Grey	Normansby	Adam Ainslie	3,000	ch/malting whiskey	2	120/13	3,000	water		
		Wm & T. Mussen	12,000	ch/malting whiskey	6	6 m/21	5,700	water		
		James Kirkland	4,000	rye/barley	4		6,000	steam		
		John F. Flindall	25,000	grain	10		-	water		
		Henry Corby	10,000	grain & c.	5		-	steam		
		Robert Read	4,000	corn/rye/barley	1		3,780	steam		
		Edward Jordan	800	grain/corn/rye	2		1,760	steam/7hp		
		Thomas Bennett	500	wheat/corn	6		800	steam/35hp		
		Albert F. Jones	12,000	corn	6	10 & 4	100	steam/6hp		
		Jas. Northwood	3,000	barley	2		1,000	horse		
Lanark	Town of Perth	R. Gemmel	8,000							
		John O'Brine	200							
		Francis Strachan	3,000	corn	2		2,600	steam		
		M. Ketchum	1,600							
		Francis Jarvis	28,000	wheat/corn/grain	7		30,000	water		
		J.B. Woodroffe	20,000	grain	3		4,000	steam		
		George Park	40,000		18		-	water		
		Evans, Ford & Co. (Robert Keistall)	20,000							
		S.W. McFarlane & Co.	20,386	corn/rye/oats	10		4,800	steam		
		John B. Boswell	19,000	wheat/corn	4		800	water		
Northumberland	Grafton	Peter Taylor	12,000	corn/rye	5		4,500	steam		
		George Wallace								
		Peter McLeod								
		Peter Keating	3,000	wheat	2		900	steam		
		James Guest	6,000	wheat/rye/corn	4		6,350	steam		
		Ontario	Whitby Falls							
Oxford	Woodstock, Zorra East									

20,000	whisky	0,000	also a miller / grist mill for wheat or rye
18,000	whisky	6,000	also a miller / purchased from James Wilson / called the Leith Distillery
17,600	whisky	44,400	mistake made and produce is 400 barrels of produce not 4000
48,000	whisky	9,000	called the Indiana Distillery / mistake made and is 440 barrels of produce not 4400
30,000	whisky	80,000	1,200 barrels of produce
28,000	whisky	4,950	could not ascertain for the grist mill
22,200	whisky	3500 corn \$1,750, 3000 rye \$1700, 500 barley \$330 / 700 barrels of produce	have not been in business long enough to determine the annual produce
22,500	whisky	4,500	100 barrels of produce
12,000	whisky	3,600	also a miller / 300 barrels of produce
10,000	whisky	17,100	also a brewer
1,800	malled whisky	2,000	
800			
17,330	whisky	5,200	if worked regularly will average these figures
12,000	whisky	2,400	
7,000	whisky	5,600	also a merchant / called the Norfolk Mills & Distillery
18,000	whisky	150,000	also merchants & millers
80,000	whisky	6,800	also merchants & millers (150,000 for flour, whisky; pork & merchandise)
17,000	whisky	6,837	13 head of cattle worth \$520 / Ontario Distillery
17,094	whisky	4,800	also a flour mill (\$5,000 in real estate & \$11,000 personal) 3 stoves
18,000	whisky	6,000	
18,000	whisky	1,370	farmer and also has a woolen factory, 137 barrels of produce
18,000	whisky	6,800	also a brewer / located on Queen St / 838 barrels of produce

Wentworth	West Flamborough	W. J. Kerby	Unknown	corn/wine/beer/ye	12,400	water/steam	10,000	10	30
Finch	Finch	W. J. Kerby	500	grain	600	water	1	1	600
Markham	Markham	James M. Madras	600	grain	1,200	steam	2	2	40
Toronto	St. Lawrence Ward	Borst & Halladay	80,000	grain	40,000	steam	15	15	600
	St. Lawrence Ward	Wm Gooderham	150,000	grain	150,000	steam	20	20	520
	St. Lawrence Ward	York Distillery	1,000	corn/grain	-	steam/16hp	4	4	100
	Distilling Ward	Ian Reynolds	uncertain	high wines	-	-	-	-	-
	St. Lawrence Ward	W H Thomas	7,500	grain	112	16 rec. tubes	2	2	26
Hamilton	Victoria Ward	Kingston City Brewery & Distillery	20,000	grain	35,000	steam	28	28	700

Distilleries in Census but not in Operation

Kent	Town of Chatham	Samuel Henry	-	wheat/corn/buck wh	-	steam/8hp	-	-	-
Kent	Town of Chatham	James Tinny	4,000	-	12,000	steam	1	1	10
Huron	Goderich	Fisher Reeking	8,000	-	-	steam	5	5	115
Lanark	Town of Perth	Hugh Ryan	4,000	-	-	steam	1	1	-
Middlesex	Town of London	Wm English	20,000	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wellington	Village of Erin	William Cornock	-	-	-	water	-	-	-

93,120	whisky	-	Kerby Mills / also a miller / 2328 barrels of produce
15,000	whisky	15,000	John Smith's farmer with a grist mill, saw mill and distillery but C & W are proprietors
2,000	whisky	2,000	also an inn keeper
250,000	high wines	70,000	(\$20,000 rent and \$30,000 personal)
1,250,000	whisky	250,000	6 team of horses used in the business, distillery is 300 feet long x 80 feet wide, four storeys, stone, (capital b/w 100 & 200 so say 150)
50,000	whisky	100,000	33 corn, 18 grain per day
137,600	whislow/proof/alcoh	44,600	rectifying distiller (does not make own whisky) (77600 whisky \$17000, 8700 alco \$5400, 41300 proof \$18000, 10000 low wines \$4200)
180,000	whisky	72,000	Morton's Distillery

- has a grist a carding mill "A distillery nearly completed capable of making 7 bus per day"

24,000 - grist mill & distillery have not begun work yet

- not running regular

- distillery not in operation

- mill not worked in 2 years

- also has a flour mill, out of business in 1860

65,924

LANARK SOUTH
 HASTINGS EAST
 JOHN A. INCLAREN
 Henry Corby
 Town of Perth
 Thurlow
 1872
 1873
 1874
 1875
 1876
 1877
 1878
 1879
 1880
 1881
 1882
 1883
 1884
 1885
 1886
 1887
 1888
 1889
 1890
 1891
 1892
 1893
 1894
 1895
 1896
 1897
 1898
 1899
 1900

Note: the duty paid varies for the distillances varies. Refer to the Sessional Papers 1872

5,000	barley/nops	4,000	barley/nops	20,000	barley/nops	20,000	barley/nops
5,000	barley/nops	4,000	barley/nops	20,000	barley/nops	20,000	barley/nops

Table IV.
Distilleries in Ontario, 1881

Grenville, South	John P. Wiser	1	55	55	25,000	150,000	250,000
Lanark, South	Spalding & Stewart / John A. McLaren	2	10	10	3,400	6,850	17,300
Toronto, Central	Gootherham & Worts / Name Unknown	2	111	2 113	45,600	370,000	625,000
Welland	J. S. Mackelm	1	2	2	1,480	7,000	9,500
Lincoln	Name unknown	1	3	3	1,500	5,000	9,000
Norfolk, North	N.C. Ford & Co.	1	2	2	1,500	30,000	35,000
Waterloo, North	Seagram & Roos	1	20	20	8,000	202,000	240,000
Essex	Hiram Walker & Sons / Name Unknown	2	55	55	19,250	236,250	443,000
Hastings	Henry Corby & Son	1	-	-	-	-	-

Note: Hastings was missing from the Census Summary Table. It can be estimated from the Sessional papers that the H. Corby & Son distillery should be between Seagram & Roos and the Perth distilleries (Spalding & Stewart and J.A. McLaren) and in 1891 H. Corby & Sons value of produce was \$196,800. Consequently in 1881 this figure would be less.

Table V.
Distilleries in Ontario, 1891

Location	Name	No. of Still	No. of Hogs	No. of Cows	No. of Horses	No. of Acres	Value of Property	Value of Stock	Value of Equipment	Total Value
Essex, North	Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.	1	93	9	112	46,200	316,960			506,800
Grenville, South	J.P. Wiser & Sons	1	40		40	12,000	116,154			250,000
Hastings, East	H. Corby	1	23		23	15,000	63,750			196,800
Lanark, South	Spalding & Stewart / John A. McLaren	2	13		13	45,000	5,400			17,000
Toronto, Centre	Gooderham & Worts Ltd.	1	150		150	66,250	459,000			800,000
Waterloo, North	Joseph E. Seagram	1	50		50	20,000	224,755			324,000

APPENDIX C

Mapping Data

Although numerous maps were generated from available data for research purposes, only a few of these maps were selected to be used within the thesis to illustrate a spatial pattern. The MapInfo Professional Version 5.0 program was used to construct these maps from prepared data sets that were developed by this researcher to use in conjunction with the program.

Unfortunately as of this date there are few historical maps available on the Internet or in digitized form. For the purposes of mapping the digitized maps from the 1871 and 1991 Canada Census were used. This raised the problem of boundary changes that have inevitably occurred since 1851. Consequently these variations in boundaries had to be dealt with.

A. Mapping the Total Gallons Produced from the Distilleries Data Sets

The 1871 digitized Canada Census map was used to map the spatial pattern of the total gallons produced from the data sets that were generated in Appendix B. As a result for the maps of 1851, 1861, 1881, and 1891 the census sub-districts which contained distilleries had to be examined to verify that a township with a distillery did not become a part of another county at a different census year. Each township with distilleries were placed in accordance with the census sub-district of 1871. For the census years 1851 and 1861 there was missing data for the gallons produced by a distillery consequently, although these instances were mapped, the distilleries within the census sub-district were mapped in such a way as to show the distilleries on a map but with no production (green circles). The maps were standardized using the same symbols so that the maps could be compared over time.

Although value added is a more accurate measure for showing a spatial pattern this could not be used effectively here since for 1851 there was too much missing data in terms of the gallons produced and there was no value for these gallons. In 1871 it could not be determined successfully how the value and the gallons of produce were calculated by the enumerator and so were not considered to be valuable measures for mapping. The only standard measure to compare the distilleries over time was the total gallons produced. With maps generated from the Canada Census data on the total production for 1851, 1861, 1871 a comparison could be made between these years. However there was a problem with the census years 1881 and 1891 because there was no detailed industrial census to gather data only the value of the produce obtained from summary charts created from the now missing census data. As a result the more reliable data obtained from the Sessional Papers Appendix on Spirits was used instead. Refer below.

Due to the fact that this thesis is in the field of historical geography and a crucial aspect is the comparison of the spatial pattern over time, five maps (1851 to 1891) were prepared to show a clearer picture of the spatial change. Specifically a standard legend was used on each map with the total production in gallons set at a standard of 2,300,000 gallons because this value was larger than all the maximums for each year. In doing this it was possible to view the change of the total production from 1851 to 1881 and to highlight the notable increase in gallons produced between the years 1851 and 1861 (especially from Gooderham & Worts). A false maximum was eliminated that would cause deception when viewing the maps from year to year because the legends would vary or there would be a different maximum value for each map.

B. Mapping Total Gallons of Spirits Produced from the Sessional Papers (Appendix on Spirits)

When the 1871 map generated from the census data was compared with the 1871 map generated from the Sessional Papers it was found that the spatial pattern was almost identical. Thus, it was deemed acceptable to use the maps generated from the Sessional Papers for 1881 and 1891 and compare the change in total production over time. It must be remembered that in the Sessional Papers the data was compiled in revenue divisions. These revenue division boundaries were not determined, however, since it was known what distilleries were in operation at this point in time, the towns within the specified revenue divisions were matched to the proper census sub-district. For example the Windsor revenue division with Sandwich East as a census sub-district.

C. Mapping the Total Production to the Total Population

The digitized Canada Census map for 1991 was used to map this data because the boundaries of the map are in census districts. This was an important factor because it must be assumed that a distillery may not have served just the local population within the village, town, or township and that the gallons produced may have travelled beyond those boundaries. (Although for some distilleries it is probable that the gallons produced travelled further than the county boundaries to various Ontario counties and beyond, a representative picture can be displayed showing the production compared to the population of the census district. In other words, those counties where there is a large production of spirits should show themselves on a map, especially if the population is rather small. (For example Essex County).

A problem occurred when attempts were made to generate maps for the years 1851 and 1861 due to missing data. The missing gallons of production had to be estimated and so assumptions were made for those distilleries where no gallons of produce were recorded by the enumerator. A graph was generated and the gallons produced were plotted for those distilleries that gave returns of production in the census. It was assumed that if the distillery did not give a return than the production of the distillery was small. In the case where there was a missing personal census for the township of a distillery, other primary data sources were used to try and determine the size of the distillery. If other data sources did not provide information about the distillery it was assumed that the distillery was small in production because there was no mention of the operations within local sources like business directories and county histories. From the graph results the mean for those distilleries forming a cluster on the graph was used for those found to be in the smaller production cluster. (A mean of 3,507 was used for 1851 and a mean of 4,938 was used for 1861).

Once the missing gallons had been estimated the population for the census districts had to be determined. Each year was examined for boundary changes and compared to the 1991 map and its census districts. The target was those counties which contained distilleries to determine if there was a boundary change (township changing counties). If the distillery in a particular county experienced a boundary change when compared to the census district of 1991, the population of said county (census district) was altered. Wherever a distillery was located the population was changed if boundary changes occurred. For those census districts in which there were distilleries and there were boundary changes (a township moved) then the population for that census district was altered along with the other census districts that were affected by adding or subtracting the township population. If there was no distillery then the population was kept the same since if there was zero production the population of the census district would make no difference in the ratio value. It was for the year 1851 that the most changes were made because there were more boundary changes and more distilleries within numerous census districts. To determine the correct population, data was gathered from the Canada Census summary on population for all the

years because detailed information was needed about the population for each county and the corresponding townships. A listing of the townships for the 1991 census districts was also obtained for these purposes.

Once these production per capita maps were generated similar maps were made using a standard legend. To determine this legend a graph was made of the ratios of production by population for each county (census district). Where natural breaks could be seen between clusters then a line was drawn to separate the clusters. This map allowed for a better comparison of the data over time to, notably the counties (census districts) changes in production per capita over time.

D. Mapping the Total Spirits Warehoused in Canada from the Sessional Papers Appendix A

The 1991 Canada Census digitized map was used here again, however, the entire map of Canada was used. Since the Sessional Paper data is divided into revenue divisions centered on a city within the division it was necessary to add these cities manually to the 1991 map. In doing this, the data for the revenue division could be centered on that point or city. In the case of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, the Town of Sydney was used as the point to place the data on the map. The data used here was the total gallons of spirits stored in warehouses. By mapping this warehouse data it was hoped that export ports would materialize and the significance of rail transportation would be shown.

APPENDIX D
 Proof Spirits Manufactured in the Revenue Divisions of Ontario, 1868 - 1900

Year	1868-1874	1875-1883	1884-1889	1890-1894	1895-1899	1900	1868-1874	1875-1883	1884-1889	1890-1894	1895-1899	1900	1868-1874	1875-1883	1884-1889	1890-1894	1895-1899	1900	Total	
1868	95,988.00	42,885.00	11,577.00	316,354.00	23,355.00	244,036.00	36,073.00	3,533.00	277,235.00	172,656.00	1,733,226.00	955,552.00	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	3,912,480.00	
1869	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known	not known
1870	90,542.49	137,926.74	21,045.72	314,155.13	38,079.63	-	35,704.00	6,509.81	420,556.75	156,393.94	923,242.85	1,108,663.44	1,108,663.44	1,108,663.44	1,108,663.44	1,108,663.44	1,108,663.44	1,108,663.44	3,252,820.50	
1871	65,561.15	146,113.87	-	436,138.12	-	-	42,620.24	8,020.42	357,485.99	214,187.79	2,095,620.70	1,592,306.75	1,592,306.75	1,592,306.75	1,592,306.75	1,592,306.75	1,592,306.75	1,592,306.75	4,958,055.03	
1872	59,166.93	56,382.07	-	499,765.55	-	-	20,730.91	7,307.36	425,777.23	198,866.02	1,574,540.53	1,648,626.50	1,648,626.50	1,648,626.50	1,648,626.50	1,648,626.50	1,648,626.50	1,648,626.50	4,491,163.10	
1873	81,473.14	-	15,400.35	459,593.44	-	86,941.43	22,151.85	9,205.10	564,735.35	-	2,200,562.90	2,107,005.42	2,107,005.42	2,107,005.42	2,107,005.42	2,107,005.42	2,107,005.42	2,107,005.42	5,547,068.98	
1874	71,330.64	-	138,992.92	540,962.34	-	-	19,108.36	8,389.09	572,207.83	R.L.	1,923,547.74	2,148,531.84	2,148,531.84	2,148,531.84	2,148,531.84	2,148,531.84	2,148,531.84	2,148,531.84	5,423,070.76	
1875	74,671.47	-	194,287.80	494,614.08	-	-	21,503.02	9,620.57	502,202.09	R.L.	2,096,970.93	2,221,264.65	2,221,264.65	2,221,264.65	2,221,264.65	2,221,264.65	2,221,264.65	2,221,264.65	5,615,134.61	
1876	60,628.73	-	335,122.27	335,122.27	-	-	-	7,729.57	422,975.58	R.L.	825,244.70	1,459,418.19	1,459,418.19	1,459,418.19	1,459,418.19	1,459,418.19	1,459,418.19	1,459,418.19	3,111,118.04	
1877	55,021.60	-	209,228.24	209,228.24	-	-	-	8,115.48	411,323.53	R.L.	1,583,450.30	1,279,738.35	1,279,738.35	1,279,738.35	1,279,738.35	1,279,738.35	1,279,738.35	1,279,738.35	3,546,877.50	
1878	58,851.73	-	189,294.32	189,294.32	-	-	-	6,079.13	439,742.73	-	1,591,362.56	1,244,754.54	1,244,754.54	1,244,754.54	1,244,754.54	1,244,754.54	1,244,754.54	1,244,754.54	3,530,085.01	
1879	71,755.52	-	196,127.79	196,127.79	-	-	-	-	421,001.37	-	1,658,483.26	1,307,168.88	1,307,168.88	1,307,168.88	1,307,168.88	1,307,168.88	1,307,168.88	1,307,168.88	3,654,536.82	
1880	60,328.20	-	149,749.14	149,749.14	-	-	R.L.	8,086.37	359,214.58	-	1,381,067.35	1,022,797.06	1,022,797.06	1,022,797.06	1,022,797.06	1,022,797.06	1,022,797.06	1,022,797.06	2,981,242.70	
1881	65,452.86	-	153,380.85	153,380.85	-	-	R.L.	10,828.65	388,323.14	R.L.	1,380,326.31	1,033,841.78	1,033,841.78	1,033,841.78	1,033,841.78	1,033,841.78	1,033,841.78	1,033,841.78	3,032,153.59	
1882	76,269.62	-	204,851.80	204,851.80	-	-	R.L.	10,978.77	472,465.40	-	1,847,288.77	1,413,286.92	1,413,286.92	1,413,286.92	1,413,286.92	1,413,286.92	1,413,286.92	1,413,286.92	4,025,141.28	
1883	82,609.96	-	220,134.50	220,134.50	-	-	R.L.	12,272.67	479,360.42	-	2,001,256.50	1,469,723.88	1,469,723.88	1,469,723.88	1,469,723.88	1,469,723.88	1,469,723.88	1,469,723.88	4,265,357.91	
1884	90,568.58	-	220,108.29	220,108.29	-	-	R.L.	4,553.54	525,222.08	-	1,949,614.39	1,394,459.12	1,394,459.12	1,394,459.12	1,394,459.12	1,394,459.12	1,394,459.12	1,394,459.12	4,184,526.00	
1885	69,825.73	-	176,026.14	176,026.14	-	-	R.L.	11,038.51	406,950.04	-	1,600,802.88	1,314,627.06	1,314,627.06	1,314,627.06	1,314,627.06	1,314,627.06	1,314,627.06	1,314,627.06	3,579,270.36	
1886	101,924.96	-	251,888.47	251,888.47	-	-	-	12,982.06	497,776.11	-	1,812,371.67	1,678,746.05	1,678,746.05	1,678,746.05	1,678,746.05	1,678,746.05	1,678,746.05	1,678,746.05	4,355,688.32	
1887	112,752.40	-	277,672.62	277,672.62	-	-	-	12,285.47	567,099.37	-	2,248,776.29	1,830,287.56	1,830,287.56	1,830,287.56	1,830,287.56	1,830,287.56	1,830,287.56	1,830,287.56	5,048,873.71	
1888	112,407.88	-	312,179.17	312,179.17	-	-	-	12,981.91	563,642.88	-	2,494,967.81	1,806,843.63	1,806,843.63	1,806,843.63	1,806,843.63	1,806,843.63	1,806,843.63	1,806,843.63	5,392,471.97	
1889	159,860.95	-	280,563.56	280,563.56	-	-	-	15,301.14	473,097.35	-	2,547,589.67	2,049,193.83	2,049,193.83	2,049,193.83	2,049,193.83	2,049,193.83	2,049,193.83	2,049,193.83	5,700,656.74	
1890	179,617.29	-	273,201.55	273,201.55	-	-	-	16,440.84	584,155.84	-	2,011,021.63	1,624,188.94	1,624,188.94	1,624,188.94	1,624,188.94	1,624,188.94	1,624,188.94	1,624,188.94	4,937,393.98	
1891	240,434.58	-	254,326.74	254,326.74	-	-	-	17,419.80	462,609.08	-	1,642,573.14	1,324,815.66	1,324,815.66	1,324,815.66	1,324,815.66	1,324,815.66	1,324,815.66	1,324,815.66	4,213,020.64	
1892	229,400.66	-	263,672.44	263,672.44	-	-	-	13,215.24	345,623.46	-	1,611,596.52	695,650.27	695,650.27	695,650.27	695,650.27	695,650.27	695,650.27	695,650.27	3,411,529.81	
1893	274,074.60	-	276,678.19	276,678.19	-	-	-	11,103.86	381,147.05	-	1,133,849.07	1,426,865.05	1,426,865.05	1,426,865.05	1,426,865.05	1,426,865.05	1,426,865.05	1,426,865.05	3,751,140.19	
1894	233,770.00	-	289,491.22	289,491.22	-	-	-	-	247,422.37	-	-	777,586.82	777,586.82	777,586.82	777,586.82	777,586.82	777,586.82	777,586.82	1,512,998.72	
1895	244,523.27	-	265,414.60	265,414.60	-	-	-	11,657.18	258,153.93	-	772,921.48	851,881.47	851,881.47	851,881.47	851,881.47	851,881.47	851,881.47	851,881.47	2,605,787.27	
1896	240,109.41	-	310,644.63	310,644.63	-	-	-	13,806.15	334,317.09	-	1,526,289.95	1,742,210.66	1,742,210.66	1,742,210.66	1,742,210.66	1,742,210.66	1,742,210.66	1,742,210.66	4,382,208.85	
1897	261,320.73	-	206,966.06	206,966.06	-	-	-	9,801.95	33.44	-	1,569,486.68	69,429.42	69,429.42	69,429.42	69,429.42	69,429.42	69,429.42	69,429.42	2,278,958.17	
1898	278,171.77	-	199,004.41	199,004.41	-	-	-	9,356.08	203,646.89	-	1,507,121.45	873,101.46	873,101.46	873,101.46	873,101.46	873,101.46	873,101.46	873,101.46	1,753,186.35	
1899	256,627.38	-	194,381.15	194,381.15	-	-	-	173,687.08	259,761.75	-	1,507,121.45	1,013,050.02	1,013,050.02	1,013,050.02	1,013,050.02	1,013,050.02	1,013,050.02	1,013,050.02	3,414,384.73	
1900	251,821.49	-	232,767.74	232,767.74	-	-	572.16	16,090.49	250,965.00	-	829,501.24	789,932.84	789,932.84	789,932.84	789,932.84	789,932.84	789,932.84	789,932.84	2,550,367.13	

* Return of Manufacturers for the Year ended June 30. For the years 1868-1874 the measure is wine gallons and for the years 1875-1900 the measure is imperial gallons.

R.L. = Rectifiers License

Note: Toronto has one rectifying license for the year 1881-1883, and 1885.

The "Big Five" distilleries have been added to the revenue divisions.

Source: Sesssional Papers. Appendix A - Spirits. Vol. 3 - 35 (1869-1901).

APPENDIX E
Exports from Warehouses to Locations Outside of Canada, 1868-1900

Year	Division	Exports from Warehouse for Exports to & S. Spirits at 63 & 65 cts. per gallon	Total for Export, &c.	Percentage of Export		
1865	Hamilton	48,807	182,018	26.81%		
	Toronto	99,014		54.39%		
	Windsor	4,195		2.30%		
	Ontario	182,018		100.00%		
1869	not known	not known	not known	not known		
1870	Hamilton	64,804.52	384,864.72	16.79%		
	St. Catharines	1,080.60		0.28%		
	Toronto	289,558.35		75.24%		
	Windsor	29,641.25		7.70%		
	Ontario	384,864.72		100.00%		
1871	Hamilton	77.25	298,498.27	0.03%		
	Prescott	38.63		0.01%		
	Toronto	175,991.80		58.96%		
	Windsor	82,388.79		27.59%		
	Ontario	298,498.27		100.00%		
1872	Guelph	1,971.39	420,598.15	0.47%		
	Hamilton	271.13		0.06%		
	London	195.84		0.05%		
	Prescott	768.63		0.18%		
	St. Catharines	111.37		0.03%		
	Toronto	343,560.28		81.68%		
	Windsor	73,717.51		17.53%		
	Ontario	420,598.15		100.00%		
	1873	Spirits at 63 cents per gallon				
1873	Hamilton	187.13	317,278.75	0.06%		
	Prescott	275		0.09%		
	Sarnia	37.5		0.01%		
	St. Catharines	78.75		0.02%		
	Toronto	290,207.20		91.51%		
	Windsor	56,493.17		17.81%		
	Ontario	317,278.75		100.00%		
1874	Hamilton	76.12	200,464.40	0.04%		
	Prescott	764		0.38%		
	Sarnia	152.88		0.08%		
	St. Catharines	37.13		0.02%		
	Toronto	173,508.90		86.56%		
	Windsor	25,917.37		12.93%		
	Ontario	200,464.40		100.00%		
	1875	Prescott		39.38	201,885.78	0.02%
		St. Catharines		75.04		0.04%
Toronto		159,345.92	78.94%			
Windsor		42,405.44	21.01%			
Ontario		201,885.78	100.00%			
1878	St. Catharines	31.28	81,184.58	0.04%		
	Toronto	58,378.37		71.91%		
	Windsor	24,806.19		30.56%		
	Ontario	81,184.58		100.00%		
1877	Paris	71.19	171,331.28	0.04%		
	Prescott	27.15		0.02%		
	Sarnia	107.55		0.06%		
	St. Catharines	124.88		0.07%		
	Toronto	127,322.70		74.31%		
	Windsor	43,677.79		25.49%		
1878	Spirits Exported					
1878	Guelph	30.98	183,787.30	0.02%		
	Hamilton	121.58		0.07%		
	Prescott	104.19		0.06%		
	Sarnia	118.51		0.07%		
	St. Catharines	54		0.03%		
	Toronto	134,712.11		73.10%		
	Windsor	28,655.93		15.62%		
	Ontario	183,787.30		100.00%		
1879	Hamilton	31.79	132,715.87	0.02%		
	Toronto	110,519.57		83.28%		
	Windsor	22,164.51		16.70%		
	Ontario	132,715.87		100.00%		
1880	Hamilton	32.01	18,222.92	0.21%		
	Sarnia	30.23		0.20%		
	Toronto	9,408.02		51.63%		
	Windsor	5,752.66		31.79%		
1881	Spirits Exported					
1881	Toronto	4,811.75	8,984.07	53.45%		
	Windsor	4,172.32		46.55%		
1882	Spirits Exported					
1882	Toronto	9,099.22	10,204.28	89.17%		
	Windsor	1,105.03		10.83%		
1883	Belleville	612.9	10,503.05	5.83%		
	London	31.12		0.30%		
	Prescott	56.89		0.54%		
	Stratford	59.55		0.57%		
	Toronto	8,818.21		83.94%		
	Windsor	926.38		8.82%		
1884	Spirits Exported					
1884	London	81.12	8,108.38	1.00%		
	Perth	108.01		1.33%		
	Prescott	184.09		2.27%		
	Toronto	4,862.87		59.98%		
	Windsor	892.29		11.00%		
1885	Spirits Exported					
1885	Guelph	92.01	7,846.52	1.17%		
	Perth	37.36		0.48%		
	Prescott	250.59		3.20%		
	Toronto	5,895.92		75.14%		
	Windsor	1,370.64		17.53%		
1886	Spirits Exported					
1886	Guelph	73.6	8,037.40	0.92%		
	London	31.05		0.39%		
	Prescott	280.29		3.49%		
	Toronto	4,051.48		50.41%		
	Windsor	1,800.98		22.40%		
1887	Spirits Exported					
1887	Guelph	56.64	3,814.03	1.48%		
	Perth	44.06		1.42%		
	Prescott	179.42		4.70%		
	Toronto	1,273.72		33.41%		
	Windsor	2,060.19		53.99%		
1888	Spirits Exported					
1888	Guelph	83.34	4,218.88	1.97%		
	London	64.62		1.53%		
	Prescott	135.86		3.22%		
	Toronto	2,308.38		54.72%		
	Windsor	4,149.68		98.36%		

APPENDIX E
Exports from Warehouses to Locations Outside of Canada, 1868-1900

Year	Division	Quantity of Spirits at 60 & 63 etc. per gallon	Value of Export, \$	Percentage of Export
1869	Guelph	34.49		0.45%
	London	58.42		0.78%
	Prescott	185.88		2.42%
	Toronto	2,574.39		33.56%
	Windsor	4,818.28		62.81%
		7,671.44	7,671.44	
1890	Guelph	36.6		0.39%
	London	31.89		0.34%
	Prescott	374.97		3.99%
	Toronto	946.6		10.08%
	Windsor	8,002.56		85.20%
		9,392.62	9,392.62	
1891	Belleville	487.33		2.78%
	Guelph	31.65		0.18%
	London	215.46		1.23%
	Prescott	589.54		3.37%
	Toronto	2,105.44		12.03%
Windsor	14,070.01		80.40%	
		17,499.43	17,499.43	
1892	Belleville	397.99		1.37%
	Guelph	262.35		0.90%
	Prescott	424.38		1.46%
	Toronto	1,130.70		3.76%
	Windsor	24,869.21		85.51%
		29,084.72	29,084.72	
1893	Guelph	217.82		0.45%
	Hamilton	422.31		0.88%
	Kingston	16.24		0.03%
	London	3.29		0.01%
	Perth	56.6		0.12%
	Prescott	992.81		2.07%
	Toronto	4,179.39		8.70%
	Windsor	42,167.57		87.75%
		48,068.13	48,068.13	
1894	Belleville	199.74		0.27%
	Guelph	240.54		0.33%
	Hamilton	368.42		0.53%
	London	41.17		0.06%
	Prescott	1,957.09		2.66%
	Toronto	6,214.46		8.43%
Windsor	64,667.52		87.73%	
		73,708.94	73,708.94	
1895	Belleville	316.08		0.28%
	Guelph	1,373.30		1.20%
	Hamilton	387.47		0.34%
	Kingston	17.84		0.02%
	London	990.02		0.88%
	Prescott	2,662.96		2.34%
	St. Catharines	162.06		0.14%
	Toronto	8,346.57		7.27%
Windsor	100,477.35		87.56%	
		114,766.66	114,766.66	
1896	Guelph	3,848.31		2.64%
	Hamilton	1,094.24		0.81%
	Kingston	11.55		0.01%
	London	1,601.59		1.18%
	Prescott	1,850.40		1.36%
	St. Catharines	194.5		0.14%
	Toronto	14,010.82		10.33%
	Windsor	113,017.90		83.33%
		136,629.31	136,629.31	
1897	Belleville	428.14		0.29%
	Guelph	5,846.82		3.90%
	Hamilton	941.65		0.63%
	Kingston	92.51		0.06%
	London	721.27		0.48%
	Perth	58.42		0.04%
	Prescott	1,989.09		1.33%
	Toronto	16,207.00		10.80%
	Windsor	123,771.01		82.48%
			180,066.11	180,066.11
1898	Belleville	100.81		0.12%
	Guelph	4,421.15		5.23%
	Hamilton	921.02		1.09%
	Kingston	4.9		0.01%
	London	145.43		0.17%
	Perth	4.99		0.01%
	Prescott	1,283.79		1.52%
	St. Catharines	15		0.02%
	Toronto	6,458.41		7.64%
	Windsor	71,183.97		84.20%
		84,818.47	84,818.47	
1899	Belleville	1,108.06		0.94%
	Guelph	4,535.13		3.83%
	Hamilton	350.76		0.30%
	Kingston	6.53		0.01%
	London	119.37		0.10%
	Perth	1.6		0.00%
	Prescott	1,281.66		1.07%
	St. Catharines	123.81		0.10%
	Toronto	5,995.18		5.07%
	Windsor	104,791.59		88.59%
		118,293.69	118,293.69	
1900	Belleville	2,040.79		1.51%
	Guelph	6,466.65		4.78%
	Hamilton	415.37		0.31%
	Kingston	19.33		0.01%
	London	140.05		0.10%
	Perth	1.6		0.00%
	Prescott	1,826.43		1.35%
	St. Catharines	55.58		0.04%
	Toronto	7,408.77		5.46%
	Windsor	117,175.22		86.43%
		136,689.76	136,689.76	

* The manufacturing year is from July 1st to June 30th. (1868-1874 is wine not imperial gallons.)
 ** The value of duty allocated to the spirits exported increase progressively after this year.
 Note: These values are not the total exports for the years.

APPENDIX G

Gooderham & Worts, Limited (August 1882)

DISTILLERY - \$121,175 (5 storeys 170' X 50' & 76' high, north wing 30 x 30, made of stone)

- **Stone Boiler House** (107' X 30' & 20' high)

- contains 6 boilers, all necessary hot and cold tubs

- **Fermenting Cellar** (140' X 80'. 20' high)

- contains 46 fermenting tubs (16' diameter & 8'6" deep), and 1 beer reservoir

- **Mill**

- First Floor (Ground Floor)* - stone foundation, made of brick

- stone hirst, 1 iron upright shaft, 1 engine shaft, 2 Fairbanks hopper scales (3 ton capacity each); 1 platform; 2 grain elevators to top of mill; 5 meal elevators to top of the mill; 1 meal conveyor

- Second Floor (Millstone Floor)*

- 8 run of stones; 2 portable mills

- Fourth Floor*

- 1 oat screener

- Fifth Floor (Top Floor)*

- 2 suction fans; 1 corn screener; 4 meal conveyors (moves to distillery); 1 main line shaft

Note: also ancillary equipment such as cleaners, belting, pulleys &c.

- **Engine Room**

- 1 400 horse power engine and 1 boiler pump

- **Distillery Area**

- First Floor*

- paved with 4' flags; 2 pine (government) spirit receivers; 1 wastewater overflow pine tub; 1 oak spirit overflow tub; 1 iron refrigerator tank; 1 upright shaft; 4 horizontal shafts; 1 line shaft; 2 3-throw cold water pumps; 1 brass pump; 1 counter shaft; 1 3-throw brass beer pump; 1 40 horse power steam engine to pump water to boilers or to water tanks in case of accident; 1 copper and brass slop pump to pump slop to cattle sheds; all necessary copper pipes; about 3700 feet of 5" copper pipe from distillery to cattle sheds made of 6 pounds copper encased in wooden box

Second Floor

- 1 copper (low wines) tank capacity 192 gallons; 1 wood worm; 1 copper worm 1000' long; 1 distributing safe with glass cover; spirit receiving room contains 4 oak spirit receivers; wash floor contains 4 double sided iron mash tubs

Third floor (stills run through this floor)

- private yeast room has 3 double sided copper kettles (2 with a capacity of 132 gallons and 1 with a 265 gallon capacity); 1 malt crusher;
- the yeast room for making day yeast has 12 yeast tubs; 2 iron yeast mashers; 2 brass (low wines) pumps; 2 pine cold water tubs with a 8,000 gallons capacity each; 1 pine cold water tun with a capacity of 5.000 gallons

Fourth floor (stills doublers and condensers)

- meal room has 1 hopper scale with a 3 ton capacity; 1 platform scale with a 1 ton capacity; 1 wood hop boiling tub; 2 pine cold water tubs with a capacity of 8,000 gallons; 2 pine water rectifiers tubs with a capacity of 1,280 gallons each; 1 5-horse power steam engine; 6 copper and brass beer pumps; 8 oak spirit rectifiers with a 3,020 gallon capacity each; stills; doubler and copper tubs; condenser

Fifth Floor

- 3 pine cold water tubs with a 4,000 gallon capacity each; 2 spirit receivers with a 6,000 gallon capacity each; 1 spirit receiver with a 6,000 capacity; 1 iron goose tank

Distillery Outside Weigh Scale House

- 10 ton scales

Old Coppershop (26' x 25'8")

- forge blower and all other necessary utensils; store room for coal with frame addition (20' x 26' & 15' high)

*Shipping Warehouse (divided into 2 parts)**New Coppershop (43' x 50' & 20 high), made of brick*

- 1 gas engine; 1 forge; 1 steam hammer

OLD RECTIFYING HOUSE - \$6,620 (78' x 33', 4 storeys high), brick with stone foundation, slate roof, south wing 24 x 34 tin roof used for offices,

- office furniture safes; coppershop with 1 iron tank for hot water; carpenter store room
- paint shop (28'6" x 101'6" & 14' high) built between the malt house and the old rectifying house (entrance to vault here)

MALTHOUSE AND VAULTS - \$8,132 (138' x 70' & 36' high, 3 storeys), grain loft, brick and stone foundation

- elevators; 2 kilns; 2 iron steep tubs; 2 hopper scales with a capacity of 1 ton each; 1 40-horse power engine; 2 cement floors; 1 grain cleaner

STABLE - \$5,582 (114' x 36' & 31' high), brick and stone foundation

- 1 carriage house; 1 feed room; 1 harness room; 12 shingle stalls; 2 box stalls; loft; shed in rear

STILL HOUSE - \$26,320 (30'10" x 88' & 50' high), made of brick with a stone foundation

- glass front divided into 3 still rooms, mixing room, and 1 alcohol room
- each still house with 1 copper still; 1 copper column; 1 copper goose and iron goose tank; 1 copper worm and wooden worm tub; 1 distributing safe
- in the 3 copper stills there were 2 copper tanks; 2 iron fusil oil tanks; 2 iron tanks for mixing whiskies

NUMBER 1 TANK HOUSE - \$6,178 (70' x 87' & 30' high), made of brick with stone foundation

- 16 copper tanks with a capacity of 8,502 gallons each; 1 platform scale with a capacity of 1 tin; 1 15-horse power engine with pumps

NUMBER 2 TANK HOUSE - \$17,077 (70' x 87' & 30' high), brick with stone foundations

- 16 copper tanks with a capacity of 9,154 gallons each; 1 platform scale with a 1 ton capacity

NUMBER 3 TANK HOUSE - \$19,888 (75' x 90' & 26' high), brick with stone foundations

- 20 copper tanks with a capacity of 10,850 gallons each

NORTH AND SOUTH STOREHOUSES - \$ 22,400 (60' x 175' & 33' high), brick with stone

- 12 oak spirit receivers with a capacity of 5,000 gallons each including copper covers; 7 oak spirit receivers in the south storehouse with wooden covers and a capacity of 5,000 gallons each

EAST BOILER HOUSE - \$3,312 (58' x 30' & 26' high), made of brick

- 2 boilers; 1 brick chimney 80' high; 1 boiler pump and engine; including all connections

ICE HOUSE - \$2,580 (100' x 30' & 20' high), made of brick

WHARF PROPERTY - \$6,812

- 1 wharf at foot of Parliament Street with 1 platform scale (capacity 6 tons); 1 wharf at foot of Trinity Street with 1 platform scale (capacity 6 tons) and 1 platform scale (capacity 2 tons); grain warehouses with a capacity of 150,000 bushels

FUEL ECONOMIZER - \$3,000 (70' X 12' & 20' high)

- 2 fuel economizers

WATER SUPPLY PIPE - \$6,700

- about 800' long, made of brick and oak, runs from the well near distillery to crib in bays

COOPERAGE - \$17,080 (machine shop 101' x 40', coopers residence 37' x 28', cooper shop 155' x 32', flag house 10' x 14', barrel storehouse 100' x 40')

- 1 steam engine; 1 boiler; 1 line shaft; 1 automatic grinding machine; 1 Parrott machine and stave dresser; 2 stave jointers; 1 heading joiner; 1 heading dresser; 1 stave chipper; 1 stave saw; 1 H'd'g saw; 1 boring saw

CATTLE SHEDS - \$47,000

- Shed 1 (frame) 210' x 150' including sheds, stalls for 672 head of cattle, feed troughs, gutters, drains, &c.
- Shed 2 (frame) 129' x 180' including sheds, stalls for 512 head of cattle, weigh scale with a capacity for 10 tons, feed troughs, tubs, gutters, drains &c.
- Shed 3 (frame) 141' x 120' including sheds, stalls for 403 head of cattle, feed troughs, tubs, gutters, drains &c.
- Shed 4 (frame) 158' x 160' including sheds, stalls for 516 head of cattle, feed troughs, tubs, gutters, drains, &c.
- Shed 5 (frame) same as Shed 4
- Shed 6 (frame) same as Shed 4
- Shed 7 (frame) same as Shed 4

LAND - \$32,514

- William Gooderham land, Fitzhenry Lot, Water Lots

TOTAL - \$352,370**DISTILLERY (Stock in Trade as of July 31, 1882) - \$362,639.40**

• 455,796.17 gallons spirit in bond \$0.45	\$205,108.28
• 83,958.37 gallons spirit duty paid \$1.45	\$121,739.63
• 3071 barrels \$1.75 = \$5,374.25	
• 636 barrels unprepared \$1.50 = \$954.00	
• 1393 puncheons \$2.00 = \$2,786.00	
• 100 puncheons unprepared \$1.50 = \$150.00	
• 68 sherry casks \$1.00 = \$68.00	
• 3-20 gallons kegs \$1.25 = \$3.75	
• 24-10 gallons kegs \$0.95 = \$22.80	
• 8-5 gallon kegs \$0.80 = \$6.40	
	\$ 9,365.20
• 15058.19 bushels of malt in bond \$0.70 = \$10,540.97	
• 71.26 bushels of malt duty paid \$1.06 = \$76.17	
	\$ 40,617.14
• Colouring 7 casks @ 105 gallons = 735	
• Colouring 2 casks @ 105 gallons = 210	

• Colouring 1 cask = 231.75		
	.....1176.75 gallons \$1.60	\$ 1,882.80
• Sugar 4,810 pounds \$0.10		\$ 481.00
• Copper old & new brass solder &c.		\$ 6,709.64
• Corn 2,513.49 bushels @ \$0.85		\$ 2,136.79
• Rye 5,113 bushels @ \$0.65		\$ 3,323.45
• Oats 10 bushels @ \$0.60		\$ 6.00
• Barley 1,255.24 bushels @ \$0.65		\$ 816.07
• Coal 1.5 tons of hard coal in malt house \$7.00 = \$10.50		
• Coal 10 tons of soft coal in yard \$4.25 = \$42.50		\$ 53.00
• Flour 89 barrels @ \$4.50		\$ 400.50
• Hops none		
		<hr/>
		\$362,639.40

COPPER (Stock in Trade as of July 31, 1882) - \$6,709.54

STABLE (Stock in Trade as of July 31, 1882) - \$3,154.00

COOPERSHOP (Stock in Trade as of July 31, 1882) - \$8,724.49

Source: Hiram Walker Archives. Series I Box 11-12 Agreement to Incorporate Gooderham & Worts Limited 1 August 1882 between George Gooderham and the Trustees and Cestiusque Trustent under the Will of the late James Gooderham Worts.

WORKS CONSULTED

I. MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS

Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. 2072 Riverside Drive. (519) 254-5171 ext. 489

Hiram Walker Collection

Series I	Boxes 1-23	General History Files, 1857-1988.
	Boxes 29-32	Walkerville Files 1861-1984.
	Boxes 33-44	Photograph Collection 1880-1987.
	Boxes 33-41	General Historical Photographs. 1880-1987.
Series IV	Wall Files,	1861-1984.
	Box 30	Walkerville Conference, 1896.
Series VI	Box 45	Newspapers 1877-1986.
Series XIII	Scrapbooks,	1890-1964.
Series XVI	Ledgers,	1891-1906.
Series XVII	Historical	Legal Documents.
Series XVIII	Full Page	Newspapers, 1893-1966.

- ◆ The on-site Hiram Walker Archive located in Walkerville is priceless for the information that can be gained on an industrial establishment in the late nineteenth and twentieth century. Without this archive this thesis would be seriously lacking in detailed information about distilleries and the Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. distillery, especially before the turn of the century. It is rare to find such an archive where business and company records have been kept since approximately the mid-nineteenth century. It also helps to illustrate the amount of information that has been lost to time not only in this establishment but at Gooderham & Worts Ltd., J.E. Seagram and the list goes on. There are personal and business records (refer to the general listing above or the more detailed listing below) available but what is very interesting are the scrapbooks that were generated by Hiram Walker as a record of the advertising done across the globe that emerged in the late 1880's as an action to stop fraudulent whisky makers and then as a tool to promote Walker's Club whisky. Unfortunately, these scrapbooks are in serious need of preservation as the paper is now starting to decompose and these books are extremely fragile. There is a wonderful bottle collection that Hiram Walker collected of not only their own brands but of any fraudulent whiskies that his agents were able to purchase and ship back to Canada. This collection of bottles is still added to today.
- ◆ In terms of information available on the industry in the twentieth century it is well beyond the amount available for the nineteenth century. There is a range of business, company and personal records as well as numerous other sources of information. To list some of these materials they include records such as: original Prohibition records; private cash books and private ledgers until approximately the 1940's; annual reports from 1934 to 1988; financial reports from 1940-1988; excise officer journals; a brand label library; extensive history of newspaper clippings for which Art Jahns has the index that number into the thousands; a history of advertising; extensive photographs on the plant and its workers; numerous magazines such as The Labour Gazette, Ambassador Magazine (1982-1988), Round Table (March-April 1956 to March 1974), Hiram Walker Club News (May 1935 to December 1939); press releases; Distiller Association information; Canadian Annual Review (1906-1923); information on the Allied take-over from January 1986 to January 1987; maps and

plans of construction; court transcripts; not to mention a library of numerous books from the nineteenth and twentieth century.

- ◆ Art Jahns has done a great service by compiling these records together under one roof and has been encouraging departments to add records to the archive for approximately 30 years. At this point only 10 to 20 percent of the material has been catalogued. It is hoped that this archive can be preserved and kept for future generations because the information available on this industry and its impacts around the globe are priceless.

For Example

Series I Box 1 Alberta Constitution. 7 April 1895.

The London Illustrated News. 24 February 1894.

Series I Box 10 Fraud Letters 1891-1899

- to Mr. R. Palmer Prop. Sidney House, Davenport New York 8 August 1898

- to Pete Kerola Isheming Michigan 26 November 1898

- to M. Kennedy Port Jervis New York 14 December 1898

- to Annie Demars Rhinlands, Wisconsin 21 December 1898

- to Sandy Patten Ithaca New York 11 March 1899

Grommes & Ullrich agents in Chicago for Hiram Walker & Sons. 5 December 1891.

Chicago Legal News. 26 February 1898.

"Fraudulent Whiskies" Advertisement by Hiram Walker & Sons. 25 July 1898.

"Fraudulent Whiskies" Circular. 26 September 1898.

The Liquor Trader Review. [New York] 15 July 1897.

Series I Box 11-12 Agreement to Incorporate Gooderham and Worts Limited 1

August 1882 between George Gooderham and the Trustees and Cestiusque Trustiest under the Will of the late James Gooderham Worts.

- ◆ This 26 page document contains an extremely detailed documentation of a large industrial establishment operating at the end of the nineteenth century. It is rare to find such a document. This agreement created a limited company in place of a partnership that had existed for decades. There is a site plan of the establishment by Unwin, Browne & Sankey (November 8, 1882) and 2 schedules comprising 86 pages which contain descriptive information listing the real estate, buildings, plant and machinery with an agreed upon asset for each; a description of the company lands and the distillery; stock in trade at July 31, 1882; book debts and cash on hand; reports on the machinery, piping & copper work, buildings with details of depreciation; balance sheet; and weekly expenses at August 1, 1882 for each staff position, grain, fuel, interest and incidentals.

Series I Box 12 Price Lists.

- Gooderham & Worts Price List 1881.
- Gooderham & Worts Price List, 1885.
- Gooderham & Worts Ltd. Price List, Toronto, 18 August 1886.
- Hiram Walker & Sons Price List, 1 August 1887.
- Gooderham & Worts Price List, Toronto, 20 January 1893.
- Fraud Letters.
- from Gooderham & Worts 18 March 1895

Series I Box 13 Hiram Walker Clippings 1856-1918

- New Tribune. 11 June 1895.
- Detroit Evening News. 13 January 1899, p. 2.

Series I Box 18 Price Lists, 1842-1942.

- Hiram Walker & Sons, Montreal, 1 March 1896.
- Hiram Walker & Sons, Quebec, 1 March 1896.
- Hiram Walker & Sons, Winnipeg, 1 March 1896.
- Hiram Walker & Sons, general, 23 April 1897.

Series V Box 33 Advertising 1891-1980.

- "Antwerp Expo." Punch's Almanack. [England] 1893.

Series VI Newspapers 1894-1986.

- The Pharmaceutical Era. 15 January 1892.

Series XIII Various Scrapbooks made by Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. 189? - 19??.

- Pacific Wine & Spirit Review. 26 April 1893.
- Letter from The Weideman Co., Cleveland, Ohio to Agents January 2, 1897.
- Advertisement from the New Zealand Herald. [Auckland] 20 April 1894.
- Advertisement from The Hawaiian Star. [Hawaii] 1 January 1894.
- Advertisement. Letter. Reply from Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd to Walter R. Wonham & Sons agent in Montreal.
- Advertisement from the Wine & Spirit Gazette. [London, England] 13, June 1896.
- Advertisement from the Daily National Hotel Reporter. [Chicago] 30 June 1896.
- Christmas Card 1888.
- Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd Card. General. 29 September 1890.
- List of Selling Agents for "Canadian Club" Whisky October 15, 1897.
- Fraudulent Whiskies. July 25th 1898.
- List of Wholesale Agents for "Canadian Club" Whisky. March 10, 1899.
- Various Labels.
- Hiram Walker & Sons Circular. May 13, 1893.

Series XVI Ledger Book No. 2 September 1 1891 - August 31, 1892.

Ledger Book No. 4 September 1, 1893 - August 31, 1894.

Not Catalogued Sales Book No 3. July 4, 1893 - June 30, 1893.

Sales Book No. 5. September 1 1896 - August 31, 1897.

Mill Diary, 1892.

A.E. Gooderham Private Journal.

Bill of Sale for Magnolia Whisky December 24, 1864.

Private Journal August 31, 1888 - August 31, 1890.

Private Journal September 1, 1890 - August 31, 1909.

Proceedings Before and by Direction of the President concerning the Meaning of the Term 'Whisky'. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909.

In the United States Circuit Court of Appeals No. 2754
Corning & Company vs. Hiram Walker & Sons, Ltd., 1918.

Hoffman-Ahlers Co. 3rd ed. 1870's. Catalogue.

Is Walker's Wealth Subject to Tax? Detroit Free Press. 1887
or 1888.

Amherstburg Echo July 31, 1896, p.6, and August 7, 1896, p. 5.

Advertisement. "Canadian Club Whiskey." Philadelphia
Evening Record. [Philadelphia] 15 December 1896.

Pamphlet. "Through the Years with Hiram Walker".

"Memorandum of Agreement for Advertising in The Toronto Globe.
(1885).

Art Jahns Personal Scrapbook. (all records taken from the archives)

- Mill Diary 1869.
- "Analysis of Sales in Central and South America."
- "The Royal Warrant."
- Labels, Corks, Capsules, Bottles.
- "Earliest known bill of sale..." Mr. Sam Whitley. 24 December 1860.
- "Export Sales Data for Bottled Canadian Club".
- "Rectifiers in Position".
- "Whisky Sales between November 9, 1881 and September 30, 1882".
- "Origins of the Name 'Canadian Club'".
- A Description of the Hiram Walker Distillery in 1861. Detroit Advertiser &
Detroit Tribune. [Detroit] 27, November, 1861.
- Three Chambered Beer Still with Copper Doubler & Worm.
- Canadian Club Whisky." What we Eat. March 1897.

Archives of Ontario. 77 Grenville Street, Unit 300, Toronto, Ontario. 1-800-668-9933

C1694 Walter Shanly - Maitland distillery, 1867. Sir John A. MacDonald Papers v300 Part 1.
Miscellaneous Papers 1867 - 1871.

*Baldwin Room. Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, 789 Yonge Street, Toronto (416)
393-7062*

S24 Lanman & Kemp Correspondence, New York City. January 3, 1864 to October 21,
1879. 470 pieces.

- ◆ This extensive correspondence covers a period in which exports were increasing for the distillery of Gooderham & Worts. It provides a glimpse into the amounts of spirits exported and the requirements to ship these barrels by rail to the United States. For Lanman & Kemp these shipments were large quantities of raw spirits delivered in bulk by the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railway. Many of the letters are routine business matters dealing with shipment advise and accounts, however, this correspondence aids in illustrating the business

dealings of a large establishment of this nature with one of its valued customers. This correspondence is only a small example of the correspondence that would have been generated by this distillery and exemplifies the number of records that have been lost.

Doris Lewis Rare Book Room. University of Waterloo Library. Waterloo, On. (519) 885-1211 ext. 2619

F17244 The Seagram Plant in Waterloo Exhibition October 25, 1996 - November 2, 1997

GA 104 Sousfonds 1: J.E. Seagram and Sons Ltd.

Series 2.3: Operations: Waterloo Plant. No. 39. Exports 1887-1907. Certified photocopy of pages from Invoice Book VI U.S. Consular Agency at Galt, Ontario, Canada for 1887 with an entry relating to J.E. Seagram.

Series 2.5: Topical. No. 134. Distilling: The Story of Distilling: Facts and Figures about Seagram Whiskies and Other Spirits.

--- No. 151. Waterloo Plant: Site History. - [198-].

--- No. 152. Waterloo Plant: Site History. - 1965-1981.

--- "Overproof"---"Proof"---"Underproof" Do you know what they Mean?

Series 2.6: Ephemera. No. 161. Advertisements 1890.

--- No. 162. Advertisements 1897.

--- No. 175. Labels: Old Times Whiskey 18--.

--- No. 181. Labels: White Wheat Whiskey 18--.

Series 3: Photographs. No. 240. Integrity, Craftsmanship, Tradition: The Seagram Plant in Waterloo. The City of Waterloo - Seagram Collection, Exhibition October 25, 1996 - November 2, 1997.

- ◆ This specific material from the Sousfonds was of particular importance because the material spanned the mid nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century. Materials such as photocopies, clippings, photographs, essays, and correspondence detailing the history of the Seagram Company, business interests and operations, its interest in the Waterloo community and the industrial legacy in Series 2.5 to advertisements, business cards, labels, signs, etc. in Series 2.6 which help to illustrate the history of the establishment.

Canadiana Room. Belleville Public Library. 243 Pinnacle Street. Belleville, Ontario. (613) 968-6731

Hastings County Historical Society Collection

File # 918 Corby, Henry Sr. Lease, 1850.
Affidavit as Reeve of Belleville, 1857.
File # 919 Corby Henry Sr. Letterhead, 1898.
File # 920 Corby, Edward. Liquor Store, 1885.
File # 922 Corby, Harry. Conservative Convention to Honour H.
Corby, 1893.

II. PRINTED SOURCES

Hiram Walker & Sons Archives. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. 2072 Riverside Drive. (519) 254-5171 ext. 489

Bogus Liquors & How to Suppress them. Walkerville: Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd., n.d.

Canada. Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic. Minutes of Evidence Ontario. Volume 4. Part 1 and 2. Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895.

Archives of Ontario. 77 Grenville Street, Unit 300, Toronto, Ontario. 1-800-668-9933

MS-489 Reel 1-30. Dun & Bradstreet Reference Books for Canadian Business, 1864-1983. (microfilm). Ontario Archives, 1979, acc# 12819.

- ◆ These reference books contain summary ratings on Canadian business generated by various Dun agents. This source was originally constructed to provide reliable, consistent and objective credit information. A reporter would evaluate a business enterprise and determine its credit potential. This agency provided a new service to the business community with an evaluation of each business using a predetermined rating scale. Within these books one will find a business rated on pecuniary (monetary) strengths and their general credit. This idea of a credit rating is very important during the latter half of the nineteenth century because many businesses were in existence due to credit from the bank or ran the business on a credit basis. These reference books do not include every single business establishment in existence during each year only those that were larger in scale with good fortune possibilities. These reference books are still a reliable source of information for businesses operating in the nineteenth century and can help to chronologically order the business establishments that are in the reference books. To utilize this data source one must first know the exact name of the person or business they are searching for and town in which the establishment is located. The reference books are arranged alphabetical by town.

Wilfrid Laurier University Library. 75 University Avenue West, Waterloo, Ontario. (519) 884-1970.

CACP BS98 VIC11712 - C11764 Canada. Board of Registration and Statistics. Census of the Canadas. 1851-52. (microfilm). Public Archives of Canada, Ontario Census Return Reel C117112-C11764. Quebec: S.B. Foote, 1851.

CACP BS98 W1C01010 - W1C01088 Canada. Board of Registration and Statistics. Census

of the Canadas, 1861-62. (microfilm). Public Archives of Canada, Ontario Census Return Reel C117112 - C11764. Quebec: S.B. Foote, 1863-64.

CACP BSV1F01

Canada. Board of Registration and Statistics. Census of the Canadas, 1851-52. 2 vols. Quebec: J. Lovell, 1853. [Microfiche].

CACP BS98 W1C01

Canada. Board of Registration and Statistics. Census of the Canadas, 1861-62. 2 vols. Quebec: S.B. Foote, 1863-64. [Microfiche].

Canada. Board of Registration and Statistics. Census of Canada, 1870-71. (microfilm). Reels CA1 BS98 X1 C09891-93, C09888-95, C09939-50, C09970-73, C09977-79, C09983-86, C10003-5, and C10017-19.

Canada. Board of Registration and Statistics. Census of Canada 1870-71. Vol. 1 & 3. Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1875.

Canada. Board of Registration and Statistics. Census of Canada 1880-81. Vol. 1 & 3. Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1882-85.

Canada. Board of Registration and Statistics. Census of Canada 1891. Vol. 1 & 3. Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1891.

- ◆ The Canada Census is one of the best sources to gain data on industries before the twentieth century. There are varying forms in which the data is available including the manuscript census as well as the printed census summaries from the summary of Mills, Manufactories & c. Each census year is different. The Canada Census of 1851-52 contains information on industrial occupations from the personal census. Distillers working in Ontario can be found by examining the personal census. Data can be collected on the distiller (and in some cases the proprietor), where the distillery was located within a township, and information about the business is sometimes contained within the enumerator remarks giving the annual produce, fixed capital invested, and the number of hands employed. Unfortunately many of the personal censuses are either missing or incomplete and the data is inconsistent. The 1861 manuscript census provides data on the distilleries in operation. This census was the first attempt to collect information on the industries of Ontario. By examining the personal census data can be obtained on the distilleries in operation that gave returns, where the business was located in the township, quantities of raw materials used, the value of the raw materials used, the kind of raw materials used, the motive of power, fixed capital invested, average number of hands employed, the average cost of labour per month, the quantity of gallons produced, the kind of produce, the value of the produce and sometimes the enumerator has made comments on the business. The summary of the mills, manufactories &c. in the printed census can also be used for data collection. The manuscript census of 1871 contains Schedule 6 which provides data on the industrial establishments in Ontario. This census details not only the census districts but the census sub-districts as well. In-depth information can be collected on: the proprietor's name, the fixed capital, floating capital, the number of working months, the average number of people employees (male and female over and under the age of 16), the aggregate amount of yearly wages, the kind of moving power, the nominal force of moving power, the kind of raw materials, the quantity of raw materials used, the aggregate value of raw materials, the kind of produce, the quantity of produce, the aggregate

value of produce, any comments made by the enumerator. The printed census summary for 1871 can also be viewed. Although the industrial censuses for the census years 1881 and 1891 have been lost the printed census summaries can still be viewed for data on the number of distilleries in operation, the fixed capital invested, the total value of the produce, the number of hands employed, the total value of raw materials and in 1891 the value of floating capital invested.

- ◆ These censuses have excellent potential for mapping the spatial pattern of industries from the mid to late nineteenth century. The capabilities for producing spatial patterns using these different variables alone and in combination with one another are far-reaching and in turn beneficial in the understanding of the distilling industry in the nineteenth century. Despite the time consuming task of collecting the data in a systematic format, the results are well worth the time and effort. There are problems when working with this data and developing the spatial pattern over time which means that assumptions must be made. (Refer to Appendix B.) Many may question the reliability of this data source due to inconsistencies and missing data, however this primary data source is the only source that provides this type and amount of data on the numerous industries. Some small distilling operations may have been missed, especially in the 1851-52 census. As a result it is necessary to view numerous other data sources in the attempt to determine the distilleries in operation that may have been missed by the Canada Census.

Canada. "Return of all Duties collected on account of Whiskey distilled..." Sessional Papers. Vol. 4. No. 18. 1860.

Canada. "Appendix A - Spirits." Sessional Papers. Vol. 3 - 35. (1869 - 1901).

- ◆ This government data source provides consistent information on the distilling industry for approximately three decades (and beyond 1900). This is very important because the development of the industry, its growth, and changes can be seen over time. The Appendix provides data on a number of significant aspects of the distilling industry, notably: the number of distilleries operating within the revenue divisions; the pounds of grain used for distillation; the gallons of proof spirits and the duty on said spirits; the duty collected and the gallons of ex-manufactory spirits; the total gallons of spirits remaining in warehouses, placed in warehouses, and placed in warehouses from other divisions for the various revenue divisions; and the gallons of ex-warehoused spirits for exportation. Since this is a government source it is more reliable for factual data than the Canada Census because these are the returns collected from Inland Revenue officers. Consequently it is not an estimate by the proprietor. All of these figures were compiled by the Inland Revenue Department and subsequent reports were made from the data. There is a wealth of data on the industry that can be compiled to show the progression and changes in the industry that can not be obtained from other primary data sources. One main hindrance with regards to this data source is that the data was compiled into revenue divisions which means that if there were more than one distillery within the division the data can not be broken down to the individual establishments. The number of distilleries is defined within the Appendix but there is no proprietor information to indicate what distilleries gave returns to for these revenue divisions. Likewise since this is a revenue division the precise location of the distillery is not given. Consequently to fully appreciate this data and to fully analyze the data, previous research must be completed to know the distilleries that were in operation and where at particular dates.

Canada. "General Statement of Exports." Sessional Papers. Vol. 18. No 3 (1860) - Vol. 24 No. 1 (1865).

Canada. "General Statement of Exports." Sessional Papers. Vol. 1. (1867) - Vol. 34 (1901).

Canada. "General Statement of Imports." Sessional Papers. Vol. 19 (1861) - Vol. 24 No. 2 (1865).

Canada. "General Statement of Imports." Sessional Papers. Vol. 1 (1867) - Vol. 34 (1901).

Canada. Acts Relating to the Revenue, Finance, Duties of Customs, Excise & Licenses... Toronto, Ontario: Stewart Derbishire & Geogre Desbarats, 1859.

Canada. An Act to increase the revenue, and to compel the accounting more regularly for the same.... CIHM no. 53914: 1797?.

Canada. An Act to Lay and Collect a Duty upon Stills. Upper Canada: 1803?.

Canada. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic. Ottawa, Ontario: S.E. Dawson, 1895.

Coldwell, William. The Maitland Distillery Case: Report of the Trial of Mr. S.S. Halladay, at the York and Peel Assizes, Before the Hon. Justice John Wilson, January 8-12, 1866. (microfiche). Toronto, Ontario: The Globe Steam Job Press, 1866. Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, Machine Readable Archives Division [distributor], 1973.

- ◆ This report on the trial proceedings of the Crown versus Halladay (Maitland distillery) provides important information on how the government instituted itself within the distilling industry. This case shows the commitment and serious consequences of not following the laws and guidelines in place for distilling spirits and whisky. The government's position was that it allowed individuals to distill spirits and consequently under this system the government was in control. In this particular case the government was after revenue that was believed to have been fraudulently withheld, a sum estimated at over \$300,000. By viewing these trial proceedings it is possible to view both sides to the case as they were developed for the jury. Important data can also be gathered on the transportation of spirits and raw materials in the 1860's, the manufacture of spirits, and the exporting of spirits and whisky out of Ontario.

Spence, F.C. The Facts of the Case: A Summary of the Most Important Evidence and Argument Presented in the Report of the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic. Toronto, Ontario: Newton & Treloar, 1896.

Wilfrid Laurier University Archive. 75 University Avenue West, Waterloo, Ontario. (519) 884-1970

FC 3055.C25 The Canadian Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men. Ontario Volume. Toronto, Ontario: American Biography Publishing Company, 1880.

III. ASSESSMENT ROLLS

Archives of Ontario. 77 Grenville Street, Unit 300, Toronto, Ontario. 1-800-668-9933

- MS 10 R 1 Town of Bowmanville. Assessment Rolls, 1859 and 1861.
- MS 10 R 3 Clarke Township, Durham. Assessment Rolls, 1861.
Cavan Township. Assessment Rolls, 1861
- MS 576 R 1 Augusta Township. Assessment Rolls, 1853.
- MS 56 R 1 Pilkington Township. Assessment Rolls, 1850.
- MS167 Sandwich East. Assessment Rolls, 1871-1900.
- MS 132 R 2 Town of Guelph. Assessment Rolls, 1852.
- GS 6134- Toronto Assessment Rolls, 1850-1900.
- MS 8821 R 1-3 Waterloo Assessment Rolls, 1878-1900.

IV. DIRECTORIES

Archives of Ontario. 77 Grenville Street, Unit 300, Toronto, Ontario. 1-800-668-9933

- B 70 Series C R 17 C.L. Fuller's Counties of Elgin and Norfolk Directory for 1865-1866.
Toronto: Blackburns City Steam Press, 1865.
- B 70 Series C R 17 County of Essex Gazetteer and General Business Directory for 1866-1867. Woodstock: Sutherland & Co., 1866.
- B 70 Series C R 17 Directory of the County of Bruce. Montreal: J.W. Rooklidge, 1867.
- B 70 Series C R 9 Directory of the County of Hastings 1860-1861.
- B 70 Series C R 14 Directory of the County of Hastings 1864-1865. Belleville: Mackenzie
Bowell, 1865.
- B 70 Series C R 29 Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Perth 1863.
- B 70 Series C R 29 Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Perth 1867. Toronto: Irwin
and Burnham, 1867.
- B 70 Series C R 17 Gazetteer and Directory of the Counties of Haldimand and Brant.
Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867.
- B 70 Series C R 9 Gazetteer and Directory of the Counties of Kent, Lambton and Essex
1866-7. Toronto: McEvery and Co., 1866.
- B 70 Series C R 8 Mitchell and Company's County of Wentworth and Hamilton City
Directory for 1865-1866. Toronto: Mitchell & Co., 1864.

B 70 Series A R 3, 4 Mitchell's Canada Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1864-65. Toronto: W.C. Chewett & Co., 1864.

B 70 Series C R 3 Union Publisher Company's Alphabetical Business Directory of the Cities, Towns, Villages, for the Counties of Carelton, Grenville, Leeds, Lanark and Renfrew for 1881.

Doris Lewis Rare Book Room. University of Waterloo Library. Waterloo, On. (519) 885-1211 ext. 2619

G0101 County of Waterloo Gazetteer and Directory for 1877-78. Toronto: Armstrong & Co., 1878.

G1837 S. 28 BK.17 County of York Gazetteer and Directory for 1870-71. Toronto: McEvoy & Co., 1870.

G0097 Mackay Robert W.S. The Canada Directory containing the Names of the Professional Business Men... Montreal: John Lovell, 1851.

F17244 Rowsell, Henry. Roswell's City of Toronto and County of York Directory for 1850-1. Toronto, Ontario: Henry Rowsell, 1850.

Grace Schmidt Room. Kitchener Public Library, 85 Queen Street, Kitchener. (519) 743-0271.

917.1344 County of Waterloo Gazetteer and Directory for 1878. Toronto, Ontario: Armstrong & Co., 1878.

917.1344 Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Waterloo 1867. Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867.

917.1342 Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Wellington 1867. Toronto: Irwin and Burnham, 1867.

917.1342 Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Wellington for 1871-72. Hamilton: A.O. Loomis & Co., 1871.

917.1344 Evans, William W. Waterloo County Gazetteer and Directory 1884. Toronto: William Evans, 1884.

Wilfrid Laurier University Library. 75 University Avenue West, Waterloo, Ontario. (519) 884-1970.

The Canadian Almanac and Directory. [machine readable data file]. Toronto: H. Scobie, 1851-1854. Toronto: Micromedia [distributor], 1972.

The Canadian Almanac and Directory. [machine readable data file]. Toronto: Maclear & Co., 1855-1894. Toronto: Micromedia [distributor], 1972.

FC 162.C15 No. 29571 The Canada Directory for 1857-58. [machine readable data file].

Montreal: John Lovell, 1857. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, [distributor] 1982.

FC 162.C15 no.09143 Lovell, John. Lovell's Canada Dominion Directory for 1871. [machine readable data file]. Montreal: John Lovell, 1871. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, [distributor] 1980.

FC 162.C15 no.A00584 Lovell, John. Lovell's Business and Professional Directory of the Province of Ontario for 1882. [machine readable data file]. Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1882. Ottawa : Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions. [distributor] 1988.

FC 162.C15 No. 29570 Mackay, Robert W.S. The Canada Directory. [machine readable data file]. Montreal: John Lovell, 1851. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, [distributor] 1982.

FC 162. C15 NO.09412 McEvoy, Henry. Province of Ontario Gazetteer and Directory 1869. [machine readable data file]. Toronto : Robertson & Cook, 1869. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, [distributor] 1980.

FC 162.C15 no.A00291 Ontario Gazetteer and Business Directory 1884-85. [machine readable data file]. Toronto: R.L. Polk & Co., 1884. Ottawa : Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, [distributor] 1988.

FC 162.C15 no.A00459 Province of Ontario Gazetteer and Directory 1892. [machine readable data file]. Toronto, Ontario: The Might Directory Company and Toronto Ltd., 1892. Ottawa : Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, [distributor] 1988.

Smith, W.H. Canada Past, Present & Future. 1852. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1973.

Smith, Wm H. Smith's Canadian Gazetteer. 1846. Toronto, Ontario: Coles, 1970.

V. NEWSPAPERS

McLaren, J.A. "Perth Distillery manufacturer of the celebrated usquebaugh or small still whiskey." The Commercial Review. [Montreal] 3 Aug 1878. As printed in Gerald McCarthy's "Breweries and Distilleries." Prescott 1810 - 1967. Ed. J.A. Morris. Prescott, Ontario: The Prescott Journal, 1967.81-82

"Messrs. Gooderham & Worts, City Steam Mills and Distillery." The British Colonist. [Toronto] 16 April 1850, p. 2. As printed in Stephen Otto's Gooderham & Worts Heritage Plan Report 4, Inventory of Archival Sources. March 1994, Appendix B, 89.

Baldwin Room. Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, 789 Yonge Street, Toronto (416) 393-7062

"Breweries and distilleries are numerous." The Globe. [Toronto] 13 December 1856, supplement, p 4.

"Description of the Distillery of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." The Canadian Illustrated News. [Hamilton] 25 April 1863, p. 282-3 and Supplement.

- ◆ There are 12 engravings showing various aspects of the distillery from the boiler room to the still room to the fermenting room. This supplement contains excellent detailed information on the distilling process, the mechanization of this process, and the size of Gooderham & Worts in the early 1860's.

Note: The Toronto Reference Library requires one day advanced notice to retrieve these original documents.

Archives of Ontario. 77 Grenville Street, Unit 300, Toronto, Ontario. 1-800-668-9933

Articles

- N11 R34 "Annual Review of the Trade of Toronto, for 1861." The Globe. [Toronto] 7 February 1862, p. 1.
- N11 R50 "Building in Toronto - Cattle Sheds." The Globe. [Toronto] 3 November 1866, p. 1.
- N11 R50 "Building in Toronto - More Cattle Sheds." The Globe. [Toronto] 23 July 1867, p. 1.
- N11 R61 "Burning of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts Distillery last night." The Globe. [Toronto] 27 October 1869.
- N11 R67 "Canadian Manufactures - No IV, One of the Largest Distilleries in the World." The Globe. [Toronto] 23 April 1872, p. 2.
- N11 R53 "Cattle Fattening in Toronto." The Globe. [Toronto] 3 October 1867, p. 2.
- N11 R56 "The Distillery Nuisance." The Globe. [Toronto] 11 July 1868, p. 1.
- N38 R34 "The effect of the burning of Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 28 October 1869.
- N11 R61 "The Fire at Messrs. Gooderham & Worts." The Globe. [Toronto] 28 October 1869.
- N38 R34 "Gooderham & Worts Distillery Destroyed." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 27 October 1869.
- N11 R61 "The Great Fire." The Globe. [Toronto] 28 October 1869.
- N38 R34 "Handsome Donation to the Firemen." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 28 October 1869.
- N11 R34 "The Meeting of Sympathy." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 28 October 1869.
- N11 R68 "Messrs. Gooderham & Worts..." The Globe. [Toronto] 5 June 1873, p. 4.

- N38 R34 "Messrs. Gooderham & Worts Distillery." Daily Leader. [Toronto] 29 November 1869, p. 3.
- N11 R53 "More Cattle Sheds." The Globe. [Toronto] 23 July 1867.
- N11 R36 "New Malt House, &c., for Messrs. Gooderham & Worts." The Globe [Toronto] 26 March 1863, p. 2.
- N11 R14 "New Steam Mills and Distillery." The Globe. [Toronto] 11 July 1859, p. 2.
- N11 R66 "Progress of Toronto." The Globe. [Toronto] 3 June 1871, p. 4.

Advertisements

- N11 R96 Hiram Walker Advertisement. The Globe. [Toronto] 3 January 1885, p. 5.
- N11 R61 "Chippewa Distillery." The Globe. [Toronto] 27 October 1869.
- "Chippewa Distillery." The Globe. [Toronto] 28 October 1869.
- N219 R11 "Dissolution of Partnership." The Daily Intelligencer. [Belleville] 2 April 1868.
- N219 R13 "Fresh Arrivals." The Daily Intelligencer. [Belleville] 26 May 1870.
- N219 R11 "Great Treat." The Daily Intelligencer. [Belleville] 6 May 1869, p. 1.
- N131 R25 "J.P. Wiser, successor to C.P. Egert & Co..." Prescott Conservative Messenger. [Prescott] 9 March 1864.
- N211 R3 "No Use." Elora Observer. [Elora] 4 January 1866.
- N15 R6 "Pure Malt Whisky for sale at The Perth Distillery." Perth Courier. [Perth] June 1864.
- N11 R13 "Valuable Property for sale or to Let." The Globe. [Toronto] 13, December 1856.

Grace Schimdt Room. Kitchener Public Library. 85 Queen Street, North, Kitchener, Ontario. (519) 743-0271

- "A Distiller." Reformer. {Dumfries} 23 November 1854.
- "Cash! Cash!" Reporter. [Galt] 6 February 1857.
- "Carlisle Distillery." Reporter. [Galt] 26 June 1857.
- "Distillery for Sale." Reporter. [Galt] 13 February 1857.
- "Dew Drop Distillery, Carlisle, near Galt." Reporter. [Galt] 28 August 1857.
- "For Sale." Reporter. [Galt] 24 June 1864.

“For Sale or to Rent.” Reporter. [Galt] 1 September 1859.

“Notice to Distillers and Others in Canada.” Reporter. [Galt] 7 September 1860.

“Notice to the Farmers...” Reporter. [Galt] 13 August 1858.

“Seagram Victory!” County Chronicle. [Waterloo] 25 June 1896.

“To Capitalists.” Reporter. [Galt] 18 September 1863.

“To Small Manufacturers and Others.” Reporter. [Galt] 17 October 1862.

“Wanted at the Dew Drop Distillery...” Reporter. [Galt] 7 September 1860.

- ◆ These newspaper articles and advertisements are only a small portion of the information that contained in the remaining local newspapers from the nineteenth century. The main problem with a data source such as this, is that it is difficult and time consuming to locate the specific data that is desired. This collection of articles acquired for this thesis shows the various types of data that can be gathered ranging from advertisements to articles. It may be difficult to locate data for small operations within the industry but as large distilling operations emerged and became significant to the community it is likely that more was written on the distilleries. A random search can be undertaken when examining numerous years or if there is a particular event or significant occurrence within a specific year this can significantly reduce the search for data. Unfortunately there was no way to complete an exhaustive search because there is simply too much information. In most cases there is a number of pages to each issue and the issue may be published once a week or in the case of the Toronto Globe and Mail almost every day. Much of these newspaper articles were located from other data sources through two years of research and the original was then obtained. The advertisements obtained from the Galt Reporter were done using a random search examining the Friday issue of each week from 1857-1863. This was done to show that there is a wealth of information waiting to be discovered within the local newspapers of Ontario.

Canadiana Room. Belleville Public Library. 243 Pinnacle Street, Belleville, Ontario. (613) 968-6731

Vertical File “The Corby Story.” Canadian Beverage Review March-April 1951: 34-62.

“Harry Corby, M.P.” Sun [Belleville] 31 May 1895: 23.

VI. HISTORICAL ATLASES

Historical Atlas of Waterloo and Wellington Counties, Ontario. 1881. Owen Sound : Richardson, Bond & Wright, 1972.

Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Essex and Kent, Ontario. 1880. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Silk Screening, 1972.

Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Hastings and Prince Edward, Ontario. 1878. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Silk Screening, 1972.

Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Leeds and Grenville, Ontario. 1888. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1973. 1888

Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Lincoln and Welland, Ontario. 1876. Port Elgin, Ontario : R. Cumming, 1971.

Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Northumberland and Durham, Ontario. 1878. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Silk Screening, 1972.

VII. PAMPHLETS

Canadiana Room. Belleville Public Library. 243 Pinnacle Street. Belleville, Ontario. (613) 968-6731

Vertical File Corby Since 1859. Corbyville, Ontario: H. Corby Distillery, n.d.

Corbyville 1991. Corbyville, Ontario: H. Corby Distillery, n.d.

The History of Corbyville. Corbyville, Ontario: H. Corby Distillery, n.d.

VIII. MAPS

Hiram Walker Archives. Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd. 2072 Riverside Drive. (519) 254-5171 ext. 489

Goad Chas E. Fire Insurance Plan of Walkerville Ontario. 1884. Chas E Goad. 4 sheets.

Goad Chas E. Fire Insurance Plan of Walkerville Ontario. 1890. Revision 1893. Chas E Goad. 4 sheets.

Archives of Ontario. 77 Grenville Street, Unit 300, Toronto, Ontario. 1-800-668-9933

C234-1-98-1 Goad Chas E. Goad Fire Insurance Plan of Corbyville, Ontario. 1908. Revision 1911. 2 sheets.

RG 1 Ministry of Natural Resources

R-E Ellis, J. Map of the Counties of Northumberland and Durham. Cobourg, Ontario: E.C. Caddy, 1861.

A0607 Hermon, R.W. New Map of the County of Huron. Toronto, Ontario: R.W. Hermon, R. Martin, and L. Bolton, 1862.

A-18 Rankin, C. Map of the Counties of Grey and Bruce, Canada. Toronto, Ontario: Maclear & Co. 1855. 67 x 95 cm.

A-8 Shier, John. Tremaine's Map of the County of Durham, Upper Canada. Toronto, Ontario: Geo. C. Tremaine, 1861. 132 x 150 cm.

- A-E Shier, John. Tremaine's Map of the County of Ontario, Upper Canada. Toronto, Ontario: George C. Tremaine, 1860.
- B-19 Surtees, Robert. Map of the County of Wentworth. Toronto, Ontario: Hardy Gardy, 1859. 42 x 73 cm.
- A-16 Tremaine, Geogre R. Tremaine's Map of the County of Brant, Canada West. Toronto, Ontario: Geo C. Tremaine, 1859.
- R-E Tremaine, George R. Tremaine's Map of the County of Elgin, Canada West. St. Thomas, Ontario: Tremaine's Map Est. No 79, 1864. 89 x 198 cm.
- A-18 Tremaine's Map of the County of Halton, Canada West. Toronto, Ontario: Geo C. Tremaine, 1858.
- A-16 Tremaine, George R. Tremaine's Map of the Counties of Lincoln and Welland, Canada West. Toronto, Ontario: Geo. C. Tremaine, 1862.
- A-4 Tremaine, Geogre R and G.M. Tremaine. Map of the County of Middlesex. Toronto, Ontario: Geo. C. Tremaine, 1862. 131 x 187 cm.
- A-4 Tremaine, George R. Tremaine's Map of Oxford County. Kingston, Ontario: W.G. Wonham & Co., 1857. 147 175 cm.
- R-W Tremaine, George R. and G.M. Tremaine. Tremaine's Map of Waterloo. Toronto, Ontario: Geo. C. Tremaine, 1861.
- A-10 Tremaine George R. Tremaine's Map of the County of York. Toronto, Ontario: Geo C. Tremaine, 1860.
- B-18 Walling, H.F. Tremaine's Map of Lanark and Renfrew. Prescott, Ontario: D.P. Putman, 1863. 104 x 141 cm.
- A-16 Walling, H.F. Map of the United Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington. Kingston, Ontario: Putman & Walling, 1860.
- A-11 Walling, H.F. Map of the United Counties of Leeds and Grenville. Kingston, Ontario: Putnam & Walling, 1861.
- R-N Map of Norfolk County. 1856.

Baldwin Room. Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, 789 Yonge Street, Toronto (416) 393-7062

Jones, W. Map of the County of Haldimand. Toronto, Ontario: George C. Tremaine, 1863.

IX. PHOTOGRAPHS

City of Toronto Archives. 255 Spadina Road, Toronto (416) 397-7977

SC-583. Photographs of the Distillery of Gooderham & Worts Limited, Toronto, Canada,

operated by the British Acetones Toronto Limited (Imperial Munitions Board), 1916-1918. Photographer unknown.

- ◆ This pictorial record of Gooderham & Worts contains 168 photographs that are invaluable for the comprehension of operations at an establishment of this size during an important point in history. Although these pictures were taken at a later date than this thesis examines, the machinery and buildings are relatively unchanged. Consequently, one can see the scale, commitment, and responsibility in which this distillery operated under to produce its product of spirits and whisky.

Baldwin Room. Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, 789 Yonge Street, Toronto (416) 393-7062

Forbes, J.C. Gooderham & Worts, 1855. Toronto Reference Library. Photograph Collection. Acc. no. x21 Fra. Repro: T 31931.

Hider, Arthur Henry. Gooderham & Worts Ltd, Toronto, 1896. Toronto Reference Library. Photograph Collection. Acc. no. 981-25 Cab III. Repro: T30536.

Doris Lewis Rare Book Room. University of Waterloo Library. Waterloo, On. (519) 885-1211 ext. 2619

GA 104 Sousfonds 1: J.E. Seagram and Sons Ltd.

Series 3: Photographs. No. 217.

Joseph E. Seagram. Cattle Byres Sketch. 1887.

Joseph E. Seagram. Arial 1890-1900.

Joseph E. Seagram. Distillery 1903.

Archives of Ontario. 77 Grenville Street, Unit 300, Toronto, Ontario. 1-800-668-9933

Acc. 4197S2995 Spalding & Stewart photo from Ontario Archives. 189?.

- ◆ Often in primary research photographs are often overlooked and the potential information to be gathered is missed. Photographs are a primary data source that allow the researcher to view the distillery in the past by those individuals who were at the time preserving the present. A photograph is a document of the past. It is impossible to physically return to this time but photographs provide a link to that landscape. The landscape can be a great source of information as well. It is recommended that a tour of the Gooderham & Worts, Ltd. facilities be conducted. This industrial establishment has changed very little over the centuries. In many cases the buildings are those from the nineteenth century. To see the size of this establishment illustrates how grand this complex was at a time when most industries were still relatively small in scale.

X. SECONDARY DATA SOURCES

A. *General*

Conzen, Michael, et al., eds., A Scholar's Guide to Geographical Writings on the American and Canadian Past. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Cook, Terry, ed. Archival Citations: Suggestions for the Citation of Documents at the Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa, Ontario: Public Archives Canada, 1983.

Fortin, Marcel, Lorraine Dubneuil, and Cheryl A. Woods. Canadian Fire Insurance Plans in Ontario Collections 1876 - 1973. Ottawa, Ontario: Occasional Papers of the Association of Canadian Map Libraries and Archives, 1995.

Goad, Charles Edward. The Mapping of Victorian Toronto: The 1884 and 1890 Atlases of Toronto in Comparative Rendition. Sutton West, Ontario: Paget Press, 1984.

Otto, Stephen. Gooderham & Worts Heritage Plan Report 4. Inventory of Archival Sources. March 1994.

- ◆ As mentioned by Otto, there are several primary sources on the Gooderham & Worts distillery that are still housed at the distillery. It is difficult to view these materials because of the closure of the distillery. It would be beneficial if these records were moved to an archive (like the City of Toronto Archives) so that the public would have easy access to these records and proper preservation measures could be taken. These on-site records include materials such as: site plans, deeds, and photographs. To access these primary source materials an appointment must be made with property manager. Davies Smith Developments Inc. located at 55 Mill Street in Toronto can be contacted by telephoning (416) 363-1030. At present the outer edge of the distillery property is being redeveloped and rezoned into residential housing. No plans have been made yet for the historic preservation of the remaining interior of this complex. When the distillery was closed all of the corporate records dating back to approximately 1864 (which had been saved for decades) were shredded and destroyed. A great wealth of information that could have provided great incites into the history of this distillery and Ontario's distilling industry are lost forever, making the Hiram Walker & Sons Archives all the more precious and valuable.

Turabian, Kate L. A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations. 5th ed. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Winearls, Joan. Mapping Upper Canada: 1780-1867: An Annotated Bibliography of Manuscript and Printed Maps. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

B. History of Whisky

Brown, Lorraine. 200 Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whiskey. Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1994.

Dension, Merrill. The Barley and the Stream, The Molson Story. Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart, 1955.

Getz, Oscar. Whiskey: An American Pictorial History. New York, New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1978.

Fisher, Sidney Thompson. The Merchant-Millers of the Humber Valley: A Study of the Early Economy of Canada. Toronto, Ontario: N.C. Press, 1985.

Fraser, Wendy Carol. Hiram Walker Remembered. Windsor, Ontario: Forest Press, 1992.

Jenkins, Claire M. "The Growth of a Grist Mill." Waterloo Historical Society 67 (1979): 77-81.

- Keleher, John W. "The Mill-Lands of Guelph & Associated Industry." Historic Guelph: The Royal City 33 (1993): 35-54.
- Klotz, Otto. "Sketch of the History of the Village of Preston." Waterloo Historical Society 60 (1972): 72-76.
- Little, Ellis A. "The Seagram Pipeline." Waterloo Historical Society 85 (1997): 94-99.
- Magill, M.L. "James Morton of Kingston - Brewer." Historic Kingston 21 (1973): 72-77.
- Marrus, Michael R. Mr. Sam: The Life and Times of Samuel Bronfman. Toronto, Ontario: Viking Press, 1991.
- McGuine, E.B. Irish Whisky: A History of Distilling, Spirit Trade and Excise Controls in Ireland. New York, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1973.
- Moss, Michael S. and John R. Hume. The Making of Scotch Whisky. Edinburgh: James & James, 1981.
- Murphy, Brian. The World Book of Whisky. London, England: William Collins and Sons and Company Ltd, 1978.
- Newell, Diane and Ralph Greenhill. "Gooderham and Worts Distillery." Survivals: Aspects of Industrial Archaeology in Ontario. Erin, Ontario: The Boston Mills Press, 1989, pp. 85-108.
- Panabaker, Mayor D.N. "The town of Hespeler." Waterloo Historical Society 60 (1972): 36-49.
- Petrie, J.R. A Handbook on the Beverage Distilling Industry in Canada. The Association of Canadian Distillers, 1957.
- Prentice, William. "Gooderham and Worts Limited." Canadian Beverage Review May-June (1949): 106-112.
- Rannie, William F. Canadian Whiskey: The Product and the Industry. Lincoln, Ontario: W.F. Rannie, 1976.
- . "A Old, Big, Colourful: the distilling industry." Canadian Geographical Journal 93.3 (1976): 20-27.
- Ross, James. Whiskey. London, England: Routledge, and Kegan Paul, 1970.
- Schmalz, W.H.E. "The Hespeler Family." Waterloo Historical Society 57 (1969): 21-28.
- Shuttleworth, E.B. The Windmill and its Times. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1924.
- ◆ This is book was written by Shuttleworth to detail the early history and the beginning of the Gooderham and Worts distillery. Shuttleworth relied heavily on many business and company records made available by Gooderham and Worts. Specifically an almost unbroken series of

account books that could trace the progress of business, steps accomplished, and the parties involved in numerous transactions; provide important information about milling and distilling; detail the current prices of the time; and connect the establishment to the early life of Toronto. He noted in 1924 that the firm's early account books were in numbered boxes in a room over the present offices of Gooderham and Worts. These account books, however, have been destroyed because there is no evidence of these account books today. This is a great loss since there is very little account type or numerical records on Canada's leading distillery during the nineteenth century. Consequently the enormity, scope and influence of this firm can never truly be recognized or fully understood.

Storrie, Margaret C. "The Scotch Whiskey Industry." Institute of British Geographers 31 (1962): 97-114.

Weir, Ronald. The History of the Distillers Company, 1877-1939. Oxford, New York: The Oxford University Press, 1995.

C. Township and City Histories

Bailey, T. Melville. Hamilton: Chronicle of a City. Windsor Publications Ltd., 1983.

Boyce, Gerald E. Historic Hastings. Belleville, Ontario: Hastings County Council, 1967.

Briggs, William. The History of the County of Bruce. Bruce County Historical Society, 1960.

Byerly, A.E. Fergus on the Fergusson - Webster Settlement with an Extensive History of North-East Nichol. Elora, Ontario: Elora Express Publishing, 1932-1934.

Campbell, Marjorie Freeman. A Mountain City: The Story of Hamilton. Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart, 1966.

Chapman, Isabel, ed. Markham 1793 - 1900. Markham, Ontario: Markham Historical Society, 1979.

Climo, Percy L. Early Cobourg. Cobourg, Ontario: Haynes Printing Co., 1970.

Coleman, Thelma. The Canada Company. Stratford, Ontario: County of Perth & Cumming Publishers, 1978.

Given, Robert A. The Story of Etobicoke. Etobicoke, Ontario: Municipality of Etobicoke, 1950.

Guillet, Edwin C. Cobourg 1798 - 1948. Oshawa, Ontario: Business of Professional Women's Club of Cobourg, 1948.

Hill, Bruce Emerson. The Grand River Navigation Company. Brantford, Ontario: Brant Historical Society, 1994.

Leavitt, Thad W.H. History of Leeds and Grenville. 1879. Brockville, Ontario: Mika Screening Ltd, 1972.

- Lister, Herbert. Hamilton, Canada: Its History, Commerce, Industries, Resources. Hamilton, Ontario: Spectator Printing Company, Ltd., 1913.
- Marsh, E.L. A History of the County of Grey. Fleming Publishing Co. Ltd., 1931.
- McCarthy, Gerald. "Breweries and Distilleries." Prescott 1810 - 1967. Ed. J.A. Morris. Prescott, Ontario: The Prescott Journal, 1967.
- McKenzie, Ruth. Leeds and Grenville: Their First 200 Years. Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967.
- McLaughlin, Kenneth. Waterloo: An Illustrated History. Windsor, Ontario: Windsor Publishing Ltd., 1990.
- Mika, Nick and Helma Mika. Belleville. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1973.
- Morrison, Neil. Garden Gateway to Canada: One Hundred Year of Windsor & Essex, 1854-1954. Toronto, Ontario: Ryerson Press, 1954.
- Moyer, Bill. This Unique Heritage: The Story of Waterloo County. Kitchener, Ontario: William G. Moyer, 1971.
- Otto, Stephen. Maitland: A Very Neat Village Indeed. Erin, Ontario: The Boston Mills Press, 1985.
- Rowell, Marg, Ed Devitt and Pat McKegney. Welcome to Waterloo: An Illustrated History of Waterloo, Ontario in Celebration of its 125th Anniversary 1857-1982. Waterloo, Ontario: Waterloo Printing Company, 1982.
- Shortt, Edward. Perth Remembered. N.P., 1967.
- Smith, Donald A. At the Forks of the Grand 1793-1920. Paris, Ontario: Paris Centennial Committee, 1956.
- Turner, Larry. Perth: Tradition and Style in Eastern Ontario. Toronto, Ontario: Natural Heritage Inc., 1992.

D. The Canadian Economy

- Ankli, Robert E. "The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854." Canadian Journal of Economics 4 (1970): 1-20.
- Aitken, Hugh G.J. "Defensive Expansionism: The State and Economic Growth in Canada." The State and Economic Growth. Ed. Hugh G.J. Aitken. New York, New York: Social Science Research, 1959.
- Blackbourn, Anthony, and Robert G. Putman. The Industrial Geography of Canada. Croom Helm Industrial Geography Series. London, England: Croom Helm, 1984.
- Bliss, Michael. Northern Enterprise: Five Century of Canadian Business. Toronto, Ontario: McClelland & Stewart, 1987.

Currie, A.W. Canadian Economic Development. 4th ed. Toronto, Ontario: Thomas, Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1963.

Easterbrook, W.T. and Hugh G.J. Aitken. Canadian Economic History. Toronto, Ontario: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1956.

Firestone, O.J. "Development of Canada's Economy: 1850-1900." Vol. 24 of Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteen Century: Studies in Income and Wealth. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960.

McCalla, Douglas. Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada 1784-1870. Ontario Historical Studies Series for the Government of Ontario. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Marr, William L. and Donald G. Paterson. Canada: An Economic History. Toronto, Ontario: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1980.

Norrie, Kenneth, and Douglas Owram. A History of the Canadian Economy. 4th ed. Toronto, Ontario: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc., 1991.

Officer, L.H. and L.B. Smith. "The Canadian-American Reciprocity Treaty of 1855 to 1866." Journal of Economic History 28 (1968): 598-623.

E. Canada Before 1900

Bloomfield, Elizabeth and G.T. Bloomfield. Industrial Leaders: The Largest Manufacturing Firms of Ontario in 1871. Research Report 8. Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph Press, 1989.

Bloomfield, Elizabeth and G.T. Bloomfield. The Hum of Industry: Millers, Manufacturers and Artisans of Wellington County. Research Report 9. Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph Department of Geography, 1990.

Bloomfield, Elizabeth and G.T. Bloomfield. Patterns of Canadian Industry in 1871: An Overview Based on the First Census of Canada. Research Report 12. Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph Department of Geography, 1990.

Bloomfield, Elizabeth and G.T. Bloomfield. Industry in Ontario Counties, 1871: A Preliminary Atlas. Research Report 14. Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph Department of Geography, 1992.

Gentilcore, R. Louis, ed. Historical Atlas of Canada: Volume II: the Land Transformed, 1800-1891. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Gentilcore, R. Louis and C. Grant Head. Ontario's History in Maps. Ontario Historical Studies Series. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Goheen, Peter G. Victorian Toronto, 1850-1900. Department of Geography Research Paper No. 127. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago, 1973.

- Guillet, Edwin C. Pioneer Inns and Taverns. Vol. 1. Toronto, Ontario: The Ontario Publishing Co. Ltd., 1954.
- Harris, R. Cole, and John Warkentin. Canada Before Confederation: A Study in Historical Geography. Ottawa, Ontario: Carleton University Press Inc., 1991.
- Kerr, Donald. Historical Atlas of Canada. Toronto, Ontario: Nelson, 1975.
- Masters, D.C. The Rise of Toronto 1850-1900. Toronto, Ontario: The University of Toronto Press, 1947.
- McBurney, Margaret and Mary Byers. Taverns in the Town: Early Inns and Taverns of Ontario. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Mitchell, R.D. and P.A. Groves, eds. North America: The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent. Totowa, New Jersey: Rossman and Littlefield, 1986.
- Steed, Guy P.F. An Historical Geography of the Canadian Clothing Industries: 1800-1930's. Research Note No. 11. Ottawa, Ontario: University of Ottawa, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, 1976.
- Timberlake, J. Illustrated Toronto: Past and Present. Toronto, Ontario: Peter A. Gross, 1877.
- Wynn, Graeme. "Urban Growth and Form." People, Places, Patterns, Processes: Geographical Perspectives on the Canadian Past. Ed. Graeme Wynn. Toronto: Ontario, Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1990. 229-232.

F. Rail

- Bloomfield, G.T. The Railway Life-Cycle in Ontario. Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph, 1992.
- Currie, A.W. The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1957.
- Glazebrook, G.P. A History of Transportation in Canada. Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart, 1964.
- Modelski, Andrew M. Railroad Maps of North America: The First 100 Years. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1984.
- Thompson, Norman and Major Edgar. Canadian Railway Development. Toronto, Ontario: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1933.

G. Methodological Theory and Historical Geography

- Guelke, Leonard. "Problems of Scientific Explanation in Geography." Canadian Geographer 15.1 (1971): 38-51.
- Guelke, Leonard. Historical Understanding in Geography: An Idealist Approach. Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography; 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Hamshere, J.D. "Data Sources in Historical Geography." Historical Geography: Progress and Prospect. Ed. Michael Pacione. Croom Helm Progress in Geography Series. New Hamshire: Croom Helm Ltd., 1987. 46-69.

Lever, W.F. "Theory and Methodology in Industrial Geography." Progress in Industrial Geography. Ed. Michael Pacione. Croom Helm Progress in Geography Series. New Hampshire: Croom Helm Ltd., 1985. 10-39.

Pooley, C.G. "The Historical Geography of Industrial Change." Historical Geography: A Methodological Portrayal. Ed. D. Brooks Green. Savage, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1991. 158-183.

Riley, R.C. Industrial Geography. Toronto, Ontario: Irwin and Company Ltd., 1973.

Wynn, Graeme. "Introduction." People, Places, Patterns, Processes: Geographical Perspectives on the Canadian Past. Ed. Graeme Wynn. Toronto: Ontario, Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1990. 1-37.

H. Industrial Location Theory

Chandler, Alfred D. Jr. The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Chapman, Keith, and David F. Walker. Industrial Location: Principles and Policies. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1991.

Piore, Michael J. and Charles F. Sabel. The Second Industrial Divide. New York, New York: Basic Books Inc., 1984.

Smith, David. Industrial Location: An Economic Geographical Analysis. Toronto, Ontario: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1971.

Walker, David F. Canada's Industrial Space Economy. London, England: Bell and Hyman, 1980.

I. American Civil War

Andreano, Ralph. The Economic Impact of the American Civil War. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1967.

Gilchrist, David T. and W. David Lewis. Economic Change in the Civil War Era. Greenville, Delaware: Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, 1965.

O'Brien, Patrick. Ed. The Economic Effects of the American Civil War. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press International, 1988.

XI. MASTERS THESES

Booth, Harry. "A Distributional Geography of the American Brewing Industry." M.A. Thesis University of California, 1951.

Cook, Stephen R. "The Historical and Economic Geography of the Brewing Industry in the Denver Region, 1859-1987." M.A. Thesis University of Colorado, 1987.

Hoskins, Ronald G. "A Historical Survey of the Town of Walkerville Ontario, 1858-1922, Including an Evaluation of the Influence of Hiram Walker & Sons on the Growth and Development of the town until 1922." M.A. Thesis University of Windsor, 1964.

Smith, Michael Lee. 1990. "The Historical Geography of the U.S. Brewing Industry." M.A. Thesis University of Vermont, 1990.

XII. DISSERTATIONS

Baldwin, William Owen. "Historical Geography of the Brewing Industry: Focus on Wisconsin." Diss. University of Illinois, 1966.

Bland, Warren Roger. The Changing Locational Pattern of Manufacturing in Southern Ontario from 1881-1932. Diss. University of Indiana, 1971.

Dick, Charles Edwin. "A Geographical Analysis of the Development of the Brewing Industry of Minnesota." Diss. University of Minnesota, 1981.

Gilmour, James M. Spatial Evolution of Manufacturing: Southern Ontario 1851-1891. Diss. University of Toronto, 1970. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

XIII. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

Chauvin, Francis X. "Hiram Walker and The Development of the Walker Institutions in Walkerville, Ontario," 1926.

- ◆ This manuscript is available at the Toronto Reference Library and the Hiram Walker Archives. Many individuals question the validity and accuracy of a manuscript. This manuscript however can be accredited. This manuscript was authorized by Hiram Walker and Sons Ltd. in the 1920's. It is a detailed history of Hiram Walker's life and of the distilling business. This history is one of the most detailed in existence and it has been used for much of the present day writings on the company. Chauvin used original documents made available by Hiram Walker and Sons Ltd., many of which are no longer in existence such as personal ledgers. Some of these materials that Chauvin used were destroyed by a flood in the later part of the twentieth century or lost during numerous renovations that have taken place over the years. This manuscript is valuable for the information given about the history of this distillery and its growth over time in from its inception until the 1920's. The reader however must practise selective reading to "weed out" bias and Chauvin's personal opinions to find the facts. This manuscript was never published. At the Hiram Walker Archives it is possible to view this manuscript with the revisions and editing done before the work was to be published. This editing was performed by Hiram Walker's son. In some cases sections were omitted as he did not want the public to know about such history such as the illegal selling and smuggling of whisky in the United States during the Civil War. To gain a comprehensive understanding about the development of the Hiram Walker distillery and its influence on the community this is an excellent beginning point.

Oberle, Donald W. "The Impact of the Seagram Family and Company on the Urban Geography of Waterloo." Honours B.A. Thesis. Wilfrid Laurier University, 1991.

MacKinnon, Tanya. "Fordism Reconsidered: Restructuring within Canada's Distilling Industry." Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University, 1999.

MacKinnon, Tanya. "The Spatial Distribution of the Brewing Industry in Ontario from 1871 to 1891." Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University, 1998.

Teatero, William. Historical Research - Wiser's Distillery Limited. Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University, 1977. (Can be found at the Leeds and Grenville Historical Society in Prescott, Ontario or the Hiram Walker Archives in Windsor, Ontario).

XIV. VIDEO

Red Brick and Pure Spirits Toronto's Gooderham and Worts Distillery 1832-1990. Video-tape. Prod. Polymath and Thaumaturge Inc. and YYZ Pictures Inc. Toronto, Ontario: Lynx Image Releasing, 1991.